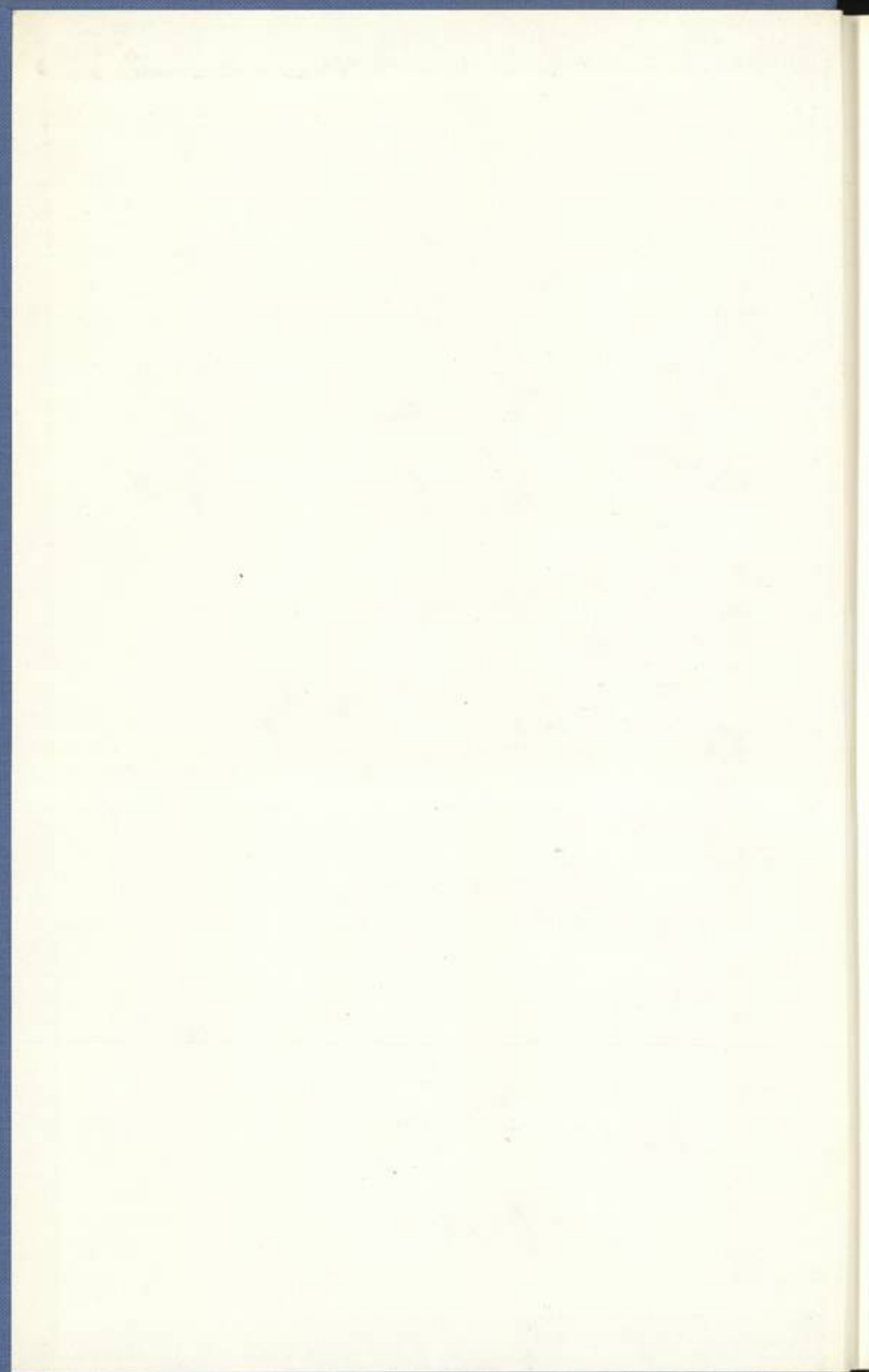


W. B. HENNING  
SELECTED PAPERS

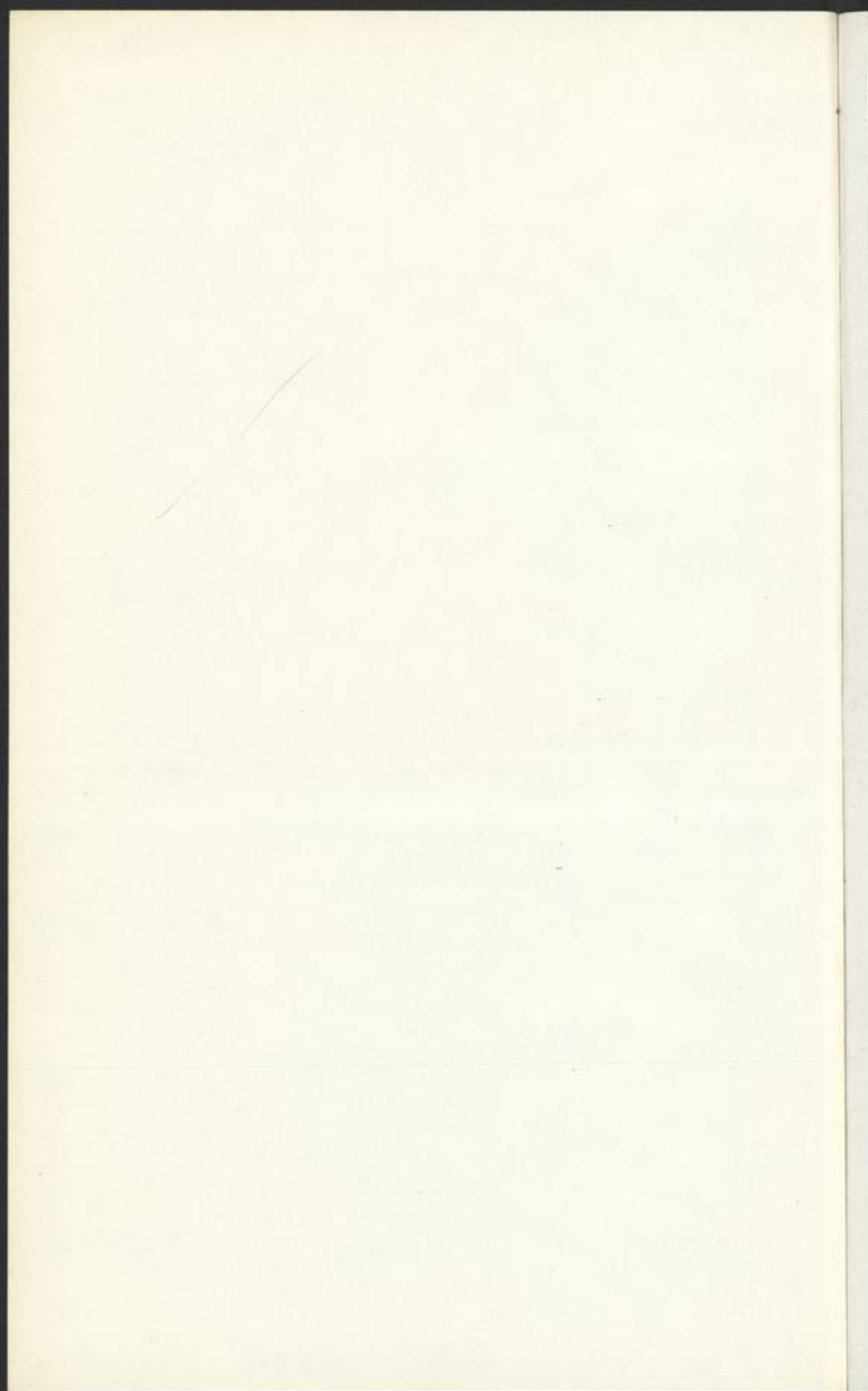
II



ACTA IRANICA



D. Old. 50. -  
Bill comm.



ACTA IRANICA

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE

VOLUME VI

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE  
DE S.M.I. LE SHAHINSHAH ARYAMEHR

# ACTA IRANICA

ENCYCLOPÉDIE PERMANENTE DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES  
FONDÉE À L'OCCASION DU 2500<sup>e</sup> ANNIVERSAIRE  
DE LA FONDATION DE L'EMPIRE PERSE PAR CYRUS LE GRAND

---

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE

HOMMAGES ET OPERA MINORA



Acta Iranica 15

ÉDITION  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE PAHLAVI  
TÉHÉRAN-LIÈGE

DIFFUSION  
E. J. BRILL  
LEIDEN

# HOMMAGES ET OPERA MINORA

VOLUME VI

## W. B. HENNING SELECTED PAPERS

II



1977

DIFFUSION  
E.J. BRILL  
LEIDEN

ÉDITION  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE PAHLAVI  
TÉHÉRAN-LIÈGE

## COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL

Prof. Sir Harold BAILEY (Grande-Bretagne); Prof. George CAMERON (E.-U.); S. Exc. Prof. Enrico CERULLI (Italie); † S. Exc. Dr TARA CHAND (Inde); Prof. Henri CORBIN (France); Prof. Jacques DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (Belgique); Prof. Namio EGAMI (Japon); Prof. Dr. Wilhelm EILERS (Allemagne); Prof. S. Ednan ERZI (Turquie); Prof. Richard ETTINGHAUSEN (E.-U.); Acad. B.G. GAFUROV (U.R.S.S.); Prof. Roman GHIRSHMAN (France); S. Exc. Prof. Garcia GÓMEZ (Espagne); Prof. János HARMATTA (Hongrie); Prof. Dr. Walther HINZ (Allemagne); Prof. Yahya AL-KHASHAB (Egypte); S. Em. Card. Dr. Franz KÖNIG (Autriche); Prof. Georg MORGENSTIERNE (Norvège); † Prof. Henrik S. NYBERG (Suède); Pir Husamuddin RASHDI (Pakistan).

## DIRECTION

Le Conseil Culturel Impérial de l'Iran.

S.E. Shodjaeddin SHAFI, Vice-ministre de la Cour Impériale, Directeur de la Bibliothèque Pahlavi.

## RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF

J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, professeur ordinaire à l'Université de Liège, assisté de Pierre LECOQ, assistant à l'Université de Liège, et de Jean KELLENS, assistant à l'Université Johannes Gutenberg, Mayence.

Université de Liège, Place du 20 août 16, B 4000 Liège.

SM  
ISAW  
DS  
252  
.5  
.H46  
1977  
v.2

ISBN 9004 03902 3  
9004 04818 9

© 1977 by Bibliothèque Pahlavi, Tehran-Liège

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

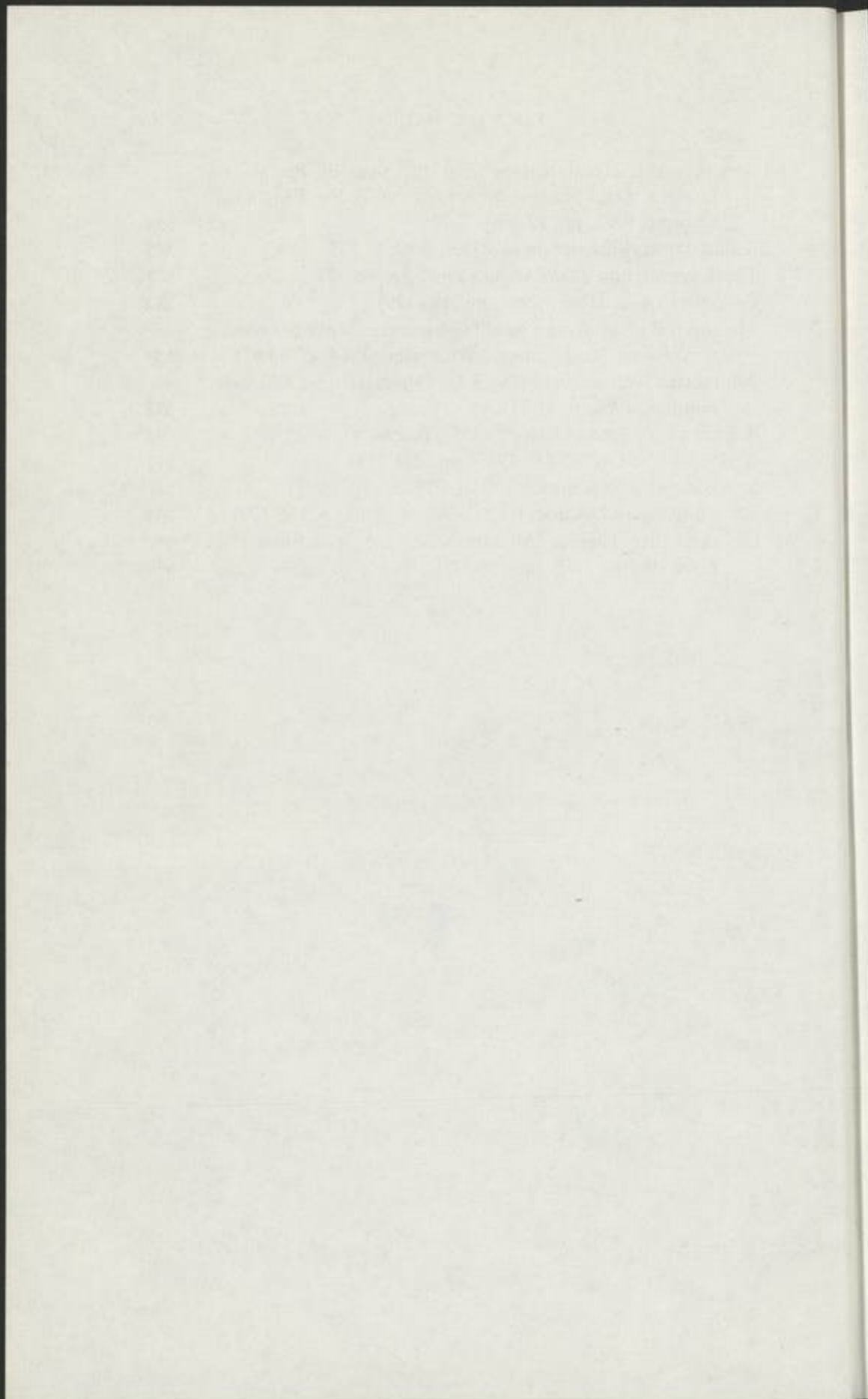


## TABLE DES MATIÈRES

<i>Sogdica</i> , James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXI, London, 1940 (67 p. with Errata and addenda) . . . . .	1
"Sulphur" in Sogdian ( <i>BSOS</i> , 1940, p. 398) . . . . .	69
Compte rendu de E. HERZFELD, <i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1940, pp. 501-507). . . . .	71
Compte rendu de A. GHILAIN, <i>Essai sur la langue parthe</i> ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1940, pp. 508-509) . . . . .	79
Mani's Last Journey ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1942, pp. 941-953). . . . .	81
An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1942, pp. 229-248) . . . . .	95
The Book of the Giants ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1943, pp. 52-74) . . . . .	115
The murder of the Magi ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1944, pp. 133-144) . . . . .	139
The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies ( <i>TPS</i> , 1942, pp. 40-56)	151
Sogdian Tales ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1945, pp. 465-487) . . . . .	169
Bráhmaṇ ( <i>TPS</i> , 1944, pp. 108-118) . . . . .	193
The Manichaean Fasts ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1945, pp. 146-164) . . . . .	205
Waručān-Šāh ( <i>Journal of the Greater India Society</i> , 1945, XI/2, pp. 85-90) . . . . .	225
The Sogdian Texts of Paris ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1946, pp. 713-740) . . . . .	231
Two Central Asian Words ( <i>TPS</i> , 1945, pp. 150-162) . . . . .	259
Two Manichaean Magical Texts, with an Excursus on the Parthian ending <i>-ēndēh</i> ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1947, pp. 39-66) . . . . .	273
A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1948, pp. 306-318) . . . . .	301
The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1948, pp. 601-615) . . . . .	315
The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1949, pp. 80-88) . . . . .	331
The name of the "Tokharian" language ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1949, pp. 158-162) . . . . .	341
Oktō(u) ( <i>TPS</i> , 1948, p. 69) . . . . .	347
A Pahlavi Poem ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1950, pp. 641-648; p. 809) . . . . .	349
Gabae ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1951, p. 144) . . . . .	357
The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1952, pp. 151-178) . . . . .	359

A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1952, pp. 501-522) . . . . .	387
A new Parthian Inscription ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1953, pp. 132-136) . . . . .	409
Notes on the Great Inscription of Šāpūr I ( <i>Prof. Jackson Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1954, pp. 40-54) . . . . .	415
The inscription of Firuzabad ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1954, pp. 98-102)	431
Ein unbeachtetes Wort im Awesta ( <i>Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller</i> , Leipzig, 1954, pp. 289-292) . . . . .	437
Compte rendu de F. ALTHEIM und R. STIEHL, <i>Asien und Rom, et Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen</i> ( <i>Gnomon</i> , 1954, pp. 476-480) . . . . .	441
The Middle Persian word for "beer" ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1955, pp. 603-604) . . . . .	447
The structure of the Khwarezmian verb ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1955, pp. 43-49) . . . . .	449
The ancient language of Azerbaijan ( <i>TPS</i> , 1954, pp. 157-177)	457
Eine arabische Version mittelpersischer Weisheitsschriften ( <i>ZDMG</i> , 1956, pp. 73-77) . . . . .	479
The Khwarezmian Language ( <i>Z. V. Togan'a Armağan</i> , Istanbul, 1956, pp. 421-436) . . . . .	485
The "coin" with cuneiform inscription ( <i>NC</i> , 1956, pp. 327-328) . . . . .	501
Surkh Kotal ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1956, pp. 366-367) . . . . .	503
The dates of Mani's life, by S.H. TAQIZADEH. Translated from the Persian, introduced, and concluded by W.B. HENNING ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1957, pp. 106-121) . . . . .	505
The inscriptions of Tang-i Azao ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1957, pp. 335-342)	521
A spurious folktale ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1958, pp. 315-318) . . . . .	529
New Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1959, pp. 132-134) . . . . .	533
A fragment of the Manichaean hymn-cycles in Old Turkish ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1959, pp. 122-124) . . . . .	537
Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift: eine neue Version von Barlaam und Joasaph ( <i>Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München 1957, Wiesbaden</i> , 1959, pp. 305-307) . . . . .	541
The Bactrian inscription ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1960, pp. 47-55) . . . . .	545
A Sassanian silver bowl from Georgia ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1961, pp. 353-356) . . . . .	555

Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdakī ( <i>A Locust's Leg</i> , Studies in honour of S.H. TAQIZADEH, London, 1962, pp. 89-104) . . . . .	559
A Bactrian seal-inscription ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1962, p. 335) . . . . .	575
The Kurdish Elm ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1963, pp. 68-72) . . . . .	577
Coriander ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1963, pp. 195-199) . . . . .	583
The survival of an ancient term ( <i>Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne</i> , Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 95-97) . . . . .	589
A forgotten Avestan word ( <i>Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1964, p. 41-44) . . . . .	593
A grain of mustard ( <i>AION-L</i> , 1965, pp. 29-47) . . . . .	597
A Sogdian god ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1965, pp. 242-254) . . . . .	617
Surkh-Kotal und Kaniška ( <i>ZDMG</i> , 1965, pp. 75-87) . . . . .	631
The Choresmian Documents ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1965, p. 166-179) . . . . .	645
Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen ( <i>In Memoriam Paul Kahle</i> , Berlin, 1968, pp. 138-145) . . . . .	659



## SOGDICA

### FOREWORD

The preparation of this present volume has been interrupted by the war. Dr. Henning was unable to complete his work. The fifth part, *Manichæan-Sogdian Letters*, listed in the Contents, and quoted once on p. 48 in the text, was not ready. A Glossary, too, is lacking. He was also unable, if he had wished it, to revise the text. My task has been to read the proofs, since it was desired to finish the printing of the volume without further delay. I may add here that a note on the name Ttāgutta quoted on p. 11 will be published in the next part of the *BSOS*. On p. 22 a reference to Dr. Tedesco's note in *BSL.*, 23 (1922), 113, would no doubt have been added in a revision.

Meantime we hope that Dr. Henning's important work will be continued in the future.

H. W. BAILEY.

## SOGDIAN LISTS

IN a number of the Sogdian manuscripts which I had occasion to examine, the text is arranged in columns, against normal usage, in such a way that each line of a column contains a single word only. The columns, running from the right to the left, are separated from each other by more or less carelessly drawn vertical lines. Since the interval between two separating lines is determined by the longest word of each column, a large part of the page is left blank, in irregular patches, a fact which enhances the general unsightliness of these manuscripts. The script is the late Sogdian kind, and as bad as it can be (which is saying a good deal). In most of the manuscripts in question it is extremely irregular, the letters varying in shape from line to line in such a way as to make it doubtful that professional scribes wrote them. It seems that the majority of the fragments are either school exercises or lists of persons, etc., written by unskilled people for practical purposes.

The first reference to these lists (etc.) was given in my paper, "Argi and the 'Tokharians'," in *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 545 sqq., where several names from the *Nāfnāmak*, or "List of nations" were quoted. Shortly afterwards, A. A. Freiman published a similar list which had been found among the documents discovered in the Zarafshan valley in 1933, under the title *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument astrologičeskogo sodržaniya (kalendar')*, in *Vestnik drevney istorii*, nr. 2 (3), pp. 34 sqq. The manuscript contains a "List of the calendar-days" (*rōcnāmak*), a "List of the lunar mansions" (*anyarnāmak*), and a list of the days of the week (no title given). The photograph which accompanies the article conveys a good idea of the textual arrangement also in the manuscripts which I am publishing here. The only difference is that Freiman's manuscript is better spaced and more carefully written than those with which I am dealing.

A part of the manuscripts does not contain lists, but ordinary continuous texts which happen to be Manichæan in origin (frags. i, ii, iii). That, of course, does not prove that all these manuscripts were written by Manichæans. Frags. i and ii contain some lines from a text similar to the Chinese *Traité Manichéen*, while in frag. iii the proper mental attitude towards soothsayers is discussed. Frags. v and vi are alphabetical lists of personal names (v, of men; vi, of women), the

alphabetical order being restricted to the first letter. The names are mostly Iranian, with a sprinkling of Christian and Buddhist names. Typically Manichæan appellations do not occur. Frag. iv is the remnant of a list of the parts of the body; the publication of a similar but more extensive list is in preparation. Last, but not least, frag. vii, the *Nāfnāmak*.

It is impossible to determine the date of these manuscripts. As a rule all we can say is: not earlier than the eighth century, and not later than the twelfth, but probably from the ninth or tenth century. In rare cases the contents provide definite indications; thus the *Nāfnāmak*, when fully interpreted, will (I hope) be counted amongst those rare cases. What we want is a dated palæography which, however, can be based only on a large number of satisfactorily dated manuscripts. Of such we have practically none. The "late" ("Uiyur") type of Sogdian script was fully developed about A.D. 700, i.e. somewhat before the period to which the Manichæan manuscripts belong (the first Manichæan emissary reached China in A.D. 694). Like everybody else in Eastern Turkestan, the Sogdians used second-hand paper with preference (for its cheapness), namely rolls, of which one side had already been used by the Chinese. One might hope that by dating the Chinese part of a manuscript one could gain a date *post quem* for the Sogdian text, but competent Sinologists assure me that this hope is likely to remain unfulfilled.

## FRAGMENT I

*T ii T(oyog)*. Written on a piece cut off from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. columns, the first letters of the following, and a few word-ends from the preceding col. are preserved.

(a)	(b)	(c)
(1) ZK	(10) ZKn	(20) Z(Y)[
(2) βr'y	(11) šm'r'	(21) p(')[
(3) 'spwrny'kh	(12) wnyh	(22) ZK[n
(4) γcy	(13) ZK	(23) p[nemy ?
(5) rz-k(r)y'kh	(14) βr'y	(24) p[tβyδy
(6) 'ntwγs	(15) wyt'wp'z-ny'kh	(25) w[nyh
(7) wyk'ystm'n'kyh	(16) rw'rtyh	(26) Z(K)[
(8) ZY	(17) nmsy'kh	(27) β(r)['y
(9) nk'βtp'z-ny-'kh	(18) nmry-'kh	(28) γ(r)[β'kyh
	(19) pckwyr	(29) γ(c)[y

"The fruit [of the 'tree' of φρόνησις] is perfection, rectitude, zeal, ?-mindedness, and submissiveness. The fruit of the 'tree' of ἐνθύμησις is patient-mindedness, ?, self-humiliation, humility, fear of God, and . . . The fruit of the fifth 'tree' of λογισμός is wisdom."

*Commentary:* The main "fruits" of the "trees" = "parts of the soul" are the five "gifts" (3, perfection; 4, patience; 5, wisdom), see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, i, p. 66 (562). In a similar Sogdian text (*M* 133), the names of the "fruits" are given differently, namely for 3, *m'nprnq'tyy* as *spwrnq'rky'* 'nspst[*q*]y'h p'tyw'nky' trny' 'tyršt'y'q, and for 4, *šm'r'* as *βwrt'rmyky'* wyt'wp'zny'h xwcy'q nmry'q 'ty βtrγtky', whilst *nqβtp'znyy* is enumerated amongst the fruits of 1, *frn*. From this deplorable terminological muddle we can derive some approximative word-equations, viz. :—

## 3rd "tree"

<i>M</i> 133	<i>T</i> ii <i>T</i>
spwrnq'rky'	= 'spwrny'kh
'nspstqy'h	= 'ntwγs
p'tyw'nky'	= wyk'ystm'n'kyh
trny'	= nk'βtp'zny'kh
ršt'y'q	= rzkry'kh

Sogd. *rz-kr-* can be compared to Parth. *rz-wr-*. Sogd. *trn-* "submissive", is well known, *nk'βt-* belongs to *nk'np-* "to submit" (see below, *Gloss.*, i, 9). *p'tyw'nky'* could be "the striving to protect oneself from sins".

## 4th "tree"

βwrt'rmyky'	= wyt'wp'zny'kh
wyt'wp'zny'h	= rw'rtyh
xwcy'q	= nmsy'kh
nmry'q	= nmry'kh
βtrγtky'	= pckwyr ZY p(')[

This is less satisfactory. All these words have more or less the same meaning. *xwcy* is "fine, delicate", *xwcy'q* poss. = "shyness"; on *nmsy'k-* see *BBB.*, p. 75, cf. also Buddh. *šyrsyt*, *šyrsy'twh*, *SCE.*, 406, 524. *βwrt'rmyky'* is not in the least different from *wyt'wp'zny(kh)*, cf. also Chr. *p't'wp'zny'*, *S.T.*, ii. Hence, *rw'rtyh* 'delicacy', cf. *rw'rt* *P(aris)* 19, 15 "fine, delicate", and Av. *urvāθra-*.



## FRAGMENT II

*T i.* Small piece of a roll, Obv. Chinese, Rev. four fragmentary columns, Sogd.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
		.....	
	.....	(12) 'z-[	
	(5) ](t)	(13) γw.[	.....
	(6) [']z-w'rtch	(14) ZY	(20) rt
.....	(7) wnh	(15) wyγh	(21) šw
(1) (r)šty'kh	(8) ky	(16) δyncrβst (?)	(22) βr'y
(2) nyγγy'kh	(9) ZY	(17) nrth	(23) ZY
(3) rty	(10) šw	(18) rwyšny'kh	(24) wrkr
(4) nwkr	(11) γw	(19) š'γh	(25) 'ry-kw (ny)[

*Commentary* : The *Traité Manichéen*, pp. 64 (560)-67 (563), contains an enumeration of the various parts of the ten "trees". The Sogdian names of their roots (love, etc., hatred, etc.), are found in *BBB.*, p. 37, but *δyncrβst* (16, poss. to be read *δyn'rβst*), is not amongst them. Nor is any one of the "trunks" called "light" (18). The meaning of 'rykwny[ (uncertain) is not known (cf. Buddh. *ryk* VJ., 1097, "wicked, disagreeable," = OPers. *arika* : Skt. *alika* acc. to Wackernagel?). The "trees" are divided in the following way (acc. to the *Traité*, unpubl. Parthian fragments, and our Sogd. text) :—

Traité	Parthian	Sogdian
<i>racine</i>	<i>wyz</i>	<i>wyγh</i>
<i>tronc</i>	<i>tn</i>	<i>nrth</i>
<i>branches</i>	<i>š'x</i>	<i>š'γh</i>
<i>feuilles</i>	<i>wrgr</i> , or <i>png</i>	<i>wrkr</i>
<i>fruits</i>	<i>b'r</i> , or <i>b'wg</i>	<i>βr'y</i>
<i>goût</i>	<i>wxšn</i>	....
<i>couleur</i>	<i>gwng</i>	....

Sogd. *wrkr* (VJ., 955), Parth. *wrgr*, and Saka *bāggare* suggest an OIran. neutral *r/n*-stem, *varkar/n*- (MPers. *warg*, etc., from the nominative ; Av. *varakahe*, only in the *Frah. Oīm*, is of doubtful authenticity). Sogd. *nrth* = NPers. *nard* "trunk" (*tane-i diraxt*, Asadi, p. 26), cannot be connected with the words treated by Geiger, *Etym. Afghan.*, p. 183, nr. 140 (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 53, and cf. *BSOS.*, x, pp. 98 sq.).

## FRAGMENT III

*T ii T*. Small piece, cut from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. coll., and of the preceding col. some word-ends.

(a)	(b)
(1) MN	(10) δβtyk
(2) y'twk(')y	(11) MN
(3) 'δry	(12) ptkryty
(4) pr	(13) 'sp'sy
(5) m'n	(14) 'štyk
(6) 'yw	(15) MN
(7) MN	(16) nwwrn'[ky'h]
(8) kyšykty	(17) 'yw
(9) yγw'k	

"As regards the soothsayer, three (matters are to be kept) in mind : firstly, about disunion amongst the heretics (?); secondly, about idolatry; thirdly, about unbelieving. One . . ."

*Commentary* : (2) Cf. *y'twq*, *S.T.*, ii; Buddh. *ēdy kr'y*, frag. iii, 21, 30, compared by Benveniste and Rosenberg, is probably different. *ēdy* might be Skt. *jala* "water", hence *ēdy kr'y* a "rain-maker".—(8) *kyšyk*- is unknown. Av. *tkāša-*, etc. ?—(9) Elsewhere *yγw'k* is "part, partition".

## FRAGMENT IV

*T ii T (oyoq)*. Medium-sized fragment, cut from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. coll.

(a)	(b)
(1) mz'	(8) pšt
(2) δym	(9) δnt'kh
(3) γwš	(10) ryr'kh
(4) γwšβwn'kh	(11) 'z-β'k
(5) ryt	(12) 'z-β'kwyγ'k
(6) kwc'kh	(13) k'kh
(7) pr'ynk	

*Commentary* : (1) "Eyelash" (NPers. *muže*, etc.; Sogd. *nymz-*, see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 241; cf. also MPers. *nmyz-*, *BBB.*, and Pahl., Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 584).—(2) "Eye-ball," or "pupil".—

(3) "Ear."—(4) "Ear-hole."—(5) "Face" (lower half of the face?).—  
 (6) "Mouth."—(7) "Opening of the mouth"? Hardly "cavity of  
 the mouth". The word is spelt *pryng* in Man. script (*M* 142; coupled  
 with *ḡndyt*), hence *p(a)rē/ing*.—(8) "Lips" (*BSOS.*, viii, p. 585, n. 3).—  
 (9) "Tooth."—(10) "Saliva," cf. NPers. *lir*, Pashto *lāra*. Incidentally,  
 the Hebrew (*rīr*) and Aramaic (Syr. *rīrā*) words are strikingly similar.—  
 (11) "Tongue."—(12) "Root, base of the tongue."—(13) "Palate."  
 Cf. *k'γk*- "palate", *Dhyāna*, 24. *kāzak*- from OIr. \**kāhaka*-, through  
 early contraction \**kāka*- > Sogd. *kāk*. NPers. *kām*, Pashto *kūmai*,  
 etc., from OIr. \**kāhman*-? Yidgha *kāyako* Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 216.

## FRAGMENT V

*T i a.* Small fragment, from the centre of a page. Obv. Chin.  
 Rev. one fragmentary column, Sogd. The first line is separated from  
 the second by a horizontal stroke.

- (1) myrprn  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) nwy y'n  
 (3) nwy prn  
 (4) [n]wy š(y)[r]  
 (5) [nw](y) (r')[t]

*Commentary:* (1) *Mīr-farn* could be taken for an ancient loan from  
 Parthian *Mīhrfarn* (later *mīhrfarr*), but it is probably due to recent  
 composition: Sogd. *mīr* "Sunday" (see *BBB.*, p. 85; cf. *Mīrāyade*,  
*BSOS.*, ix, p. 554, n. 2) + *farn* "honour, luck", etc.—(2-5) A number  
 of similar names are found in the *Mahrnāmay* (also *nwy-y'n* 114,  
*nwy-frn* 115). *nwy* "new" is short for *nwy-m'x*, or *βγ-nwy*, "new  
 moon."

## FRAGMENT VI

*T ii T(oyoq).* Medium-sized piece, cut from a Chin. roll. Two coll.  
 are complete (save for a line or two possibly missing at the bottom  
 of the page). Of the preceding column, some word-ends are preserved,  
 and two complete names which, for lack of space, were written at  
 right angles to the other lines at the end of the column. One letter,  
 of the alphabet is assigned to each column (. . . *ḡ m n* . . .; reg.  
 the Sogd. alphabet, see *BSOS.*, x, p. 98).

(a)	(b)	(c)
	(3) m'y'm'yh	(12) nny m'nch
	(4) m'γšyrh	(13) nny šyrh
	(5) m'γδ'yh	(14) nny δ'yh
(1) δ'p'tšyrh	(6) m'γβ'mh	(15) nwy β'mh
(2) δ'p'tsyγ[h?]	(7) mry'rth	(16) n'βrtsh
	(8) m'y'kkh	(17) nwš'nch
	(9) mwkr'nch	(18) nwšβ'mh
	(10) mry'mh	(19) nwy(t)'nch
	(11) m'yβryh	(20) nm'δk'yndh

*Commentary*: (1/2) δ'p't might be the name of a deity, cf. 4, 13. "Having a *dānapati* as her friend," as the isolated spelling δ'p't = Chin. *t'an-üe* = Skt. *dānapati*, *SCE.*, 186, might suggest, is perhaps not a likely name (Chr. *d'p't*, *S.T.*, i, 18<sup>5</sup>, mistake for 'p't?). Is it possible to recognize in δ'p't (might be *ḍabat*, *labat*), the ancient Babylonian name of Venus, *Dilbat*, *Δελέφατ*, Mandæan *dlyb't*, *lyb't*, *dyb't*, *dybyt*, Parthian *dybt* (in a Manichæan text, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 880)?—(3) *Mahāmāyā*.—(4-6) "Moon-friend" (fem.), "-slave" (fem.), "-lustre" (colour).—(7) "Pearl, Margaret."—(8) = *Māyāk*. Might be Av. *Humāyā*- (*humāyākā* > \**umāyāk* > \**māyāk* > *māyāk*); less likely: Av. *māyā*- + *kā*- (Skt. *Māyā* is *m'yh*, see 3).—(9) Cf. Parth. *mwqr'-nyg*, see Bartholomae, *ZAir. Wb.*, p. 164, n. 2? Or *mōk-kar*- "teaching" (MPers. *hmwg*, "Tokharian" *amok*)? Or derived from the name of Corea *Μουκρί* (Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 230; Tib. *Mug-lig* "le nom turc de la Corée", Skt. *Mukuri*, Pelliot *apud* Bagchi, *Deux Leziques*, i, p. 295; ii, p. 348)?—(10) "Maria."—(11) This name occurs several times in the Nestorian tomb inscriptions, which were discovered in the Semiryečie and edited by Chwolson, spelt *m'yprh* and *myprh*. The etymology which Nöldeke proposed (NPers. *māh-pāre*, *ZDMG.*, xlv, p. 527), can be safely discarded. Probably *Māy-friya*, later *Māy-fre(h)*, from Av. *māyā*- "bliss" + *friyā*- "beloved".—(12-4) *nny* is obviously the name of a deity, hence = Syr. *nny*, Arm. *nanē*, Navá, Kushan coins, *Nava*, *Navaia*, etc., see Hoffmann, *Martyrerakten*, pp. 130-9, 151-161, 295 (*nny* in Samarkand), Sir Aurel Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 12. From our passage it becomes clear that we have to read *nny-βntk*, *nny-δ't* and *nny-δβ'r* in the *Ancient Letters*, instead of *zny*.—(12) "resembling N".—(13) "having N. as her friend."—(14) "slave(-girl) of N."—(15) "having the lustre (or colour) of the new (moon)." The majority of Sogdian

names of women contained  $-\beta'm(h)$ , see the lists of the *Mahnāmay*.—(16) Prob. "not bearing sorrow, *sans-souci*",  $n' + \beta rt + tns + h$ , cf.  $n'\beta rtpcxwnyh$ , *BBB*. *tns* "sorrow", or "nostalgia", *VJ.*, 323, 334, 366, 400, 1278; frag., ii (a), 6.—(17) "The ambrosial one."—(18) "Sweet-coloured" rather than "possessing immortal lustre" (*Arm. anoiš*, etc.).—(19) The fourth letter is not properly executed, and looks like a cross between *t* and *w*. I cannot explain  $nw\gamma t'nch$ ;  $nw\gamma w'nch$  would mean "free from failing".—(20) "The salty one." The reading is not quite certain in so far as the third letter *might* be '(*nm'dk*-). The Sogdian word for "salt" was hitherto unknown. Cf. the Eastern dialect forms as collected by Gauthiot, *MSL.*, xix, p. 149; xx, pp. 5, 19, who poses OIr. *namádaka*-. See further, Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, register s.v. salt, and cf. Saka *namva*, *nimva*, etc., Bailey, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 130. In unpublished Man. MPers. texts we have *nmyhq*, unfavourable to Gauthiot's *namádaka*-. In fact, Gauthiot has only proved that the OIran. form was not *namádaka*-, and we are at liberty to assume OIr. *na/imaδka*- (or *na/imaθka*-). For the final *-k* of NPers. *namak* one could compare NPers. *maγāk*: Parth. *mg'dg*, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 85. There is every likelihood that Av. *nəməδka* *Yt.*, xiv, 55, is also "salt" (why should the Vyāmburas not have had the detestable habit of throwing salt into the fire in order to change its colour? Av. *aēsma*- is "the stuff which is thrown into the fire for the purpose of burning it", normally, of course, "fire-wood").

## FRAGMENT VII

*T ii D 94*. Oblong piece of paper, cut from a Chin. roll. Obv. Chin., part of a *Buddhanāmasūtra*, Rev. Sogd., two complete and two frag. columns. The beginning of the text, with the title, is preserved.—In the preparation of this edition a not wholly satisfactory photographic copy only could be used.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
(a) $n'\beta n'm'k$	(1) $\beta(rw)[m](y)k$	(9) $\gamma(wmp'n)y?$	(16) [ $\quad \quad \quad k'$
(b) $n'\beta$	(2) $\delta'(m'y)k$	(10) $k's'k$	(17) (s)[.] $_{py}ry$
(c) [. . .] $\delta yk$	(3) $p'sryk$	(11) $\gamma w\delta nyk$	(18) $t'kw$
(d) ]	(4) $pw\gamma'r$	(12) $'kwcyk$	(19) $t'\gamma wt$
(e) ]	(5) $'t\gamma w'r'k$	(13) $'rkcyk$	(20) $mrk'yt$
(f) ]	(6) $c'cn'y$	(14) $\gamma ry-\delta'\gamma(k)$	(21) $mykryk$
(g) ]	(7) (s) $wt'yk$	(15) $k\delta y'n'k$	
	(8) $c(\gamma)ny$		

*Commentary*: It is perhaps wiser, at least for the present to leave open the obvious questions: What is the date of the list? and: Does it represent the actual geographical knowledge at a certain time, or is it a historical list? Or a mixture of both? A portion of the names (10 sqq.) points to the time of the *Mahrnāmag* (written about A.D. 820), but the end of the list (it is impossible to say how much, if anything at all, is missing), seems to suggest a far later date.

(a) "List of nations," (b) "nation."—(1) "Byzantine." *βρωμ'yk*, or *βρωμcyk*, is written above the line. It is wholly illegible. Chr. *frumcyg*, *S.T.*, ii, see Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 28. Several names were enumerated in the first column, [*t'cyk*]<sup>1</sup> was probably one of them.—(2) "Syrian." Reading uncertain, poss. *s'mcyk*. From *sām*, the Arabic name of Syria, Chin. 𐰽 *ṣān* (*šām*, Karlgren, 1162), F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 56, n. 2, 83, 95; Chavannes, *T'oung-Pao*, v (1904), p. 78 n. Cf. also "*šayam*" in the *Oyuz Qayan* story, line 291, ed. Bang-Rachmati, cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, xxvii, on the passage.—(3) "Persian."—(4) "Bukharian." Cf. *Buxār-xudāh* (e.g. Beruni, *Chron.* 102<sup>10</sup>), Chin. *pu-χo* (*b'uo-γāt*), *pu-χuo* (*puo-χuāt*), Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 136; *Buqaraq ut's* in the inscription of Kültegin, Thomsen, *Inscr.*, p. 165, etc.—(5) "Tokharian," see *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 545 sqq.—(6) The people of *Čāč*, *Čās*, *Šās*, Chin. *tšo-tš'ai*, *tšo-tš'i*, *tšo-š'i* (second char. *t'vk*, *šie*, *zi*, Karlgren, 1231, 1212, 811 [p. 399]) = *Čāč*, *Čāž* (*Čāž*). *Čās* was developed from *Čāž*, and from *Čās* we have both *Šās* and *Tās*, see Minorsky, *Hudūd*, p. 357. It is, of course, impossible to derive *Čās* from *Tās* (as, indeed, proposed by Bang-Rachmati, *Oyuz Qayan*, p. 714, on 310).—(7) "Sogdian." One would hardly expect a Sogdian to employ such a form of his national name (elsewhere well attested). The standard spelling is *sywδyk* (Freiman, *Sogdiyskiy Sbornik*, pp. 33 sqq.). Note that *svt'yk* is *sūdīk*, not *sūdīk*. For the various forms of the name see Andreas, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1910, pp. 308 sq.; Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 948 sq.; viii, pp. 918; ix, p. 302, n. 1; *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 89. On Barčūq Saka *Sudana* (*d* = *d*, not *δ*, acc. to Konow), see *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 13. Kashghari has *sywdaq*, i, 29<sup>5</sup>, 391 ult. Man. MPers. *swylyy*, *BBB.*, p. 32 (462). On Chin. *Su-t'ə* (*š'ok-d'ək*), see Pelliot, *JA.*, 1934, i, p. 34.—(8) The inhabitants of *Čayānīyān*, on the *Čayān-rūd* (Minorsky, op. cit., p. 71). Their rulers had the title *Čayān-xudāh* (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 226 sq.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 72 sq.). Possibly *c'cn'y* (6) and *c'y'ny* (8) have changed places in our list?—(9)

<sup>1</sup> Or poss. [*t'zyk*].

Illegible. None of the names of countries or nations which could be expected here, seems to fit the traces (such as Xottal, Heβtal, Xwākand, Xo-p'an-to, Xu-mi(-to), Xwārezm, etc.). One could manage with *Xu-mən* 呼悶 (*χuo-muən*, Karlgren, 85 + 609), temporarily the capital of Farghāna (Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 148), but probably too obscure to be included in our list. خونان would suit ideally, if it were allowed to read thus instead of چوپان, the name of the royal clan of the Qarluq acc. to Gardezi (see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 288).—(10) "Kashgharian," see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 567. Cf. also Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1939 p. 89.—(11) "Khotanese." *γwδnyk* is *χwadanik* or *χōdanik*, with an unexpected δ. Saka *hvatana*, later *hvaṃna*, etc., Niya doc. *khotana*, Barčūq Saka *hvaḍana*, *hvaḍna* (*d* = *d*), etc. According to a much discussed passage of the T'ang-*šu* "the various *Xu*-nations say *Xuotan*" (*χuāt-tān*, i.e. *χwatan*), see Konow, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 799 sqq. This, however, as well as *χwadan*, would be spelt *γwtn-* in *Sogd.*—(12) "Kuchean," see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 566. See also the third part of the present work: the inhabitants are called *'kwcyk*, but the language is *'kwc'n'y*.—(13) The people of *Argi*, *Ien-k'i*, Arg, Qarashahr, see *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 564 sqq.—(14) The inhabitants (*-ak*) of *γryš'γ* = *γ/χ/h(a/ə)rē/šāγ/χ/h*. The final letter is doubtful; it could be *k* or *β* or *'* or *n* (not, however, *r*; this saves us speculations about the "Three Towns", etc.). One is vaguely reminded of the town *Khri-bšos(-khrom)* which Professor Thomas found mentioned in Tibetan documents. He compares the name of the lake *Khri-šo* and locates both in the Qarashahr region, see *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 825 sq.—In the Uiyur documents published by Radloff and Malov an *'rs'γ'y il[i]* is mentioned alongside of the *Uiyur ili* (nr. 43, p. 62, line 2): a misreading of *γrš'γ'y*?—(15) Not less obscure than the preceding name. The ending is either *-n'k* or *-k*. If we have to assume *kšy* as the name of the country, it would be tempting to think of 車師 *kū-šī* (*kī<sup>w</sup>o-šī*, Karlgren, 1189 + 893), the ancient name of the indigenous population of the Turfan-Bishbaliq region, see Pelliot, *JA.*, 1912, i, pp. 579 sq.; 1934, i, p. 64 n. This name, however, was hardly still in use at the time of our list.—If *kšy'n* = *gāšian-*, cf. Tib. *Gu-zan*, *Gu-zin*, a name of Bishbaliq, according to Professor Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 822 sqq., *Tibetan Lit. Texts and Doc.*, i, pp. 119, n. 2, 132, 254?—(17) *s[y]k'ry* is a possible, but improbable restoration (cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 556). Fortunately, the *Sabir* (*\*s[']pyry*) are out of the question here.—(18) = *t/dāk/gū*. Cf. Tib. *Ta-gu*, *Sta-gu*, on the river of Čerčen (Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1930, p. 280;

Thomas-Konow, *Two Medieval Documents*, pp. 146 sq.)?—(19) Hardly to be read *tnγwt*. In any case, the name of the *Tangut* (*Si-hia*) would be spelt *t'nkwt* = Orkhon inscr. *tañut*, cf. also Saka *ttamgāt-*, Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 89.—Apparently we have to read *t'γwt* = Saka *ttāgutta*, Staël-Holstein scroll, lines 9, 42, which Professor Thomas identified with Tib. *Sta-gu* (see above, nr. 18). Professor Bailey informs me that in unpublished Saka texts he has found evidence which seems to suggest that *ttāgutta* refers to Tibet and is an alternative spelling of *tāmḥatta*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 542. We are looking forward with great interest to the full publication of this important discovery. We should have two forms of the name of Tibet in Sogdian, *t'γwt* and *twp'wt-* (*Karabalgasun*, line 19; thus also to be read in the inscr. of Ladakh, where the top of the second *w* is damaged; Müller: *twp'wyt*, Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 504: *twp'nyt* or *twp'yyt*).—(20) The *Merkūt*, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, were living to the south and east of the lake Baikal, to the north-east of the Naiman, the northern neighbours of the Uiyurs of Turfan. The head of the Merkit was among the tribal chiefs whom Je-lü Ta-šī, the founder of the Qara-Xitai (Si Liau) dynasty, convoked at Bishbaliq, about A.D. 1125 (*Liau-šī*, transl. Bretschneider, *Researches*, i, p. 213). I do not know anything about their earlier habitations and history. They have conjecturally been connected with the *Μουκπί* (see above, Fragment VI, 9), cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 54; Minorsky, op. cit., p. 448.—(21) The *Mikri*, who lived in the mountains of the eastern T'ien-šan, mostly around Hami. The Chinese ambassador who in A.D. 1220 travelled to Chingiz-Khan, met the "Mo-li-hi" and the "Mo-k'o-li", together with the Qirqiz, Naiman, and other tribes in the T'ien-šan region, doubtless the Merkit and the Mikri(t), as recognized by Bretschneider, op. cit., i, p. 28. Still in Ming times the "Me-k'o-li" inhabited the mountains to the north-east of Hami, Bretschneider, *ibid.*, ii, p. 178. Professor Minorsky kindly referred me to Rashīd al Dīn, vii, 90, 166, ed. Bérézine: the *Mikrin/Bikrin*, different from the *Merkit/Mekrit*, lived in the mountains of the Uiyur country and were called *qayačī* "mountaineers"; they were neither Mongols nor Uiyurs. He further drew my attention to the following passage (Plano Carpini, p. 645, ed. d'Avezac): *terra quaedam est in partibus Orientis . . . quae Mongal nominatur . . . quatuor quondam habuisse populos . . . unus eorum Yeka Mongal . . . secundus Sumongal . . . alius appellabatur Merkit . . . quartus Mecrit* (with unimportant variants).



## II

### MIDDLE PERSIAN-SOGDIAN GLOSSARIES

Beyond doubt, Sogdian was the national language of the majority of clerics and propagandists of the Manichæan faith in Central Asia. Middle Persian, and to a lesser degree, Parthian, occupied the position held by Latin in the medieval Christian church. The founder of Manichæism had employed Syriac (his own language) as his medium, but conveniently he had written at least one book in Middle Persian, and it is likely that he himself had arranged for the translation of some or all of his numerous writings from Syriac into Middle Persian. Thus the Eastern Manichæans found themselves entitled to dispense with the study of Mani's original writings, and to confine themselves to reading the Middle Persian edition; it presented small difficulty to them to acquire a good knowledge of the Middle Persian language, owing to its affinity with Sogdian. How far this abandonment of the prophet's language went is shown by the fact that amongst the innumerable Manichæan manuscripts from Eastern Turkistan not a line in Syriac has been discovered. But Mani would have been the first to condone this seeming lack of regard towards his word. In fact, it would have been more to his liking had his Sogdian adepts abandoned the study of Middle Persian, too, and relied solely on Sogdian translations. For had he had his way his works would have been published in the form of a polyglot bible with at least twenty columns: "My religion is superior to former creeds in ten points. Firstly, the former religions were confined to one country and one language: but my religion shall be propagated in every country and every language, and shall be taught in the most distant lands" (*Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 295). However, although the Eastern Manichæans, following their teacher's admonition, untiringly translated their books into all the languages they could think of, they still went on reading and copying the Middle Persian editions of their holy writings. They also wrote in Middle Persian, with varying success. Of these late productions, which can be easily distinguished from genuine old texts by their standardization and lack of idiomatic vitality, we possess a great number of poems written for a special occasion (such as the enthronement of bishops, etc.), and some prose-writings amongst which the colophon of the *Mahnāmag*, the great collection of hymns,

ranks highest; combining in itself the most precious qualities a manuscript can possess, as a dated autograph<sup>1</sup> it forms the starting-point for any attempt at a classification of the Manichæan material.

To facilitate the study of the ancient writings in Middle Persian it was necessary to provide dictionaries, and it seems that a large number of such were in use. The few fragments which have come down to us belong to a score of different manuscripts and to at least three different types of dictionaries, to judge by the methods employed for the arrangement of the vocables. In all of them the words are arranged according to their initials, some taking into account the first letter alone (which must have been rather irksome for the student), some the first two, and a few the first three letters. In all fragments the explanations are given in Sogdian, a fact which supports the opinion expressed above on the nationality of the readers and copyists of the Middle Persian texts found in Central Asia.

As far as one can judge from the small number of pieces that have been preserved, these dictionaries were meant not to assist the professional translators in their work, but to help the casual reader to understand difficult passages. They are essentially glossaries, probably made from a limited number of texts and possibly appended at the end of the books in the same way as a modern glossary. It seems, however, that none of the glossaries was confined to a single text; for, wherever the material is extensive enough for reaching a conclusion, we observe that Parthian as well as Middle Persian vocables were included. Besides adverbs, prepositions, adjectives, substantives, and verbal forms, the glossators entered also some groups of words, such as two nouns coupled by the conjunction "and", substantives accompanied by adjectives, verbs with adverbs, etc. The Sogdian translation is often grammatically unsatisfactory, in so far as it would hold good only for a limited number of contexts. Thus, e.g. the translation of a Middle Persian present indicative by a Sogdian perfect (*b* 24) would be justified only in a vividly told story where a *perfectum praesens* could be employed in Middle Persian, but not in Sogdian. Or the employment of a Sogdian 3rd pers. *singularis* for a Middle Persian 3rd pers. *pluralis* (*a* 5) is correct in a passive sentence where the subject is a noun denoting inanimate objects, but only in that case. If, therefore, we should feel inclined occasionally to reproach the glossators for

<sup>1</sup> That the writer (Nakhwariy-Rōšn) was, indeed, a Sogdian, is made obvious by occasional lapses, e.g. 'ty "and", line 120.

lack of grammatical precision, we have to admit that their translations fulfilled the purpose they had in view, viz. the explanation of certain passages.

To some extent the present edition is the result of my collaboration with Dr. W. Lentz. Together we established the text and explanation of the fragments *a-t*. However, our work was interrupted several times, and we never reached agreement on a final form of the edition. Since, for exterior circumstances, our collaboration came to an end without having produced the planned edition, Dr. Lentz suggested to me that I should proceed with it on my own, if I so desired. I accepted this suggestion as I thought it would be a pity to keep these fragments from the public any longer, particularly after so much labour had been spent upon them, and I have added to and omitted from our original commentary as I thought fit. Although naturally a considerable number of the explanations given here has been found by Dr. Lentz (as in every case of collaboration it would be impossible to say which particular item of an explanation had been found by whom), I bear the sole responsibility for the commentary in its present form.

With few exceptions I possess a complete set of photographs of the Manichæan, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian manuscripts. One of the exceptions, I regret to say, is the group of texts published here (frags. *a-t*). Accordingly, I had to rely solely on my copies which had been made from the originals directly. On the other hand, the edition of those fragments, which I noticed only recently (frags. *u, v, w, x, y*; two small pieces belonging to *h* [17-22], and *o* [*rwh'*, *-n'nd*]), is based on photographs alone.

I must apologize for the apparent disorder in which the fragments are given here. It was originally intended to order them according to the manner of arrangement of the words, by starting with those where only the first letter of the vocables had been taken into account (*a-c*), and proceeding with the fragments in which the words had been arranged according to the first two letters, etc. But afterwards, whenever a new fragment was found, it was placed at the end of the collection without any regard to its word-arrangement, in order to avoid disturbing the numbers (or rather letters) assigned to the original group of texts, all the more so since we had started using those numbers in quoting the fragments in our publications.

Each page of the glossary fragments contains two columns which are to be read across (at variance with the normal Manichæan custom). A line of a first column contains a Middle Pers. (or Parthian) word,

and its explanation in Sogdian if there is enough space for both; if not, the MPers. word is given in the first col., and the Sogdian equivalent in the corresponding line of the second column.

It is necessary to indicate briefly the inventory numbers (etc.) of the fragments :—

- a* : *M 109*. Intact page, 8·6 by 14·7 cm. Small writing.
- b* : *M 111* and *M 725*, combined. The page was formed by gumming together the inscribed sides of two pieces of paper which had been cut from a Chinese roll. Slightly damaged. 12 by 18 cm. Medium-sized writing.—An affixed page contains an Uiyur text of unknown contents.
- c* : Two fragments which originally belonged to the same double-page, but do not fit closely together : *M 875a* (= lines 1/2, 9/10, 17, 24), and *M 699* (= the remaining lines). Few lines only are preserved.—The character of the text on the first page, obv., is not clear; it seems that groups of MPers. words, each distributed among two successive lines, are explained.
- d* : *M 182*, *M 182a*, and *M 450* : three small pieces combined into a larger page, about 12 by 21 cm. Large handwriting.
- e* : *M 124*. Bottom half of a page, 11·6 by 8 cm., damaged condition. Medium-sized writing.
- f* : *M 614*. Damaged page, bottom part missing, 11·2 by 13·5 cm. Smallish, slightly cursive handwriting : from the same MS. as *g*.
- g* : *M 835*. Fragment of a page, 9·2 by 15·8 cm., from the same MS. as *f*. Only the exterior column (i.e. the second col. of the *recto* page and the first col. of the *verso* page) is preserved.
- h* : *M 752 a, b, c*. Three small pieces from successive pages of the same manuscript (here given as 1st, 2nd, and 4th frag.). And : *M 500 k* (here given as 3rd frag.), which probably formed one page with the 2nd frag. Badly preserved. Small, angular handwriting.
- i* : *T i D*. Small fragment of an interior column, 5 by 5·5 cm.
- k* : *M 501 γ v*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 4 by 5·3 cm.
- l* : *T i D 51*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 3·8 by 3·5 cm.
- m* : *T i D 51*. Small piece from the centre part of a page. 5·9 by 3 cm.
- n* : *M 252 b*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 3·9 by 5·1 cm.
- o* : *M 145*. Bottom part of a page, 8·6 by 11·4 cm. Large spacings. And a small scrap : *T i a (rwh'[])* which seems to have formed part of the same page. Beautiful small handwriting.

- p*: *M* 688. Small scrap, from the centre of a page. Medium-sized handwriting. 5.6 by 7.3 cm.
- q*: *T i D* 51. Fragment from the centre of a page. 10 by 13.5 cm. Large spacings. Medium-sized writing.
- r*: *T ii D* 77. Bottom part of a page, 7 by 3.8 cm. Small writing.
- s*: *M* 503 *γ q*. Small fragment from the bottom part of a page, 7.8 by 5.4 cm. Small handwriting.
- t*: *T ii D* 63. Small fragment from the centre of a page. 6 by 8 cm. Smallish cursive, irregular handwriting.
- u*: *T i D*. Small scrap, from the centre of a page.
- v*: *T ii K*. Same.
- w*: *T i*. Small fragment from the centre of a double-page. The attached page contains a purely Sogdian text.
- x*: *T i D*. Small piece.
- y*: *T ii D* 406. Badly damaged fragment of a double-page. A description of the contents of the attached page will be found below.

FRAGMENT *a**Recto*

(1) [']bcyrm	cmbt̄'ryh̄ = string of a lute ( <i>cmb</i> )?
(2) 'xšwzyhyst	wš'tk'm̄ β(w)[t̄]
(3) ''mwrzyynd	prm'ndy' kwn'nd
(4) 'n'byš o pw δβyš	'myzyš(n) [o] wryδ'h̄
(5) 'ndwcyhyynd	δβxštyy βwt̄
(6) 'n'mwrz'yd	pw prm'n
(7) 'bzyn oo šwmyy	'nmyy o pw'rtyy
(8) 'bzynynd o šwm'nd	'bwg o pn'nc
(9) 'wp'y bwynd	prwj'ndt̄
(10) 'm'xšyst̄	m'msw
(11) ('')bnd o ''yβtyy	'wst o pcpryh̄
(12) ('')[']zyyq'm	'zyh̄ ryjy
(13) 'bwd 'stbr	stmb tk(wš)[ ]
(14) ('m')dg o [β](r)twy	'gyrd oo n'fršt̄
(15) 'b(yr)nz o pw γm (b)[n]	'bryšwm oo pw't̄
(16) '(mwr)d'd hrwd'd	hrwwt̄ mrwwt̄
(17) ''whryd o fryyδt̄'	'yn oo p'nwδyh̄
(18) ''ps'ngyh'h̄	pr wβ'stgy'h̄
(19) 'g'ryyhyyd	pw 'rq βwt̄

## Verso

- |                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| (20) 'ndwxyndr           | trytryh          |
| (21) ('y)wxsyst'n        | šxt'h ywšt       |
| (22) 'wb(x)t o n(w)yβynd | 'mwrq oo fδys    |
| (14 lines left blank.)   |                  |
| (23) 'ry'wyft[sic]       | 'xšnq'wyh        |
| (24) 'fryn'm o 'frynm    | 'ng'zyd oo py'tt |

(1) or [']bcyrm.—(13) tk(wš) [possibly complete].—(22) Or 'wb[.](z)t ? 'wb[y]zt ? Also n(y)yβynd possible, but less likely.

*Commentary*: (2) The MPers. form occurs in *Mir. Man.*, i, see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, pp. 84 sqq. Sogd. = "he is vehement, ardent, impetuous" (lit. "one whose desire is opened, loose").—(3) "They show mercy."—(4a) "Without hurting, enmity," see *BBB.*, p. 53 (on 483).—(4b) Sogd. 2nd sing. subj., = "you should mix." Therefore *āmēzišn* probably participle of necessity.—(5) MPers. "they are being collected, gained, saved", Sogd. "it is collected, gained, etc.", see *BSOS.*, x, p. 105.—(6) "unpitied" (cf. *BBB.*, p. 75, on 606).—(7a, 8a) MPers. 'bzyn- "to sew, tailor" is frequently met with in *Mir. Man.*, i. Parth. 'bjyn-, *BSOS.*, ix, 80. Cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 214; Horn, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 128 on NPers. āzīn-: āzīdan "to sew". See also B. Geiger, *Archiv Orientalní*, x, p. 214.—Sogd. šwm- was hitherto unattested. Cf. also this passage (from *M 133*): m'yδ/m'nwq xcy y xw[w]/yrβ'ky' c'nw š[yr]/ng'ryy xwp šwmny/kyy 'xšywnymy[c]/sndws nγw[δn] (end of the page) "Wisdom is like a good well-working tailor who [makes] a royal Sundus-garment" (*sndws BSOS.*, ix, p. 87).—(8a) = 3rd pl. pres., (7a) either noun ("cloth"), or MPers. 2nd sing. imp., Sogd. 2nd sing. opt. (or pres.).—(7b) "you turn away" (intrans.). MPers. ānam-: ānaft, cf. the causative ānām-: ānāft, *ZII.*, ix, p. 190 (also Pahlavi).—(8b) See below, k 4. Sogd. pn'nc is not met with in any text, but has been borrowed by New Persian: بانانج *banānj* (*panānj*) "co-wife" (Asadi 111<sup>10</sup>, and 18 end where *banānj* should be read instead of *gōlānj*). -'nč is Sogdian ending, and *pan-* is the regularly developed Sogdian representative of Av. *hapathnī-* = NPers. *vasnī* (see Bartholomae, *ZsR.*, i, pp. 33 sqq., *Mir. Mund.*, iii, p. 29, n. 3), cf. also Pashto *bən* "co-wife" (Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 15), Khwarezmian پانام = *pan-āmi* "my co-wife", etc. For the phonetics, Sogd. δβ'mpn- = Pahl. *bānbišn* has been compared, see Tedesco, *BSL.*, xxvi, p. 64. It is interesting that Sogdian has borrowed MPers. *bānbišn*, not, however, this form, but a vulgar one: *bāmbušt* (for the vowel, cf.

the variants on Frah. Pahl., xii, 4: *b'nbwšn*, etc., for *m*, cf. Arm. *bambišn*, and for the final *t*, cf. NPers. *kuništ* from *kunišn*, etc.). Sogd. *bāmbušt*, spelt *p'mpwšt*, occurs, e.g. in the title of an Uyğur manuscript, LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, p. 32: *p(a)rikān bāmbušt* (ed. *bam bost*) = *p(a)rikan qatun*. Chinese 防步率 *b'ī'ang-b'uo-šiuēt* (Karlgren, 25, 759, 922), designation of the queen of Persia, see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 531, renders *bāmbušt* or *bānbušt* (not \**bānbuzwiδ*).—MPers. *'bwg* = *aβōγ* "co-wife": this word, mostly showing initial aspiration, occurs in several modern dialects, e.g. NPers. (Dict.) هوو = *havū* (*havō*), Kurdish *hewou*, *hewi*, *hevi* (Jaba-Justi, 448, 456, cf. Bartholomae, *ZsR.*, i, p. 33, n. 1), Brahui (from Bal.) *hapōk*, see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 47, who quotes Anaraki *huvuk*, Bakht. *havū*, *habbū* (the words of the *hambāy*-type must be kept apart). It has been overlooked that this word, along with *hapabnī-*, is found in the Avesta-Pahlavi Frahang, in the much discussed gloss (ii, f): *hpsne. apno. zavō*, which Bartholomae proposed to read *hapabne afnamuhd*. But the last word, *zavō*, is evidently nothing but a Pazend form of our word *'bwg*, whilst it seems possible to regard *apno* as a corruption of the corresponding Pahlavi spelling (*'pwk*; one letter only need be changed).—(9) "They are victorious." *'wp'y* occurs in Sogdian: *'wp'y wn-* "to give permission"<sup>2</sup>, *VJ.*, 891. Therefore *'wp'y* = "superior": *'wp'y bw-* "to be or become superior", *'wp'y wn-* "to make somebody else superior to oneself = to give in". *prwǰ-* is familiar from Parthian, etc.—(10) MPers. "ploughed" (see *Mir. Man.*, ii), Sogd. "I ploughed" (1st sing. imperf., from *'ms-*).—(11a) "unbridled, perverted." Parth. *'bndyft* is met with in unpub. fragments. On Sogd. see *BSOS.*, x, p. 103.—(11b) MPers. *'wst* usually = "firm", cf. Pahl. Psalter *'wsty*.<sup>1</sup> But Sogd. *pcpr-* (*ptšpr-*) is "to arrange, place, fix", intrans. "to be arranged, placed, fixed", cf. Chr. *pcprty* (3rd sing. perf. intrans.), *S.T.*, i, 61<sup>13</sup>. *pcpryh* is hardly an adjective-participle with intransitive meaning (this would agree with Pahl. Ps. *'wsty* quite well), but rather a finite and active form, viz. 2nd, sing. opt. or pres. Accordingly, *'wst* may be 2nd sing. imp. (cf. above. *'bzyn*: *šwmyy*), from *'wst-* "to place" = Parth. *'wyst-*, etc.—(12) "greedy, lustful." MPers. *'zq'm M 477 R 7*. Sogd. *āzīrēze* is modelled on *'zyyq'm*; *-e* from *-ak* is compound ending.—(13) "look sternly?" Sogd. *stmb* (*'st'np Dhyāna*, 169, cf. (*'st'npyr- VJ.*, 39<sup>d</sup>, *Dhuta* 286), clearly = MPers. or Parth. *'stbr*, therefore Parth. (?) *'bwd* = Sogd.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. *'wstt* "firm", *SCE.*, 317, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pahl. *'wp'yt* = Skt. *jayāt* Hom Yasht (Unvala, p. 4).

*tkwš-* "look, observe, look after". *āβōδ* 2nd sing. imp., from *ā-baoda-*.—(14a) "prepared, ready, fit, stable"; *βrtwy*: *Dhyāna*, 27, 240.—(14b) See *BBB.*, p. 98 (c 37). MPers. *'gyrd* possibly "unploughed, untilled" (cf. Pashto *karəl*, etc.).—(15a) "Without trouble."—(15b) "Silk." Sogd. *pwt-*: *SCE.*, 218; *Dhyāna*, 54, 355. Cf. Ormuri *pīl-*, *pēl-* "silk", which is borrowed from Pashto (therefore possibly *l* from *t*), acc. to Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 25. Etymologically different from Sogd. *pwt-* is NPers. *pōd* "woof" (*tār u pōd* = "warp and woof"), which I think is the same word as Parthian *pw(w)d* "boat, ship", Sogd. *pwt'yk'h* "skiff, ferry" in unpub. texts): "ship" > "shuttle" (cf. Fr. *navette*, MPers. *makōk*, etc.) > "woof".—(16) *Amurdād Harwadād* = *Harwōt Marwōt*. This interesting gloss is unfortunately obscure as neither of these terms is met with in a Manichæan text, so that it is impossible to discover what the translator understood by them. All the same the mere fact of this juxtaposition is valuable as it tends to confirm the old theory of an Iranian origin of *Hārūt* and *Mārūt*. The following observations may suffice here: (a) the MPers. forms of *Amərətāt Haurvatāt* are better preserved than in Pahlavi; (b) the order of the words<sup>1</sup> is unusual for MPers., and inverted in Sogd. so as to conform with the normal order; (c) the "Sogdian" words are not Sogdian: *h* is impossible in a Sogdian word, and the regular Sogd. forms are *'rt't* and *mrt't* (see *Orientalia*, viii, p. 94); (d) the spelling of Sogd. is ambiguous. It could express *hārōt* or *hārūt* (not, however, *hārūt*), but *harwōt* or *harwūt* is more likely; (e) *Harwōt Marwōt* (if thus to be pronounced) were probably borrowed from the same source from which Arm. *Haurot Maurot* are derived (see Dumézil, *Rev. Ét. Arm.*, vi, fasc. 2).—(17a) 2nd pl. imp.; *'whr-* *M* 97 b 18 "to do penance" (?) Not to be confused with *'whr-* = *'whyr-* "to ascend".—(17b) "Custom, manner." MPers. *'yn* = NPers. *ā'in*. Sogd. *p'n'wōk*, *Dhuta* 39, 164.—(18) MPers. adverb from *āfsānāy* = NPers. *afsāne* "fable, story", therefore "in the manner of a fable, story", "narratively"; for the lengthening of the initial vowel, cf. MPers. *'brwzt*, etc. (*Man. Henochb.*, p. 30, n. 3), NPers. *āfgāne* against MPers. *'bg'ng* "avorton" (from *afgandan*), NPers. *āfdum* from MPers. *aβdum*, etc. MPers. adverbs in *-yh'* are usually rendered by prep. *pr* + abstract in *-y'* in Sogdian. The following passage is of interest for the meaning of Sogd. *wβ(')st-*: *zwrnyy z(wr)[nyy p]wt'yšt' 'γ'nd o p[τ . . . ?n]'m o wβsty pryβyrnd* "from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, viii., p. 408.



time to time Buddhas (= prophets) came, and in the name of [ ] they revealed stories (?)” (from *M* 134).—(19) “He is inactive, workless.” For MPers., cf. Nyberg, ii, p. 6.—(20) “More sorrowful, depressed,” see *BBB.*, p. 60. The etymology proposed by Nyberg, ii, p. 100, for NPers. *andōh*, etc., cannot be accepted on account of Sogd. *'nt'uγc* (Man. *'ndwxc*), which proves OIr. *-t*.—(21) Sogd. clearly two plurals (viz. of an adjective of “light stem”, *šx-*, and a subst. of “heavy stem”, *γwš-*), therefore *'ywxšyst'n* plural of *'ywxšyst*, which seems to be a corrupted or vulgar form of Pahl. *ayō(x)šust* “metal”. Sogd. *šax-* has been studied, *BBB.*, p. 103. It seems that the Sogdian word has exactly the same range of meaning as MPers. Parth. *'škyft* (Av. *škaptā-*, NPers. *šigift*, etc.), namely “hard, adv. very”, further “astonishing, extraordinary, miraculous”, etc. E.g., Parth. *'škyft dwšmyn* “a hard enemy”, Pahl. *škptyh*, *škptyh* = *škafūh*, *škofūh* “hardship, distress” (Nyberg, ii, p. 216, separates these words from *škaptā-*, *šigift*), Sogd. *šxyy* 'x's “a hard fight”, Parth. *'škyft gwš'd* “very extended”, etc. That the original meaning of Sogd. *šx-* was “hard”, is further confirmed by the appearance of this word in a number of modern dialects, e.g. NPers. *šax(x)* “hard (soil)”, Sanglechi *šōx*, Wakhi *šux* “hard”, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 414, and 28\* s.v. hard. I owe the explanation of Sogd. *γwš-* to Professor Bailey: *γōš* from OIr. *gaōbra-* = MPers. *gōhr*, NPers. *gōhar* “substance”, also “metal”. Therefore, Sogd. = “hard substances (metals).”—(22a) MPers. ptc. pass., Sogd. 3rd pl. opt. (= impf.). If MPers. *'wbxt*, cf. Pahl. *ōbaxt* “apportioned” (?), *Šš.*, ix, 8 (p. 118 Tavadia).—(22b) Sogd. *fδys* is clearly the same as Buddh. *pδ'ys*, *fδ'ys*, *'βδ'ys*, *Dhyāna* 159, 349, 354, 371, 377, according to Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 46 = “apparition”, cf. also *pδ'yškyn*, *Dhyāna* 215, “apparent.” In the *Dhyāna* text *pδ'ys* is closely parallel to *'γšnyrk*, which is defined by MPers. *nīšān* “sign, mark”, etc., cf. *BBB.*, p. 88. However, the Chinese evidence as set forth by Weller, *Mon. Serica*, ii, pp. 392 sq., suggests a wholly different meaning for both words (“limit, boundary, region, district”, etc.); possibly the translator misunderstood Chin. 境 *king*? But *fδ'ys* also renders Chin. 影 *jing* which is not only “shadow” (Weller), but also “silhouette, form, image” (Karlgren, 393), hence in agreement with the translation proposed by Benveniste.—MPers. *'murg* is unfortunately not clear. It reminds one of NPers. *āmury* (“value, essence, particle,” etc.), but could be analysed in more than one way.—(23) “Magnificence, splendour, beauty, brilliancy,” see *S.T.*, ii, p. 584 s.v. *xšnqy* (cf. NPers.

*qašang* "beautiful, elegant" ?).—(24a) "I pray."—(24b) "He adorns" (Sogd.). MPers. 'ng'z- probably connected with NPers. *angāz* "instrument(s)" (Dict.), which is met with in Jew. Pers. (e.g. *Ez.*, 4, 9, ed. Salemann, = *ālāt*, ed. Lagarde, = Hebr. *kālī*; Salemann gives wrongly "receptacle".)

FRAGMENT *b**Recto*

(1) 'wgwjynd	βjyδδ(nd)
(2) 'dwyxsynd	(n)'(w)y(nd)[ ]
(3) 's'g'n	(pw) s(')[k]
(4) 'wyn'm	'wntn 'šy(')
(5) 'sm(')'n	sm['](n)
(6) 'st'rg['](n)	(st'r)[yṭ]
(7) 'zn(')'n	['z]'ṭ'qṭ
(8) 'zdh'g	qyrmyḥ
(9) 'jdh'g	qyrmyḥ
(10) 'qdn'y	n'k
(11) 'xtrmr'n	smbṭsrṭ
(12) 'ps'ryšn oo	(p)syr'mndyy
(13) 'ps'r[yšn]	psrṭqy'
(14) 'wys[ ]	[p]ṭs'ktṭ

*Verso*

(15) 'yrkš oo	'xwškyy
(16) '[y]rkš oo	prβrṭδstṭ
(17) 'spzn	xwšyp
(18) 'spšwn	xwšyp
(19) 'swddnd'n	xwrnptxwrkδndyṭ
(20) 'sm'g'n	'[p]š'mnyṭ
(21) ['smynd]	[p]š'm'nd
(22) ['smyhystṭ]	[p]šmty' kty
(23) 'smg 'smg	pš'myḥ
(24) ''yd oo 'ysδ	'yd oo ''yṭ
(25) ''yd oo 'yst'	'y'd oo 's'ṭ
(26) 'y'd q[wn]	['š]y' kwn'ḥ
(27) ''ynd	['y]sndsk
(28) 'wx oo oo m'n	['y'd oo 'š]y'ḥ

(2) *n'wynd[skwn]* ?—(4) Or *'šy(rn)* ?—(7) Restoration uncertain.—(11) *'xtrmr'n*: two points underneath *m* (i.e. *'xtrm'r'n*).—(14) Some form from Parth. *'wysṭn'dn*? Hardly *'wys[m'r'n]*.—(22) *pšmty'*: two points underneath *m* (i.e. *pš'mty'*).—(25) *'s'ṭ*: two points underneath *'Ain* (i.e. *'ys'ṭ*).

*Commentary*: (1) Sogd. "they mount (a horse, etc.)".—(2) "They shake (their head)," cf. *BBB.*, p. 55. Sogd. probably 3rd pl. opt. impf. Parth. *adwizs-*: *ati* + Av. *vaēg* incoh.—(3) "Numberless" (MPers. pl.: 's'g *Mir. Man.*, ii. Parth. 'n's'g. Arm. *sak* also "number", Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, p. 300<sup>28</sup>).—(4) MPers. "of such, that name, fame," Sogd. "of such memory" = "the above-mentioned?" Or = "the late . . .?" Hardly = "So-and-So", which in Sogdian is *t'nm'n*, and in MPers. 'w'hm'n (Pahl. *wāhmān*, NPers. *bahmān*, etc.). Sogd. *wntn* = *wntn* (Chr. *wntn*, Man. *wndn*)?—(5) "Sky."—(6) "Stars."—(7) "Noble" (pl.). On MPers. *āzn*, Av. *āsna-*, see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 953 sqq. The restoration of [*z*]'t'qt is rather dubious as such a word is not attested (*āzātāk* = *āzāte*, *āzate* "noble, free", is, of course, common).—(8) MPers.—(9) Parth. "dragon" = Sogd. "snake".—(10) MPers. "viper" = Sogd. "dragon" (Skt. *nāga*). Cf. Lüders, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1933, pp. 1020 sq., on Sogd. *kirm-* and *nāg* (*nāk*) in the animal cycle. MPers. 'qdn'y is obviously Greek *ἔχιδνα*, probably borrowed from Syriac 'kdn' (but Syr. loan-words in Iranian usually have -ā).—(11) "Astrologers," cf. Nyberg, ii, p. 7, and Buddh. *snp(t)sr-VJ.*, 22, 27, 59, 9<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>, sq., *SCE.*, 264. I should like to take this opportunity to explain a Sogdian word from a closely related sphere, namely *mγδβy*, pl. *mγδβt'* (NB. a "light stem") "minister". According to Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1920, p. 420, this is Skt. *mahādeva*: but in Sogdian *mahādeva* would surely be spelt *mγ'tyβ* or *mγ't'yβ*, pl. *mγ't'(')yβt'*. It seems to me that *mγδβ-* is Old Ir. *magupati*, borrowed by Sogdian from Parthian *mgbyd* (*BSOS.*, ix, p. 85) = *mγβεδ*, with metathesis > *mγδεβ*. Although the institution of the *Mγβεδ* as a minister (of the crown) was most likely taken from the Sasanian state, nevertheless the word itself seems to be Parthian as is suggested by the absence of *u(o)* in the first syllable (MPers. *moypet*, *moyβεδ*, *mowβεδ*, *mōβεδ*). On the other hand, Sogdian frequently fails to preserve the vowel *u*; but *mayu-* is *mwy-* in Sogdian (cf. e.g. LeCoq, *T.M.*, iii, p. 39).—(12) (13) MPers. "cooling, freezing" (NPers. *afsurdan*; Pahl. *afsār-* also "to cool down (a fire)" = "to extinguish", Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, p. 84, who has a different etymology) Sogd. (12) "cooling" (trans. *psēr-* from \**apasāraya-*, or intrans. *psir-* from \**apasrya-*), (13) "being cooled, frozen". All forms from the base of Av. *sarəta-* (cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 141; NP. *afsārdan* "to press" is probably a misspelling of *afsārdan*).—(14) "Institutions," etc., see *BBB.*, p. 86.—(15) (16) "Greeting." MPers. *ērkaš* lit. " (holding the hands) under the armpits", cf. *dast-kaš*, *Mir. Man.*, i, Av. *adairi kašāēibya*, Pahl.

*dast ērkaš* (which need not be changed into *dast* [pat] *ērkaš*), see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 73. Sogd. (16) "with crossed arms", cf. *SCE.*, 400, and *prβrtp*δ "cross-legged", *Dhyāna*, 18. The verb, *prβy-* (*pari bāraya-*), occurs in *Dhuta*, 225: *δstw pryβyr* "he crossed his arms" (*prβrtyt* Kara-Balgasun, p. 22, frag. xi, 4, is not clear).—(17)(18) "Whip." Sogd. *xušēp* from *xšvaēpa-*, cf. Av. *xšvaēwayat.aštra*, and NPers. *šēb* "whip, whipcord" (Fird.; Asadi, p. 8; *Div. Nāsir-i Khosrou*, 42<sup>13</sup>), Wakhi *rašīp* "whip" (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 538). Closely related is Buddh. *γws'yp-* "squint-eyed", see *BBB.*, p. 63. MPers. *asp-azan* "horse-whip", cf. Arm. *gavazan*, *zarazan*. MPers. *'spšwn* (*-šwn* from *šyavana-*?) occurs in an unpublished MPers. *'pswn 'y tb* "spell against the fever" (*M* 781), where *šfšyr* "sword", *cyl'n* (see below, on *g* 1, 2), and *'spšwn* "whip" follow each other.—(19) "?-teeth". Sogd. *xwrn-* = "blood" (but a separate word *\*xwrn-* "food", or "banquet", is, of course, possible), *ptxwrk* = Buddh. *ptγwrk-* *SCE.*, 23 (said to mean "dark-coloured"), or from *ptγwr-* "to lacerate, devour" (R., ii, 63<sup>8</sup>, see *BBB.*, p. 91), cf. *'ptγw'r*, *VJ.*, 313, 949. Therefore, Sogd. = "bloodstained teeth" or "blood-lacerating teeth" (? "laniaries?"). MPers. *'swd* could be *āsūd* "rubbed, blunted" (*ergo* "molar teeth?"), or *āsūd*, 1, "useless," 2, "not rubbed" (NPers. *sūde*) = "sharp teeth?" Speaking of teeth, I should like to add to my recent remarks on Sogd. *krw-δnt'k* "having defective teeth", *BSOS.*, x, p. 96: the word *krw-* still exists in modern Birjandi Persian, as *kabrā*, *kawrā* "toothless", see Ivanow, *JPASB.*, xxix, 4, p. 340. This makes it unlikely that NPers. *karv(e)* had been borrowed from Sogdian.—(20) Ptc. pres., pl. (21) 3rd pl. pres. (or subj.), (22) MPers. pret. pass. = Sogd. abstract from ptc. pass. + *ky* "became, took place", (23) iterative ptc., from MPers. *'sm-* = Sogd. (')*ps'm* both of which are unknown. It seems likely that the words are connected by etymology, notwithstanding the apparent discrepancy of the sibilants.<sup>1</sup> But MPers. *swyg* = *suyay*, Pahl. *swd* = *suy* compared to Av. *šud-* allow the derivation of MPers. *-sam-* from OIr. *-šam-*. Hence, *'sm-* = Av. *ašama-* "to swallow, gulp" (NPers. *āšāmīdan*),<sup>2</sup> Sogd. (')*ps'm-* from *\*apa-šāma-*? The appearance of an iterative, *'smg 'smg* ("by gulps"), seems to favour this assumption. On the other hand, one has to consider the Iranian base *\*šam* "to send, throw forward", which can be established through the following forms:

<sup>1</sup> One could, of course, assume a base *\*θram*.

<sup>2</sup> See also Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 252.

Sogd. *fašām-*, *fašamt-* "to send" (*BBB.*, p. 85), from OIr. \**fra-šāma-*; Saka *hašda-* "message" from \**fra-šata-*, Av. *šanmaoyō* "thrust" (*šanman-* [?] dissimilated from \**šam-man-*), Av. *Arəzō-šamana*-N.pr. "who throws himself into the battle" (cf. *arəzō-šūta-*), and possibly Av. *frāšmi-* "messenger" (a different explanation of this word and of the related forms Pahl. *frāšm*, Av. *frāšmō.dāūti-* is given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 595 sqq.; cf. also Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 65; *JA.*, 1936, i, pp. 230 sq., on Sogd. *nšmy* "west" [?" south"]; for Pahl. *pšm-* see also Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 893 sq.).—(24a) 2nd pl. imp., (24b) MPers. 3rd sing. pres. (Sogd. pret.), (25a) 2nd pl. pres., (25b) 3rd sing. subj., (27) 3rd pl. pres. (durative), "to come."—(26) "remember, bear in mind" (imp.).—(28a) "Mind."—(28b) "Memory."

## FRAGMENT c

(1st page, R.)

(1) 'šmg'n                      fn(y)[

(2) (d)r'wng'n                      [

(Lines missing)

(3) '(s)[p]y(d)                      [

(4) d'ryg'[n]                      [

(One line left blank)

(5) 'mwstyg'n                      [

(6) tsw(q'n)                      t[swyt?]

(One line left blank)

(7) [. . .]rd' [. . .]                      [

(8) [. . .]r[                      [

(1st page, V.)

(9) ['y]w t'g                      'yw wšyy

(10) ['yw                      ] I 'yjwnw('dy)

(Lines missing)

(11)                      ] (p)tmyr'k<sup>1</sup>

(12)                      ] 'ndrnyr

(13)                      ] mrytt

(14)                      ] [. . .]qδδn

(15)                      ] [. . .]jyr[. . .]

(16)                      ] [. . .]x'n[. . .]

(2nd page, R.)

(17) pn'bgz'dg                      w[

(Lines missing)

<sup>1</sup> Misspelling of *ptmr'k*? Cf. 'ntnryrh ZY *ptmr'kh* (= *padmarāga*) P 2, 980.

(18)	(pdx)[š](r)['wnd]	[
(19)	p'dyxš(')[n]	[
(20)	pyys'd	[
(21)	p's oo p'rδ	[
(22)	pdg oo ftryh	[
(23)	p . . [	[
(2nd page, V.)		
(24)	]	py'dg oo pδyy
(Lines missing)		
(25)	]	[.]k . . tyh
(26)	]	prtxyz
(27)	]g	't rytywδδ
(28)	](')	pnyyg oo ck't
(29)	](n)	pt[γ]rβyny
(30)	]	[q](r)(w)'ncy(')

(2) Or *dr'wng[.]n*; *d* rather uncertain.—(3) Or 's[.]yd[.]—(11) Or *ftryr'k*.—(23) *p'd[?] p'hr[?]*—(25) [.]*kttyb*, [.]*kp.tyb*, [.]*xttyb*, *xt[.]tyb*, or similarly.—(27) Possibly 'trytywδδ as one word.—(29) [*ptyrw'g*]n?

*Commentary*: (1/2) "Screaming demons (of wrath)?" *dr'wng'n* prob. from Parth. *dr'w-* = Pahl. *drāy-*.—(3/4) "White gold coins?" *d'ryg* = *δαρειακός*? OPers. \**dārika-* was assumed by Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 135, who proposed "*aureus*" as original meaning (it is, however, difficult to accept the presumed OPers. "short form" *dari-* from *darniya-* which seems to be modelled on the first terms in *-i* from adjectives in *-ra*, etc., in composition; Av. *zairi-*, of course, is "yellow, of gold colour", not "of gold").—(5/6) *tas(s)ūy* "a small coin (or weight)", lit. "a quarter" (*dāng*). Ar. *ṭassūḡ*, Arm. *t'asu*, etc. (also Uyğur, see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 61). *'mwst-yg-'n* is not clear (different from *'mwst* "distressed, monk", see *BBB.*, p. 26 n.).—(9) "Alone, single" (NPers. *yaktā*). For Sogd. *wš-*, cf. Buddh. *wš'wš* (cf. Pers. *gūnāgūn*, etc.), *Dhuta*, 22, "various," or "one by one". With the addition of the suffix *-ak*, this word is met with in an unpublished Man. fragment (*T ii T 22*): *viimyk pr wšwšyt rnt' mry'rṭ kyy 'jyt*, i.e. "Eighth: amongst the various precious stones the pearl alone is born."—(10) Sogd. *'yjwn-* "worthy" is well known, and so is *w'δ* "place, seat, bed" (possibly connected with Av. *vaiḍi-*, *-vāiḍi-*, Pashto *wāla*, Yidgha *wolo*, Wakhi *wād*, etc., "riverbed, irrigation channel," etc., cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 86; *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 261, 548; see also Hansen, *Karabalg.*, p. 39). Therefore, *'yjwno'dy* = having a

worthy place? " Suspectiously similar is Chr. 'žwnw'dqy', *S.T.*, i, 84<sup>20</sup> (abstract of 'žunw'dy), "sonship (*υιοθεσία*)" (lit. "the fact of obtaining the place of a son").—(12) Skt. *indranīla* "sapphire?"—(13) Probably pl. of *mry'*, *mryh* "wood". Not "emerald", which is spelt *mrkth* (pl., in an unpubl. text, *T ü D* 77) in agreement with Skt. *marakata-*, Tib. *mar-gad*, Uyğur *mrkt* (e.g., Bang-Rachmati, *Ung. Jbb.*, xv, p. 399), etc.—(14) As a possible restoration, Professor Bailey suggests [*qr*]qδδn "amethyst" (Syr. *qarkeδnā*, etc.). One might also consider [*z'*]qδδn = *z'kδn*(')k "womb", *SCE.*, 14, *Dhuta*, 266.—(17) "Born by way of a Cæsarean operation?" (*pati* + *nābay* "navel" + *zāday*?). *pn'bg* is hardly related to the word for "co-wife", which has been studied above (*a* 8). *BQ.* has *banābe*, a blunder for *niyābe* or *manābe*.—(18) "Honoured."—(19) "King, ruler."—(20) "He will adorn, or paint."—(21) "Watch." Sogd. *pārθ* from *pāθra-*, beside which we have Buddh. *p'δr* and (in all dialects) *p's*. In Sogd. it is usually "attention, respect, honour", but also "fast" (in unpubl. passages, hence Man. *nymyxšp'p's-*, *BBB.*, p. 9, "midnight fasting").—(22) "On foot, walking, runner." *pdg*, if Parthian = MPers. NPers. *paig*, Arm. *payik*, Syr. *paigā*, etc. Accordingly, Sogd. *firyh* may be an iterative ptc.-adj. (cf. above, *b* 23), from *fīr-* = OIr. *fra-tar-*. Cf. Buddh. *βī'yr-* "to walk on" (impf. *βī'yr*, frag. ii *a*, 23).—(24) Same meaning as (22). Cf. *BBB.*, p. 54.—(26) "Setting." Probably from a phrase such as \**xwrβγγγ pr txyz wβ'* "the sun was setting." Cf. *xwrtxyz* (*qyr'n*) "west", *BBB.*, p. 139.—(27) See below, *h* 14.—(28) "Forehead." MPers. *pnyyg* cannot be compared to Av. *ainika-*, NPers. *pēsānī*, etc. If Parthian, *pn-* could correspond to OIr. *parn-* (cf. Parth. *png* "leaves"), or even to OIr. *paran-*. Hence *pannīy* > \**parnīy* > \**paranīk* > \**paraniya(ka)*, derived from \**parana-* "in front" (OPers. *paranam*)?—(29) Ptc. pres. pl., from *ptγrβ-* "to grasp", etc.—(30) "Art, craft," see *BBB.*, p. 69.

FRAGMENT *d**Recto*

(1) [']cyš	c[ywyδδ]
(2) [']cc ooo	(q)[
(3) 'c oo cn o	[
(4) 'cyd'[n]	[

(5) 'cw(m)[	[	]b[
(One line left blank)		
(6) 'qn'rgwm[nd]	(p)w	kws kyr'n
(7) 'qšm[	[	]βwt
(8) 'qwn oo o	[pw	'])(r)[k] (β)[w]t
(9) 'qwmn	[	
(10) 'qn'[rg]	(p)[w	kws kyr'n]
(11) 'qrwg	[	
(12) [	[	]x[ ]
(One line left blank)		
(13) ['r	]dg	srwj'kyy
(14) ['rd'w'n pyd ?]	'xšywnny	βyy
(15) ['rd'w'n m'd]	[r']mr[']	twxβyy

*Verso*

(16) ['rd'w'n]	myδ'yt[yyt]
(17) ['rd'w pr'wh](r)	fr'n.[
(18) ['rd'w frwrdyn]	'rt'w frwrty
(19) ['rdywhyšt]	['])(r)txwštβyy
(20) ('rd[ywhyšt]	[xwrj]ncm'x
(21) 'rdywh[yšt]	['rt'](x)[w]štrwž
(22) 'rdygo'(r)	[']x'sw[']δyy
(23) 'rdyqr	[']x'[s]ryjyy
(24) '(rd)[yqr]	[']x(')sq[ryy]
(25) ['rdyqr'n]	(')x'sqryy[š]
(26) ['rdygyhyd ? ?]	[?pt]x[w]nng βwt
(27) ['rdyq]	''(x)'s
(28) ['rdy](kr)[yh]	[']x[sqrky']
(29) ('rxx) oo oo	s(m)[
(30) 'rxyz oo oo	'r[cyc oo]
(31) 'rs o o o	[
(32) 'rw(ys) [oo]	[

(2b) Or (m) [, (β)[.—(29) Reading very uncertain : ('rzk) ?

*Commentary* : It should be borne in mind that the text as printed here consists mainly of restorations.—(1) "From him" (MPers. as postposition also "from").—(2) "Also from" (?). Sogd. *m[s cn]* ?—(3) "From."—(4) "From you," or "from your . . ."—(5) "From me," or "from my . . ." Bartholomae's rule for the use of pronominal suffixes with prepositions certainly does not hold good for Man.



MPers.—(6) MPers. “unlimited”. Sogd. “without side and direction (border, limit)”. Cf. also Buddh. (‘)pw kyr(‘)n, *Dhuta*, 58. For *kws* see Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 51.—(8) “Not acting, inactive.” For Sogd., see above, a 19.—(9) “Akōman” (Evil Thought). Not attested in Man. texts.—(10) = (6).—(11) “Unskilled, inexperienced.”—(13) Unknown. -wj’k- reminds one of Uyγur *užak* “letter, akšara” which is spelt *wjk’k* in Man. Sogd. (*BBB.*, pp. 65, 84). But “capital letter” is not a likely word to have in Sogdian.—(14) “The King-God,” probably = the chief Man. deity (Sogd. *zrw’βγγγ*, cf. Ar. *maliku* ‘lanwār, MPers. *šāh ī rōšnān*, etc.).—(15) “The Mother of Life.”—(16) “Electi.” Note the purely Buddhist term “*Tathāgatas*” in the Sogd. translation. It is quite in conformity to Manichæan ideas that every *electus* is assured of the redemption and freed from the bonds of metempsychosis: he is, indeed, a *tathāgata*.—(17) Sogd. “breath-”, apparently rendering MPers. (‘rd’w) *pr’whr*, the first Man. element, cf. Greek (Copt.) ἀήρ, Lat. *aer*, Arab. *nasīm*, Uiy. *tintura* (*tīn* = “breath”), Chin. 氣 *k’i* “breath, air”. Outside the series of the elements, MPers. *pr’whr* also occurs as “air” in an unpublished fragment of Mani’s *Book of the Giants*: *s’m pyš hwrčšyd* [ ] *st o yk dst pd pr’whr o yk* [ “Sām [stood] . . . before the sun, one hand (held up) in the air, the other. . .”.—(18) First Man. element.<sup>1</sup>—(19) = Av. *Aša-vahišta*. Not met with in Man. texts, therefore function in Man. system unknown. Without -βγγ, Sogd. *’rtxwšt* = third Man. element.—(20) Name of the second month; cf. Sogd. *xwrjnyc*, *Orientalia*, viii, p. 94.—(21) Name of the third day of the month. Cf. Sogd. *’rt’wxwšt*, *ibid.*, pp. 90, 94.—(22) “Battlefield” (cf. above, on c 10).—(23) “Fighter,” “bellicose.”—(24) Fighter, soldier.”—(25) “Warriors.”—(26) The restoration of Sogd. (“killing takes place”), is perhaps not correct. Should Sogd. *’nxwnc* “fight” be connected with *’nxw’y* (cf. *BBB.*, p. 63), one could perhaps restore [‘n]x[w]nng.—(27) “Fight, battle.”—(28) “Fighting.”—(29) If *’rzk*, cf. Pahl. *’lck* = *arzak* “free, released” (e.g. *GrBd.*, 50<sup>9</sup>), Arm. loan-word *arjak* (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 425, who over-estimates the value of the Pazend transcription). If *’rzz*, possibly = Av. *arəzahi*, the name of the eastern *kišwar*. The translation given by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, p. 202, is wrong. It is true that there is some confusion about *arəzahi savahi* in later Pahlavi books, but the most reliable texts place *Arəzahi* in the east and *Savahi* in the west (cf. Nyberg, ii, pp. 21, 203; note the confusion of

<sup>1</sup> See below, r 4.

the MSS., *Gr. Bd.*, 55, cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, p. 65). However, quite apart from the Pahlavi evidence, the Avestan texts suffice to demonstrate our contention. That in enumerations *Arəzahi* always precedes *Savahi*, is, perhaps, not a very strong argument. But in *Yasht*, x, 67, *Miθra* is said to fly in his sun-chariot from the *Kišwar* of *Arəzahi* to the *Kišwar* of *Xvaniraθa* (which is in the centre of the world), clearly from the eastern part of the world towards the centre. It is merely due to etymological speculations that the sun has been made to move from the west to the east by the interpreters of the Avesta.—Only few Sogd. words begin in *sm-*, e.g. *sm'n* "sky", *sm'ytyh* "consolation", Chr. *smynt* "blind", *sm'yr* "Sumeru", *smwtr-* "ocean" (Chr. *swmnr* is probably a corrupt form of *samudra*: *samudr* > \**sundar* > *sumnar*? *S.T.*, i, 77<sup>o</sup>, read *swmnr[yzm]py*).—(30) "Tin, lead" (Arm. *arčič*, etc.).—(31) "A tear."—(32) "A rope" (cf. *S.T.*, ii, p. 603).

## FRAGMENT e

## Recto

(1) ['b ]oo 'ngw[ ]	['b
(2) ['by ](l)'g oo pw δr[ ]	[']by'ng oo r[ ]c[ ]
(3) ['bgryy]'g oo r'ynyh	'brwc oo frwwq
(4) ['brwj]'gyn oo y'lyncyγ	(Blank)
(5) ['g ]t'r oo prβ'r	'gyryšnyy o pw ptcxšy
(6) ['g ]twm	'γrtyst'r
(7) ['gyrdg'ryh'h ? ]	pr n'kt'rky'h

## Verso

(8) [ ]	[.]'t'r[ ]
(9) ['gry](c) o kt'r '[tyh]	[']gyrdg'r o n['kt'r]q]
(10) 'g o prδβn	'gwb o kδ' '[tyh]
(11) 'gryft o pw 'kšyc	'gryc o wβy[w]
(12) 'gdnyft o 'ys'mndy	'gr'w o pt[ ]
(13) 'gr'wqwnyšn	šyr['ktyh]
(14) 'gr'w o s'rst	[ ]
(11) To be read 'xšyc?	

*Commentary*: (1) Sogd. could be "finger" or "honey", or possibly "asa foetida" (Saka *aṅgušdā*, etc., cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 913).—(2a) Numerous Sogd. words begin in *δr-*. I take this opportunity to supplement my note on Sogd. *δrt'yc*, *Vim.* 31,<sup>1</sup> Man. *δrtyc*

<sup>1</sup> See also F. Weller, *Asia Major*, x, p. 332. Sogd. *kysn'k* (in the same line) "luxuriant vegetation" (also *Dhuta*, 257), should be compared to Yidgha *kesina* "forest" (*IIFL.*, ii, p. 221). Cf. also *BBB.*, p. 104 (on f. 56).

“dung, manure”, *BBB.*, p. 102 (on *f* 8): this word still exists in Eastern Ir. dialects, e.g. Wakhi *ḡort* “manure”, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 521, and is attested also for Khwarezmian: *ḡirts*.—(2*b*) Possibly “bridle”, from Av. *aiwi.dāna-* (Saka *byāna*, Pashto *mlūna*, etc.), which, however, is *βyδ'n* (*VJ.*, 1419), *βδ'nh* (*Dhuta*, 166), in Sogdian, see Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, p. 241. Or MPers. *aβiyānaγ* > NPers. *biyānak* “rushes” (“a plant used for weaving *būriyā*”, *BQ.*)?—(3*a*) “Weeping.” Cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 204<sup>32</sup>, *'bgryy*.—(3*b*) “Flash, flame, lustre, brightness,” etc.—(4) “Flashing, flaming.” Sogd. is borrowed from Uiyur *yalinčy* (*yalin* “flame”).—(5) Sogd. “vehicle, chariot” (Skt. *yāna*).—(6) “Unseizability, unprehensibility.”—(6) Elative of \**γrtyy*, which is probably the same word as Buddh. *'ny'rtk*, *Vim.* 31, 89 (ed. *'zy'rtk*) = Chin. 滋 *tsi* (see F. Weller on the passages), “muddy, juicy, rich, fertile.”—(7) “Inactively, inefficiently.” *-y'*-abstract of *n'kt'rk* (see below, 9*b*), *kt'rk* Bahuvrihi compound, *k(r)t*+*'rk* “work, deed”.—(9*a*) “Or even.” *'gryc* is MPers. *'gr* “if” + *c*-suffix. The rendering “or (even)” was probably taken from a passage similar to *Mir. Man.*, ii, 297<sup>1-2</sup>: *'gr . . . 'gr . . . u 'gr* (= *'gryc*) “*sive . . . sive . . . sive*”.—(9*b*) “Ineffective, inactive, powerless,” see above, 7.—(10*a*) Sogd. “damage, danger”. Hence, MPers. *'g* = Av. *aka-* (or *aya-*), NPers. *āk* (for NP. *-k*, cf. e.g. NP. *tārīk* from MPers. *t'ryg*).—(10*b*) Sogd. “(even) if”. Hence, *'gwb* = Parth. *'g* “if” + the suffixed particle Parth. *-wb*, which stresses the first word of a sentence. Cf. *'wh-wb*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, and the following line from an unpublished fragment: *mrd-wb mrd'n 'frdwm š'h 'yy*, etc. “Thou art the Man, the most exalted of men, the king,” etc. (*M* 274). Possibly *-(w)b* = OIr. *-api*? One might also compare Sogd. *'cuty-p* (etc.), if it could be established that this suffix were different from the enclitical pronoun *-f*.—(11*a*) MPers. “not seized”, or “unseizable”, or, if *grift* here = “crime” (cf. *Air. Wb.*, s.v. *ā.gərəpta-*), “free from crime.” Sogdian either *'kšyc* (cf. Av. *aka-* “hook”, NPers. *ākağ*, *ākanğ* “grapnel”?), or *'xšyc* from \**xš-* (cf. *S.T.*, ii, p. 575, s.v. *'nd'yšcy*) < \**(')xš-* (*BBB.*, pp. 54 sq.) “to pull” or “to draw near, attract”?—(11*b*) Sogd. “at one time”. Hence, *'gryc* Parthian = Man. MPers. *hgryc* (NPers. *hargiz*, etc.).—(12*a*) “Arrival.”—(12*b*) MPers. “nice, splendid, magnificent,” cf. above, *a* 23.—(13) “Acting in a nice, praiseworthy, decent manner” = “pious”.—(14*a*) MPers. = (12*b*). Sogd. *s'rst* translates Syr. *p'y* “pulcher, decorus”, see

<sup>1</sup> Cf *'nyš-* in the text quoted below in the note on *f* 17? (p. 34, n. 3).

*S.T.*, ii, p. 595. This translation suits all instances of MPers. 'gr'w (abstr. 'gr'yy), Parth. 'rg'w (abstr. 'rg'wyft), Pahl. Inscr. 'gl'y (= aγrā; abstr. 'gl'dyhy). In recent discussions on this word numerous non-existent forms have been quoted; in Man. MPers. and Parth. only the four forms quoted here occur (i.e. apart from merely orthographical variants). Cf. Man. MPers. 'rd'w: 'rd'yy, Parth. 'rd'w: 'rd'wyft, Pahl. Inscr. (and Ps.) 'w'y: 'w'dyhy.

FRAGMENT *f**Recto*

(1) ['sp](w)rzyqyn	sp(rzyh)
(2) ['](s)pyd(d)'r	š(n')sryh
(3) ['s](t)[.](n)w'r	qwndyryh
(4) ]sg	[p](r) δβjnyh
(5) ]	sprync nsnng
(6) ]	('šn)[ ] oo (c) .. (n)[
(7) ]	yxwngcyqy'h
(8) ['šn'](xt)'ryh	ptz'n'mndyh
(9) ['šn'xt o] m'p'y	'šn'xt oo f'šn'[ ]
(10) ['š](k)yft oo šxyh	'šk'ft oo q'[βt- ]
(11) ['š](k)br'n oo βγwδt	'šfrz oo šr(p)[z- ?]
(12) ['šn'xt] oo ptyβyδ	'š(nw)myd oo xšn[
(13) [ ]st	βn'jδ'r[t]
(14) [ ](wx)	'šknyd oo 'nxw(')[yt]
(15) [ ]	'škr(y)d oo [

*Verso*

(16) ['](šqn)yšn oo	('nšynd')[?]
(17) 'šknhyyn	s'npt[w']rt[yyh]
(18) 'šn'z'g	f(sn)['ynyh ?]
(19) 'šnwhryh	β[
(20) 'šnwhrcn ooo	[
(21) 'škfs(ynd)	[
(22) 'škfsynd	[
(23) 'škng oo frxw'k	'š[
(24) 'škng oo 'wryzyh	'šmg[
(25) ['š](k)ng oo prštyh	'šks(t) oo m[nxw'y ?]
(26) ['š]tyrg oo ptyrk	'škmb oo [

- (27) [ʻ]štyrg oo s(p)nync 'šky(b)[  
 (28) (ʻ)štyrg oo 'wjyndyy 'š[  
 (29) 'št'h oo 'skw' '[

(2b) Very uncertain.—(3) Probably 'st[w]nw'r or 'st[y]nw'r.—(11) Or [ʻš](k).br'n.—  
 (13) [ʻškrw]st? —(16) Reading extremely doubtful. (a) [ʻ]špyšn? (b) 'nšyyd' [ʻ? Even  
 'nšyyß [not quite impossible.— (27) Or possibly *synyc*.

*Commentary*: (1) Probably "splenic" (Av. *spərəza*, etc.).—(2) MPers. (if correctly deciphered) " (white) poplar " = NPers. *isfīd(d)ār*, Pahl. *spyt'd'r* (e.g., *GrBd.*, 116<sup>10</sup>), etc.—(3) MPers. *əstūnwār* would be "like a column", and for 'stynw'r one might compare Pahl. *stēnak*, etc. But the Sogd. word creates difficulties. In the published material there is only one Sogdian word to be found that begins with *kwnd-* (= Buddh. *kwnt-*), namely *kwnt'yk* "pitcher" (*VJ.*, 437, 38<sup>e</sup>, 22<sup>d</sup>, 1082, 1156, etc.; erroneously read *kwz'yk* by Gauthiot), evidently borrowed from Skt. *kuṇḍikā*. Now, the crucial letter of the MPers. word, *n*, is uncertain, and it is, perhaps, permitted to conjecture *r* instead. That would enable us to restore [ʻs](t)[h](r)w'r: MPers. *əstahr* (NPers. *istazr*, etc.) "water-hole, pond" would agree nicely with Sogd. \**kuṇḍ* = Skt. *kuṇḍa* "water-hole, cistern, pool, well" (MPers. *-wār* admits several interpretations).—(4) Sogd. *δβjnyh* can belong to Buddh. *nyδβ'yž-*, etc., see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, pp. 236 sq., or (and this is by far more likely) to Buddh. *δβ'yž-* *SCE.*, 461. = Chr. *tyž<sup>-1</sup>*, *S.T.*, ii, "to gain," which is evidently connected with Sogd. *δβxš-* (see above, a 5). Hence Sogd. *θβαž-* from OIr. *θuāja-*, Sogd. *θβēž-*, *θfēž-* from OIr. *θuājaya-*, and Sogd. *θβxš-* from OIr. *θuaxš* (i.e. *tuag-s*), to which we may add Sogd. \**θβαγd* (NPers. *alfayd*) from OIr. *θuaxta*.—Of course, Sogd. *δβj-* can also represent Av. *-δwaža-*, *Air. Wb.*, p. 763.—(5) Both Sogd. words are unknown. *nsnng* (i.e., *nəsang*; Pahl. *nisang* is "little") is probably a fem. subst. For Sogd. *sprync*, cf. *sprync'* below *g* 3. \**sparēnč* dissimilated from *spanēnč* "of iron" (fem. adj., in *S.T.*, ii, also subst. "iron")? On the other hand, *sprync* = \**spreñj* could belong to the base *sparg*, cf. Khovar lw. *isprenfik* "to blossom", see Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 662.—(7) Sogd. "discernment". As the MPers. equivalent one has probably to restore [ʻšn'x'ryh]. Sogd. *yxwng* which occurs below (*g* 4 sqq.) several times, is derived from *yxw'y-* "to separate, divide" (*BBB.*, p. 59), and seems to mean "discerning, faculty of

<sup>1</sup> Chr. *tyž-*, *S.T.*, i, 12<sup>13</sup>, is probably a dialectical form of the same word (showing the same treatment of OIr. *θy-* as, e.g. *ctβ'r*).

discerning, reason" <sup>1</sup>.—(8) "Knowledge, cognition."—(9a) "He recognized, perceived" (for Sogd. \*p'y- see *BBB.*, p. 90).—(9b) Same. Sogd. f'sn'[s? Impf. of \*f'sn's- from OIr. \*fra-(x)šnāsa-?—(10a) See above, a 21.—(10b) "Split."—(11a) Pl. of \*škbr = βγwδ. Sogd. βγwδ clearly denotes some sort of "covering" (cf. Buddh. \*γ'wδ, ptγ'wδ, etc.), and MPers. əškaβr <sup>2</sup> seems to represent OIr. \*skabra-, from the base skamb "to stem, prop". Hence, "a covering which is propped up," e.g. "roof", or "ceiling", etc.—(11b) The words are etymologically identical. Perhaps MPers. šfrz is the original of Talm. šwprzy, šprzyyn' "a tall wine-cup" (S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, pp. 208 sq.).—(12a) "He recognized."—(12b) "He propitiates" (etc.), a denominative verb, from MPers. šnūm (šnōm), cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 214. The Sogdian translator used a similar form, xšn[wom-? By the way, it seems possible that Sogd. 'xšn'm "absolution" continues OIr. \*xšnāuma.—(13) Cf. Sogd. n'j-, *BBB.*, p. 94 (b 60), where *Dhyāna* 401 should be added. According to F. Weller, *Mon. Serica*, ii, p. 382, Buddh. n'ž- is "to turn, roll". While it is naturally impossible to guess the meaning of βn'j- (i.e. abi + n'j-), one might conjecture "stumble", since the restoration of MPers. [škrwy]st seems to impose itself. After all, the number of MPers. preterits in -st which begin in š-, is rather small (škt is too short). MPers. škrwyst is attested in *Mir. Man.*, i, see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 315 (the spelling škrwst, at the end of a line, is not a scribal error, but conforms to normal Man. rules of orthography). See also my note, *BSOS.*, x, p. 508. In NPers. we have not only šikarfīdan (šig-), but also šikarvīdan (Jewish Pers. škrw-, *Jer.*, 8, 12 Lag.).—(14) "He breaks" (quoted *BBB.*, p. 59).—(15) "He hunts."—(16) MPers. "breaking", but the reading is unreliable. If Sogd. is 'nšyyβ[, cf. Chr. 'šybody, *S.T.*, ii, "hidden"? Buddh. 'nš'yp, *Vim.* 75, is "taking upon oneself" or "attraction", according to Weller, *Asia Major*, x, p. 349. This would hardly suit 'nš'yp- *Dhuta*, 45, 275, still less *Frag.* iii, 57, 67, where "to hide, bury" would fit excellently (to my mind, "rapprocher" and "appliquer" have not much in common; Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 52 sq.).—(17) MPers. "breaking up, destroying the enemy's army" (OIr. \*skanda(ya)t. haēnā-). Sogd. s'n "enemy" renders MPers. hēn (Arm. hēn) "hostile army", hence MPers. škn- = Sogd. pt[. ]rt[. For the tentative restoration of pt[w]rt[yy, see *BBB.*, p. 78 (on 641), where a passage from *T M* 393 is quoted which I give here in full: (1) [w'n]kw c'n'kw ZY 'yw s'n ptw'yr't'k 'wt'kw (2) 'skwty kwrd ZY ZK 'δw cp'yš ZY ZK

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ywnk*- "dissection" P 2, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Arm. *skavarak* would be \*škwrg in Man. MPers.

*pncw* (3) *š'yknw ZKw 'wt'kw cnn s'nty p't'k δ'rnty* (4) *rtpts'r ZK 'δw srδ'nkwr rm pncw š'ykn'y* (5) *cywyδ 'nyš'ynty rtyw 'wt'k ktsknt'k* (6) *β'y ZY pr'γs'y rtms ZKh 'βc[ 'npδ]* (7) *dywyδ s'ny ptw'rt'k 'wt'kw m'nkw [γcy rty]* (8) *'γw γwr ZY m'γγ ZKn 'δw [cp'yš (or : srδ'nk) m'nkw γnt]* (9) *rtγw pncw mrd'sp'nty γwty [ZKn pncw]* (10) *š'ykn'y m'nkw γnt* " (The world) is like a region (country) which is *s'n-ptw'yrt'k*, where two generals<sup>1</sup> and five camps<sup>2</sup> protect the region from the enemies. But afterwards, those two generals, together with the five camps, retire<sup>3</sup> from it (region), and the region is laid waste and left desolate. Now the world is like this *s'ny-ptw'rt'k* region, sun and moon are like the two generals, and the five elements are like those five camps". If *ptw'rt-* = MPers. *'škn-, s'n(y)-ptw'(y)rt'k* probably = "driving, scaring away the enemy", rather than "threatened by an enemy," as I had suggested. Hence, *patwārte* (*patwērtē*) from the stem of the present, *pātī + vart.*—(18) Probably "swimming", or "bathing, washing". MPers. *āšnāz-* from the base *snā*. The formation of the stem recalls Saka *ysānāj-* (on the other hand, MPers. *āšnāz-* could also be derived from Av. *-snāda-* since there are several cases of MPers. or Parth. *-āz-* from *-āδ-*; that, of course, does not apply to the Saka verb). Pahl. *šn'p-*, supported by NPers. *šināvīdan*, could as well be *šn'č-*.—(19) MPers. "grace."—(20) Parth. "grateful."—(21) (22) "They split up."—(23) "Chopping," a certain dish (see *BSOS.*, x, p. 99).—(24) "Fracture, breach," etc. Sogd. *'wryz-* is used of ripe fruit: *'ty wnd' βryyβrynyyt zrywnyyt kyy 'tyšn xw βryy kδ'c nyy 'wryzt nyy pwt 'ty nyy kyrmyy βwt* "and fruit-bearing green trees, of which the fruit never *'wryz-t*, never decays, and never becomes worm-eaten" (from *M* 178, a description of the paradise). Here *'wryz-* is either "to drop" ("to break from the branch"), or "to burst open". Possibly the word belongs to the base *\*yrai-*<sup>4</sup>, cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* s.v. *urvaēd* (Yidgha, etc., *vri-*: *vrišk-*, etc., "to break" is *\*braiš* acc. to Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 258 sq.).—(24b) "Demon of wrath."—(25a) MPers. = (23) (24a).

<sup>1</sup> *Čapiš* = *sarhang*; in the former Müller has recognized the prototype of Turk. *čauš* (*Mahrn.*, p. 32, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Normally *š'ykn-* is "palace", or "castle". The image of the "camp" was a favourite with Manichaeans, cf. e.g. *Hom.*, 5, 11; *Keph.*, 142, 170, 172; Allberry, *Psalm-book*, register s.v. *παρεμβολή*. Turk. *ordu*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *'nyš'ynty* = 3rd pl. opt. (parabolic optative; cf. Man. MPers. and Parth.); cf. *'zš* (?) above, ε 11 ?

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomae assumed *\*urvizaiti* "to lace" for Av. *urvizō.maidyā-*, Yasht, 17, 11. However, *urvizō* may stand for *urvizō = urvi.aza-* "narrowly, tightly lacing" (cf. *nyāza-*). Av. *-urvizāna-* belongs to *urvaēs-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *'ruzš*.

For similarly spelt Sogd. words, see *BBB.*, p. 98 (on c 37). One can hardly compare *p(r)št* "lip(s)" (cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 239 sq.).—(25b) "He broke."—(26b) "Stomach."—(27b) "patient-" (see *Mir. Man.*, iii, s.v.).—(26–8) MPers. 'štyrg is unknown, and the three Sogd. translations do not help us very much. The only hope, it seems, lies in restoring Syr. 'štrk' "scalpellus", which was declared a mistake (for *nštrk'* = Arm. *nštrak*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 206) by Fr. Müller. If 'štyrg is "lancet", Professor Bailey thinks one might compare NPers. *usture* (Pahl. *usturak*) "razor", Saka *istīdā* "he scrapes off" (tr. Skt. *likhet*). All these words, I believe, belong to the base \**star* which we have in Parth. 'wyst-, Pahl. 'wstl- "to cleanse, wipe off" (cf. *BSOS.*, x, p. 509)<sup>1</sup>. One could even go one step farther and postulate a base \*(s)ter which could serve also for Sogd. *ptyrk* (26) and Sogd. *prtr-* "to wipe off" (*BBB.*, p. 74 n., *BSOS.*, x, p. 101; Benveniste compares Lat. *tero*). Hence (27) *spnync* [?] "an iron (instrument)?" However, all this is upset by (28) 'wյndyy, which seems to belong to 'wյnd (inf.) "to dismount" (*BBB.*, p. 60; the -n-form reminds one of Sogd *zy'nt*, *žynť*, Parth. 'jgnđ, Syr. *izgaddā* "messenger", which is usually derived from Babyl. *ašgandu*, but has often been suspected of an Iranian origin; Pashto *zyāstəl* is also "to hurry").—(29) "You should be, stay" (Parth. 2nd sg. subj., Sogd. 2nd sg. imp. or subj.).

FRAGMENT *g**Recto*

- (1) (c)[yl'n oo] cyđnyĥ
- (2) cyl'n oo oo xnγr oo
- (3) [. . . .] oo sprync'
- (4) [y]xwngptz'nnyyt
- (5) yxwngptz'nky'ĥ
- (6) yxwngptz'nky'ĥ
- (7) δ'tcyq 'krty'ĥ
- (8) cym oo oo yxwngg
- (9) cym oo oo ptyrn
- (10) cybg oo smwq
- (11) cyryy oo oo skrtky'ĥ
- (12) cyryst oo kryšđ'rt
- (13) (cy)rdr oo skrtyst(r)
- (14) cyhr'wynd oo kršn'w
- (15) ptyrnxwjyyť

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NPers. *suturđan* "cleanse, wipe off, shave".



- (16) qrw'n'mndy<sub>h</sub>  
 (17) [            ](t)t βw[t]

## Verso

- (18) cyrtwm oo (w)[  
 (19) cyg'myc oo  
 (20) cybyc oo [  
 (21) cyryys(t) [oo]  
 (22) c'yyšn oo  
 (23) cyd oo oo r'mnd oo oo  
       (One line left blank)  
 (24) cxšyd oo pcšt'ḥ  
       (One line left blank)  
 (25) clp' oo šwwq  
       (One line left blank)  
 (26) cmbyyšn  
 (27) (cm)b oo tγ'(m)  
 (28) cmb oo wyn'ḥ  
 (29) cmb oo cmxwy oo  
 (30) cmb oo cyngry' oo  
 (31) cm'm o[o            ]oo

(12) Or *xryš*.—(18) Possibly (y)[ = y'(z)yst'r ?

*Commentary* : (1, 2, 3) NPers. *čilān* is (" jujube " and) " various iron instruments ", cf. Sogd. *sprync'* (3) ? See above on f 5, 27. MPers. *cyl'n* (cf. Pahl. *cyl'nkl*-, Pahl. *Vd.* 8, 90), usually denotes some kind of weapon, probably " dagger ", cf. above, b 18 (*čilān* beside *šufšēr* " sword "), and the Sogd. transl. *xnyr* " sword, dagger " (Chr. *xyr*, *S.T.*, ii, Ar.-Pers. *xanjar*, Wakhi *xingār*, Sköld, p. 169, Khowar *khongor*, Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 668, etc.). Sogd. *cydnyḥ* is, of course, the same word which is also to be found in Saka : *cālon*- *E.* xxv, 408 (*kādara* = MPers. *šufšēr* in the following line).—(4) " Those who know the reason (or : the distinction). " For *yxwnng* (= *ixwang*), see above, f 7. MPers. probably [*cymyšn's'n*].—(5) (6) " Recognition of the reason (the distinction). " MPers. [*cymyšn'xt'ryy*] and [*cymyšn'syšn*] ?—(7) " Lawful action. "—(8) Pahl. *čim* " reason, cause ", and " meaning ". NPers. *čem* is exclusively " meaning, sense " (*ma'nā*).—(9) = (8) ? For a discussion of Sogd. *ptyrn*, see *BBB.*, p. 64.—(10) MPers. *cybg* occurs twice in *Mir. Man.*, i, pp. 196, 198 (*cybg*), in a list of human frailties. Sogd. *smwq*, otherwise unknown can perhaps be defined

with the help of NPers. *samuk* (Dict.) "conceit, foolishness".—(11) MPers. *čēr* (= NPers.) is "triumphant, victorious, brave, overpowering, tyrannical" (cf. *GGA.*, 1935, p. 14<sup>1</sup>). That establishes the meaning of Sogd. *skrtty*. (11) abstr., (13) comp., (18) superl., cf. Buddh. *y'γ-* "brave".—(12) Denominative from (11)? Or else the preterit of an intrans.-pass. verb, representing OIr. *č(a)rya-*, with several bases *kar* to choose from. Cf., e.g. MPers. *przryr-*, *ZII.*, ix, p. 206, Pahl. *wč(y)l-* (*Kn.* i, 44,<sup>2</sup> cf. *GGA.*, 1935, p. 19), etc. If Sogd. is *kryš-*, one might prefer *kar*<sup>4</sup> and explain *kryš-* from Av. *karš*<sup>3</sup> (cf. *qrwš BBB.*, pp. 101 sq.). The reading *xryš-* (NPers. *xarēš* = *xarāš-* "to scratch?") Cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 515), is perhaps less likely.—(14) "Endowed with (beautiful) forms, looks," "beautiful." The translation "(beautiful) form, looks, beauty", as proposed, *BBB.*, p. 93, is confirmed by all occurrences of the word (collected by Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 512 sq.). It is not an emotionally neutral word, and it is never used of ugly or disagreeable objects. This also applies to MPers. *čīhr*. In *Vim.* 87 Sogd. *kršn* renders Chin. 姿 *tsī* "form, looks, view, beauty".—(15) Sogd. "Those who seek the cause?" MPers. [*cymxw'h'n*] ?—(16) "Acting, effecting, performance, execution." From Chr. (*pr*) *qrwn* (inf.), *S.T.*, i, 63<sup>14</sup>, 68<sup>22</sup> (*kar-* + *wn-*?; cf. NPers. *kārkun*, *kārgar*, etc.).—(18) See (11).—(19) "Something, a little," cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 82.—(20) Probably *cy* + *byc* "but because". Cf. *m'byc*, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 298<sup>22</sup>, spelt as one word.—(21) = (12).—(22) "Mourning." MPers. *cy-* is always "to mourn, lament" (for a collection of passages, see *ZII.*, ix, pp. 181 sqq.\*; cf. *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 358). Cf. *M* 20c: *cyyšn 'wd r'b 'y dyn 'wš w'ng 'yg 'whnngyn*, "the mourning and imploring of the religion, and its sorrowful voice." Cf. also Khwarezmian *atsiy-* (impf. *matsiy-*) "to mourn".—(23) "Always."—(24) "To taste" (2nd pl. imp. or pres.). MPers. *čaxš-*, Jewish Pers. *čaxš-*, NPers. *čašīdan* (cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 253; Geiger, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 412), etc., can hardly be separated from Sogd. *pcš-* (*S.T.*, i, 15<sup>1</sup>; Buddh. 'pc's-, *SCE.*, 77). On Arm. *čašak*, etc., see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 187.—(25) Sogd. *šwq* (*šwk*) is "pen, qalam", see *BBB.*, pp. 64 sq. It is difficult to account for MPers. *clp'* which has the appearance of an Aramaic word. \**qalmā* > \**qalpā* > \**čalpā*? It is, of course, possible that there were several Sogd. words *šw(w)k* (cf. e.g., *BBB.*, p. 65, n. 1). There are

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., the proposal to change Pahl. *vāt ī artū* (*artāk*) is to be abandoned. The phrase is frequent in Pahl. Cf. *yav-ardā(k)*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Not *vičār-*, see *GGA.* 1935, p. 19. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 248, agrees with my reading, whilst Zaehner, *JRAS.*, 1940, p. 41, has the wrong spelling.

\* and pahl. *čītār*, *čīh-išnīk* "mournful" *Kn.* xv, 11; xvi, 1 (49 pu., 52, 7 ed. Antia).

several Aramaic words available which could be transcribed *clp'* (e.g. Mand. *šylp'* "whip"). One might even consider NPers. *čilpā(y)* (Bal. *čilphāḍay*) "centipede", which, of course, should be spelt *clp'y* (*cylp'y*).—(26–31) I do not know a single MPers. or NPers. word *čamb*, and the number of words that begin in *čamb-* is small (*čambar* "ring", etc., *čambak* = Skt. *campaka-*, NPers. dict. *čumba*<sup>1</sup> "stick, bar, mallet", *čumbak* "magnet", Sogd. *cmbt'ryh* above, a 1). There is, however, the possibility of *m̄b* replacing *-m*, so that *cmb* "ford" (27) could belong to *cm-* "walk, stride, run" (31), cf. *cm-* *Mir. Man.*, iii, Arm. *čem-*, NPers. *čam-*, etc. Similarly, (26) *cmbyyšn* could be "walking", etc., or perhaps rather "lavatory" (cf. Arm. *čemiš*; for Pahl. *čamišn* see *Šnš.*, iii, 9, and note, x, 5, ed. Tavadia; see also *Pahl. Vd.*, xviii, 44, p. 205<sup>b</sup> Sp.). Sogd. (28) *wyn'h* is (either "you should see" or) "lute", *wyn'* in an unpublished text (*M* 135), Skt. *vīṇā*, etc. MPers. *cmb* = *čem(b)*, *čem(b)* [?] borrowed from Chin. 琴 *k'in* > *g'īem* (Karlgren, 386) "guitar, lute?" Sogd. (29) *cmxwy* is not to be compared to Buddh. *cnṛwy* (on which *BBB.*, p. 86), but may be a Chinese loan-word = "repentance", cf. Uigur *čamχui*, Bang-Gabain, *Index*, p. 476. Sogd. *cyngry'* could be the name of a musical instrument, cf. NPers. *čangal(e)*, etc. (see Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 17; for the *-i-* of *čingarya*, cf. Av. *pəšō.čingha-*)?

FRAGMENT *h*1st frag., *Recto*

- (1) [            ]h'h  
 (2) [b](s)tg'(n)[oo] βsty [  
 (3) [            ](h)yn(d)

1st frag., *Verso* (blank)2nd frag., *Recto*

- (4)            ](y)h  
 (5)            ] βwt  
 (6)            ](k)y'mnty

(Remainder of the page, 7 lines, left blank)

2nd frag., *Verso*

- (7) br[w]g[  
 (8) br'[d  
 (9) bry(d)[  
 (10) brsw[m

<sup>1</sup> See Asadi, s.v.

- (11) brpš oo (δ)mp(t)[yr ?] + 17 ?  
 (12) brynz 'ym[.] + 18 ?  
 (13) brgwd oo t̄wγp'δδ + 19 ?  
 (14) brγwd oo ryt̄γwwδδ + 20 ?  
 (15) brmg o r'yycyq + 21 ?  
 (16) bry'n oo p̄tnyyz[ ] + 22 ?

3rd frag., *Recto*

(blank)

3rd frag., *Verso*

- (17) ? brm]yd oo r''[yt̄ ?  
 (18) ? β](r)'xs'(')[m ?  
 (19) ? b](r)n'd oo (x)w[  
 (20) ]brbnd oo tr̄x[  
 (21) ? ]brz(yn) oo s'c(q)[  
 (22) ? ](b)rhyng'n o βγ[nȳt̄ ?

4th frag., *Recto*

- (23) ]yh  
 (24) (k) ]tryyt̄  
 (25) ? p̄tny]yz'nd̄t̄  
 (26) [br.]g o špyrt̄'kp'δy  
 (27) [b]rhy' o jwnd̄ty βry

(Remainder of the page, 4 lines, left blank)

4th frag., *Verso*

- (28) bš[  
 (29) bš[  
 (30) b(š)[  
 (31) bšn[  
 (32) bšnwg o mδ(y)'[n]  
 (33) bšn'n o ms  
 (34) bšnbyd o ms  
 (35) bš oo βycy'h  
 (36) bš oo mδy'n  
 (37) bš oo γnš

1st frag., *Recto* = 1st col.—2nd frag., *Recto* = 2nd col.—2nd frag., *Verso* = 1st col.—  
 3rd frag., *Verso* = 2nd col.—4th frag., *Recto* = 2nd col.—4th frag., *Verso* = 1st col.—  
 (2) Uncertain.—(11) *δmptyr*: very dubious (in particular, *t*); also *lmp.* possible.—(12)  
*brynz'ym*, as one word? *brynz'ym[γ]* unsatisfactory.—(14) MS. *dyt̄*.—(18) Or *b](r)'xs-*?  
 Initial letters covered up by manuscript note on the glass plate, hence verification  
 impossible.—(19) Possibly *ku*[-.—(20) Possibly *trk*[-.—(21) *brzyh*? *brzyr*? Sogd. could  
 be read *s'cb*[-, or *s'cβ*[-.—(26) Or *šfyr*-.—(27) Two points underneath *w* (= *ju'nd̄ty*).

*Commentary*: It seems likely that the 3rd frag. formed part of the same page as the 2nd frag., so that the lines 17-22 constituted the 2nd col. to the lines 11-16. In that case the 2nd col. line continuing line 12 should contain one Sogd. word only, a condition which seems to be fulfilled by line 18. The blank of the *recto* page of the 3rd frag. would agree with the blank of the lower part of 2nd frag., *recto*. However, the lack of sufficient photographic material prevents a definite conclusion.—(2) "Bound" (MPers. pl.).—(7) "Eyebrow."—(8) "Brother."—(9) "Cut."—(10) "Barsom-twigs."—(11) Sogd. poss. "lamp", cf. Parth. *lmtyr*. In fact, there can be no doubt that  $\lambda\mu\pi\tau\eta\rho$  has also entered Sogdian, since the word occurs in an unpubl. fragment:  $cr'y$  ZY  $\delta mt[yr]$  (*T i a*). But "lamp" is hardly suitable for  $brp\acute{s}$  (= \**brfš*? Hyperparthicism for Parth., etc., *drafš*, cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, s.v., on the pattern of *bar*: *dar*, etc.?).—(12) *brynz* might be "brass" ("rice" would be *wr-* or *gwr-*, see below, *m 2*) = NPers. *biringš*, Arm. *plinj*, Pahl. *bringš*, etc., cf. also Man. MPers. *brynnng*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 81. However, it is perhaps advisable to take *brynz'ym* as one word = *brynzym*, particularly if we are allowed to regard  $\beta[r'xs]$ [*m*? (18) as the corresponding Sogd. gloss. *brynz-* could be "to roast", cf. MPers. *bryz-*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 81, etc., and especially Khovar lw. *vrenšēik* "to fry", Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 664. Sogd.  $\beta[r'xs]$  = \**braxs-* could easily be explained as an inchoative OIr. \**brixsa-*, cf. Bal. *brihta*, Pashto *wriṭ*, etc.—(13) If any reliance can be placed on the spelling, *brgwd* must be different from *brywd* (14). Proceeding on this assumption, we have to analyse Sogd.  $\text{ṭwγp'δδ}$ . *pāδ-* could be "foot", and  $\text{ṭwγ-}$  "quick", if Buddh. *ṭwγtr* "quicker", *VJ.*, 799, 1072, is the comparative of *ṭwγ-*, and not of \**ṭwγt-* = MPers. *taxt* (cf. Buddh. *wytwyṭ-*, etc.). But "nimble-footed" does not seem to suit MPers. or Parth. *brgwd*. On the other hand, *p'δδ* could indicate *pāθ* ( $\delta\delta = \theta$  as often) "arrow", Buddh. *p'δδ-* *VJ.*, 251, *ṣr'wnp'δ'y* "bow-shot" *SCE.*, 135, Yaghnobi *pāt* "arrow" (Gauthiot, *Gramm. Sogd.*, i, pp. 140 sq.), Shighni *pōθ* "arrow, bullet" (Sköld, p. 166), etc. Hence,  $\text{ṭwγp'δδ}$  could be compared to Av. *zšviwi.išū-* "archer". As regards *brgwd*, there is the possibility that Tajiki, Parachi, Yidgha, Sanglechi *γūlak*, *γōlak*, etc., "bow, pellet-bow" (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, i, p. 255; ii, pp. 212, 394), originally belonged to a *t/d > l* dialect, so that one might assume Parth. (or MPers.) \**gōδ* "bow".<sup>1</sup> Therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Or is *γūlak* connected with NPers. (Pahl.) *gōi* "ball"? NPers. *gōi*: MPers. *gōδ*: East. Ir. *γōl-*: Skt. *gola* as NPers. *nai*: MPers. *naδ*: East. Ir. *nal*: Skt. *nala* (and *naḍa*: *guda*)

\* and Osset. *fat*.

*bar-gōδ* = "bow-carrier", "archer"? Cf. Av. *baraṭ.zaoθrā*, Parth. *brbwhr*, MPers. *šknhyym*, etc.—(14) Sogd. probably "face-cover", "veil" (cf. *ṭ rytγwδδ*, above, c 27 = "and a veil?"). Parth. *brγwδ* recalls Lat. *paragauda* "lace, laced garment", Talm. *pargōdā* also "curtain", Arab. *burğud*, etc., which apparently reflect OIr. \**para-gauda-* or *pari-gauda-* (from the base of Sogd. *-γwδδ*, etc.). For the various forms, see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, pp. 209 sq.; *Arm. St.*, p. 128; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, pp. 45 sq.; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 227. However, OIr. *para/i-gauda-* would be \**parγōδ* in Parthian. To explain *br-* we have to assume that the word was re-borrowed from some Aramaic dialect, e.g. Mandæan *brγwδ* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 47, n. 2; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20, n. 2).—(15) "Weeping."—(16) "Roasted" (NPers. *biryān*). Cf. Chr. *ptnyz-*, *S.T.*, ii (q.v.). Av. *naēza-*, *Vd.*, xvi, 17.—(17) "He is weeping."—(18) see (12).—(17-22) The reader is requested to bear in mind that this fragment possibly belonged to a different part of the dictionary, e.g. words in [ ]*br-*.—(19) "Door-reed?" "Carrying a flute, reed, or qalam?" Or even "wearing reeds", cf. Av. *yō vanhaiti naδsēa* (Pahl. tr. *qanyā = nay*) "who is wearing (a garment made of) reeds?" One might also consider NPers. dict. *barnā* "the henna plant" if *barnāk* should be a wrong form, and if the word is not Aramaic in origin. Cf. Syr. *prn'* "juniper?" There is, however, not the slightest reason for assuming that anybody could mistake *juniperus* for *lawsonia inermis*. The Iranian word for juniper is Av. *hapərəsi*, Bal. *apürs*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, pp. 40 sq.<sup>1</sup> In NPers. we have not only forms in *-rs* (*avirs*, *aris*, etc., see Geiger, *Etym. Bal.*, nr. 5; Hübschmann, *Pers. St.*, p. 12), but also some which continue *-hl-* (as, indeed, assumed by Nyberg, ii, p. 22), namely *vuhl*, *abul*, *bul*, *abhul*, Syr. *bhl*, most of which are given as "juniper, juniper-berries", and "pine-cones", see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* pp. 6 sq. Hence, the correct MPers. form was \*(h)abuhl > NPers. *vuhl*, *bul* (cf. *vasnī* compared to *bā*); *aβuhl* > *aβhul*, *abhul* > *abul*.—(20) Parth. "bolt, barrier" (= NPers. *darband*). If Sogd. *trk[*, one might hesitatingly compare NPers. *tarak* "a moat", etc. If Sogd. *trx[*, this might be a form from the base *tr(n)k*, cf. e.g., NPers. *fadrang* "door-bar", *BSOS.*, x, p. 101, where NPers. *tarayde* = *turunğide* (from Sogd. *trayd-*) could have been mentioned.—(21) Parth. "cushion" (NPers. *bālin*)?—(22) "Naked" (pl.)? *brahnaγ* > *barahnaγ* > \**barhanaγ* > *barhenay*? The unexplained *-r-* of NPers. *barahne*, etc., can be compared to the equally mysterious *-r-* of Sogd. *βrywr*.—(25)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Yidgha *yovurso*, etc., Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 274.

See (16).—(26) Sogd. -p'δ- made me think of restoring [brz]ng = Syr. *brznq'* "ocrea" (but the initial consonant is not clear). *špyr-*: cf. Buddh. 'šp'y'r- "grotto", *Dhyāna*, 362?—(27) MPers.<sup>1</sup> *brhy'* is evidently Aramaic *bar ḥayyē* "son of life", or (cf. *bar kyānā*, etc.) "living (being)". This is apparently a term employed by Mani himself whose partiality to the word "life" is well known. It is unlikely that *brhy'* should refer to the "First Man", the son of the "Mother of Life", because the counterpart to *emmā dhayyē* would be *brā dhayyē*; on the other hand, the son of the "Mother of Life" could reasonably be expected to be called "Life" (or "the Living"). Sogd. translation: "living fruit." The glossarist mistook *br-* for the ordinary MPers. vocable *bar* "fruit". NB.—The spelling *jw(')ndty* expresses the same as *jw'ndy(y)*, it need not be meant to indicate the gen. pl. of \**jw'nd* (which, in fact, does not occur; *mwr'žwnt(y)*, *S.T.*, ii, is to be read as one word).—(28-37) There were at least twenty entries *bš-* (ten in each column), which is rather surprising: in all published texts not more than four words in *bš-* occur, viz. MPers. *bšyhk* "physician", and *bšyhkyy*, MPers. *bšnbyd* "priest of an idol", and Parth. *bšn* = NPers. *bašan* "part of the body, branch"<sup>2</sup> (*bšstn*, *S* 31, is, of course, a misreading of *nšstn*). Similarly, while we find a wealth of such words in NPers. dictionaries, there is not a single satisfactory vocable of this initial in the whole of the *Shahname*, for "*Bašūtan*" is, of course, *P-*, and one might have some doubts about *baš* "clamp, clasp, hoop", in view of Av. *fšōbīš . . . ava.pašāt*.—(33/4) Sogd. *ms* is "also", viz. "this word has the same meaning as the preceding?" One could assume that similar words in the preceding lines of the (missing) second column had been fully explained, and that the glossator did not think it worth his while to repeat himself. We might reconstruct the lines in this way:—

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (32) <i>bšnwg o mδy'n</i> | [ <i>bšnyh' o pty'pt</i> ] |
| (33) <i>bšn'n o ms</i>    | [ <i>bšnsr o βynpt</i> ]   |
| (34) <i>bšnbyd o ms</i>   |                            |

MPers. *bšnbyd* was explained, *BSOS.*, viii, pp. 583 sq. \**bšn* "temple" was probably one of the words mentioned by the glossator. If this can be derived from \**bažin*, one might similarly explain Parth. *bšn* "part" from \**bažan*, or *bažin* = Arm. lw. *bažin*, *bažan*- "part" (perhaps starting from the plural: \**bažinān* > \**bažnān* > *bašnān*,

<sup>1</sup> See also below, *t* 7.

<sup>2</sup> Also Pahl., e.g. *P.T.*, ii, 110<sup>5</sup>.

hence sing. *bašn* > *bašən* > NPers. *bašan*).—(32, 35/6) Sogd. *βycy'h* is "medicine, remedy". *mδy'n* is not attested, but could represent an older form of *myδ'n* "middle", possibly with a specialized meaning: "middle" > "means" > "remedy" (cf. e.g. Germ. *mittel*). On the other hand, if *mδy'n* is, indeed, "medicine", it would be more attractive to derive it from the base of Lat. *medicus*, cf. Av. *vī.mad-*. We have, therefore, MPers. *bš* and *bšnwg* = "medicine", cf. Pahl. *bčk'n* "medicinal" (Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 230); *baš* from *baž*?—(37) Probably different from (35/6). Sogd. *γnš* is certainly not the same as Buddh. *γnš-* "to pull", *BBB.*, p. 54 (*γnš'kh*, if from *γnš-*, is also ruled out). *bš* = Av. *baši-*? "Mane" would be *bwš*.

## FRAGMENT i

## Recto

- (1) *nyš(t)'k*[
- (2) *nyr'myy* [ oo
- (3) *nys'hyn* o *tmb*[*rcyk*]
- (4) *nyzwm'nyy* o [
- (5) *nyz*[*yšn* oo
- (6) *n(y)*[

## Verso

- (7) ]*ky'k*
- (8) [*nyr'pt* ? ? o] *w'z'm*
- (9) [*nyhy*]n] oo "kmb
- (10) [*nyys'n* ] o 'wstyn
- (11) [*nydrxt* o β]'trync

(1) Or *nyš(t)'x*.

*Commentary*: (1) Possibly connected with OPers. *nštwn-*, etc., cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 76, and Sogd. *prn'nḥ ZY 'pšt'w'nḥ* "orders and recommendations" (in an unpubl. frag.). If *nyšt'x*, this might be a compound in *-ax(w)*, cf. MPers. *wyst'x(w)*, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 89, and MPers. *wšyd'x(w)*, see *BBB.*, p. 25 n., 248. Professor Bailey's explanation of the latter word, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 230, as *\*wišidāxw* from *\*wištāxw* is, perhaps, not convincing. I should think that on the contrary, MPers. *\*wišidāxw* would become *\*wišdāxw* as every MPers. word of the type *~ ~ ~* turns up as *~ ~ ~*. Hence, it seems necessary to interpret *wšyd'xw* as *wišidāxw* = "open mind" = "confidence" or "joy" (cf. NPers. *gušāde-dīl*, etc.).—(2) "You put down, keep down."—(3)



MPers. "corporeal". As to the spelling, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 86.—(4) "Skill." Cf. G. Messina, *Žāmāspīk*, p. 51, n. 8. Frequently met with in Man. MPers., Parth., and Pahl. *nēzu-mān*, lit. "sharp-minded", cf. Av. *naēza-*, etc.—(5) "Prayer," etc.—(8) Imperf. of Chr. 'wz'm-, *S.T.*, i, p. 174.—(9) "To suppress, curb, restrain," 2nd sing. imp. "kmb<sup>1</sup>: cf. Buddh. *nk'np-*, *SCE.*, 98, *Dhyāna*, 9, *pk'np-*, R., ii, p. 68<sup>12</sup>, etc. Parth. *nhynj-Mir. Man.*, iii. However, it is, perhaps, wiser to restore [*nydryj*]nj, since the admissibility of the spelling *nyhynj* is subject to doubts, i.e. vowels being reduced in front of -h.—(10) "I should place."—(11) "He suppressed, subjected," etc., imperf. of *βtr*(<sup>3</sup>)*ync-*, *BBB.*, p. 60. Cf. also *BSOS.*, x, p. 101.

FRAGMENT *k**Recto*

- (1) 'bwr(s)[ 'm oo
- (2) 'bwd oo [
- (3) 'bwrg o p[w z'tyy ?]
- (4) 'bwg o p[n'nc ]

*Verso*

- (5) ](y)δyyšn
- (6) ]t'pyc
- (7) w](yδ')snyk
- (8) ]ky'h

*Commentary*: (1) "Balsam, balm of Gilead." MPers. *aβursām* = Arm. *aprsam*, Syr. *apursāmā*, etc., also in Chinese, most likely from Iranian. See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 429 sqq. The Iranian (Arm. Aram.) word is probably a Greek loan-word, viz. a shortened or contracted form of *ὀποβάλασαμον* (or by haplology). The name *Abursām* is probably different in origin (< *Apursān*; see my paper in the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*).—(2) Either *āβōδ* = *a* 13, or *āβōδ* "unconscious".—(3) Probably Parth. "childless", *aβūray* from *aβuhray* = Av. *aputhra-*. Of course, it might as well be *āβūray* "pregnant" (cf. Meimei *owīre*, Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, p. 38), but the usual Parthian word is *brbwhr* (also *'bystn*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, from MPers.). Naturally there is a wide choice of other possible translations, e.g. "without a tower", "without borax", "dam (*āβ* + *wary*)", etc.—(4) "Co-wife," see above, *a* 8.—(5/6) Probably incomplete.—(5) "Their form?" Cf. *BBB.*, p. 93.—(7) "Astonishing."

<sup>1</sup> One hesitates to mention Buddh. "k'βtk-" "false, wrong", in view of "y'βtk-.

## FRAGMENT l

## Recto

- (1) "mw(r)[z-  
 (2) "mwj(d)[ o  
 (3) "mwjd o [

## Verso

- (4) k ]δ'mndy  
 (5) k ]rδqyy  
 (6) ]'w'mndy(y)

*Commentary:* (1) MPers. *āmurz-* "to show mercy", see above, a 3, 6.—(2/3) Parth. "mercy". Parallel forms from the two West Mid. Ir. dialects are often placed beside each other by the glossators, cf. e.g. above, b 8. They also employ etymologically connected Sogdian words with preference (if such are available).

## FRAGMENT m

## Recto

- (1) [gw ]yydn (m)[.](γ)[  
 (2) [gw ]šβryy gwdync o r[  
 (3) [gw k ]βryy gwmnc [ o  
 (4) [gw ](n) (nβ)[. ](δ')[

## Verso

- (5) [gwpt. . . . ] wγtw(δ)['-r-  
 (6) [gw ]m'qyc gwm'n [ o  
 (7) [gwyšn o ] srwq gws[pnd o  
 (8) [gw ]' [. . . ]n (δr)[

*Commentary:* (2a) Restore [gwšw'r o γw]šβryy?—(2b) Most likely to be read *gurync* (i.e. addition of a point) = NPers. *gurinj* "rice". Sogd. r[ysk] (*Ancient Letters*, v, 10)? NPers. *gurinj* "wrinkle" has probably *k-*, see Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 659.—(3) This could be "mosquito", lit. "cow-fly" (cf. e.g. Pashto *γu-mašā*). *-mnc* = *manč*, from \**b/manč-*, cf. NPers. *munj* "fly, bee", Oss. *binjā* "fly" (*-i-* from *-a-* as in *findtās*), but see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 41, who quotes Abdu *beñč* (with a different etymology); the last form suggests rather *b/manč*.—(5) Sogd. "to speak" (perf.).—(6a) Sogd. incomplete.—(6b) "Doubt."—(7a) MPers. ["speech, address, homily, discussion"]. Sogd. *srwq* = Pahl. Ps. *slwk-*, Av. *sravah-*, etc., Skt. *śloka* is spelt *śr'wk'* in Sogd.—(7b) "Sheep."

FRAGMENT *n**Recto*

- (1) mš[  
 (2) mšy(h)[' o  
 (3) mšk'[  
 (4) mškbrzy[n o  
 (5) mštyq[

*Verso*

- (6) k ]štr  
 (Two lines left blank)  
 (7) [nwzdḥ on ]'wts

*Commentary*: (2) "Christ."—(3) Incomplete. Prob. from OPers. *maškā*, etc.—(4) *mašk-aβarzēn*, "royal tent," see B. Geiger, *Archiv Orientalní*, x, pp. 211 sqq.—(5) Hardly = NPers. *muštī* "a fine cloth" (-u- from -a-?). NPers. *muštī* "handful" (Arm. *mštik*), is, of course, out of the question. "Mastic" would probably be *mstk* or *mstyq*. Similar words: Parth. *'mšt*, Sogd. *m'št'kh* (*SCE.*, 37), *mštt* (*Anc. Lett.*, ii, 41), etc.—(7) Uncertain, *n'wts* "19": *δw'ts* "12" as Oss. Dig. *nāudās*: *duvadās*. Cf. Chr. *nwtsmyq* "19th" (in unpubl. frag., acc. to Dr. Lentz). The gap between the lines (5) and (7) may have been large enough to cover the intervening combinations *mt-*, *n'-*, *nb-*, *ng-*, *nd-* (of which only *n'-*, *nb-*, and *ng-* had any considerable number of items).

FRAGMENT *o**Recto*

- (1) rwh'[]ḥ oo zprt[w]ḥ (blank)  
 (2) rwh'[]ḥ oo jw'ndyy wycṭyy o (blank)  
 (Six lines left blank)  
 (3) rwzdih' oo "rwyṭky' rwzdyst [ o  
 (Several lines left blank)

*Verso*

- (4) ] rwynny oo rwḍnyy o  
 (5) ]oo rwy'nd oo rwḍ'nd o s[]n'nd oo  
 (6) ]o rwyšnyy oo šwynny o  
 (7) ]ndyy o o (blank)  
 (Five lines left blank)  
 (8) ]ynd o ptzβwš'nd o o

*Commentary*: The words *ruh'* (1, 2) and *]'n'nd* (5) are on a separate scrap of paper. If this can be fitted closely to the main fragment (it is impossible to determine this without the aid of a photograph of the main piece), we have probably *ruh'h* in (1, 2) and *sn'nd* in (5). Before I found the separate scrap, Dr. Lentz and I had restored [*ruh' hy']h* or [*ruh' dhy']h*, and *s[kwn]* in (5).—(1) Sogd. “*Spiritus sanctus*”. MPers. either Syr. *rūhā*, or *rūhā* + x.—(2) Sogd. “*vivus electus (spiritus)*” = (1) This is a contamination of “*Living Spirit*” (MPers. *wāzš ī zīhrēn*, etc.), and “*Elect Spirit*” (Parth. *wjyd w'd*, etc.). The latter phrase is originally a rendering of Syr. *rūhā dquδšā*, the Manichæans having acquired the habit of translating *qdš* by “*to select*”, in particular *qaddeš* and *ethqaddaš* = *wizīd-*, *wizūd-* “*to elect, to be elected*” = “*to enter (or be made to enter) the Manichæan Church*” = “*to take holy orders.*” On the other hand, Man. Sogd. uses *'wswc-* for *qaddeš*, and *'wswys-* for *ethqaddaš*.—(3) “*Greedily.*” In Sogd. one would expect *pr'rwylky'*. For further information, see *BBB.*, p. 71; *BSOS.*, x, p. 103. Chr. *rwž-* (*S.T.*, ii, see p. 604) = *ruž-* from *ruzd-*? For *ž* from *zd*, cf. *'βyz-*. The base of *āruyd-* was probably *rué* (rather than *ruž*) = Skt. *ruc*.—(3b) “*He coveted.*”—(4) MPers. “*you cause to grow.*” Sogd. *rwδn-* causative, from OIr. *\*rudanya-* (cf. Av. *pərəsanya-*, etc.)? Normally, Sogd. *rwδnyy* = “*growing*”.—MPers. *rwynyy* could also be the abstract noun of *rōyēn* “*made of copper*” (*r'wyn*, *Mir. Man.*, ii), hence Sogd. *rwδnyy* = *rōdene* “*of copper*” (cf. fem. *rwδynch*, *SCE.*, 229)?—(5) MPers. *rōyānd* = Sogd. *rōdānd* “*they grow*” (subj.). If Sogd. to be read *sn'nd*, as alternative translation = “*they rise,*” one might point to Av. *yim upairi viš raodaŋ* where Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 84, translates “*to mount*”.—(6) MPers. *rawišnī* “*manner (of going)*” is not a complete word, but the second part of a compound, cf. Pahl. *rawišnīh* = Av. *-tāt-*. Sogd. *šawene* ptc. -adj., “*going.*”—(8) An unusual spelling of *pcβwš-* “*to smell*” (*BBB.*)? *pacβūš-* > *\*patsβūš-* and through assimilation to the following voiced fricative > *\*padzβūš-*? It is an undecided question how far (if at all) Sogdian participated in the general Eastern Iranian depalatalization of *č* (> *ts*, Saka, Pashto, Khwarezmian, Ossetic, etc.); cf. e.g. Chr. *mc'* = *matsā*.

FRAGMENT *p*

Recto

- |                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| (1) [tm. . . ] o pt'm | [tm-   |
| (2) [tmbw]r o tpwwq   | tm(b)[ |

(Four lines left blank)

- (3) [tngy]y o tryty'q      t[n-  
 (4) [tn-                    ]h      [tn-

Verso

- (5) [tp-                    ]      t(py) o 'n(š)[  
 (6) [tp-                    ]jyy      tpsnwq o .[

(Two lines left blank)

- (7) [tf- ?                    ]q      (blank)

(Two lines left blank)

- (8) [tc-                    ].      tc(r) [ o

*Commentary*: (1) MPers. probably some form from *tm*, *tmyn* "dark(ness)" (*Mir. Man.*, i), similarly Sogd. from \**apa-tāma*-, poss. "darkening". Professor Bailey kindly draws my attention to Saka *pātāma* = Skt. *āvāraṇa*, *pātām*- "to obstruct, eclipse".—(2) Apart from the two words mentioned under (1) there were hardly any MPers. or Parth. words in *tm*-. We have to assume *tm'ʾr* for (2b) and *tmbwʾr* for (2a), but this spelling does not conform to the normal orthography; as a rule, we have *tnb'ʾr* in Parth., and *tnw'ʾr* in MPers.—The restoration [*tmbw*]r is, of course, not certain, but very likely. Arab.-Pers. *tunbūr* is "guitar, lute", Pahl. *tnbwel*, *tnbwel* = *tambūr* is "lute" acc. to C. Sachs *apud* J. M. Unvala *ad Husr. Rēt.*, 62, but Nyberg, ii, 223, translates this as "tambourine". Cf. the similar (and poss. somehow connected) word Arm. *tavił*, "a string instrument," Gr. *ταβάλα*, *ταβήλα*, Syr. *taβlā*, Ar. *taβl* (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, pp. 252 sq.), NPers. *tabīre*, Parth. *tbyln* = *taβīlan* (*M* 10) "a tambourine". It is difficult to account for Sogd. *tpwvq*: cf. NPers. *tabūk* "a large wooden platter", which, acc. to Asadi s.v., is similar to a tambourine? One has also to consider Arm. *t'mbuk*, etc. (Hübschmann, *op. cit.*, p. 154).—(3) "Depression, distress" (cf. *BBB.*, p. 60).—(5) Reading uncertain. If = *taf(f)ay*, cf. Av. *tafnu*-, NPers. *taff*.—(6) "Annoyance," etc. As a loan-word, *tsnwq* occurs in the second Man. letter, line 13 (see below). From Av. *tafsa*- "to become heated".—(8) "Palace," etc., see *Mir. Man.*, iii, s.v.

## FRAGMENT q

Recto

- (1) [dxš]g o βj(n'h)      dxšg o [. .]gy[.]n  
 (2) [dxšg] o (δxš)ny[.]      dx(l)g · o pxš[.]γ  
 (3) [dxšt'n]'n      'zprtqryyē

(Several lines left blank)

Verso

- (4) [d](m)dyf[t o .]wr̥tk[ ] [ ]  
 (5) dmdyft [ ]  
 (6) dmdw'g [δm](d)w''β[ ]

(Several lines left blank)

- (7) dn(w)wg o z(n)w(q) dnd['n o ]  
 (8) [dnwg] o j(n)wwq [ ]

*Commentary*: (1, 2a) "Characteristics, mark, sign," Pahl. *daxšak*. Sogd. (1a) from Av. \**aiwi.xšnā* = Skt. *abhijñā* (cf. Sogd. *jn'*, etc.). Sogd. (2a) hardly borrowed from Skt. *lakṣaṇa*, more likely some form from the base of Pahl. *daxšak*, Av. *daxšta-*, etc., viz. *daxš-* "to brand, mark" (i.e. *dag* + *-s-*, cf. NPers. *dāy* "mark", etc.). Pahl. *daštak*, *Gr. Bd.*, 16<sup>4</sup>, which Nyberg (ii, pp. 50 sq.) derives from Av. *daxšta-* "mark", is probably a diminutive of *dašt*, hence "a little plain". In the more elaborate chapter on birth (*Gr. Bd.*, 109<sup>3</sup>), we have *dašt* instead: *pas bawēd čēyōn ka dašt-ē, andar waxšēd čašm gōš wēnīy uδ dahān, aziš rōyēd dast pāy uδ aβārīy handām* "thereafter it is like a plain, in it the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth grow up, and from it the hands, feet, and the other extremities rise up" (111<sup>1-3</sup>). From this passage it also becomes clear that the word read *tarsīh* by Nyberg is a clerical error (*tly'yh* 16<sup>2</sup>, *tlyy-yh* 16<sup>3</sup>, for *tlb'-yh*, see *tlb'* = *tarbā* 109<sup>15</sup>, *frapīh* 110<sup>1</sup>). The following word "*vyāštakīh*", 16<sup>6</sup>, is *wiškūtakīh*, cf. *wškyt* = Av. *θri]vata[ča*, *Vd.* vii, 59 (for further passages see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 318).—(3) Sogd. "those who purify (themselves)", cf. Pahl. (*az daštān*) *pāk bē būtan*. One would, perhaps expect \**zprtqrč*. It seems clear that we have to restore the equivalent of Av. *daxštavaiī*, Pahl., NPers. *daštān*, Arm. *daštan*, but the restoration of [dʒst'n]n is hardly admissible, on account of *-xšt-*.—(4-6) If the restoration [δm]dw''β[ is acceptable, this would indicate Sogd. *damd* = Parth. *damd* (to the exclusion of *damaδ, dmaδ*). *-md-* is a very unusual group of consonants.<sup>1</sup> Parth. *damd* could belong to *dam-* "breathe", cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 597 sq. One could also assume: Parth. *damd* > NPers. *dand*, and hence explain *damdēft* as "foolishness, irresponsibility," (cf. Asadi, pp. 28 sq.), and *damd-wāy* = Sogd. *šamd-wāβ* as "speaking foolishly", or "speaking mutteringly" (NPers. *dandīdan*: *lundīdan*, cf. Horn, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i, 2, p. 57).—(7a) "Chin, jaw": Skt.

<sup>1</sup> In Parth. and MPers., not in Sogd.

*hanu-*, Bal. *zanūk*, Parachi *zanuk*, Pashto *zana*, NPers. *zanax*, etc. This is, I believe, the first time that the authentic Persian form *d-* is attested. In the Avesta we have *zānu.drājah-*, acc. to Bartholomae, and *srvō.zana-* "with leaden jaws" (*AIW.*, wrong). Chr. *znyq*, *S.T.*, i, 57, is probably to be read *znwq*; Buddh. *zn'kh VJ.*, 1106, 1261.—(7b) "Teeth."—(8) Sogd. *jnwq* might be "knee" = *z'nwk*. Cf. Av. *žnu-*, MPers. *'šnwq*, Pahl. *šnwq* beside *z'nwq/k*. In that case it would be necessary to pose MPers. *\*dānūγ* < OPers. *\*dānu-* = Ir. *\*zānu-*, cf. Pashto *zangūn* < *\*zānu-* (but see Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, s.v.). NPers. *dangādang*, *dangal*, quoted by Morgenstierne, are prob. Turkish. To avoid ascribing three different words for "knee" to MPers., one could also explain Sogd. *jnwq* as a side-form of *znwq*, with reduced vowel (*zanu*: *žnu*, cf. *γένυς*: *γνάθος*). Or cf. Av. *tīži. žnūta-* (Pahl. tr. *šnwq*)?

FRAGMENT *r**Recto*

(1) 'ndrw'dgy(ft)	cyndr[
(2) 'byzyrd b'wg	pw pskwyδ(ywn)[. .]h
(3) 'ywz oo 'wzyy	's oo 'xwyrδ
(4) 'rd'w frwrđyn	'rt'w frwrtyh

*Verso*

(5) ['r'm ?]šhr	wy(r)m(n)'w(y) fcm̄bδ
(6) '(')[wn]o w'nw o 'w o kw ('zyc) [oo] 'zw ms	
(7) 'wwd 'ngw'n	wδyδ 'nc'y(n)
(8) 'dy'n o wyδ'γtyy	'w'gwn o m'yδ

*Commentary*: (1) "Between-leading" (cf. Parth. *w'd'g*) = "intercession"? Sogd. *cyndr-* = Parth. *'ndr-*. "Intercessor" is *'ymydg* in MPers. (Parth. *'ndrbyd* W.-L., i, p. 957, has thus been translated, but Sogd. has *prwydy* "seeking").—NB. "atmosphere" is *'ndrw'z* in Parth. = *'ndrw'd* = *andarwāy* in Pahlavi, which, therefore, is not connected with Av. *vayu-* (as proposed by Nyberg, ii, p. 11).—*'ndr]w'd* [*gyft* could as well be derived from Av. *vā* "to blow", cf. Yt., xiii, 46, *yaṭ hiš antarō vātō fravāiti*.—(2) As stated, *BBB.*, p. 109, *b'wg* is (not "nature, essence", but) "seeds, grain of seed". From an unpubl. Parth. fragment (*M* 726) we learn that *drxt* "trees" bear *b'r* "fruit", and *kyšf'n* "cornfields" *b'wg*. In the Parthian original of the Uiyur text published by Bang, *Ung. Jbb.*, viii, pp. 248 sqq., we find *b'r'wd b'wg* for *āwin tūš*; hence, *b'wg* = *āwin* "grain, seed", cf.

Müller, *Pfahlinschr.*, pp. 32, 38. Cf. also the following passage (from *M* 763, unpubl.): *dhyd b'wg 'w wrzygr wzybyy* "he gives seeds (to sow to his farmer)".—As regards our gloss it seems that the Sogd. word translating *b'wg* is *-ywn*[, apparently connected with Av. *yava-*<sup>1</sup> "corn, grain" (? cf. Buddh. *'ywn*, *Vim.*, 78, Reichelt "cornfield", but Chin. 林 *lin* "forest, grove", see Weller on the passage). Sogd. *pw* = Parth. *'by*, hence Parth. *zyrd* = Sogd. *pskwyδ*? A "heartless = barren seed"?—(3a) Parth. *'yuz* is "agitation, commotion, turmoil, tumult, rebellion", etc. Sogd. *'wzyy* is difficult. In *Vim.*, 148, we have *'wyšt* "confusion", but this seems to be a clerical error, instead of *'ywšt*. Further, there is *'wz'k 'pyh pr'n'k* "a . . . water insect", *SCE.*, 146, but here the Chinese text is not clear: there are two otherwise unknown Chinese characters which acc. to Pelliot could be substitutes for characters meaning "tormenting". Unfortunately, however, the Sogdian translator's knowledge of Chinese was far inferior to that possessed by modern Sinologists, so that it is impossible to guess what he made of those characters. In such a case it is, perhaps, wisest to disregard the Chinese original altogether. E.g. one could assume that *'wz'k* referred to *'p-*, not to *pr'n'k*, viz. "an insect in *'wz'k* water." This is suggested by the occurrence of *'wz'p*, *Vim.*, 130 = Chin. "water", and by the following Man. passage: *I mzyx '[]wz[y]y wm't 'tyy wδyy c[y]ndr III kp[yš]t wm't'nd* (from *M* 127) "Once upon a time there was a large *'wzyy*. And in it there were three fishes" (two of which are caught by a *kpny'sy* "fisherman"). Here, *'wzyy* is clearly "pond, fish-pond", or "lake" ("river", as the obvious etymology might suggest, is perhaps less likely). Hence, Parth. <sup>2</sup> *'yuz* (1) "turmoil", (2) "lake" (cf. Av. *āyaoza(ya)-*)?<sup>3</sup>—(3b) *'s* could be (1) "come" or "rise", imp., Parth., (2) "millstone" (NPers. *ās*, etc.), (3) "myrtle" (Aram. *āsā*, etc.), etc. Nothing to suit Sogd. *'xwyrδ* which strongly recalls *'γwyr* "manger", *VJ.*, 17<sup>b</sup> (cf. NPers. *āzur*, etc.). *'xwyrδ* = 2nd pl. imp. of *\*'xwyr-* from OIr. *\*āzvāraya-* "to feed?" But at the most, *'s* could be 2nd sg. imp. (not pl.). If the words agreed closely, one would perhaps not hesitate to connect *ās* with Skt. *āsnāti* (cf. Av. *āsūt-* and *kahrkāsa-*).—(4) See above, *d* 18.—(5) Sogd. "world of quiet, tranquillity". Buddh. *wyrmn'w'k* (etc.), "nirvāṇā, nirvāṇakara," see *S.T.*, ii, s.v., cf. F. Weller on *Dhyāna*, 341. Parth. [*'r'm*] *šhr* = "paradise" (cf. *šhr* *'r'm*, *M* 4, *b* 1, etc.).<sup>3</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Av. *yavan-*, *yavān-*.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt' *yuz*, e.g. *W.-L.*, i, p. 114 (iv, R 5a). Also MPers., cf. *'yuz*, *Mir. Man.*, i.

<sup>3</sup> One could also restore *'ngwn*, cf. *Mahrn.*, 284: *'ngwn wšš wšyšt 'r'm*.

\* Sogd. *'wz-*: cf. *avāze* "lake, swamp" Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 56, 185, and Arm. *avazan* "pond", etc.



(6a 1) MPers.-Sogd. "thus, so".—(6a 2) Prep. "to(wards)".—(6b) "Also I."—(7) "There I shall find rest," or "remain".—(8a) "Then."—(8b) Parth.-Sogd. "thus".

FRAGMENT *s**Recto*

- (1) [wyr'y'd oo pršt'yṯ o o      wyr'[y]'g'[n oo pršt'ynyṯ]  
 (2) [wyr]'st̄ oo pryšt'y o o      wyrwr o nyrq[  
 (3) [w]yr'zgr oo pršt'ynyy oo      wyrwr oo šy'[wk oo ?]  
 (4) wyrwmdyy oo šy'wky' oo      wyr oo mrt̄xmyy

(Several lines left blank)

*Verso*

- (5)                    ] . . . . . ng oo wy. .r. o . .xw.yy o

*Commentary*: (1a) MPers. 3rd sing. subj., Sogd. 3rd sing. pres. ind., (1b) pres. ptc. pl., (2a) MPers. preterite, Sogd. 3rd sing. imperf., (3a) Sogd. pres. ptc., Parth. noun of agency, "to arrange, order, adorn."—(4) "Man," (2b) "male," cf. *w'yrwr*, *Mir. Man.*, i.—(3b) "Remembering," (4a) "power of recollection, memory." Cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 511. *šy'wk-* might have a suffix *-ūk-*, or we have to add a point: *šy'wx-*? A suffix *-wx-* seems to occur in Man. *r'mr'twx-βγγγ*, and in *š'twx*, but *š'twx* could also be a compound: *š't* + *'wx* "mind" (cf. Parth. *š'dm'ng*, etc.). Hence, *šy'wx-* from Av. *uši-* + *anhvā*?

FRAGMENT *t**Recto*

- (1)                    ]yδ'(m)[  
 (One line left blank)  
 (2) [m]bs'n o 'ngr'mnyy[  
 (3) [']mbs'n o 'xty'q[  
 (4) [']kwctyḥ oo '[  
 (One line left blank)  
 (5)                    ] oo 'βd o kj oo 'β[d o  
 (One line left blank)  
 (6)                    ] . [ . ] r o ptrštyy oo [

*Verso*

- (7)                    ]jwndyyβryy  
 (8)                    ]iv δβr'  
 (9)                    ]βwδβrn  
 (10)                  ]δβ'nyṯ  
 (11)                  ]s'(n)[

*Commentary:* (2/3) 'mbs'n = Pahl. Paz. *anbasān* "opposed, adversary, inimical". On Sogd. 'xty'q, see *BBB.*, p. 104.\* (2) misspelling of 'nyr'mnyy = Buddh. 'nyr'mn'y "calumniator", *SCE.*, 145 (cf. 'nyr'm- *SCE.*, 243), from the base *gram-* (cf. *BBB.*, p. 78 on Sogd. *γr'ndyy*).—(4) On Sogd. "kwc-, see *BBB.*, p. 105 (on *f* 74); cf. also *Dhuta*, 272.—(5) "Miraculous, astonishing." Av. *abda-*, Pahl. 'pd, etc. Sogd. cf. Man. *krjy'wr*, Buddh. *krz*, Chr. *q(r)ž*.—(6) Sogd. "erect, high" (cf. *ptrz-Dhuta*, 219, *ptrzty*, *S.T.*, i, 45<sup>1a</sup>, Buddh. *ptr'yz-*, and Man. *ptršt-*, *BBB.*).—(7) Probably incomplete ([*mwrt*] *jwndyyβryy* ? and possibly different from *h* 27 (here *-βryy* "bearing" ?).—(8) Sogd. "four doors". An interesting point of grammar: four *δβr'* (here and *H.R.*, ii, 97<sup>6</sup>), but twelve *δβr'z* (*ibid.*, 97<sup>1a</sup>).—(9) Sogd. "scent-holder", cf. *VJ.*, 14, 94.—(10/11) Incomplete.

## FRAGMENT u

*Recto*

(1)	]	t[
(2)	](')r	s[
(3)	]yy	tm[
(4)	]n't	tny[
(5)	]kcn'k	t[
(6)	[tnyh' o ](x)[w]δq'r	[

*Verso*

(7)	]h	(Left blank)
	(Two lines left blank)	
(8)	]	trs[

*Commentary:* (6) "Alone, by oneself."—(8) "Fear."

## FRAGMENT v

*Recto*

- (1) byb(r)[  
 (2) byh(')[  
 (3) b[

*Verso*

- (4) ](h) βwt  
 (5) ](β)wt oo  
 (6) ](β)t

\* 'xty'q is "judgement" (*xtyw*, 'ytw "judge").

*Commentary*: (1) Could be, e.g. Av. *bōiura-*, or some Parth. word in OIr. *dvi-* (not, of course, Av. *bifra-*, of which the MPers. form *dwfr-* can perhaps be recognized in Parth. *dwfrg*, *Mir. Man.*, iii).—(2) = *byh'[r]* = Skt. *vihāra* (NPers. *bahār*, cf. *BSOS.*, x, p. 94)? Less attractive: *byh'[c]* as irregular spelling of *byh'c* "outside, apart" (e.g., *W.-L.*, ii, p. 553, *R* i 11).

FRAGMENT *w**Recto*

- (1) h(w)[
- (2) hw[
- (3) hm'(x)w[nd
- (4) hgjyn[
- (5) hn'r[
- (6) [h](nd')[xt

*Verso*

(Some incomplete words only)

*Commentary*: (3) Cf. Parth. *h'm'xwnd* "unanimous", *BSOS.*, ix, p. 83.—(4) "To stimulate, rouse, resuscitate." MPers. *[h]gjyn'g 'y hwmryn'n*, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 314<sup>3</sup>. MPers. *hagžēn-* probably = Pahl. *hangēž-* (NPers. *angēz-*). A case of violent metathesis, cf. NPers. *hargiz*: (Man.) MPers. *hagriz*, Sogd. *fuxar*: MPers. *farrux*. NPers. *bīdār*: MPers. *viyrād*, etc. Therefore, *hangēž-*: *hažgēn-*: *hagžēn-*. Which is the original form?—(5) "To direct (one's gaze)."—(6) "To measure, examine, judge."

FRAGMENT *x**Recto*

- (1) qwr(d)[yl
- (2) qwr(b)[g
- (3) qwrbg [
- (4) qwlg o ptk[
- (5) qwδ'rkr o cr[mkryy ??]
- (6) qwdqyh'[h o

*Verso*

- (7) ]yyt
- (8) ]št βwt
- (One line left blank)
- (9) ]fš'ws
- (10) [qwd'm o kδ](')m 'ywt[r]
- (4) Or *ptaf.*

*Commentary*: (1) Cf. below, *y* 13.—(2/3) "Hut" (*Mir. Man.*, ii; *Arm. krpak*, etc.).<sup>1</sup>—(4) This could be the MPers. to any of the following NPers. words: *kōlak*, *kōle*, *kulk*, *kule*, *kulle*. Cf. also Pahl. *kolk w mdk* = Av. *skaiti-*, *Vd.* 1<sup>4</sup>, etc.—(5) *qwδ'r*- possibly = Tajiki *kulvōr*, Wakhi *kəlvār*, etc., "mussuck, knapsack" (*Morgenstierne, IIFL.*, ii, pp. 398, 526; *Lentz, Pamirdial*, i, p. 171). Hence, *kūdārkar* (*kūlārkar*) "a mussuck-maker".—(6) "Short" (adv.), or "like a child".—(9) Prob. incomplete. Hardly = Buddh. 'βšy'ws, *VJ.*, 1495, 'βš'yws, *Dhuta*, 273 (see Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 42).—(10) "Which (of several)." 'yuṭr = Chr. *yuṭr*, see *S.T.*, ii, s.v. Instead of *qud'm* (cf. NPers. *kudām*), one could also restore *qd'm* and reverse the order of the pages.

FRAGMENT *y*(1st page, *Recto*)

- (1) (qd)[  
 (2) (q)[d](bz)[  
 (3) qdyš(ng) o [

(One line left blank)

- (4) qhryz'n o m[  
 (5) qh(yd) oo q[  
 (6) q(h)t oo q[  
 (7) q[h . . ]o k.[  
 (8) (qh).t.[

(One line left blank)

- |                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| (9) qwr[                  | ]r (β)wṭ       |
| (10) qwp[                 | (qw)s oo [     |
| (11) qw[nyšn o '(k)[r]ty' | qwp'n o γ[rṭ'] |
| (12) q(w)n(y)šn'n         | pts''[qt]      |
| (13) qwrđyl               | qwrn'nyyh      |
| (14) qwnyšngr o           | 'krty'kryyh    |

1st page, *Verso*

- |      |                           |
|------|---------------------------|
| (15) | [qw] o] (p)ck(β)t(y)      |
| (16) | [qw +x +]yr oo γ'm        |
| (17) | k ]wδβγδ'nyy              |
| (18) | ]tmryk (β)wṭ              |
| (19) | ]nc''w                    |
| (20) | [qw]lylg o p(wm')k        |
| (21) | k ]wn[. . β]wṭ            |
| (22) | [qw . . ](g) o jnng p(sk) |

<sup>1</sup> See also A. Siddiqi, *Pers. Fremdw.*, p. 73.

(23)		](gw)n'h
(24)	q[w](z)[	k ]δrβy
(25)	[qw. .].wγ(t')k(r)[.]	(q)w(m)[. . .](nn)gr'k
(26)	(qwd)'b	pr[.](k)[. . .] (β)wt
(27)	[q]wdyhn	γrsk(r)[yy]h
(28)	qwδ u hrg	'my p(r) twdyh
(29)	qwd'mg o γrδ	mrywndyy (β)[wt]

2nd page, Recto, 1st col.

- (30) dyl [  
 (31) gryhcg o (β)[  
 (32) sn'wm[  
 (33) n'z'g 'y[  
 (34) gwš 'wd w(y)[n  
 (35) xwn oo xwrn(y)[y]  
 (36) s[  
 (37) rg o r'k[  
 (38) lyš(p)[

(5) *ghod* not impossible, *ghwr* (*ghyr*) improbable.—(8) *ghōt* ? *ghōt* ?—(16) Either = [qw]yr, or [qw. .]yr.—(17) Could be ]kw δβγδ'nyy.—(18) Or ]t mrykβwt.—(22) p[. ]k, i.e. p[. ]y]k, p[. ]w]k, or even p[. ]'k very unlikely, although not completely excluded.—(23) A tiny *d(r)* on top of the rather misshapen *w*. Intended to be a correction, = ]y/gr/dn'h ?—(25) ]nng'r'k ? ]pgr'k ?—(26) Or *qwr'b*.—(28b) Division of the words uncertain.—(32) *n* above the line, on top of *w*.

*Commentary* : In the preparation of this text only an unsatisfactory photograph was used. The reading of the badly preserved manuscript could be much improved with the help of the original. The second page, of which a specimen only is given here, is not the fragment of a dictionary, but seems to contain glosses of various terms, without alphabetical order.—(3) I thought of connecting *kađišnay* (? ?) with NPers. *kišnak* "a kind of pulse, *eryum*" (Parth. *kađišnay* : MPers. *\*kayišnay* > *\*kaišnay* > *\*kēšnay* > *\*kišnay/k* would be well within the bounds of possibility), but this is obviated by Syr. *kušnā* (Arm. *k'ušnay*), and the forms with a middle -r- enumerated by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 319. Perhaps *qdyšng* is an older form of NPers. *kašne* (*kašna*) "fungus" ?—(4) "Canals, drains," cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 84.—(5) If *ghyd* = "he decreases ?" One would expect *k'h-*. If *ghwr*, = NPers. *kahar*, Av. *kadrva-*, etc.—(6-8) Poss. *kah(a)t* > NPers. *kāt* (Arm. *kat'*) "drop". Pahl. *k't* (*kht*) = Av. *usadasća*, Vd., 1<sup>6</sup>, is not clear. *khs* was probably mentioned in (7) or (8). Ar. *jahbad* is *gahbad* (*guhbud*) in Pers.; or *kahbad*?<sup>1</sup> That the much discussed Arm. *kah* "imple-

<sup>1</sup> It is usually given as *kuhbud*.

ments, fittings", is indeed \**kahr* (as suggested by Ar. *qahramān*), can be proved with the help of NPers. *kāle*, *kālā* (Fird.; on *kālā*, see also Ivanow, *JRAS.*, 1923, p. 372) "household effects, fittings"; *kāl-* from *kahr/l-*.—(9) "Blind."—(10a) "Mountain."—(10b) "Drum," or "side".—(11a) "Action."—(11b) "Mountains."—(12) "Performances, arrangements." See above, b 14.—(13) "Blind-hearted."—(14) "Performer, executive."—(15) "Bent, crooked." Sogd. *pačkaβde* (cf. \**kmb* above, i 9), is uncertain.—(16) If [*qw*]yr, = NPers. *kivēr* "salt desert". Sogd. *γ'm* could be "pace" (not attested; NPers. *gām*, etc.). Another suitable word is Buddh. *pr γ'mh*, *VJ.*, 1324, "forcibly," acc. to Gauthiot.—(17–19) Incomplete.—(20) Sogd. is not \**pws'k* (the regular form is (')*ps'k*), hence *qwlylg* not from Syr. *kūlā*, etc. Professor Bailey kindly drew my attention to Saka *kūlirai* = Skt. *arjaka* "basil" (cf. Lüders *apud* Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, vi, pp. 166 sq.).—(22) Sogd. *jnng* borrr. from MPers. (*BSOS.*, ix, p. 84)? *psk/fsk* is unknown, *pswk* "purification", *fs'k* "training", *fswx* "mile", *ps'k* "coronet."—(24a) "Jug."—(24b) A Sogd. base *-δrβ-* (= *θarβ*) is known from Chr. *wytrbnync* (?), *S.T.*, i, 37<sup>4</sup>.—(26) If *qwd'b*, = NPers. *kōdāb* "syrup".—(27) This might be an older form of NPers. *kudīn*, *kudīne* " (a *gāzur's*) mallet, beetle" (also Arab., see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Pahl. *kwtynk* = Av. *vada-*, *Vd.*, xiv, 7). Sogd. lit. "making round, roller", if *γrs* = Buddh. *γwrs* "round" (also Chr. *γwrs* "around", *S.T.*, i, 19<sup>15</sup>); regarding the spelling, cf. Buddh. *prγrs'y* (Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 221).—(28) This is a most tantalizing gloss. To start with, it was an unfriendly act on the side of the copyist to spell his first word *qwδ*, against the rules, so that we cannot be sure whether *kwd* is meant or *kwl*. If it is *kwd*, cf. NPers. *kōd* (Arm. *koit*; cf. also the Pahl. transl. of Av. *yānhuaya-*) "stack, heap of corn or dung". For the explanation of *kōd* Persian lexicographers use NPers. *tōde* "heap", which it would be tempting to identify with Sogd. *twdyh*. If it is *kwl* = "pit, sink, drain," see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 84. As regards *hrg*, it will be recalled that Bartholomae once wrote a paper of seventeen pages on suitably spelt Pahlavi words (*Mir. Mund.*, i). But of all the vocables mentioned by him only *halak* "foolish" merits consideration (for *l/r*, cf. e.g. Man. MPers. *rrz*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 87, Welsh Gypsy *rizer*, J. Sampson, p. 316). Other words are \**harray* (thus in Bal.) "saw", \**harg* = Av. *harəka-* "refuse" (NB. "tax" is *hr'g*, not \**hrg*, see *Orientalia*, iv, p. 291); but cf. Niya doc. *harga*, Arm. *hark*, Burrow, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 788). Of these words, *harg* "refuse" seems most suitable in connection with *kwδ*, be it "a heap of dung and refuse", or "a pit and refuse". Turning

now to the Sogdian translation, we observe that the identical word *twδyh*, spelt *twδ'k*, occurs once in *Dhyāna*, 343, as a rendering of Chin. 陰 *jin* "shade", etc., but corresponding to Skt. *skandha* (cf. Demiéville, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 209 n.). It would be wrong to arrive at the conclusion that Sogd. *twδ'k* meant anything like "shade, shady, dark", etc.; for the translator may well have been aware that Skt. *skandha* was intended, and therefore may have employed any of the other traditional renderings of *skandha* among which those meaning "aggregate, multitude, collection, heap" are most prominent (e.g. Chin. 蘊 *jün*, Chin. 衆 *ṭsung*, Uiyur *yükmäk*). This would agree with the meaning of NPers. *tōde* (see above). Thus we may assume that the Sogd. gloss means "refuse on a heap", but no corroboration is available for this translation of "my"; one can hardly compare Buddh. *pw* "m'yk, *DN*, 10 = Chin. 鮮 *sien* "fresh, clean".—(29) Sogd. *mrywondyy* is "lump, clod, ball", Buddh. *mry(')wntk*, *SCE.*, 205, *Frag.* iii, 80 sqq. *γrδ* either is an adjective (less likely on account of the lack of a vocalic ending), or forms a compound with *mrywondyy*. It could be the compound form of *γrδ'kh* "throat" (*SCE.*, 98, 125), and *γ-m-* could mean "throat-lump" = "Adam's apple." Although there are other possibilities (e.g. *γrδ-* = NPers. *gil* "clay", or *γrδ-* = Av. *gərədō*. [*kərata-*, hence "gallstone?"), this interpretation seems preferable on account of the identical compound Yidgha *γurvo-kuluza*, Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 213, "Adam's apple" (*γurvo* "throat", NPers. *kulūx* "lump, clod of earth").—(30) MPers. "heart".—(31) Parth. "pit, prison", cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 83. Restore *β[nd-?*—(33) MPers. "the coquettish one of".—(34) MPers. "ears and eyes".—(35) MP.-Sogd. "blood".—(37) MP.-Sogd. "vein".—(38) Sogd. "phlegm". This word, apparently borrowed from a Prakrit form of Skt. *śleşman*, occurs frequently in Uiyur medical texts, see Rachmati, *Heilk, Uig.*, ii, p. 443 (read *lišp*, *lišip* in the place of *lišp*, *lišip*). Professor Bailey informed me that it is attested also for "Tokharian", as *leşp-* (*Toch. Gramm.*, p. 229). Wakhi *lišp* Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 528.

## III

## TRANSLATION FROM KUCHEAN

It is generally held that most of the Sogdian Buddhist texts are translations from Chinese, see e.g. F. Weller, *Acta Orientalia*, xiv, p. 134. We have, however, the colophon of a Sogdian text, the "Intoxicating Drink Reviling Sutra" (Reichelt, ii, pp. 69 sq.), which states that the book had been translated from Sanskrit. A further example of translations from a non-Chinese source is furnished by the following fragment which contains the end of a Buddhist book and a colophon (*T i a*: bottom half of a page, only half lines preserved; Sogdian writing of the older type). Owing to the fragmentary state of preservation an interlinear translation only has been attempted here.

The title of the book (xi, 22 sq.) is, unfortunately, incomplete: ]wn'k šm'r'kh pδkth [? pwt]k'. Sogd. šm'r'kh corresponds to Skt. *saṃjñā* or possibly *mīmāṃsā*, to Chin. 想 or 思 or possibly 思惟 (Eitel, 76<sup>b</sup>), see F. Weller, *ibid.*, p. 137, and his note on *Dhyāna*, 28. Since Sogd. pδkh = 法, I thought of identifying the Sogdian title with the 思惟要略法 *Sī-uei-iau-lüe-fa*, B. Nanjio, nr. 1373, but Professor H. W. Bailey, who kindly looked up the Chinese Tripitaka for me, told me that the Chinese did not agree with the Sogdian.

Also the name of the Kuchean (*kucyk*, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 566) monk who translated the text from Kuchean (*kwc'n'y*) into Sogdian (*swdy'w*), is incomplete: ja-rakṣita cf. Buddharaṣita, Sarvarakṣita, Aśokarakṣita, three famous teachers of Buddhism, from Kucha (see Müller, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1918, p. 581); Prajñāarakṣita, the translator of the *Maitrisimit* (born at Il-Balīq, near Kulja); Punyarakṣita (*pwny'rkš'yt*, in an unedited Sogd. colophon, *T.M.* 450), etc. His further epithet, *myrn'tk* or *myrz'tk*, is also not clear. The reading *myrn'tk* (with Skt. *nātha*?) is perhaps less satisfactory than *myrz'tk*: this might be an additional Sogdian name ("Mithra-son", "Sun-son," "Sunday-son", *Mihr-zād*), or else a patronymic, i.e. "the son of *Mir*". Similarly, the name of the father is mentioned in the brief note at the end of the "Intoxicating Drink Reviling Sutra", which indicates the proprietor of the manuscript: *srcmyk BRY pwtty'n γwyšt* = the Master P., son of S. For Sogdian names with *mīr*, see above, p. 6, and *BSOS.*, ix,



p. 554, n. 2 (Pers. *Mīrzā*, of course, is out of the question here). In both cases it seems likely that the translator was a Sogdian by birth who lived in the Kucheian country.

*Recto*

- (1) ]t ZY γ[  
.. and ..
- (2) 'ny's s(')ct pršt'kk[. . . . .]  
fight is necessary, armour . . .
- (3) ny't'yt ZKn γwny dy'n[. . . . .]  
taken (pl.). Of this that Dhyāna- . . .
- (4) škr'yn'k mrtym'k cn(n)[. . . . .]  
pursuing man with . . . .
- (5) m'ny 'krt'rtk 'yδ β(γ)[. . . . .]  
mind absolutely this dis[tribute . . . . .]
- (6) s'ym'n 'wy γypδ CWRy(h)[. . . . .]  
all in themselves . . . .
- (7) ZY γ'r'yt ZY 'ypγrs'yt[. . . . .]  
and guardians and protectors. . . .
- (8) rtyšy s'ct pr'ymyδ p(r)[γnh cnn]  
And he must in this[way with]
- (9) 'yw'rδkwy m'ny ZY c'wn[. . . . .]  
sincere mind and with. . . .
- (10) kyn 'ws'wγtk p'(zny)[. . . . .]  
a spirit free from hate. . . . .
- (11) CWRyh sym'βntt n[. . . . .]  
the body's terror-fetters (?) . . . .
- (12) r'm'nt s'ct 'kr[ty + . . . . .]  
always he must do . . . .
- (13) γw wyšn 'idrnmkw['nch . . . . .]  
He for these Māra- . . . . .
- (14) 'wγ'm L' βyrt wn'[kw + . . . . .]  
does not find hospitality, so . . . .
- (15) šy ms γw wyδ'(s)[ about 10]  
also for him the astonish- . . .
- (16) pcyw'k 'krt.[ about 11]  
obstacle made. . . .
- (17) γw m'n 'wr'mst[ about 11]  
the mind becomes quiet. . . . .
- (End of page)

## Verso

(First lines broken away)

- (18) ]γγr'ñ[  
 (19) [. . .]. 'kh mync δrm'yk t'p''  
 . . . . .-related Dharma seal (?)  
 (20) [. . . .]. 'γω rtyšy rm γypδ žw'n  
 . . . . it is. And with his life  
 (21) [. . .y]w my'wn s'ct δryty (punctuation-marks)  
 . . . he must hold . . . completely.  
 (22) [. . . .y]wn'k šm'r'kh pδkth  
 This (?) Saṃjñā-Dharmāḥ-  
 (23) [? pwt](k') 'γω 'kwcyk myr'ñ'tk  
 Sūtra (?) the Kuchean Mīr-son (?)  
 (24) [. . . .]. 'rkš'yt šmny cnn 'kw'n'y  
 . . . .a-rakṣita, the Śramaṇa, from the Kuchean  
 (25) [zβ'k] s'r prw sγwδy'w zβ'k  
 language into the Sogdian language  
 (26) [prw's](t)w δ'rt c'wn wyspyšn  
 has [translated], out of  
 (27) [w'tδ'r'] žwnty šyrywztyh  
 friendship for all living beings  
 (28) [ZY c'wn pwt](y)'kh prn ''γγδ'k  
 and the wish for the rank of Buddhahship.  
 (29) [pyδ'r ?cw Z]Y prw pδkh L' 'krt'k  
 [And whatever has] not [been] done lawfully  
 (30) [. . . . .]. 'kt γwty wδ'yrδ''  
 . . . . you yourself should put it in order,  
 (31) [about 10 + ž](w)'nyh γwyck'wy  
 . . . . freedom from the life of . . . .  
 (32) [about 11] left blank  
 [you will obtain].

(End of page)

*Commentary*: (2) *pršt''kk* "equipment, outfit", also "armour", cf. *VJ.*, 39<sup>e</sup>; from *pršt't-* "to prepare, arrange".—(5) Cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 496.—(7) *γ'r-* "to watch", *SCE.*, 538, cf. Klimčitsky, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vi, p. 22; Avestan *har-*. For *'ypyr-*, cf. *Dhyāna*, 16.—(10) *kyn*: in view of F. Weller's remarks, *Soghd. Vimalakīrti*, pp. 51 sq., it should, perhaps, be mentioned that *kēn* "hatred, revenge" is quite a familiar word in most Iranian languages.—(11) *sym'βnt-*: hardly

Skt. *sīmā*.—(14) *'wγ'm*, meaning uncertain, possibly to be compared to Chr. *wγ'm n'fc* (*S.T.*, i, 81<sup>16</sup>) = *γw'm n'fc* (*ibid.*, *passim*) "strangers, guests"; but cf. *wγ.'m* in the *Ancient Letters*, iii, 7 (*ibid.*, 3, *'δkw*, is probably Turkish *ädgü*).—(16) On *pcγw'k*, see *BBB.*, p. 59; cf. also Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ("border" is hardly admissible).—(19) *t'p'*: possibly different from Man. *tāpe* (< *tāpak*) "seal"; might be Skt. *tāpa-* (or *tapas-*).—(22) The restoration [space + *rty y*]*wn'k* should be considered, but *]wn'k* may be the final of a compound word "-making".—(26-7) For the restoration, cf. Reichelt, ii, 70<sup>38</sup>.—(28) Cf. *S.T.*, ii, p. 548 (viii, 10), where we have *'γδy* against *'γγδ'k* (see *BBB.*, p. 91). The translation "Buddha-lakṣana" is, perhaps, not satisfactory. Cf. also: *ZKw ry'nty' prn βyr* "He (i.e. *zyt* = *Jeta*) obtained the rank of Arhat-ship" (*T i a*, unpublished). In Uyğur we have: *burçan qutī* and *arçant qutī* (in Sogd. the abstract is used).—(30) *BBB.*, p. 87 (on 736); cf. also Weller, on *Dhyāna*, 18. *w(y)δ'yr-* = 整 = regulate, arrange, adjust, repair. Man. *m'n wδyr'mndyyh* = mental adjustment.

## IV

## FRAGMENTS OF THE SOGDIAN KHWASTWANĒFT

It has often been suggested that the famous Turkish Khwāstwānēft (latest edition by Bang, *Muséon*, xxxvi, pp. 137-242), had been translated from a Sogdian original, cf. e.g. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 586; Schaeder, *Morgenland*, xxviii, p. 105. The following two fragments offer valuable confirmation for this hypothesis. The first of these (T I D a; rather small Sogdian writing of the later type, no distinction between ' and n, hardly any between  $\gamma$  and  $\beta$ ), contains the Sogdian version of Chapter XV (C) (pp. 164 sqq., Bang). This, the final chapter of the Turkish Khwastwanēft, does not seem to have formed part of the original edition of the Confession Prayer, but constitutes a separate unit, complete in itself, which has been added to the bulk of the text as a final comprehensive summary. At least the text which preceded this chapter in the Sogdian fragment does not agree with the preceding Turkish words, end of XV (B), although the bad state of preservation of the Sogdian fragment does, perhaps, not permit definite conclusions in this respect. The Turkish translation (printed between the lines of the Sogdian below), follows the Sogdian closely, often *mot à mot*; there are some slight divergences towards the end of the chapter. The first person singular of the Sogdian has regularly been converted into the plural in Turkish, cf. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 586, and *BBB.*, p. 12.

That the division into fifteen chapters of the Confession Prayer for Laymen belonged already to the Sogdian edition is shown by the second fragment which contains a much shortened version of Chaps. X and XI (T I D: lower part of a double leaf, very clear Sogdian writing of the later type; the fragment consists of two pieces which can be fitted together: to effect this one of them is to be turned over; the appendant page contains a fragment of the *Wazarkān āfriwan*, cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71).

## FRAGMENT 1

*Recto*

- (1) [ . . ] . . [
- (2) [ . . ] kštr(t)[
- (3) [ . . . . . ] r pr RBkw z-'renwky' o .yš.. (')ys.[
- (4) [krmšwγn γ]w'nw'cy pt(šk)wy'mskwn βγ mnst(')[r γyrz']

- (5) ]*γw'stw'nyβt* (*γw'ny 'n(z)[-n'm'nty*)  
 (Two lines left blank ; lines 5 and 6 are written in coloured ink)
- (6) 'y*my s'nk* (?) *γw'stw'n[yβt*)
- (7) *mnst'r γy rz' βγ o knpy ZY γw'nk(r)[y 'ym ZYms*)  
 tāñrim ägsüklüg yazuqluy biz
- (8) (*s*)*rwšy ptyk' nw 'skw'm o pr ''z-'nβ:r'* [*kw nwβzn'y*)  
 ötäkçi birimçi biz todunčsuz uvutsuz
- (9) (')[*zy ? 'nβ]( 'n)ty o pr 'šm'r' wy'βrty* [*ZY 'krty' ZY pr*)  
 suq yäk üçün saqınčın sözin qılınčın yimä
- (10) *cšmy* [*wy](n) o [γwš]y ptywš o z-β'ky (w)[β o dsty'*)  
 közin körüp qulqaqın äšidip tilin sözlöp elgin
- (11) *βry'z o p'δy''γmp o cw pr wyspw* (ž)[-*mnw . . . . .*]  
 sunup adaqın yorip ürkä üzüksüz
- (12) (')[*z-*](*y*)*r'm ZY δβyš'm o pne mrδ'spnt* [about 12 or less]  
 ämgätirbiz biš tāñri yaruqın
- (13) *put'ny kw't'r (sic) s'r o pr '(š)kw'c' ZY nβt[c' z'y oo]*  
 quruq öl yirig
- (14) *pnc z-nk'ny* (δ)[*r*](*w*)*kync δ'm s'r o pne z-nk'ny* [*ptync δ'm s'r*  
 biš türlüg otuy iyačiy (trs.) biš türlüg tñlñy
- (15) *o ms knpy ZY γw'nkry 'ym o pr 'ds' cy[š'pt o 'βt]*  
 yimä ägsüklüg yazuqluy biz on čaxšapatqa yiti
- (16) *δβ'r o 'dry t'py o nγwš('k) (?) n'm δ'r'm o [pyšt 'krty']*  
 pušiq a üç tamyaqa niyošak atın tutarbüz qılincın
- (17) *L' ('k)r't'* [*kw'n']m o (pr) [rγw]šnt' βγ'(y)[št . . . . .*  
 qilu umazbiz yimä yaruq tāñirilärkä . . . . .
- (End of page missing)

## Verso

- (18) . . . [
- (19) ](*y*) *βws'nt[k]*  
 yimä yimki pačaq
- (20) ['βrywn] (*p*)*'šyk* [*cyš'pt*] (*L'*) *p't kw(n) ['m]*  
 alqış čaxšapat tutu umadimiz ärsär
- (21) [*pr 'sp[urny'k ZY 'spty'k ?] o (c)w pr wyspw ž-mnw o?*)  
 nomča törüčä (trs.) näčä
- (22) [*rtw*] (*rtw*) *o myδ m[y](δ) [o] (m')γ [m'γ o] srδ srδ [cn mn']*  
 kün sayu ai sayu (trs.)
- (23) [*kyr'n knpy βw](t) o pr('γ)sty o pr(?) mn' (?)* [about 7]  
 ägsütdümüz kargätimiz ärsär (trs.) . . . . .
- (24) ](*c*)*ywyδ 'nz-'n pr(γs)[ty o rγwšnt']*  
 yaruq

- (25) [βγ'yšty šyny ZY] 'rt'wty p̄rny pyr̄n-'m s'r p(r)[ymyδ]  
tāñrilārkā nom qutīñā arīy dintarlarqa [cf. I end: amtī  
(26) ['zw n]'m o krmšwγ'nw γw'n(w)['cy]  
mān Raimast Frazend ] suida yazuqda bošunu  
(27) [ptškwy'mskwcn mnst'r ?? γy]l'yδ (?) oo  
ōtünürbiz manastar hirza.  
(28) [γw'stw'nyβt] γw'ny 'nz-'n'm'nt[y]  
(Line 28 written in coloured ink; afterwards several lines  
left blank; traces of some lines towards the end of the  
page.)

*Translation of the Sogdian*

. . . . (2) . . . the least . . . (3) . . . with great compassion  
. . . (4) I say: pardon! forgiveness for my sins! Oh God, forgive  
my sins! (Title) Khwastwaneft, confession of sins.

(Title) This is the Saṃgha (?) Khwastwaneft. Oh God, forgive  
my sins. Failing am I and sinning, indebted and a debtor, instigated  
by the greed-breeding (?), shameless Greediness, in thoughts, words  
and deeds, by the looking of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the speak-  
ing of the tongue, the grasping of the hands, the walking of the feet,  
since at every moment I hurt and injure the five elements . . . the  
Buddhagotra (which is) in the dry and the wet ground, the five-fold  
plant beings, the five-fold animal beings.

Again: Failing am I and sinning against the ten commandments,  
the seven pious gifts, the three seals. By name I am an *auditor*,  
but I am unable to perform the actions. Against the light gods. . .

. . . (19) I am unable to observe the [Yimki], the fasting, the  
prayers and hymns, and the commandments completely [and without  
fail]. If at any [time], any moment, any day, any month, any year  
there was a failing or an omission from my side, if through my [forget-  
fulness anything] has been omitted from this confession—for this  
I, by name so-and-so, say: pardon! forgiveness for my sins! in the  
presence of the light gods, the glory of the religion, and the glory of the  
*electi*. Forgive my sins! (Title) Khwastwaneft, confession of sins.

*Commentary:* (2) *kštr-*, cf. *S.T.*, i, 26<sup>3</sup>.—(6) *s'nk* (community)  
uncertain.—(8) *srwšy*, probably adjective, if we have not to supply a  
preposition at the end of line 7. *srwšy* = Turk. *ötäkçi* = "debtor,  
under obligation". The translation "obligation" would suit also  
*srwšyft*, better than "servitude", *BBB.*, p. 82. *ptyk'nw* = *birimçi*

(Kashghari, i, 72<sup>s</sup>) = Chr. *ptyqn S.T.*, i, see *BBB.*, p. 89. The connected Sogdian word *pwrc* has been borrowed by Turkish, *borğ* (جورج).—  
 (8) Unfortunately the Sogd. equivalent to Turk. *todunčsuz* (*tutunčsuz* ? Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, v, p. 336), is not clear. One would have expected (')*pw-np'r*, cf. *pw'mb'r*, *BBB.*, p. 98. For words with 'nβr-, see *Frag.* iii, 77, *Padm.* 16, 34, Reichelt, ii, 69<sup>21</sup>. Another possible reading is 'z-nβ:rz[, cf. Buddh. 'nβ'rz-, Chr. 'mbrz- and 'brz-.—(10–11) Cf. *BBB.*, pp. 38, 79, where a similar passage from the *VJ.* (878 sqq.) is quoted. In the *VJ.* we have 'γ'yr instead of 'γmp = Turk. *yorī*; 'γmp connected with γβs-, γβt-, γmbn, etc. ?—(12–13) By keeping to the order of the words of the Sogdian version too closely, the Uyghur has mis-translated this passage; one would expect: *quruq öl yirtāki biš tāñri yaruqin . . . . ämgätirbiz*. The Buddhist term *pw't'ny kwot'r* which replaces *rwšny'kh* = *yaruq*, has entered the Sogdian text after the Uyghur translation had been made. *BBB.*, pp. 32 sq., lines 482–499 contains an elaboration of our passage: *pr wysprow jmnw 'zyrm δβyšm pnc mrd'spndt . . . rwšny'k . . . pr šwkc' nβtc'h z'yy . . . pnc δ'rwkync δ'm pnc ptync δ'm*.

## FRAGMENT 2

*Recto*

[x-mykw pr ctβ'r 'brywn p'syk]

onunč tört alqış

(1) cw ZY-'my wyspny [myδy]

künkä

(2) kw ctβ'r βγ'y'kw [sic] s'r

(tört türlüg tāñrilärkä, cf. viii C)

(3) pr 'z-prty-' s'cδ'rt

arıy köñülün törü bar ärti

(4) ptwysty o rty cw MN

alqansıy. yimä

(5) γw't pw pckwyr m'ny o

qorqmatin ärmägürüp

(6) ZY MN (ky)šty pr'k'nty

*Verso* (first lines missing)

(7) [ . . . ] prymyδ γw'nw'cy

(8) krmšwyn ptškwyr'm

(9) oo oo xi-mykw pr

bir yigirminč

- (10) *ptmyδy δβ'r o cw (ZY)-'my*  
*yiti türlüg puši*  
 (11) *s'cδ'rt o kw δyng's'r*  
*törü bar ärti ariγ nomqa*  
 (12) *ptwysty o rty cw 'γw*  
*ančulasīq. yimā . . . ärsär*

*Translation*

. . . Tenth : on the four prayers which it was my duty to offer in purity to the four Deities every day. If for frailty and lack of the fear of God, or [because I thought it more important to] plant and sow [I neglected my prayers, etc.] . . . for this I say : pardon ! forgiveness for my sins !

Eleventh : on the daily gifts which it was my duty to offer to the Church. If the . . .

*Commentary* : (1) cf. *BBB.*, p. 51 (f 70) : *wy' wy[spny] myδyy ?—*  
 (2) The four Deities are enumerated in the Turkish version. Cf. also *iw βγγ'q*, M 14, V 12, used for the four *tamyas* of God, Light, Power, and Wisdom. See further, *BBB.*, p. 16.—(4, 12) For *ptwyst-*, see *BBB.*, p. 78. The meaning proposed by Bang for *ančula-* (on the passage, p. 215) agrees excellently with the Sogdian equivalent.—(10) The “ seven-fold alms ” are here defined as a daily obligation on the side of the *auditores*.



### "Sulphur" in Sogdian

A PASSAGE in the Sogdian edition of the Manichæan *Book of the Giants* relates what punishment the angels meted out to the *γίγαντες* (Sogd. *kwyšt*, cf. *βγγšt*, etc.). They apply "tr nftt 't[yy 1-2]wqtt" "fire, naphtha, and ?". It is *a priori* obvious that the third, damaged word is "sulphur", and further confirmation (although not necessary) can be found in a similar sentence of the Middle Persian *Kawān* where we read: *pd 'dwr npt 'wd gwgyrd* "with fire, naphtha, and sulphur" (both fragments are unpublished). Middle Persian *gwgyrd*, NPers. *gougird*, Pahlavi *gwkl* (see *BSOS.*, IX, p. 90), suggest an Old Iranian word \**gaukrta-* which in Sogdian should appear as *γōkət* or *γōkt*. Therefore we have to restore [γ]wqtt. This word can now be recognized in *γwkt*, Frg. iii, 16, 19, as translation of which I am ashamed to say I proposed "frogs" quite recently (led astray by a similar Persian word, *BSOS.*, X, p. 95).

CHAPTER II

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present day. The author discusses the various stages of human civilization, from the primitive state of nature to the development of modern societies. He examines the influence of religion, philosophy, and science on the progress of the human race. The second part of the book is a detailed account of the history of the United States, from its founding to the present. The author describes the struggles of the American people for freedom and independence, and the growth of the nation into a powerful and influential world power. He also discusses the various social and economic problems that have faced the United States throughout its history.

The latest volumes of this valuable periodical contain again a vast wealth of interesting material. Most of the articles have been contributed by the editor, Professor E. Herzfeld, himself. It will be sufficient here to give the titles of the various papers, with occasional remarks on the contents.

vii, 1-8: A silver dish of Artaxerxes I (with four plates). The cuneiform inscription on the rim of these four beautiful dishes has given rise to serious doubts against the authenticity of this piece of plate, voiced by H. H. Schaeder, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 489 sqq. Its Old Persian is incredibly vile, and there is at least one word which appears to be due to an erroneous retranslation into Old Persian of a Modern Persian form: *sa-i-ya-ma-ma*, obviously = Pers. *sīm* "silver". In later papers Professor Herzfeld has defended the admissibility of this spelling (*AMI.*, viii, pp. 5 sqq.; *Alt Pers. Inschr.*, pp. 296 sqq.). Since at the time of Artaxerxes Greek *ἄσημος*, the prototype of MPers. *asēm*, NPers. *sīm* "silver", was "bullion", not "silver", H. proposes the former meaning also for the suspect *sa-i-ya-ma-ma* of the dishes. However, as similar inscriptions on various objects of art usually indicate the material of which these are made, not the accidental state of the material before its treatment, one might prefer to think that the author of the inscriptions wanted to use a word for the material of the dishes, viz. "silver", and was compelled to invent it as the word for silver was not available for him (it occurs only once in a recently discovered inscription). The spelling *sa-i-ya-* for *sī-* can be explained from the knowledge that NPers. *ī* is the regular equivalent to any Old Persian group of sounds which is spelled *consonant + i + ya*. There is no reason to cast doubt on the genuineness of the first vowel of Pahl. and Man.MPers. *asēm* (*Alt Pers. Inschr.*, p. 298); no inverse spelling of such a type, unthinkable for Man.MPers., is attested.

vii, 9-64: Median and Parthian. Mainly with the help of etymological explanations of local names Professor H. attempts at a determination of the dialectal peculiarities and differences of Median and Parthian. According to him, the language of the second ("Arsacid") version of the Sasanian inscriptions is Middle Parthian, but the "North-Western" dialect used by Manichæans is Middle Median. Whilst nobody will quarrel with the former conclusion, objections of a

historical as well as dialectological nature can be raised against the latter. Mani sent his disciple Ammo to Abarshahr, the centre of Parthia, because he was acquainted with the *pahlawānīy* = Parthian language. The mission of Ammo forms the starting-point for the creation of the second Manichæan language: *ergo*, the correct name for this language is *pahlawānīy*. The inconsiderable differences between inscriptional Parthian and Manichæan Parthian (such as *uχ*- from *χu*-, ending of abstracta *-yft* from *-ypy*, i.e. addition of an unetymological *-t* in the later dialect) can easily be explained as due to disparity in linguistic age; for the Parthian tongue as represented in Sasanian inscriptions was orthographically fixed about half a millennium before Mani's time (pp. 44 sqq.). In determining the date of the origin of Parthian writing, H. makes use of Sogdian material. In his view Sogdian writing is a descendant of Parthian, whilst the reviewer prefers to regard Sogdian and Parthian as mutually independent provincial developments of that Aramaic style of writing which had been introduced by the chancelleries of the Achæmenian empire.

vii, 65-73: Myron Bement Smith, Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a dated Seljuk ruin. With six excellently executed plates and a plan of the ruins at Buzūn, or Buzān, to the east of Isfahan. The date, given by a Nashī inscription, is n. 528. In an annotation (pp. 73-81) Professor H. gives a valuable list of the earliest known Nashī inscriptions (with some new material).

vii, 82-137: Xerxes Areios. A contribution to the study of Median history and Achæmenian military affairs (Heerwesen). Having enjoyed the privilege of living in Xerxes' harem for several years, Professor H. felt it incumbent upon him to defend the Great King's dignity against indelicate etymologies of his name (p. 84). For *aršan*- "male, stallion, (perhaps) hero", usually regarded as the second part of the compound (nom.) *Xšayāršā*, he substitutes an otherwise unknown word *\*ršāh*-, translated as "recht" (p. 136) and derived from Iran. *raz*-. Linguists will find it difficult to agree with the proposed derivation, in view of the irregular formation of *\*ršāh*- and the unexplained length of the second vowel of *Xšayāršā*; these difficulties which jeopardize the new explanation, have been noticed by the author (p. 135, n. 2), but not overcome. As parallel formation H. quotes (p. 134) Assyr. *ma-mi-ti-ar-šu*, the name of a Median chieftain, rendering *\*vahmat-rša*- or *\*vahmyat-rša*-; however, the presumed participle *\*vahmat*-, derived from a noun (*vahma*-) instead of a verbal stem, will hardly be given credence.

The discussion opens with an interpretation of the well-known gloss Herodotus, vi, 98 . . . *Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀραξέρεξης μέγας ἀρήιος*. I do not agree with H.'s opinion that the Greek owed to Persians this explanation of Xerxes' name (p. 89). The similarity in the rendering of the two names (the names being like each other only in Greek) rather suggests a Greek as the author of the gloss. However that be, the word *ἀρήιος* has led Professor H. to a discussion of the Iranian Ares, *Vrθraγna*, and of texts relating to him, in particular Yasht, xiv (pp. 90 sqq.). His study of this Yasht, built to some extent upon Hertel's ideas, is an instructive specimen of the method employed by Professor H. for the interpretation of Avestan texts. Characteristic points are: liberal use of the possibilities of the legendary "Arsacid text" and the highly hypothetical "Avestan metrics", large-minded treatment of grammatical niceties and philological rules (e.g. *vīraja* from *raz*, pp. 93 sq., 135), ruthless emendation, implicit trust in the value of etymology, and exaggerated application of the "principle of mutual elucidation". This method, hardly paralleled in other branches of historical or philological studies, is bound to produce the most astonishing results. Its main drawback is the divergence in results which of necessity follows its application by several scholars so that, e.g. what to Professor Herzfeld appears to be a legionaries' ditty (on the Prussian discipline but ineffectiveness of the objectionable "Jambudvīpa-kerlchen", p. 101) may seem a shamanistic text on rituals or a learned discussion of law questions to other scholars.

The following pages (113 sqq.) contain further suggestions in favour of H.'s theory of the dependence of the Avestan Kavi legend on facts of Median history. In connection with these problems the opening words of the Pahlavi text "Khosrou and his page", previously studied by Professor Bailey (*BSOS.*, vii, pp. 70 sqq.), are corrected. It may be useful to point out that there is no need to change the unanimous reading of the manuscripts: *Ērān vinārt kawātīk rēlak-ē* (*PT.*, i, p. 27). These words mean "a page from the county of Ērān-vinārt-Kawāt", i.e. a *kūrah* of Isfahan (ایرانوارت کواذ, read ایرانوارت کواذ, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 28, n. 1).

viii, 1-3: Karl Bergner, "Report on unknown ruins of Achæmenian times in the Persepolitan plain" (with a map and eight plates). Three groups of ruins in the middle Kur valley, two of them remainders of ancient dams. In an annotation (p. 4) Professor Herzfeld recalls Herodotus' story of an enormous irrigation system in Eastern Iran

(iii, 117), which has been carefully analysed by the late Professor Markwart (*Wehrot*, pp. 8 sqq.).

viii, 5-51 : The silver dishes of Artaxerxes and the gold foundation document of Ariaramnes. The problem of the authenticity of the silver dishes has been touched on above. Similarly, the genuineness of the famous inscription of Ariaramnes has been doubted ; several scholars regard it as a fabrication of late Achæmenian times, whilst Professor H. writes in favour of its full authenticity. The main point in the rather heated discussion of the problem is the undeniable fact that the language of the Ariaramnes inscription is grammatically debased and far less correct than the Old Persian used in the monuments of his great-grandson Darius. Even if one accepts Professor H.'s point of view that already at the outset of the Achæmenian period, even before that date, the Old Persian language of our grammatical handbooks was more or less a dead language and that the actually spoken language was changing into an early stage of Middle Persian, even then one imagines with some difficulty only how Darius' Aramæan scribes possibly could be so successful in their restoration of handbook Old Persian from the changed spoken language, without their being able to rely on clerical or linguistical tradition. At the end of his article H. has given a clear *résumé* of his views on the history of Old Persian (pp. 46 sqq.). It is interesting to note the date suggested by him for the origin of Iranian from Indo-Iranian. The old name of Tabaristân, *Patišxwâr* = *pati* + OP. *\*Hwāra-* "(the mountains) in front of Hwāra", can have been created only by the immigrant Iranians who appeared in Media from 836 B.C. onwards and hardly arrived in Parthia before 900 B.C. The phonetical change of *pati* + *hwāra-* into *\*patiš(h)wāra-* can have taken place only at a time when *\*Hwāra-* was still *\*Swāra-*, i.e. a pre-Iranian form. *Ergo* in about 900 B.C. the "Iranians" who immigrated into Persia, were still "Indo-Iranians" (pp. 46 sqq.). To the reviewer this argument seems to be based on a mere *petitio principii*: why should the change of Iranian *h* into *š(h)* in certain positions not have remained a feature of the living Old Iranian dialects?

viii, 53-5 : M. Duchesne-Guillemin, Note sur la provenance asiatique d'un tambour égyptien. Namely, "le tambour sur cadre de l'espèce quadrangulaire," which occurs first pictured on a Nihavand vase, about 2200 B.C. (see Herzfeld, *Archæol. Hist. of Iran*, p. 7).

viii, 56-77 : Xerxes' ban of the Daiva cult. Professor Herzfeld, to whom we owe already the discovery of several Xerxes inscriptions

(particularly the "foundation document", *Pers. Harem*), here publishes a further inscription of this king, of 60 lines, undoubtedly the most important Xerxes monument so far available. A full Accadian and a nearly complete Elamite version have also been discovered. A transliteration of the three texts will be found in the author's later publication, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 27 sqq., photographs, *ibid.*, plates x-xii. In § 3 (13-28) we have the first list of satrapies under Xerxes' rule, with the noteworthy mention of the *Dahā* "Δάοι" (26) and the *Akaufačiya*, convincingly identified with the medieval *Kōfīc* (*Kōc*, *Qufs*) in Kerman (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 31). The introductory formula is the same as in Dar. NR. a § 3, except for line 15, *dahyāva tyaišām adam xšāyaθiya āhām* [sic] = *tyā adam agrbāyam*. Curious is *abrū* = *abaran* (17), besides *abara*, *abara(n)tā*, and *abaraha* in the same sentence in other inscriptions; *patiyaxšaiy* (17) instead of *patiyaxšayaiy* is merely a misprint. The Greek satrapies are given as *Yaunā tya* [r. *tyaiy*] *drayahyā dārayantiy utā tyaiy paradraya dārayantiy*; it seems preferable to take *paradraya* as an adverb and *drayahyā* as a loc. sing.

§ 4 (28-56), the centre-piece of the inscription, deals with difficulties which Xerxes had to face at the beginning of his reign. There was a rebellion in one of his provinces which he quelled (29-34). In some provinces (or province) *Daivas* were worshipped: he destroyed their temples, banned the *Daiva* cult, and substituted the belief in *Ahuramazdā* (35 sqq.). These events are interpreted by the editor as the compulsory introduction of Zarathushtra's teaching, the pure *Ahuramazdā* religion, into those provinces of Iran where the ancient Indo-Iranian belief in *Daivas* still persisted. On the other hand, since the provinces where these measures were taken are not named, we have to consider the alternative that the inscription refers to the suppression of non-Iranian religions in some parts of the vast Achaemenian empire (hence *daivā* = "false gods"). At any rate, the occurrence of the word *daivā* with distinctly pejorative meaning will form a valuable point in future discussions on the history of religious movements in ancient Iran. 31/2 *ayud* should perhaps be read *āyauḍa*, either Nom. sg. masc. from *āyauḍa*- "rebellion" = Parthian *āyōz* ("there is [= 'there was'] a rebellion in these provinces which [*tyaiy* inst. of *tyā*] are mentioned above"), or 3rd sg. impf. of *ā* + *yauḍa*- "to rebel" (*hyā* left out after *nipištā*? "There is amongst these provinces one that revolted"). The second solution seems preferable in view of the singulars in the following sentences:

*ava* [sic] *dahyācam* and *-šim*. 38 *ptiyzbym* could also be read *patiyaza(n)-bayam* = Av. *-zambaya-*. 39 *yd<sup>a</sup>i*y*iš* (*yd<sup>t</sup>i*y*iš*, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 28. is misprinted), if not blunder for *yd<sup>a</sup>iš(a)* (50) = *yadaiša* = Av. *yazaēša*, can be regarded as an imperfect spelling of *yadiyaīša*, 3rd pl. opt. pass. (= Skt. *ijyeran*), with the *-ša* ending of *akunavaša*, etc. 41 (etc.) *artača brzmnīy*: since there is no possibility of explaining *-čā* as conjunction here (against Herzfeld, p. 69, and H. Hartmann, *OLZ.*, 1937, p. 148), one might consider *artāčā* as an early contraction of OPers. *\*artā hačā* (cf. *θātiy*, etc.) = GAv. *ašāč hačā*, all the more so if any value can be attached to the Elamite transcription *'r.ta.<sup>h</sup>a.ci* (cf. also Hartmann, op. cit., pp. 146 sq.). *brzmnīy* is best explained as nom. sg. of the adjective in *-iya-* from *brzmn-*, therefore possibly = Av. *barəsmānya-*. One might translate: "I worshipped Ahuramazdā, holding Barəsmān (twigs) according to the Holy Law."

viii, 78–102: Arabic inscriptions in Iran and Syria. Discussion of the Arabic inscriptions on various monuments recently published by M. André Godard (*Āthār-é Īrān*, tom. i, fasc. 1), from Lajim (Mazenderan), Abarqūh, Marāgha, Nāṭanz. An interpretation of the difficult Pahlavi inscription on the tomb tower at Lajim (A.H. 413) is here attempted for the first time; the Pahlavi ductus closely resembles the writing of the Egyptian Pahlavi Papyri. Several hitherto unknown Arabic inscriptions from the Seljuk period, mainly from Isfahan and Aleppo, are quoted.

viii, 103–160 (first part), ix, 1–79 (second part): The art of the Near East during the second millennium B.C. With 11 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. An archaeological study, based mainly on seal pictures and ornaments.

ix, 80–9: *Axvarta- Xvarnah- = Naphtha*. Avestan *xvarənah-*, OldPers. *farnah-*, NPers. *farr(e)*, the royal glory of the Iranians, means simply "the eating", according to H., and *axvarəta-* "without eatables". Therefore, *Axvarəta- Xvarənah-* should be "the eating without eatables", or (with a slight but hardly permissible turning) "the devouring (flame) which is not in need of food", viz. a burning oil-well. Similarly, OIran. *\*nafta-* "Naphtha" (a word of which the Iranian origin is by no means assured) is simply the same as OIran. *nafta-* (Av. *napta-*) "wet", which H. in common with Bartholomae (and others) derives from  $\sqrt{neb\dot{h}}$  (p. 86). On the other hand, *\*nafta-* is "somehow connected" (p. 89) with the name of the Indo-Iranian god *Apām Napāt-* "the son (grandson) of the waters". As these two explanations obviously exclude each other,



H.'s conclusion is that *Apām Napāt* "alludes to naphtha". In view of the established connection of *Apām Napāt* with the *Aḫvarəta Xvarənah* on the one hand, and the rather nebulous allusion of *Apām Napāt* to naphtha on the other, H. finds the cult of burning oil-wells established as a feature of the ancient Iranian religion. The reviewer finds it difficult to accept the general conclusion as well as the etymologies offered here. It will be noted that the Pahlavi passage quoted on p. 80 (GrBd. 128<sup>2-11</sup>) while dealing with burning oil-wells does not indicate that they were regarded as divine manifestations (the first words are: *ātaš ī plmkl rāy paitāk*; *paitākīh* forms part of the preceding sentence; further on read *ayārēnd* "they dare", 128<sup>6</sup>, instead of *hilēnd*, *pat āturastar nihufan* "to cover with ashes", 128<sup>8-9</sup>, not "to blow into a flame with fans"). They are mentioned merely as a curiosity of natural history.

ix, 91-158: Khusrau Parwēz and the Tāq i Vastān. With twelve plates. In a series of articles K. Erdmann had suggested that the famous relief sculptures in the second grotto of Tāq i Bostān should be ascribed to Pērōz, not to Khosrou Parwēz as is usually done. With a great number of historical and archæological arguments H. convincingly vindicates the current opinion. After a detailed and highly interesting discussion of the various means available for the dating of Sasanian monuments (crowns, crests, etc.; of particular import: notes on Hephthalite coins and the Khwarāsān Khwarreh, pp. 150 sqq.), H. arrives at the conclusion that the sculptures are from the 21st-37th years of Khosrou II.

ix, 159-177: Bronze "patent letters" granted by a king of Abdadana (with a plate and a historical map showing North-Western Iran in about 900-700 B.C.). This bronze tablet had been referred to in *AMI.*, ii, p. 117. Its Babylonian inscription, presumably from the ninth century B.C., mentions privileges granted to an Assyrian by a king of Abdadana. Through a careful analysis of the nomenclature of Assyrian historical records H. shows that Abdadana is to be localized in the southern part of Garrūs, the region of Bijār.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from its discovery by Columbus in 1492 to the present day. It covers the early years of settlement, the struggle for independence, the formation of the Constitution, and the growth of the nation. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day. It covers the period of territorial expansion, the Civil War, the Reconstruction, and the rise of the United States as a world power. The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day. It covers the period of the Progressive Era, the World Wars, and the Cold War. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the beginning of the 21st century to the present day. It covers the period of the 9/11 attacks, the Iraq War, and the current political climate.

The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is suitable for both students and general readers. It provides a comprehensive overview of the history of the United States, and is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the subject. The book is divided into four parts, each covering a different period of American history. The first part covers the early years of settlement and the struggle for independence. The second part covers the period of territorial expansion and the Civil War. The third part covers the period of the Progressive Era and the World Wars. The fourth part covers the period of the 9/11 attacks and the current political climate.

ESSAI SUR LA LANGUE PARTHE. Son système verbal. D'après les textes manichéens du Turkestan Oriental. By A. GHILAIN. Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 9. Louvain, 1939. 18 belgas.

The study of the grammar and vocabulary of Middle Iranian has not kept pace with the publication of new material. Neither Manichæan Middle Persian nor Parthian, neither Sogdian nor Saka can boast a complete dictionary, and the number of grammatical essays on any of these languages is depressingly small. The present work, which has been submitted as a *thèse* to the University of Louvain, is therefore highly welcome. It offers a complete survey of the verbal system of that Middle Western Iranian dialect of Manichæan texts which in earlier days was called "North-Western dialect", or "North-Western Middle Iranian". Happily, this clumsy denomination has now been superseded by the more or less generally accepted term "Parthian", viz. that dialect of the province of Parthia which was raised to the rank of the language of administration under the rule of the Parthian (Arsacid) kings, and which the Manichæan emissaries used as a missionary language because at their time (about A.D. 300) it formed the *κωνή* of the north-eastern provinces of Persia. We are fortunate enough to have the correct name of this language mentioned in a Manichæan fragment, as *pahlavānīy* = Parthian. The problems connected with this name and its history have been set forth by M. Ghilain in the introduction to his book.

The introduction contains also a more satisfactory classification of the Parthian Man. texts than had previously been attempted. M. Ghilain has been able to distinguish two different strata of texts: those of the third and fourth centuries, composed by authors who spoke Parthian, and later Turkestanian texts, written at a time when Parthian was a dead language used solely for ecclesiastical purposes. The recognition of this fact has enabled the author to discard a number of troublesome forms as unauthentic.

The survey of the verbal formations follows the usual division into three main chapters: present stem, past participle, inflection. M. Ghilain has been able to mention a number of hitherto unpublished forms, a fact which greatly enhances the value of his book. He has done his work with commendable care, and so conscientiously that it is difficult to find a verbal form which he has not recorded. The only verb that seems to have escaped his attention is 'skrf- "to stumble" = NPers. *šigarfīdan*, cf. also Pahl. and Man.MPers. *škarw-*, *aškarw-*, Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 315, and further Skt. *skhal-*, Arm.

*szal-*, etc. Some additional remarks: p. 56 'wsn-, cf. the causative 'ws'n- "to make descend, to let fall" (see the Pahl. forms quoted by Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 892 sq.). p. 56 *brm-*: read *bram-*; here Avestan *bram-* in *brāsat yimō Yt.* 19<sup>34</sup> "Yima wept [*sic*]" should have been quoted; Saka *brem-*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 73. p. 57 *wzrn*: Arm. *xoran*, etc., see Andreas in Rothstein, *Lachm.*, pp. 144 sq., Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 593. p. 58 'wyst-: Pahlavi  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥}$  = 'wstln, explaining  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥}$  = *kplwn-tn*, *Frah. Pahl.*, p. 68 (Syriac *kpar* "purgavit"). *Ibid.*, *gš-*: the etymology is supported by Arm. *garšim* "to abhor", see Meillet, *Gramm. Comp. Arm.*, 2nd ed., p. 39; cf. NPers. *gaš* "pleased, proud". p. 59 *x'z-*: the alternative explanation is to be rejected on account of Saka *khāš-* (< *χāzya-*), *khāsta-* "to drink". p. 66 *wzw-*: a reference to Saka *buysu-* would have been desirable (see *Mir.Man.*, iii, s.v.). p. 67 'stwb- was clearly pronounced *stōß*, cf. NPers. *sutōh*. p. 69: for *M I* 343 read *w' st[w'nyft]*. p. 71: one might be inclined to find  $\sqrt{\text{stan}}$  in Av. *apastananhō*, *Yt.* 19<sup>42</sup>: *†apa.disimnāi dāuru apastananhō gatō.arəza(n)he* (dat. of comp. *gatō.arəzah-*) "who killed *Arəzō.šamana* . . . . (by) robbing him of his mace when he turned away after he had come to fight". p. 73: two roots *ram* are to be assumed (1) "to have pleasure, or peace", (2) "to move" (as in Saka *ttrām-*, *narām-*, etc.). p. 74 *nydf-r-*: cf. Pahlavi *niθvār-*, see *BSOS.*, X, p. 105, n. 3. p. 76 'xr'w-: my explanation has been misquoted; the root is presumably *xrū* as in Av. *xrūta-*, *xrvant-*, etc., *xrūšyant-* (fut. ptc., hardly denominative). Further, Saka *grute*, *uysgrute*, *E*, vi, 7; xxiv, 15. NPers. *χarās-* possibly from \**χrāuš-* (not \**χrauš-*), but other explanations have been proposed (see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515); connection with Av. *χrafstra-* is not possible. p. 79 'zgrysp-: cf. Sogd. *zγrwβs-*, *Dhuta*, 257. p. 81 'rus-: cf. p. 49! p. 82 *wmys-*: a discussion of Man.MPers. *wymys* (*Mir.Man.* ii) and of *wmys* in the Paikuli inscr. would have been of value. p. 82 *parmūs-*, *parmāw-*, *parmūdan* are evidently connected with Av. *amuyamna-* and *ava.mīvāmahi* (for the latter Parth. 'wmys- is of interest). p. 84 *pdyn-*: Pamir dialects *padīn-*, see Morgenstierne *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 406 sq. p. 91 *wrušn-*: besides Saka *b(ā)rūn-*, cf. also Chr. Sogd. *wyryw[x]šd'rt*, *S.T.*, i, 16<sup>8</sup>. p. 92 *b'š-*: read Skt. *bhāṣ-*, *bhāṣā-* instead of *bhās-*. p. 97 *whwr-*, *whyrd*: in favour of the derivation from  $\sqrt{\text{far}}$  one might point to Saka *āphār-*, *haphār-*, etc. p. 124 *ny'bg*: cf. Parth. Inscr. *ny'pk*, etc., see *BSOS.*, X, p. 105, n. 3.

Excellent registers facilitate the study of this important essay.

## Mani's Last Journey

THE most detailed account of Mani's last days is contained in the Coptic "Narrative on the Crucifixion" (Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, pp. 42 sqq.). As I had occasion to point out before,<sup>1</sup> this "Narrative" had been quoted by the Christian Jibrā'il b. Nūḥ in his anti-Manichaean book which was still available to al-Bērūnī (*Chronology*, 208<sup>19-22</sup>).

During the brief reign of King Hormizd<sup>2</sup> Mani went to Babylonia,<sup>3</sup> where he stayed until the accession of Bahram I. After some time he left Babylonia and slowly travelled down the River Tigris, visiting his communities on the way. He reached Hormizd-Ardašīr (Ahwāz, Sūq al-Ahwāz), one of the four chief towns of Susiana, from where he started on a journey to the north-eastern provinces of the Sasanian empire. But he was forbidden to go there and compelled to turn back to Susiana. From Hormizd-Ardašīr he journeyed to Mesene, thence up the River Tigris in a boat to Ctesiphon. From the capital he went to "the Pargalia", where he was joined by *Baar*. He travelled to Kholassar, and from this town he reached Belapat, where he was destined to die. The route taken by him on the journey from Kholassar to Belapat is not known, as there is a gap in the manuscript. While the situation of "the Pargalia" remains unsettled,<sup>4</sup> that of Kholassar (Khalasar)<sup>5</sup> is well defined by a comparison of the itinerary given by Isidorus Kharacenus with the Arab geographers (journey from Ctesiphon to Holwan):—

	<i>Isidorus.</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>schoeni.</i>	<i>Arabs.</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>fars.</i>
Seleucia			al-Madā'in	
			Baghdad . . . . .	7
			an-Nahrawān . . . . .	4

<sup>1</sup> *OLZ.*, 1935, col. 224.

<sup>2</sup> His surname "the Brave" (MPers. *nēv*, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 848, n. 3; the ideogram *tb* misread *tag* by Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 19) has been mistranslated in the *Homilies*, 42, 18 ("the good king": the MPers. word has both meanings).

<sup>3</sup> *Man. Hom.*, 42<sup>26</sup>, 30: "the Assyrians." Cf. *Cephalaia*, 186<sup>26</sup>, "Babylon the city of the Assyrians" = 187<sup>11</sup> "the country of the Assyrians". See further Noldeke, *Tabari*, 15, n. 3, Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 146, n. 1. Also Sogdian *staryk* = Babylonian, *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Unconvincing Schaefer *apud* Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 44, n.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schaefer, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Stathmoi Parth.*, 2/3.

<sup>7</sup> To Baghdad: Ya'qubi, *k. al-buldān*, 320<sup>16</sup> sq., Qudamah, 193<sup>15</sup> (etc.); to Holwan: Ibn Khurdadbih, 18<sup>14-19</sup>, Qudamah, 197<sup>17</sup> sqq., Ibn Rustah, 163<sup>13</sup> sqq.

<i>Isidorus.</i>	<i>schoeni.</i>	<i>Arabs.</i>	<i>fars.</i>
Artemita-Khalasar . . . . .	15	دير سرما . . . . .	4
End of Apolloniatis (33 sch. fr. Seleucia) . . . . .	18	Dastagerd . . . . .	8
		Jalūlā . . . . .	7
		Khāniqīn . . . . .	7
		Qasr Širīn . . . . .	6
Khala . . . . .	15	Holwān . . . . .	5
	48		48

Since the distances given agree exactly for the whole of the journey, they are likely also to agree for any part of it. Hence Artemita<sup>1</sup> is to be identified with the ڤيرمه (برما، نارما) ڤير سرما of the Arab Geographers, half-way between Baghdad and Dastagerd. A further point is provided by the similar description of that town: *διὰ μέσης δὲ ταύτης ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Σίλλα* (Isidorus) = *wayahṭariquhā nahr<sup>un</sup> kabīr<sup>un</sup>* (Ibn Rustah, 163<sup>18</sup>). We owe to Isidorus the information that this Greek city of Artemita *vñv μέντοι καλεῖται χαλάσαρ*.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that Mani travelled from Kholassar to Belapat (*Bēlābād*, *Bēh-Lāpāt* = *Jundaišābūr*, *Vahi-Andiok-Šāpuhr*,<sup>3</sup> between Susa and Šuštār) by the same way he had come, i.e. *via* Ctesiphon, the Tigris, Mesene, Ahwāz. This would have involved a considerable detour. That he preferred a more direct route, striking across the plain at the foot of the Persian hills, is suggested by the following Parthian fragment<sup>4</sup> (*T ii D 163*, hitherto unpublished)<sup>5</sup> :—

## Col. A

- (1)            ](b)wyd[  
 (2)            hr]wyn b(r)[<sup>2</sup>dr'n

<sup>1</sup> On H. Kiepert's map (*Formæ orbis antiqui, fol. v, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia*) Artemita is placed too far to the north-east. For further information see the text accompanying his map, p. 7, col. a. The number given by Strabo (500 *stadia*), although clearly rounded off, agrees well with Isidorus. 500 *stadia* are 88.8 kilometres (55½ miles), 15 parasangs at 5,940 metres are 89.1 kilometres. The LXXI *mp.* given by the *Tab. Peut.* should be corrected in LXI *mp.* (= 90.3 kilometres = 508 *stadia*). Isidorus's schoenus is here evidently the same measure as the Arabic parasang (while in Persia proper 4 sch. equal 3 par.).

<sup>2</sup> In spite of this statement one might consider the Arabic name a corruption of, say (*Karkhā*) *d'Artemita* > *\*Dartemita* > *\*Dartemida* *\*Dartedima*. Such a form, if thought to contain *dair* "monastery", could be spelt ڤير تادما ڤير تيدما etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, pp. 381 sq. As stated *BSOS.*, IX, 843, the name contains "Antiochus", not "Antiochia".

<sup>4</sup> A small piece from the centre part of a page. Text written in two columns. There is nothing to show the original sequence of the columns; instead of ABCD as given here it might have been CDAB.

<sup>5</sup> [Restorations], (damaged or doubtful letters).

- (3) [. . .]sy' gw(x)['y oo ms pty]g  
 (4) ['](w)h w'cyd kw pd h w  
 (5) (j)m'n [kd] qy(r)[b](kr) 'c  
 (6) (t)[y]spw[n] (š)hry(s)[t'n] 'zgd  
 (7) ['wš] 'd (b)'t [šh](r)d'r  
 (*lines missing*)

## Col. B

- (8) kw mrym[']ny 'w m[n w'xt ?]  
 (9) kwš byd pd t[  
 (10) 'g'm ny 'w(r) byd w'c[-  
 (11) 'w[  
 (12) hyrz'h h.[  
 (*lines missing*)

## Col. C

- (13) '](r)g'wy(ft) oo 'w  
 (14) [*about 7*]r 'dgd 'b'w  
 (15) [kd] (')ndr (gw)x'y pd bytddy  
 (16) (*broken off*)  
 (17) ]m 'b'w wjydg  
 (18) g](w)xy  
 (*lines missing*)

## Col. D

- (19) 'b](r)wm[y' ?  
 (20) ]t oo 'wd[  
 (21) b(w)[d hym ? oo] (')wm prw'[n . . .]  
 (22) 'bjyrw'ng 'c dw'dys  
 (23) 'mw(c)[g ']wd prw'[n] (?w)hmn  
 (24) ky gr[. . .](rd)'rb[. . .] br . . .  
 (25) wyfr'[št h](y)m oo (kd) 'wh

It is difficult to give a connected translation of so fragmentary a piece. "[A] . . . becomes . . . all the brethren [asked Mani: come<sup>1</sup> to] Gaukhai. [Further, Pate]cius thus relates: at that time when the Pious One (i.e. Mani) left the city of Ctesiphon and together with King Bāt . . . [B] . . . that Mar Mani [said] to me: do not come<sup>2</sup> again with his . . . time, then tell . . . he should

<sup>1</sup> Some such word could perhaps be recognized in ]sy' (if complete). Cf. sy- "to appear" or "come", Ghilain, p. 91. sy' might be 2nd sing. subj.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is not clear; one should have m' 'wr.

leave . . . . [C] . . . . majesty. He entered<sup>1</sup> [? Kholassa]r,<sup>2</sup> then when [he was staying] in Gaukhai in Bēth-Derāyē . . . . then the Elect . . . . Gaukhai . . . . [D] . . . . And I was . . . . and I announced<sup>3</sup> . . . . in front of [several<sup>4</sup>] disciples<sup>5</sup> from among the Twelve Teachers, and in the presence of Wahman (?) who<sup>6</sup> . . . . . When thus . . . .”

The restoration of ]g (line 3) into [pty]g = Patecius is supported by the text published below, where he is quoted as the authority for the events leading up to Mani's imprisonment. As the *muḥaddith* for a rather wonderful story he seems to be mentioned also *Man. Hom.*, 91<sup>11</sup>, together with Mar Ammō (if the restitution of πατη[κιοσ] is possible). The latter and another of the Twelve, 'wz'y = Copt. "Oζeos,<sup>7</sup> are responsible for the relation of the events connected with Mani's death, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 17, Schmidt, *Manifund*, p. 28.

The name of Ctesiphon occurs here for the first time in an Eastern Manichaean text. The spelling<sup>8</sup> is the same as in Pahlavi (*tyšpwn*, *Šahr. Iran*, 21: see Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 60 sq.). "King Bāt" is of course the *Baār*<sup>9</sup> of the "Narrative" who therein is mentioned three times: 44<sup>22</sup> (journey from Ctesiphon to Kholassar), 45<sup>5</sup> (from Kholassar to Belapat), and 46<sup>13</sup>. The latter passage indicates that Mani's relations with Bāt furnished one of the pretexts for Mani's imprisonment. Bāt, it appears, had seceded from the state religion

<sup>1</sup> 'dgd (= Sogd. *tyt-*) supplies the preterite to 'dyh- (cf. Sogd. *tys-*), cf. 'zgd: 'zyh-.

<sup>2</sup> Very doubtful. To fill the gap it would be necessary to restore [hw's'r].

<sup>3</sup> Not clear. In proper Parthian "I announced" should be 'wem wyfr'st, while *wyfr'st hym* should mean "I have been announced". But cf. MPers. *kēšān nibištēnd* "who wrote" (*ZII.*, ix, 241, n. 1), and similar lapses.

<sup>4</sup> A numeral is missing.

<sup>5</sup> The etymology proposed by Herzfeld, *AltPers. Iss.*, p. 53, for Parthian 'bjyru'ng fails to account for the final -w'ng, which certainly cannot be explained from -pānak (as Bartholomae assumed, *Zair. Wb.*, p. 165; this would be -b'ng). I prefer to find in 'bjyru'ng the middle participle of *upa/abi + grab* "to grasp, learn"; cf. *pdgyru-* and (as to g/f) 'bg'm-: 'bj'm-, *hngft*: *hnjft*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> I have not succeeded in finding the correct restoration of the relative clause. ]rd'rb[, of which rd is uncertain, suggests [šh]rd'r, or possibly [s']rd'r, but b does not seem to be separated. If we restore [šh]rd'r, gr[ ] would be a complete word. However, one hesitates to invent a *Gar-šahrdār* (a king of Gharchistan, or a *kōšdār*, Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 sq.). The restoration of *ky gr [šh]rd'r b[ud]* would not take into account the last word, which might be *br'd*. Sentences such as *ky gr šhrd'r bud br'd* or *ky gr šhrd'r b't br'd* are grammatically unsatisfactory. One *wbmn* appears as the addressee of one of Mani's epistles, *k. al-fhrst*, 336<sup>23</sup>, ed. Fluegel.

<sup>7</sup> Allberry, *Man. Psalm-book*, 34<sup>12</sup>. By a coincidence Oζeos is also a place-name in Coptic = OPers. *uv(a)z(iy)a-*, Man.MPers. *hwjyg*, Syr. (*Bāh*) *Hūzāyē*, etc.

<sup>8</sup> A point (turning p into f) may have been lost in the Parthian fragment.

<sup>9</sup> The spelling suggests b't (or b't) in the Syriac original. Cf. *b't ZDMG.*, xliii, p. 395<sup>7</sup> = *b't*, *ibid.*, 394<sup>2</sup>, 396<sup>9</sup> (a bishop of Lāšom).



and joined the Manichaeans. Furthermore, Mani had been ordered to come into the presence of King Bahram in the company of Bāt, who, however, had wisely preferred to leave Mani when approaching the royal residence, Belapat. To judge by the title given to him in the Parthian fragment (*šahrdār*), Bāt must have been a sub-king and a person of some consequence. He was hardly a Persian, but possibly a Babylonian or an Armenian.<sup>1</sup>

No such place-name as *bytdryy* is known to me. Probably we have to add a point to the second *d*: the resultant *bytdryy* is plainly a slightly irregular<sup>2</sup> spelling of Syriac *byt-dry'* = *Bēth-Dorāyē*, in Arabic *Bādarāyā*. Together with *Bēth-Kusāyē*, Upper, Middle, and Lower *Nahrawān*, *Bēth-Dorāyē* (which was a Nestorian bishopric from not later than A.D. 420 onwards) formed part of the Sasanian province of *an-Nahrawānāt*,<sup>3</sup> or *Bāziḡān-Khosrou* (?),<sup>4</sup> to the east of Ctesiphon on the left bank of the Tigris. The name has survived in the modern *Badrai*, on the Persian frontier, due north of an-Nukhailat, about thirty miles distant from the nearest point of the Tigris. The ruins of *Bēth-Kusāyē* (*Bākusāyā* in Arabic) which usually appears coupled with *Bēth-Dorāyē*, are to the south-east of Badrai, on the river of Changulak.<sup>5</sup>

The name of the town or district of *Bēth-Dorāyē* which Mani visited was *gwx'y* (*gwx'y*) = *Gaukhai*. This is evidently the same as Syriac *gwk'y*,<sup>6</sup> Mandaic *g'wk'y*, Ar. جوحى or جوحا. The latest effort to determine the exact position of this district was made by Schaefer

<sup>1</sup> A century later, the *nahapat* of the *Saharunik'* bears the name of *Bat*. He played a rôle in the political life of Armenia after the murder of King Pap. For further references see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 32, and Justi *s.v.*

<sup>2</sup> The normal spelling of the ending *-āyē* is *-y'* in Syriac, *-yy'* in Mandaic, but *-y* or *-yy* in Jewish Aramaic. The peculiar spelling *-yy* cannot be ascribed to the type of Aramaic used by Mani, as the few available scraps suffice to show (see Burkitt, *Rel. of the Man.*, pp. 111 sqq.). In loan-words *-y* replaces Aram. *-āyā*, as e.g. in *hrwm'y*. Cf. also Man. MPers. *myšn'yg'n* "Mesenians" = *mēšnāy-īg-ān* with a Persian suffix (as in Pahl. *HRWM'DYK*); in Pahl. both forms occur: *myšn'y Pahl. Vd.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, and *myšn'dyk'n, Gr.Bd.*, 207<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Maqdisi (Muqaddasi) 133<sup>15</sup>. Elsewhere this term is applied to the three districts of *Nahrawān* only (Ibn Khurdadbih 13<sup>17</sup>, Qudamah 235<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khurdadbih 6<sup>12</sup>. On the institution of this province by Khosrou I, see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sachau, *Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, pp. 28 sq.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., *Acta St. Maris*, 67<sup>1</sup>, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos. In an earlier article (*Orientalia*, v, p. 85) I unfortunately followed Fluegel's identification of *Jōhā* with *Coche* (one of the towns of al-Madā'in) without having inquired further into the matter. Most authors correctly distinguished the two localities (Le Strange, *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 42; Sachau, *loc. laud.*, p. 29; and others). According to Schaefer *Jōhā* stands for *Coche* as well as *Gaukhai*. It seems to me now that it *always* refers to *Gaukhai*.

(*Islam*, xiv, pp. 22 sq.), according to whom Gaukhai (*Jōhā*) lay in the centre of Mesene. His theory, however, is not favoured by the statement in the Parthian fragment that Gaukhai lay in Bēth-Darāyē, i.e. considerably more to the north. According to Yaqt *s.v.* "*Jōhā* is the name of a river on which an extensive *kūrah* is situated in the Sawād of Baghdad. . . .<sup>1</sup> And it (= river) lies between Khāniqīn and Khūzistān". The latter sentence gives an excellent definition<sup>2</sup> of the situation of Bēth-Darāyē. The rather vague term "Sawād of Baghdad" covered Bēth-Darāyē, but excluded the regions of Mesene which were counted to either Wāsiṭ or Baṣra.

Apparently *Gaukhai* was originally the name of a river in Bēth-Darāyē, preferably the river of Badrai itself, which with a number of small streams loses itself in the swamps to the north and north-east of Kut-el-Amara. From the river this swampy region also took the name of Gaukhai. Occasionally, a Nestorian bishopric of Gaukhai is mentioned (Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 29) which probably was identical with the bishopric of Bēth-Darāyē. Mas'udi, *Tanbih* 36<sup>15</sup>, mentions "the land of Gaukhai" as comprising Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā (and another district). Ibn an-Nadīm (*k. al-fihrist*, 340<sup>2</sup>) states that the founder of some obscure sect was a native of Gaukhai, "from a village on the Nahrawān (canal)," i.e. from Lower Nahrawān, the district immediately bordering on Bēth-Darāyē in the west. We also find the name of Gaukhai applied to the whole region of the swamps which accompanied the lower course of the Tigris, roughly from Kut-el-Amara to Qurna, particularly by the source common to Ibn Rustah (95<sup>12</sup>, 2<sup>0</sup>) and Mas'udi (*Tanbih* 40<sup>13</sup>, 1<sup>6</sup>, 54<sup>1</sup>). However, both authors say that in their time these swamps had long since ceased to exist and turned into a desert; for during the reign of Khosrou Aparwēz the Tigris had left its old bed in Gaukhai and chosen a new channel through the province of Kaškar, and new swamps had formed between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra.

<sup>1</sup> I have left out the following clause: "On its eastern bank are the two districts of Rādhān." This statement cannot be reconciled with the remainder of Yaqt's article (nor, for that matter, with anything else). Le Strange (*ibid.*, p. 35) defines *ar-Rādhānāni* as "the district round al-Madā'in which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahrawān canal". In the Sasanian division of Babylonia Upper and Lower Rādhān formed one *kūrah* with Ctesiphon, Kalwādhā (near Baghdad), Nahr-Bin, etc. (Ibn Khurdadbih 6<sup>4-8</sup>). Maqdisi (54<sup>1</sup>, 115<sup>2</sup>) counts *ar-Rādhānāni* to Samarra, not, however, to Baghdad. Therefore, these two districts lay to the north of Baghdad, probably near the Nahr Rādhān between the Shatt al-'Aḡaim and the Diyala (cf. *Syr. Rādhān*, Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 56).

<sup>2</sup> But a miserable one if *Jōhā* were *Coche* (as was assumed by Fluegel, *Mani*, p. 122, and is still maintained by Schaefer, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 2, for Yaqt's article). It would be like saying: Westminster lies between Bristol and Yorkshire.

We may assume that the name of Gaukhai properly belonged only to the northernmost part of the original swamps, but that its use was extended to cover the whole, perhaps erroneously, perhaps in view of the absence of another comprehensive term for the whole of the region.

Comparing the Parthian text with the Coptic "Narrative", one can hardly escape the conclusion that Mani's journey to Gaukhai took place after his last visit to Ctesiphon, i.e. while travelling from Kholassar to Belapat. The absence of any reference to Gaukhai in the description of his journey up the River Tigris from Mesene to Ctesiphon indicates that the name of Gaukhai had a less wide application in the third century than later on, and that it was employed only for the middle reaches of the river of Badrai. The itinerary Kholassar-Badrai-Belapat shows that Mani travelled overland by the shortest imaginable route, probably following the ancient high-road from Sardes to Susa (*ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλική*, Herodotus, v, 52) the last part of which was used also by Alexander in his march from Babylon to Susa through Sitakene, 331 B.C. Owing to the decline of Susa and the other cities of northern Khūzistān this most important highway of the Achaemenian empire fell into disuse in later centuries, except possibly for the last two or three stages. In Muslim times one travelled from Baghdad to Sūs (and further on to Jundaisābūr = Belapat) via Wāsiṭ, reaching the ancient road probably at Ṭib (13 leagues from Sūs).<sup>1</sup>

The object of Mani's last journey was to pay a farewell visit to his communities before his death, which he felt approaching (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 44<sup>17</sup> sqq.). The commencement of the Parthian fragment suggests that from Gaukhai he had received an especially urgent invitation. Close bonds united the prophet and the communities of Gaukhai; for in all probability<sup>2</sup> Mani was a native of Gaukhai. It was only

<sup>1</sup> See the itinerary *apud* Ibn Rustah, 188<sup>13-15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schaeder, *ibid.*, p. 23. Gaukhai is mentioned in the opening words of the chapter on the Manichaeans in the *k. al-fihrist* (328<sup>1</sup>) where one expects to find the name of Mani's birthplace stated. However, the decisive words are hopelessly corrupted. Fleischer's restoration of the text (accepted by Fluegel in his edition, and followed also by me, *Orientalia*, v, 84 sqq.) is no longer tenable. It involves (1) a wrong name, *Qunnā* instead of *dair Qunnā*, (2) the existence of a "bishop of the Arabs" in Gaukhai in the third century (an absurdity), (3) the misstatement that originally Mani had been a Christian bishop (similar although less pretentious fabrications are occasionally found in purely Christian sources, e.g. *Chronicle of Siirt*, cf. Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 38, and Bar Evrāyā, *Hist. of the Dynasties*, 129 u. ed. Salhani). Although the correct restitution of the passage eludes me, I should like to propose *النهرمان من نهر جوشي* (= *an-Nahrwān*) in the place of *العربان من اهل جوشي*. According to al-Beruni (*Chronology*, 208<sup>7-8</sup>), who quotes Mani's own writings, the prophet was born in the

fitting that the last place Mani visited before his death was the one from which he had started on his life's journey.

I take this opportunity to publish another Parthian fragment (*T ii D* 163) which belonged to the same book as the text given above, and to republish the Middle-Persian fragment *M* 3 which was first made available by F. W. K. Müller (*HR.*, ii, pp. 80 sqq.). Since the first edition the page of *M* 3 has been completed through the discovery of a small scrap (*T i D* 51) which originally formed part of it.<sup>1</sup>

*T ii D* 163

*Recto page, second column*<sup>2</sup>

(1) ]wxyb(y)[y ]d

(Two lines left blank)

(2) ms ptyg 'n nyš'n dyd

(3) ['w]d w'c['d] wyn'm kw

(4) (qy)rbkr ['](b)r pdr'št

(5) 'wd cw[nd] (r)wc tygr

(6) ]t 'wm

(lines missing)

*Verso page, first column*<sup>3</sup>

(7) p(d)m(w)[g ]wzrg .[

(8) dyrd [ ] kw p(t)

(9) 'drg'wyf(t) pd [?'š'](h)yg'n

(10) br fr'x 'dyhyd u 'zyhyd

(11) 'dy'n qyr(d)[y](r)<sup>4</sup> mgbyd (')[d]

(12) 'dy'wr'n ky [pr](x)'št prw'n

(13) š'h 'nd[yš'd<sup>5</sup>] u rsk

(14) [']wd n(b)[yn ?

Translation: "Furthermore, Patecius<sup>6</sup> saw another<sup>7</sup> sign and

village of مردینو on the upper کونی canal. However, the canal of Kūthā lay far to the west, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is tempting to restore كوخى and explain it as a transcription of *Gaukhai* peculiar to al-Beruni. As to مردینو (otherwise unknown), this is obviously corrupt and should be brought into agreement with 'bromy', the name of Mani's birthplace according to Theodor bar Konay (see Schaefer, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 3); hence to be read برومیا or رومیه ?

<sup>1</sup> See *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The first column is missing.

<sup>3</sup> The second column is missing.

<sup>4</sup> Only the point on top of the *r* is visible.

<sup>5</sup> Or possibly 'nd[yšyd].

<sup>6</sup> On the spelling of this name in MPers. see Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> 'n = 'ny is very rare, cf. *BBB.*, s.v.

spoke (thus): I see<sup>1</sup> that the Pious One (i.e. Mani) has got up and for several days the Tigris . . . . . (*lacuna*) . . . . . garment . . . . great . . . . held . . . . that majestically he enters and leaves<sup>2</sup> the wide Royal (?)<sup>3</sup> Gate. Thereupon Kerdēr the Magbed (Mōbed) planned with his friends who served before the king, and . . . jealousy and cunning. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

## M 3

(*Recto*) (1) 'md kš 'n nwhz'dg (2) 'yg trkwm'n 'wd kwštyh (3) d(h).r<sup>5</sup> 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p'rsyg (4) '[mwšt] bwd hym oo 'wd š'h (5) n'n xwrđn'bz m bwd oo 'wš (6) dšt 'hnwnc nyšwst oo u (7) 'dyd hynd ps'nyg'n 'wš'n (8) gwpt kw m'ny 'md 'wd pd (9) dr 'ystyd oo 'wd š'h 'w (10) xwd'wn pyg'm pryst'd kw (11) 'yw zm'n p'y d' 'n xwd 'w (12) tw 'y'n oo 'wd xwd'wn 'b'c (13) 'w 'yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšt (14) oo d' š'h dšt šwst oo cy (15) xwdyc 'w nhcyhr prnp'n bwd (16) oo 'wd 'c xwrn<sup>6</sup> 'wl 'xyst (17) 'wš ds[t]<sup>7</sup> 'yw 'br sg'n (18) b'nb(y)šn 'bgnd oo

<sup>1</sup> The wording seems to suggest that the story was told in the form of a prediction by Patecius. The muddle in the tenses may be due to mistranslation from Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> Probably = "he passes through the gate." Read 'rg'wyft.

<sup>3</sup> Partially illegible word. Probably the name of one of the gates of Belapat. The passage evidently refers to the imprudently ostentatious entry into the capital by Mani. Cf. *Man. Hom.*, 45<sup>11</sup> sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M 4 b 15 āz nabēn . . . āvarzōg wadisgār* "cunning Greed . . . malicious Lust" (a remarkable translation of the word *nbyn* in this passage was given by Schaefer, *Urform*, p. 116, n. 1: *nbyn* = NPers. *nābīn*!). But possibly "the cunning of the Greed" would be a more correct rendering, as in other passages *nbyn* is a substantive: *ws* [ . . . ] 'xš dyft oo *nbyn* 'wšt [ . . . ] 'c mrdwm'n wynyd [ ] 'wd pt'wyd "He experiences and suffers much distress, malice and . . . from the side of mankind" (*M 295 R 5-7*); *nbyn* 'wd dybhr pdmuxt qyf'h qhn'n msyšt 'd hrw yhwđn "Caiaphas the High Priest and all Jews clothed themselves in malice and wrath" (*M 734 R 7-9*). One could derive *nabēn* from Parthian *dab* (*Mir. Man.*, iii, and *BSOS.*, IX, p. 82, where also *dbyn*), assuming the sporadic interchange of a voiced plosive with the nasal of the same group. Such interchange is well attested for the labials (mostly in words containing a nasal sound), for example Pahl. *angumēn*: Pers. *angubīn*, Pahl. *mang*: Pahl. and Pers. *bang*, MPers. *-manj*, NPers. *munj*: Oss. *binjā* (see *Sogdica*, p. 45), Saka *biyema* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 120): Av. *mašman*. A case in point is provided by the place-name *Mandalī* (between Badrai and Khaniqin) from MPers. \**Vandanīg*, \**Bandanīg* (Arab Geogr. *Bandanijīn*, etc.: see *Le Strange, op. laud.*, emendations to the second printing), where we have *m* from *b*, and *l* from *n* (cf. *r* from *n* in MPers. *xwamr*, etc.). It is more difficult to find cases of *d/n*. There is, of course, MPers. *nbyg* (*Sogd. npyk*), if from OPers. *dipi-*, to fall back on; cf. also the case of Pers. *panām*.

<sup>5</sup> *dh'r?* *dhwr?* The reading *dbyr* (Andreas) is hardly correct. One should have the *Idāfah* between *k* and *dbyr*. More likely *d . . .* is a personal name.

<sup>6</sup> Müller: *xwrđn*. There is a break in the paper after *w*, but I do not believe a letter has been lost.

<sup>7</sup> The reading *rs[n]* is incorrect; no point has broken off.

'wd yk (19) 'br k(y)[r]dyr<sup>1</sup> 'y 'rdw'ng'[n] 'wd (20) pr'c ['w] xwd'wn  
'md oo ['wš] (21) [p]d sr (sx)wn 'w xwd'wn 'wh (22) gwpt<sup>2</sup> [kw] (m)  
(dr)[y]st<sub>2</sub>'wr oo (23) ['wš xwd'w]n 'b'e gwft<sup>3</sup>kw (*Verso*) (24) cym r'y  
tyswm wynst ooo (25) 'wd (š)'h gwft kw m swgnd xwrd (26) oo kwt  
pd 'yn zmyg ny hyl['](')n (27) rs[yd]<sup>3</sup> oo 'wš pd xyšm 'w x[wd']wn  
(28) 'wh gwpt<sub>2</sub> kw 'yy pd cy (29) 'b'yšn hyd oo k' ny 'w (30) k'ryc'r  
šwyd 'wd ny nheyhr (31) kwnyd oo b' 'wh'y 'yn bšyhkyh (32) r'y 'wd  
'y<sup>4</sup> drm'n bwrnd r'y (33) 'b'yšn hyd oo 'wd 'ync ny (34) kwnyd oo 'wš  
xwd'wn pswx 'wh (35) d'd kw (mn) pd 'šm'h tyswc (36) ny wynst  
oo (cym) myšg kyrbggy (37) kyrd pd 'šm'h 'wt'n pd (38) twhmg'n  
oo 'wd ws 'wd pr(h)yd (39) bng 'y 'šm'h kym dyw<sup>5</sup> u (40) drwxš 'cyš  
b (') [bwr](d) oo 'w[d] (41) ws bwd hynd oo k[ym] 'c (42) wy(m)'ryh  
'xyzn'd [h](y)nd oo u (43) ws bwd hynd ky[m] tb (44) 'wd rrz 'y  
cnd (s)[r]g<sup>6</sup> 'cyš (45) 'n'pt<sub>2</sub> oo 'w[d ws bwd] hynd<sup>7</sup> (46) [k]y 'w mrg  
md 'wmy[š'n] . . . .

Translation: " . . . . . [Mani] . . . . came [viz. to the audience of  
King Bahram I] after he had [called together]<sup>8</sup> me, Nūh-zādag<sup>9</sup>  
(= Bar-Nūh) the interpreter, Kuštai, D . . . , and Abzakhyā<sup>10</sup> the  
Persian. The king was at his dinner-table<sup>11</sup> and had not yet finished  
his meal.<sup>12</sup> The courtiers entered and said (to the king): Mani has  
come and is standing at the door. The king sent this message to the  
Lord (i.e. Mani): wait a moment until I can come to you myself.

<sup>1</sup> The second letter is clearly *y* (thus also Müller and Andreas), certainly not the lower part of *n*. There is a gap in the paper above *k* (therefore might be *x*). One letter is missing before *-dyr*. The restoration of *kndyr* (Salemman), or *xydyr* (Andreas, *apud* Barr, *Pahl. Ps.*, p. 133), is therefore excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Seen by Müller; now no longer visible.

<sup>3</sup> Or rather *rs[yy]*? Space insufficient for *rs[ydn]* (Salemman).

<sup>4</sup> Copyist's mistake for 'yn.

<sup>5</sup> Not *dyw[ʿn]*. Cf. *ZII.*, ix, 232<sup>a</sup>-<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *š[r]dg* is equally possible (*šārag* from Av. *sarāda*, *sdg* = Pahl. *sltk*).

<sup>7</sup> Still seen by Müller, now broken off.

<sup>8</sup> *bwd hym* = 1st pers. pl. (incorrect *ZII.*, ix, p. 244).

<sup>9</sup> Obviously the name of Mani's interpreter; hitherto translated "first-born" (in MPers. *azwryg*, in Parthian *nuzz'd*).

<sup>10</sup> On Kuštai and Abzakhyā see Schaefer, *Gnomon*, ix, p. 343. In the *k. al-fihrist* *ابزخیا* (not *ابزخیا*) should be read in the place of *ابزخیا* (the mysterious *ابزخیا* *ibid.*, 336<sup>23</sup>, <sup>24</sup>, 337<sup>8</sup> is clearly none other than Gabriah, *جبرهاب*).

<sup>11</sup> *bazm būdan* is a compound verb (correctly rendered by Marr, *apud* Salemman, *Man. Stud.*, p. 61; the translation proposed by Andreas *apud* Lentz, *ZII.*, iv, p. 282, hardly meets the case: *šāh* is certainly not a genitive). *nān ywardan* does not mean "to eat bread", but "to eat", as Hebrew *ākal lāhām*, NT. *āprov ēthōw*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. "had not yet washed his hands".

The Lord again sat down to one side of the guard<sup>1</sup> (and waited there) until the king should have finished his meal when<sup>2</sup> he was to go hunting.

"The king rose from the table,<sup>3</sup> and putting one arm round the Queen of the Sakas<sup>4</sup> and the other round Kerdēr<sup>5</sup> the son of Ardawān, he came towards the Lord. His first words to the Lord were: You are not welcome.<sup>6</sup> The Lord replied: what wrong have I done? The king said: I have sworn not to let you come to this country.<sup>7</sup> And in anger he spoke thus to the Lord: Eh, what are you good for since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this<sup>8</sup> doctoring and this<sup>8</sup> physicking? And you don't do even that!

"The Lord replied thus: I have not done you any wrong. Always I have done good to you and your family. Many and numerous were your servants whom I have [freed] of demons and witches.<sup>9</sup> Many were those whom I have made rise from their illnesses. Many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of ague.<sup>10</sup> Many

<sup>1</sup> Salemann: "window(?)," Andreas: "tent" (*Festgabe f. Th. Nöldeke*, 1916, p. 6). But "tent" is *wiyān* in MPers., i.e. *wy'n* (to the examples collected by Andreas: Parth. *w'd'n*, Arm. *evan*, Pahl. Ps. *wyd'n*, Jewish Persian *by'n*, I have added NPers. *gayān*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 908; [*wjyd'n* should be read also in Pahlavi, in the place of *xān*, *Ayādgar-i-Zarērān*, 32/33). With *wyng* from *wyn-* "to see", cf. Arm. *dēt* "guard", *dītak* "watch-post"; one also could point to MPers. \**gōšag* "spy" if from *gauš-* "to hear" (and not from *gauš-* "ear").

<sup>2</sup> The use of *cy* (normally = "because") is not clear; possibly mistranslation of Syr. *mā d'*. (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 179)?

<sup>3</sup> *χίεσαν* here probably = "banquet", etc. (rather than "tent"), cf. *BSOS.*, X, p. 509.

<sup>4</sup> Usually translated: "queen of the hounds." The correct rendering has at least been considered by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Salemann "quiver", Andreas "steed".

<sup>6</sup> i.e. the reversal of the usual formula of greeting (when receiving a friend): *dryst 'wr* (or *pd drwd 'y-*, or *dryst wys'y*, all in *Mir. Man.*, ii, where p. 313, n. 8, an incorrect translation has been given; *wys'y* probably "enter, come", from *wys-* = Av. *visa-*, *Air. Wb.*, p. 1326) = Pahl. *drwdst LPMH* (*Ard. Vir.*, 10<sup>7</sup>) = Aram. *'ty bšlm*. With the negation also in Pahlavi, *Ayādgar-i-Zarērān*, 51.

<sup>7</sup> An evasive answer!

<sup>8</sup> The use of the Persian demonstrative pronoun gives the phrase a perceptibly contemptuous note. The king, who apparently was not very broadminded, does not seem to have been in sympathy with his father's efforts at raising the medical standard in his lands. Under Shapur I Greek and Indian scientific books, especially medical treatises, were translated into Persian (*Dinkard*, 412<sup>17</sup> sqq., ed. Madan). Like Mani and his adherents, medical science fell a victim to the reaction which under Bahram set in against Shapur's liberal and enlightened government.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. healed through exorcism.

<sup>10</sup> Pers. *tab u larz*.

were those who were at the point of death,<sup>1</sup> and I have [revived] them....”

*Kerdēr* of the first text is plainly the *Kardel* of the Coptic texts, the man whom the Manichaeans considered the chief instigator of Mani's downfall. His identity with the famous *Krtyr* of the Pahlavi inscriptions (first suggested by Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 45, n. 2) can now be taken for granted (the spelling of his name in Man. MPers. and Parth. agrees closely with that in the inscriptions). We owe to Professor Herzfeld a sketch of the life of *Krtyr*, whom he has identified with *Tansar*, the reorganizer of the Zoroastrian church (*Archaeolog. Hist. of Iran* pp. 100 sqq.). In the recently discovered Great Inscription of Šāpūr I<sup>2</sup> (from about A.D. 262)<sup>3</sup> *Krtyr*, still with the comparatively modest title of *ēhrpat* (line 33: *krtyr ZY 'yhrpt*), is mentioned for the first time, and for the last time he appears in the Paikuli inscription (from about A.D. 294). That *Kerdēr*<sup>4</sup> was his personal name (and not a title) can no longer be in doubt. The nobleman *Kerdēr*, son of *Ardawān*, who is referred to in *M 3*, also appears in Šāpūr's inscription.<sup>5</sup>

That the king who appears in the fragment *M 3* was Bahram I<sup>6</sup> (and not Shapur, as assumed by F. W. K. Müller and others) is proved by the unfriendly tenor of the whole conversation. The *Sakān-Bānbišn*, "Queen of the Sakas," who also participated in the conversation, was the wife of the then ruling *Sakān-Šāh*, or prince-governor of the south-eastern part of the Sasanian empire. Under Shapur, *Narseh* (his youngest son) had held that position, and *Šāpuhrduxtak* had been his *Sakān-Bānbišn* (*sk'n MLKT'*). The advent of King Bahram I probably brought a change, and we may assume that the appointment of his eldest grandson Bahram to the post of *Sakān-Šāh* dated already from

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "who came to death". It would probably be incorrect to understand the phrase as laying claims to the ability of resurrecting the dead.

<sup>2</sup> In my second paper on this inscription, contributed to the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*, I have discussed this passage in some detail.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 845.

<sup>4</sup> The original meaning of the word *kerdēr* is something like "efficacious" or "energetic": cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84 (the etymology proposed there is to be cancelled). I fail to see any connection with *kardarigan*, *qardupatu* (?), *oropasta*, or *qahramān*; on *qahramān* from \**karθra-* (Lagarde) = Arm. *kah* = NPers. *kāl-* see now *Sogdica*, pp. 56 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Persian l. 35, Parthian l. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.



the beginning of his reign (A.D. 273-4).<sup>1</sup> It is therefore likely that the Sakān-Bānbišn mentioned here was the wife of the later King Bahram III.

The text of *M* 3 purports to be an eye-witness account of the conversation, rendered by Mani's interpreter Nūḥzādag. Although Mani knew some Persian and even had composed one of his books in, it is true, somewhat halting Persian, he must have felt his knowledge of that language to be insufficient for an audience that was to decide on his life and the future of his community.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But see Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, pp. 34 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the king accuses Mani of having neglected his medical duties. We know from other sources that the death of a relative of Bahram's, attributed to Mani's alleged negligence, formed one of the pretexts for Mani's incarceration (one of Bahram's sisters, according to *Man. Hom.*, 46<sup>25-8</sup>, but see *Jibrū'īl b. Nūḥ apud Beruni, loc. laud.*, 208<sup>20-1</sup>). As this death apparently had taken place shortly before Mani appeared before the king, while Mani had not attended the court for some three years (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 46<sup>12</sup>; he was hiding in Babylonia), this accusation seems to be singularly ill-founded. As was to be expected, anti-Manichaean Christian writers have made the most of this story (beginning with the author of the *Acta Archelai*, 93<sup>17</sup> sqq., ed. Beeson; the son of the king: *mortuus est puer in manibus eius vel potius extinctus, etc.*).

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the military operations and the state of the army. The report concludes with a summary of the results and a list of recommendations.

The second part of the report contains a detailed account of the military operations and the state of the army. It is followed by a summary of the results and a list of recommendations. The report concludes with a list of recommendations.

The third part of the report contains a detailed account of the military operations and the state of the army. It is followed by a summary of the results and a list of recommendations. The report concludes with a list of recommendations.

## An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn

A TRANSLATION and full explanation of the complete recension of the Bundahishn have been wanted ever since Anklesaria in 1908 published his facsimile edition, the few Iranian scholars having been occupied with the endless stream of fresh material that has descended upon them since the beginning of this century. This article contains a translation of the second chapter; the first and third chapters were made available by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 206-237.

The second chapter, like few other sections of the book, allows us a glimpse of the structure and composition of the "Bundahishn" which are already sufficiently indicated by its correct title, *Zandāgāhīh*, i.e. exposition of information provided by the Pahlavi version of the Avesta. It is an original work on cosmology in which the scattered teachings of the Avesta were co-ordinated and brought into a system by an author who, living presumably towards the end of the Sassanian epoch,<sup>1</sup> possessed an encyclopædic knowledge of the Avestic literature. The oft-repeated assertion that the Bundahishn were the Pahlavi version of an Avestan *Nask*, the *Dāmdād Nask*, is a myth. It is true that the compiler utilized also the *Dāmdād Nask*, but only as one source among many: others are the *Vendidad*, *Yasna*, *Yashts*, *Nyāyish*, etc.<sup>2</sup> From the resemblance of the contents of ch. xxviii to the Hippocratical treatise *περὶ ἐβδομάδων* (believed to have been written about 420 B.C.) Goetze<sup>3</sup> has argued a very early date for the composition of the *Dāmdād Nask* as the presumed source of the Bundahishn. This cannot be accepted as proved, since there is nothing to show that the *Dāmdād Nask* formed the sole (or even the main) source of the Bundahishn. We are at liberty to assume that a Pahlavi version of the Greek treatise or an epitome made from it (translated

<sup>1</sup> This, however, still remains to be proved. All we know is that the final chapters (xxxv to xxxvi), regarded as a later addition by most scholars, were written in Abbasid times; the date of ch. xxxi, a bowdlerized version of *Vd.*, i (Pahl. tr.), is settled by Baghdād being mentioned (205<sup>12</sup>); confusion of *Sūlik* and *Sūrik*. On ch. xxix see Christensen, *Kayanides*, 51-60.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *Vd.* 2<sup>15</sup> in 68<sup>3</sup> and 94<sup>6-7</sup> (see below *Note A*); *Y.* 57<sup>1</sup> (or 3<sup>20</sup>, or par.) in 170<sup>1-6</sup>; *Tidr Yt.* in 63; Pahl. tr. of *Nyāyish* 3<sup>4-7</sup> (pp. 29-31, ed. Dhahhar) in 165; etc. For further details see Christensen, *ibid.*, 47 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Indologie u. Iran.*, vol. ii; supported by Reitzenstein and Schaefer, *Studien*, 6 sqq., 209, *et passim*.

probably under Shapur I) was among the material utilized in ch. xxviii.<sup>1</sup>

The astronomical contents of the second chapter facilitate the analysis of the sources at the disposal of the author. His main source with its nearly prehistoric views (sun and moon farther distant from the earth than the stars; size and velocity of the stars; planets unknown, etc.) is clearly pre-Achæmenian. After contact with the Babylonians the ecliptic, the zodiacal signs, the planets, etc., became known. Acquaintance with Greek science, energetically promoted by Shapur I, brought more modern ideas (e.g. stellar magnitudes, exact data for the elongation of the planets,<sup>2</sup> etc.). The division of the ecliptic into "lunar mansions" was introduced probably as late as A.D. 500.<sup>3</sup> The most ancient views stand beside quite modern opinions. There is no doubt that the author of the Bundahishn knew perfectly well that the moon is nearer to the earth than the fixed stars; to say so, however, against the authority of scripture, would have branded him as a heretic.<sup>4</sup>

#### ON THE CREATION OF THE LIGHTS

[A 25<sup>5</sup>, W 6<sup>2</sup>] Ohrmazd created<sup>5</sup> the Lights and set them between the heaven and the earth: the fixed stars, the not-fixed stars, then the moon, then the sun. [W 6<sup>5</sup>] After he had first created a sphere, he [A 25<sup>10</sup>] set the fixed stars on it, in particular the following twelve (constellations)<sup>6</sup> whose names are: Lamb, Ox, Two Pictures, Crab, Lion, Spica, Balance, Scorpion, Centaur, Goat,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question whether or not the author of *De Hebdomadibus* was influenced by Oriental ideas, has no bearing upon the whole problem. "Oriental ideas" and *Dāmdād Nask* are not synonyms.

<sup>2</sup> See Note B at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> See Note E at the end of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> A = Great Bundahishn, ed. Anklesaria; W = Indian Ed. (Westergaard).

<sup>5</sup> There is little doubt that *brihēnīdan* "create" and "predetermine, predestine" derives from *bri* "to cut"; cf. Av. *taš*, *θvaras*, etc., "cut" and "create". The *-h-* compares with that in Man.MPers. *pryhyn* "loving", whilst the shortening of palatal vowels in front of *-h-* is exemplified by Parthian *frhyft* "love" (commonly mistranslated "glory"), or by Persian *jihān* "world" (MPers. *gihān*; *g/j* as in *jān*, *jā*). The late Pazend spelling *barhin-*, etc., is the correct continuation of *brihēn-*, cf. Pers. *farmāy-* from MPers. *framāy-*; indeed, we know that in later times Parth. *frhyft* was pronounced *farhifft*. Nyberg's explanation of the verb as an ideogram (*JA.*, 1929, i, 250 sq.) carries little conviction.

<sup>6</sup> A recognition of their Babylonian origin might be found in a Dinkard passage (639<sup>11</sup> sqq., epitomized 435 ult.) where it is told that Zoroaster explained the proper import of the zodiacal circle to the "Wise of Babylon" (*frāzānagān-ī Bābelāyigān*).

<sup>7</sup> *whyk* = (young) he-goat, cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.* 129 (*ad x*, 9). In a Manichæan fragm. (M 235) we have: *'gystynyd . . . 'wcl whyg'n 'c zwoy = rā šē ēpīfīa* Matthew 25, 33. Cf. Bakht. *big*.

Pail, Fish. In astronomy one also employs their subdivision in twenty-seven lunar mansions<sup>1</sup> [W 6<sup>10</sup>] whose names are: Padevar, Pesh-Parviz, etc.<sup>2</sup>

[A 26<sup>4</sup>, W 6<sup>15</sup>] For all material creatures Ohrmazd has fixed their stations,<sup>3</sup> so that at the moment of the aggressor's arrival they should fight with their particular antagonists and deliver the creatures from their adversaries, in the way of an army and its battalions which are arrayed for a battle (viz. before the fighting starts).

[A 26<sup>8</sup>] For each of those < twelve constellations ><sup>4</sup> 6,480,000 odd stars<sup>5</sup> were created, to assist them (viz. in the great fight). These are now counted as "fixed stars" (*aχtar*), and are apart from the countless stars which also are there to assist them.

[A 26<sup>11</sup>, W 7<sup>1</sup>] Over the fixed stars Ohrmazd appointed four Generals, (one) for (each of) the four directions, and over these Generals he appointed a General of Generals.<sup>6</sup> Many stars whose names are known, too many to be counted, were posted to the various districts and stations, for the purpose of invigorating and strengthening the fixed stars.<sup>7</sup> As HE says<sup>8</sup>: "Tishtrya (Sirius) is the General of the East, Sadwēs (Antares) is the General of the South, Wanand (Vega) is the General of the West, Haftōreng (Great Bear) is the General of the North, and Mēχ-i Gāh (Polaris),<sup>9</sup> called also *Mēχ-i miyān āsmān* (the peg in the centre of the sky),

<sup>1</sup> Read: *ušan ham-baχšišnih pad xxvii χwardag āmārišnīg*.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Note E at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *uš harwisp bundahišnān-i gētiq mādān awiš kard hēnd* (rather than *mānišn*), equivalent to: *uš ō harw. bund. . . . mādān k. h.; mānd* "house", etc., as Pahl. Ps. *m'nd-y*, Man. MPers. *mānd*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore: *harw aχtar-ē az awēšān < xii aχtarān >*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus TD<sub>2</sub> and Ind. Bd. 6,480,000 is  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 30$ , i.e. the number of *tertiaie partes* (sixtieths of a second) contained in an arc of thirty degrees (= one *aχtar*). Hence, the total number of fixed stars was estimated as equal to the number of *tertiaie partes* in a circle, or 77,760,000. The manuscript DH. wrongly has 8,480,000.

<sup>6</sup> Read: *spāhbedān spāhbed-ē abar awēšān spāhbedān gumārd*.

<sup>7</sup> Read: *pad hamzōrih ud nēriq-dādārih-i awēšān aχtarān*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ēgōn gōvēd* is the usual formula to introduce a quotation. The implied subject of *gōvēd* "he says" is the author of the book or tradition quoted (cf. Arab. *qāla* in Muslim books). When the book cited happens to be the Avesta (as in our Bundahishn passage), the subject of *gōvēd* is the author of the Avesta, namely Ohrmazd according to Zoroastrian teaching (cf. Dinkard, pp. 9-10). In such cases *Ēgōn gōvēd* (often amplified: *ē. g. pad dēn*) corresponds to the Muslimic formula: *qāla* (or *qawluhu*) *ta'ālā*. The reading *guftēt* "it has been said" (as if the author of the Avesta were unknown) which Nyberg has proposed for *YMLLWN-yt* (JA., 1929, i, 264; *Hilfsb.*, ii, 84), not only violates the Pahlavi grammar, but is unacceptable also for semasiological reasons.

<sup>9</sup> See Notes D, F, G at the end of this paper.

is the General of Generals.<sup>1</sup> Pārend, Mazdadād,<sup>2</sup> and others of that kind are Chief District-Commanders.”

[A 27<sup>8</sup>] The astronomers nowadays call these stars *inerrantes*,<sup>3</sup> and instead of “large”, “small”, “medium”, they use the expressions “first magnitude”, “< second > magnitude”, “third < magnitude >”.<sup>4</sup>

[A 27<sup>8</sup>] (Ohrmazd) laid out this sphere (i.e. the zodiacal sphere) in the likeness of a year: the twelve constellations (zodiacal signs) like the twelve months, each constellation with its thirty degrees<sup>5</sup> like a month with its thirty nychthemera.

[A 27<sup>11</sup>] He posted the Great Bear to the northern direction where the hell was to be at the time of the aggressor's arrival. A tether ties each of the seven continents to the Great Bear, for the purpose of managing the continents during the period of the Mixture. That is why the Great Bear is called *Haftōreng*.<sup>6</sup>

[A 27<sup>15</sup>] Ohrmazd laid out the sphere of the fixed stars in the likeness of a spinning-wheel, so that<sup>7</sup> at the time of the Mixture they (the stars) cou'd start revolving.

[A 28<sup>1</sup>] As another (sphere) on top of these < fixed stars > Ohrmazd placed the Unmixable Stars, for the purpose that at

<sup>1</sup> The remaining portion of the second chapter is omitted in the Indian Bd.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably two of the stars “whose names are known” mentioned before. Pārend = Av. Pārendi-? One can hardly read Pārend-i mazdadād.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *stārag-i 'wyd'p'nyk = a-wiyābān-ig*. The latter word has survived in Persian as *biyābānī*, according to Ahmed b. 'Abd-al-Jalīl Sagzi (cited by S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šmārī*, 335, n. 469) = “the fixed stars of the first to the third magnitude and the lunar mansions”. Since verbs derived from *wiyābān* mean “to lead astray” (*wiyābānēnīdan*, etc.), it becomes clear that *a-wiyābānig* “not subject to being led astray” is a translation of ἀπλανής, *inerrans*. The Persian astronomers naturally preferred this clear term to the ambiguous *aḫtar* (1) fixed star, (2) constellation, (3) zodiacal sign.

<sup>4</sup> The copyists evidently did not understand this passage. They left out two, and wrongly divided one word (*n-hustyn*). Read: *wuzurgih-i noḫustīn, wuzurgih-i < dudīgar, wuzurgih-i > sidīgar*. The first astronomer to classify the stars according to their “magnitudes” was Hipparchus (second century B.C.); he distinguished six magnitudes.

<sup>5</sup> See Note B at the end of this paper.

<sup>6</sup> These seven tethers constitute the “light” counterpart to the seven ties which connect the seven planets with the lower regions, and through which the planets exercise their influence upon terrestrial events. The inventor of this etymology of *Haftōreng* probably employed the word *rag* “vein” for these ties (*haft rag* “seven veins”) for which *band* “tie, tether” has been substituted here. In unpublished Manichaean texts MPers. *rag* (also Sogdian *r'k*) is actually in use for these invisible and indestructible connecting lines (besides words like *land*, cf. e.g. *Mir. Man.*, i, 196). A Sogdian passage (on the “dark” ties, from *M* 178): *'ty cn wyspuc dyoty ky 'ty wy' 'nrcwznyy βstyī xnd wyx r'k 'ty p'fnd w'fnd 'ty ptyw'fnd*, “They wove to and fro roots, veins, and connections from all the demons who were imprisoned in the zodiacal circle.” The *Kephalaia*, chaps. 48 and 49, contain a detailed description of these pipe-lines (Coptic *lāme*).

<sup>7</sup> Read: 'YK (DH.).

the time of the aggressor's arrival they should repel him in battle and not let him carry his pollution (lit. "mixing") higher up. As the General over them, Ohrmazd appointed the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians. There it (= the sphere of the Unmixable Stars) is called: "the Corps of the Immortals," the manifestation of purity in the mixed state. They are called "Unmixable Stars" for this reason that at the time of the adversary's < arrival > they were not subjected to becoming mixed. The astronomers < nowadays > use the expression "the sphere above the sphere". This sphere lacks computation and precession (?),<sup>1</sup> since they (i.e. the astronomers) are unable to observe in the pure ones any characteristics of the mixed ones.<sup>2</sup>

[A 28<sup>10</sup>] Over that (sphere) Ohrmazd created the moon "in which the seed of the animals is stored" (= Av. *gaočibra*). Over the moon he created the sun "whose horses are swift" (= Av. *aurvač.aspa*). He appointed sun and moon to the chieftainship over the stars, the mixed ones as well as the unmixable ones, so that all of them should be tied to the sun and the moon. Over the sun he created the Throne of the Aməša Spəntas which is in contact with the Endless Light, the throne of Ohrmazd. These are the "six stations", six works corresponding to the six material creatures.<sup>3</sup>

[A 29<sup>2</sup>] Between the earth and the (lower) sphere<sup>4</sup> Ohrmazd placed the wind, the clouds, and the lightning-fire, so that at the time of the aggressor's arrival Tishtrya, with (the help of) the transcendent water,<sup>5</sup> could take the water and cause the rain to fall.<sup>6</sup> He tied these also to the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus Tishtrya, the General of the East, is the helper and assistant of the lightning-fire, the wind, and the clouds.

[A 29<sup>3</sup>] Among these stars, the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a room,<sup>7</sup> the medium-sized ones are like a

<sup>1</sup> Read: *uš angārag ud wihēz padīš nēst? wihēz* "to leave, or progress (in an upwards direction)" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 60 sq.) is often confused with *wišēb* "to shake, toss", and with *nīšēb* "below", in astrology = "dejection" (S. H. Taqizadeh, *l.l.*, p. 336; "nīšast" is a misspelling of *nīšēb*).

<sup>2</sup> On the two "spheres" see Note C at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> See Note C at the end of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Read: *miyān zam < iγ ud > spīhr*.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *pwn ZK-y ms mynrag ZK*, to be read: *pwn ZK MY'-y mynogyk?* Cf. 37<sup>6</sup> *Tīstr . . . hān āb stānēd, mēnōgihā ō wād abispārēd*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tyštl* (TD, *tuchšytul*) *MY' YNSBWN-yt, w'ln w'lynyt*. Cf. 63<sup>15</sup>, 67<sup>4</sup>, 130<sup>10</sup>, 136<sup>1-2</sup>, 137<sup>1</sup>, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *ēē-i ktk-ms'd* is evidently the same as Av. *asma katō.masā* Yt. 17, 20, cf. Vd. 19, 4. "Stone" fits also Gr.Bd. 19<sup>14</sup> where Nyberg (*J.A.*, 1929, i, 222, 291) offers the reading: *sēnmurv!* In that passage it is related that before the creation of the plants, etc., one-third of the surface of the earth was "hard as *ēē-d'*" (read

rolling<sup>1</sup> wheel,<sup>2</sup> the small ones like the head of the domesticated ox.<sup>3</sup> The moon is the size of a racecourse of two *hāθras*, each geographical *hāθra* being about as much as a parasang of average length.<sup>4</sup> The sun is the size of *Ērān-veš*.

[A 29<sup>12</sup>] Before the aggressor's arrival, the moon, the sun, and the stars stood still, did not revolve. In purity they passed the time. It was noon perpetually. After the aggressor's arrival, they started revolving, and they will not stop revolving until the end (of the world).

[A 30<sup>1</sup>] The velocity of the sun is that of a large three-feathered arrow which a large man shoots<sup>5</sup> from a large bow. The velocity of the moon is that of a medium-sized three-feathered arrow which a medium-sized man shoots from a medium-sized bow. The velocity of the stars is that of a small three-feathered arrow which a small man shoots from a small bow.<sup>6</sup> Among the fixed stars the following have the greatest velocity<sup>7</sup>: *Tishtrya* (Sirius), *Bašn* (Betelgeuse),

*ēē-s'r* = *sangsār* = stony or rocky country, another was *gard-āgand* "filled with sand" (Nyberg: *vvarθ ayvand!* Cf. 136<sup>11</sup> *χāk ud gard* = 140<sup>14</sup> *MY'ry* = 'p' = *χāk ud gard*; *wād-i gardag* "sand-storm"). Another clear passage is 140<sup>1</sup> where *ēē* alternates with *sng* 139<sup>14</sup>. Considering that *ēē* is (1) an ideogram, (2) the equivalent of *sang* "stone", it can be hardly anything but a strongly corrupt spelling of *KYP* (*Frah.*, xvi, 3; Syr. *k'p'* = *kēfā*). We have to keep apart the *ēē* of *Frah.*, viii, 1 (one of the worst lines in that book) on which Nyberg based his explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain. The word (deceptively resembling *padīχw* "thriving") recurs 44<sup>9</sup> as "revolving".

<sup>2</sup> Hardly *čahragān* "spinning-wheels"? Possibly to be read *č'hrkw'n* = *č'hragwān*, cf. Man. MPers. *r'stw'n* "circuit, circumference" (= Pahl. "r'stk'n" Gr.Bd. 210<sup>19</sup>, corrupted "rah-wirān" Jamaspi, vii, 2, p. 49, ed. Messina? But see Pahl. Riv. Dd. 49<sup>11</sup>, p. 160, ed. Dhabhar).

<sup>3</sup> A similar comparison was contained in a lost Avestic text from which a few words are quoted in the *Frahang-i Oim*, iv a, p. 15, ed. Reichelt: "And the smallest of those stars are like the head of a medium-sized man."

<sup>4</sup> The Avestic original to our passage probably merely said: "The moon is *čaratu-masah*." On measures see *Note A* at the end of this paper.

<sup>5</sup> The present is spelt *wēh* in Man. MPers. texts (e.g. in *M*-819), i.e. *wēh*- from OIr. *wid*- (= Yaghobi *wid*-, Pashto *wul*-, etc.), cf. the *h* in Parachi *γuh*-.

<sup>6</sup> Since the sun reappears in the same meridian about four minutes later than a star, and the moon 52.7 minutes later than the sun, we should expect the statement that the stars were swifter than the sun, and the sun swifter than the moon. However, according to the Bundahishn the lunar and solar spheres are further from the earth than the sphere of the stars so that, to keep pace with the stars, sun and moon have to travel at a considerably greater velocity to cover the greater distances of their orbits.

<sup>7</sup> This statement is puzzling. That the "fixed" stars possess "proper motion" is a modern discovery (made by Halley in A.D. 1718), and the stars enumerated here (= lunar mansions 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, and Sirius) are not noteworthy for particularly great proper motion (except for Sirius and Procyon). Possibly the text means that the apparent absolute distance travelled by stars close to the equator is greater than that covered by stars near the poles during the same time (the angular distances measured in right ascension being equal); hence stars in proximity to the equator would appear to move quicker than others. Even so it is difficult to understand the reason for selecting only the stars enumerated here (all of which are fairly close to the equator).



\**Trišag*<sup>1</sup> (Canis minor), "*Aparak*" (ζ Hydrae, etc.), "*Padēvar*" (β, γ Arietis?), and *Pēš-Parwiz* (41 Arietis, etc.).

[A 30<sup>2</sup>] The interval of time<sup>2</sup> from the sun's leaving a fixed star until his reaching it again<sup>3</sup> is as much as thirteen months<sup>4</sup> . . . . .<sup>5</sup>

## NOTES ON ASTRONOMICAL TERMS, ETC.

A. Measures	E. Lunar mansions
B. Degree and minute	F. Satavaēsa
C. The spheres	G. Vanant
D. Polaris	H. Tištryaēnī

A. *Measures*. The Pahlavi commentators of Sassanian times did not know (and could not be expected to know) the exact value of the measures mentioned in the Avestic texts. Their lack of information is most noticeable in their comments on Av. *hāθra*, the basic OIr. road-measure, the length of which they determined variously as a parasang or a quarter-parasang. This is due to the fact that the measures current in Sassanian Persia were fundamentally different from those employed in ancient times. In the case of the *hāθra* they merely substituted the common road-measures of their own period. For the determination of the real length of the *hāθra* this has as much value as a modern translator's use of the word "mile" equally for, e.g. Russ. Verst and Pers. Farsang.

As regards the measures for short distances, the Avestic system, or rather that of the Vendidad and the Nirangistan, so closely resembles the common Greco-Roman system, as a whole and in all details, that its foreign origin can be taken for granted. It was presumably introduced into Persia by the Macedonian conquerors. The comparative table given below may be of use:—

1 finger δάκτυλος	Av. <i>ərəzu</i> Pahl. <i>angust</i> "finger(-breadth)".
2 fingers κόνδυλος	Av. <i>baši</i> , <i>βiši</i> , <sup>6</sup> Pahl. <i>bēk</i> "joint of a finger".
4 " παλαιστή	Av. <i>ašti</i> "*palm".
8 " διχάς	Av. <i>uz-ašti</i> ("super- <i>ašti</i> ") = 2 palms.
10 " λυχάς	Av. <i>dīšti</i> "short span" (thumb and forefinger).

<sup>1</sup> See Note H at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> *miyān-drang*. On *drang* "period" see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 319, 584.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. a sidereal year.

<sup>4</sup> Read *BYRH-xiii* (in the place of *BYRH-i iii*). Sidereal months are meant here. Thirteen sidereal months (355·17 days) are about as much as twelve synodical months (354·36 days), although rather less than a sidereal year.

<sup>5</sup> The text is corrupt. I have failed to find the correct restitution. One could read *YNSBWN-yt* in the place of *YNSHWN-yt* (or *dōsānēt*), and *ŠBEWN-yt* in the place of *ŠDYTWN-yt*.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably merely different spellings of the same word.

12	„	σπιθαμή	Av. <i>vitasti</i> , Pahl. <i>vitast</i> " (normal) span ". <sup>1</sup>
16	„	πούς	Av. <i>paḍa</i> , Pahl. <i>pāy</i> " foot ". <sup>2</sup>
24	„	πῆχυς	Av. <i>frārāθni</i> , Pahl. <i>frārāst</i> " cubit ".
48	„	βῆμα of 3 ft. (Macedonian)	Av. <i>gāya</i> , <i>gāman</i> , Pahl. <i>gām</i> " pace ". <sup>3</sup>
96	„	ὄργυιά	Av. <i>viḅāzu</i> (Pahl. <i>jud-nāy</i> ) " fathom ". <sup>4</sup>
160	„	κάλαμος (ἄκαινα)	Pahl. <i>nāy</i> " reed, pole, perch ". <sup>5</sup>

Of different origin are the *hāθra* and its multiples, in particular the *tačar-* or *čaratu-* (*čaratā-*). These measures which are mentioned in texts older than the bulk of the Vendidad (Yashts, etc.), are originally Iranian, derived from horse-racing, a peculiarly Iranian sport. A *hāθra* is the length of a racecourse, a *čaratu* is a full round of the course, equalling two *hāθras* (*čaratu* : *hāθra* = *δίαυλος* : *στάδιον*). On Boghazköi *va-ša-an-na* (cf. Parth. *r'št-wzn*, *'xtr-wzn*) = Av. *čaratu-*, *tačar-* (cf. Parth. *tr*) = MPers. *asprēs*, see Markwart, *Gāthā Ust.*, p. 3, Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 169 sq. If we can accept the length indicated by Herzfeld, *l.l.*, p. 170, a *hāθra* would be about 700 metres long (3½ furlongs), roughly the length of the Greek *ἵππικόν* (4 *stadia*).

As stated above, the Pahlavi commentators define the *hāθra* as either the parasang or the quarter-parasang. Thus in the Bundahishn passage (29<sup>1</sup>) translated above : 1 *hāθra* = 1 *frasang-i paīmānīg* = parasang of normal, average length. The word *paīmānīg* (from *paīmān* " correct measure, not too much and not too little ") in connection with measures has the same value as the Greek *μέτριος* (cf. *μ. πῆχυς*, Herodotus, i, 178); it is peculiarly applicable to the parasang the length of which was variable. In *Gr.Bd.* 63<sup>a</sup>, 12 *ē frasang* renders the word *hāθra* of Yt. 8<sup>23</sup>, 29. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> The height of the average man is eight *vitasti* acc. to the Indian Bundahishn ch. xxvi (= *Gr.Bd.* 162<sup>1</sup> wrongly : six v.), or his own *viḅāzu* in *Gr.Bd.* 189<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The *Frahang-i Oīm* chapter on measures (xxvii) opens with the absurd statement that fourteen *angust* were a *paḍa*. It should have been obvious that 14 is merely a copyist's error for 16. In the same chapter the *vitasti* is described as of 12 *angust*, and the *frārāst* (= 2 *vitasti*) is defined as 1½ *paḍa*. Hence, 1 *paḍa* = 16 *angust* (as it should be).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the pace of 2½ feet (*gradus*) was also known, if ZK in *Frah. Oīm*, xxvii a, line 4 : *čvaiti aētšaya, čand ZK angust*, should be a blunder for the numeral sign for xl (cf. Bartholomae *s.v.*). At any rate, Av. *gāman* is always of 3 feet. An alternative expression for *gāman* is *frabāzu* = ½ *viḅāzu*, see Bartholomae *s.v.*

<sup>4</sup> Sogdian *ωβ'z* (*Dhyāna* 88) renders Chinese *hsün*, a measure of eight *ch'ih* (each of ten *ts'un* " inches "). In the same passage, Chinese " 16 *ch'ih* " is translated as " 16 *wyδ't'y* ". As F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii, p. 394, rightly remarks one must conclude that the *wyδ't-* is the eighth part of the *ωβ'z* = Av. *viḅāzu*, i.e. a span. This agrees with the meaning of connected words in modern East-Iranian dialects (Shighni *wiḅēd* " span ", etc.), cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262. The Sogdian translators took Chin. *ch'ih* for " span ", not " foot " (as European translators commonly do).

<sup>5</sup> Common in Pahlavi texts, cf. e.g. Nyberg, ii, 154, *s.v. nāδ* (where *nāy-i paīmānīg* should be read = perches of correct measure, or average length). Occasionally, *nāy* is used in the place of *jud-nāy* (thus *Gr.Bd.* 189<sup>a</sup>).

a *hāθra* is the fourth part (*čahār-ēwag*) of a parasang acc. to *Gr.Bd.* 113<sup>4-5</sup>. Referring to the circumference of Yima's Var which is 4 *čaratu* in *Vd.* 2<sup>25</sup>, the author of the *Gr.Bd.* states that its eight *hāθras* equal two parasangs (68<sup>9</sup> and 94<sup>6-7</sup>; the numeral signs are somewhat miswritten). A different way of expressing the same relation is used *Gr.Bd.* 161<sup>13/4</sup>: a geographical *hāθra* is a parasang of 1,000 *gām-ī dō pāy*, i.e. 1,000 paces of the two feet = *milia passuum*, as West, *SBE.*, v, 98, correctly translated. It need hardly be said that the translation: 1,000 paces of 2 feet each (as proposed by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 522, and others), although linguistically unobjectionable, is entirely out of the question. In Sassanian times the Persians, of course, were familiar with the Roman mile. According to *Zādspram*, vi, 8 (K 35, fol. 239r. 2), the minimum-parasang was of 20,000 feet: this is the standard number of *Roman* feet in four Roman miles = one parasang.

Three definitions for the *hāθra* are given in the *Frah. Oim*, xxvii (cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.*, 12 sq.): "the medium geographical *hāθra* (A) which one also calls *frasang*, (B) equals 1,000 paces of the two feet, (C) the walking of which is measured as equalling the passing of the time of the medium *hāθra* of the nychthemeron." In other words: (A) *hāθra* = parasang, (B) = quarter-parasang, (C) = parasang. (C) contains the common definition of the parasang as *an hour's way*. This interrelation of time and distance is correct for the parasang, not however for the *hāθra*, the ancient racecourse measure, despite the employment of the word *hāθra* for measures of time which arose in a later period and at a different stage of cultural development.

The same passage shows the true value of the "medium time-*hāθra*", as the *hour*. This can be proved also in a different way. According to much-quoted Pahlavi passages the longest day (night) is of 12 *hāθras*, the shortest day (night) of 6 *hāθras*, i.e. the longest day (night) was defined as of  $\frac{1}{12} \times 24 = 16$  hours, the shortest night (day) as of  $\frac{1}{6} \times 24 = 8$  hours. The *hāθra* employed here equals  $\frac{2}{3}$  hours (1 h. 20 m.), or in other words, it is the *hour* ( $\frac{1}{12}$  day) as measured on the longest day. Since we know that the time-*hāθras* were of variable length, we cannot escape the conclusion that they were simply *unequal hours* (*ἀραι καίρικαι*), i.e. a *hāθra* = the twelfth part of the natural day from sunrise to sunset.<sup>1</sup> This system of *unequal hours* (which from Babylon was introduced

<sup>1</sup> As far as I know this has not been understood before.

in Greece, too) is naturally inconvenient as such hours vary not only from day to day, but also according to the parallel of latitude. To gain an absolute measure of time it is necessary to choose the hour of a fixed day at a certain latitude as the standard unit. While the Babylonians very properly chose the hour of the days of equinox (i.e. the only days of equal length for all latitudes), the Iranians took three hours, viz. the hour of the longest day, the shortest day, and the "medium" day, evidently = equinoctial day. The relation of the lengths of these days is as  $16^1 : 12 : 8$ , the corresponding *hāθras* are 1 h. 20 m., 1 h., and 40 m. Accordingly, the longest day (of 16 hours) comprises 12 longest *hāθras*, or 16 medium *hāθras*, or 24 shortest *hāθras*. In the *Frahang-i Oīm*, xxvii b, a scribe has "corrected" these figures and written: the longest day has 12 longest, 18 medium, or 24 shortest *hāθras*, probably because he had in mind the relation of the day-lengths which is indeed  $12 : 18 : 24$ .

*B. Degree and minute.* The word for "degree" (of a circle) is spelt *sws* here (27<sup>10</sup>). Somewhat contorted it also occurs in the *thema mundi* (51<sup>4</sup>), see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, p. 326, where a tentative reading (*sing*) is given. In another passage (53<sup>11</sup> sqq.) we have both "degree" and "minute": the maximum elongation of the outer planets is 180 *sws-y* (i.e. *sws* or *swš*) = degrees, that of Mercury is 1,350 (? MSS. 1,850) *lypyh*, and that of Venus 2,831 *lypyh* = minutes (i.e.  $22^\circ 30'$ , and  $47^\circ 11'$  respectively). It seems that *lypyh* is corrupted from *lyp<t>yh* = Greek  $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\eta$  "minute" (cf. also Skt. *līptā*, and Chin. *li-to*, see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, 160 [184] n.).<sup>2</sup> As to "degree", the Pahlavi word could be analysed in several hundred different ways, but at first sight one would read *sws* or *suš*. Now, in an unpublished Manichæan Sogdian fragment dealing with the movement of the

<sup>1</sup> The longest day is 16 hours long at the latitude of  $48^\circ 43'$  (obliquity of the ecliptic =  $23^\circ 42'$ , as in the year  $\pm 0$ ), or rather, if "day" = time of visibility of any part of the sun disc, and allowing for refraction, at lat.  $47^\circ 20'$ . Including twilight, the proper latitude would be  $37^\circ$  approx. (allowing 1 h. 24 m. for morning + evening twilight, assumed to begin and end at the sun's zenith distance of  $97^\circ$ ); at lat.  $36^\circ$  the longest day + twilight = 15 h. 51 m., and 15 h. 44 m. at lat.  $35^\circ$ . We can perhaps say that the longest day of the Pahlavi texts is based on conditions prevailing in Northern Persia, but that its length was rounded off to be twice that of the shortest night. The shortest day was simply decreed to be of equal length with the shortest night, without having regard to actual conditions. However, the entire scheme may have been borrowed from the Babylonians (cf. e.g. *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 72 sqq.)

<sup>2</sup> This explanation seems preferable to taking *lypyh* (*lpyh*, *lpy*) for the ideogram for *rētak* (*rēdag*) "young child" (cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, 70 sqq.), hence possibly = "small, minutus"; the ideogram in question was originally *lpy* (*rabyā*).

moon, a word *swš* occurs which seems to be "degree" (*w'fryδδ swš xrtyh βwt c'fryδδ ptsm'r wβyh* "the resulting number indicates the number of degrees passed", M 767). It is doubtful if the word can be derived from Greek *σώσος*, Babl. *šuššu* "sixty, a unit of sixty", as the latter does not seem to have been used for "sixty minutes = a degree". The change in the sibilants (*šuššu*: Sogd. *suš*: Pahl. *sus* or *suš*) might be due to dissimilation.<sup>1</sup>

C. *The Spheres*. The Zoroastrians originally distinguished four spheres: (1) stars, (2) moon, (3) sun, (4) paradise, to which the "station of the clouds" is sometimes added as a fifth and lowest. A *locus classicus* for this division is a passage from the Hadokht Nask *apud* Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 172 (cf. also Barthelemy, *Guj. Ab.*, p. 55): *mānō stārō mānhō hearō anayra raočā*, Pahlavi translation "cloud-station, star-station, moon-station, etc." (*Air, Wb.*, 1168 *s.v.* *mānō*, to be corrected accordingly). Cf. Y. I, 16, etc.

The later scheme of six spheres (or seven, with the "clouds") is due partly to mere juggling with numbers (six Aməša Spəntas, seven with Ohrmazd, etc.; cf. *Gr.Bd.* 194<sup>s</sup> sqq.), but partly to the desire to fit in astrological concepts which (coming from Babylonia) had gained such wide acceptance in Persia that the leaders of the Zoroastrian Church could withhold their official recognition no longer. With this purpose in view the "station of the stars" was split up in two: the "Unmixable Stars" and the "Sphere" *par excellence*, i.e. the sphere of the ecliptic (including the spheres of the planets), which according to the astrologers exercises a far-reaching influence upon terrestrial beings and events. Together with the idea of this sphere (which is entirely alien to the original Zoroastrianism), the word for it was borrowed: Pahl. *spīhr*, New Pers. *siḫr* = *σφαῖρα*. The derivation of *spīhr* from Old Iranian which Noeldeke proposed (*Pers. Stud.*, i, 36 sqq.), is not convincing.<sup>2</sup> The *-h-* is due to faulty analogy (*mīhr*, widely pronounced *mīr*; hence

<sup>1</sup> Another hitherto unrecognized MPers. word of Babylonian origin is Man. MP. *šod'b* "companion" (in *h'm-šod'b*, *BBB.*; differently Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, 230) = Akkadian *šutapu* (Syr., etc., *šuttāpā*, *šuttāfā*). In unpublished Parthian texts *šwsmyn* "best man (at a wedding)" occurs, also originally Akkadian, cf. Syr. *šūšbīnā*. In MPers. fragments I noticed *m'rh* "sailor" = Akk. *malāhu* (Syr. *mallāhā*).

<sup>2</sup> The name *Spithridates* on which Noeldeke based his opinion, does not prove the existence of an Old Ir. word *spīθra*. "heaven" (anyway, *spīhr* is not "heaven", but "sphere", hence also "fate"). For all we know, *Spithridates* could mean "having white teeth, *λευκόδοτος*" (Av. *dātā*, Pahl. *dāt* "tooth"). The first to suggest the identity of *spīhr* with *σφαῖρα* was Lagarde.

*spīr* > *spīhr*).<sup>1</sup> Its unetymological nature is established by the spelling 'spyr in Manichæan texts.

Besides the Sphere proper, the only other part of the heavens to which the word *spīhr* is applied, is the "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", cf. e.g. *Gr.Bd.*, 194<sup>12</sup>, *spīhr-ī agumēzišn*, *spīhr-ī gumēzišnīg* "the sphere free from mixture, and the sphere subject to mixture". This sphere was believed to lie beyond the Sphere proper. Apparently it is based on a stellar zone outside the zone of the ecliptic to which the "mixed" activities (such as eclipses, the movement of the planets, etc.) are confined. The "General" over this sphere is the Tyche (*Farreh*) of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians,<sup>2</sup> i.e. the deity presiding over and embodying the Zoroastrian Church (the term was borrowed by the Manichæans: MPers. *Farreh-ī Dēn*, Sogd. *dēnī-farn*,<sup>3</sup> Uyğur *Nom-qutī*, etc.; the Avestic equivalent is *Vamhi Daēna Māzdayasniš*, without *x<sup>a</sup>arənah-*). In other passages (see below) the "Tyche of the Religion" is compared to a girdle around the sky. The word "girdle" naturally suggests the ζώνη<sup>4</sup> of the ecliptic which, however, cannot be meant here. As there is only one other celestial phenomenon that could be likened to a girdle, we have to conclude that the seat of the "Tyche of the Religion" was assumed to be the Milky Way.<sup>5</sup> The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", therefore, is the *galactic sphere* (i.e. a sphere the greatest circle of which is the Milky Way); it was believed to encase the lower sphere (the greatest circle of which is the ecliptic). The remark on the "lack of computation and precession (?)" (28<sup>9</sup>) is justified; thus, the galactic latitude of a star is not subject to any change (save proper motion).

The paragraph on the "Unmixable Stars" has been translated (somewhat differently) by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 298 sq. For a proper understanding it is necessary to consider the parallel passage,

<sup>1</sup> A similar case is possibly provided by the Parthian spelling of *zyncyhr* "chains" (Pers. *zanfir*). The routine etymology (\**zaina/i-ēiθra-*) is proved false by Sogdian *zyncry'kh* (P 2, 1065), in Man. script *jyncry'*. Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 596, compares Saka *tcamgalai*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. *DkM.* 130<sup>1,2</sup>; Antia, *Paz.T.*, 212, *apu*.

<sup>3</sup> In Sogdian this deity is even dubbed *δυνμζ'yzn βγγγ*, *dēn-mazdayasn βayi* (M 140, unpublished; for the spelling, cf. *mzdyzn* Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, nr. 37, 6, p. 133). The Manichæans, it is well known, unblushingly called their own religion (MPers.) *dyn-m'zdys*, *dēn-māzdēs*.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek word appears in Parthian as *zwnws* (*Mir. Man.*, iii). The spelling is distressing, but not more startling than that of *θρόνος* in Parthian: *trnys* (*ibid.*, where the translation is wrong).

<sup>5</sup> Under its common Persian designation, the galaxy is briefly referred to 60<sup>5</sup>. The interpretation of *Yasna* 9, 26, by Junker, *Aion-Vorst.*, p. 162, is unacceptable.

71<sup>4</sup> sqq.: the tenth battle was fought by the Unmixable Stars when they did not let (*ŠBKWN-t*) the darkness and sinfulness carry their pollution higher up. As HE says: "He put on the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians like a girdle, i.e. like a *kustīg*, decked with stars, by spirits made, three-fold with four knots, around the sky in that station." These stars were fighting in <her> company until the end. As I have written above,<sup>1</sup> there it is called "the Corps of the Immortals", demonstrating<sup>2</sup> purity in the mixed state. The comparison to the *kustīg* is further elaborated 193<sup>11</sup> sqq. The Avestan passage quoted here is very similar to *Yasna* 9, 26. See also *Dd.*, *Purs.* xxxviii, 14 sqq. (pp. 117 sq. *Anklesaria*).

In the preceding pages, *mādiyān-razm* (or *mādiyān-ī razm*) has been rendered: the Corps of the Immortals (Nyberg, loc. cit., *le livre de la bataille*). It seems to me that *mādiyān-razm* is a variation on the Sassanian designation of the "Immortals" which is known to us only from Armenian sources, as *gund-n matean*, or *matenik gund-n* (see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 192). The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", interposed between the higher heavens and the zone of the dark powers, constitutes the last line of defence for the Light; hence, some such term as "the Guards" seems a fitting description. The literal meaning of *mādiyān-razm* is presumably "the core of the battle-line" (*gund-n matean* = "the principal battalion"). *mādiyān* "essential, basic, core, capital" (frequent in the *Dinkard*; Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 305<sup>19</sup>, 306<sup>55</sup>, 309<sup>11</sup>, etc., rightly translates "chiefly") should be kept distinct from *mādiyān* "book" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 58), originally "*com-memorabilia, memoriae*" as Bartholomae, *Mir. Mund.*, v, 16 sq., assumed (now corroborated by a Sogdian gloss, *BBB.*, p. 128 s.v. *m'rōnyy*, where the remark on *gund-n matean* is to be cancelled).

*D. Polaris.* The correct reading of the Pahlavi name of the Polar Star has been established by S. H. Taqizadeh (loc. laud., 330 sqq.): *Gāh* and *Mēχ-ī Gāh*, while *Mēχ-ī miyān āsmān* (an alternative name of the Polar Star according to *Gr.Bd.* 27<sup>3</sup>, 52<sup>3</sup>, etc.) properly should be "zenith", *Mēχ-ī azēr zamīg* being "nadir". It seems to me that a similar designation of the poles or the Polar Star can be traced in the Avesta. *Av. mərəzu* has been suspected of bein

<sup>1</sup> Thus the author of the *Bundahishn* refers the reader to the passage of the second chapter. Read *cygw* < *ZK-y* > *NPŠH nšt*, cf. 135<sup>6</sup> *et passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *blynd* (DH. *blynd*) is not clear. It should be the equivalent of *paidāgih* (28<sup>5</sup>). Read *barēnd*?

the name of a star, or a constellation, by most interpreters of the Avesta (see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1174). Unfortunately the Pahlavi translation of Vd. 19, 42 (the only passage where *mərəzu* is found) is lost, but the New Persian version adduced by Hoshang Jamasp, *Vendidad*, p. 640, gives *Gāh* = Polar Star. Furthermore, *mərəzu* would be the ideal etymon of Ormuri *mažwai*, Pashto *mōžai* "peg" (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 50, and *NTS.*, v, 24). Hence, the ordinary meaning of *mərəzu* apparently was the same as that of Pahl. *mēχ*, Arab. *watād*, etc. This would also furnish a satisfactory explanation of Av. *mərəzu* - "vertebra" (Kurd., etc., *mul*, *mil*, etc., "neck") as from "peg, pivot". It seems likely that *mərəzu*, as "pole", is a translation of Greek *πόλος* "pivot, axis, pole"; the Avestan passage in which *mərəzu* is found, is certainly of no great antiquity.

Bartholomae took *mərəzu* Vd. 19, 42, to be in the dual number; we could translate: "the two poles." However, the epithet accompanying *mərəzu*: "the best fighter among the creatures of both spirits," is obviously well suited to the Polar Star, the "General of Generals". There is no need for examining Hertel's rendering of *mərəzu* ("Venus") which has already been refuted by B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, xlv, 109 sqq.

*E. Lunar Mansions.* In Iranian, we have four lists of the Lunar Mansions: that of the Bundahishn in Pazend, a Sogdian list in Beruni's *Chronology* (p. 240), a Khwarezmian one given by the same authority (*ibid.*), and the list published by Freiman, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 2(3), 1938, 43 sqq., from a Sogdian manuscript. Freiman's list is throughout<sup>1</sup> identical with Beruni's Khwarezmian list (this has not been clearly recognized by the editor), so that for Sogdian we are left solely with Beruni's indications. An unpublished Manichaean Sogdian MS. (M 549) contained a further list, but only

<sup>1</sup> i.e. wherever the reading is sufficiently clear to enable one to judge. One name (No. 15) has been left out in Freiman's manuscript, evidently by mistake (owing to the similarity of the following name). There are, however, some small differences in the form of the names, those in Beruni's book showing traits typical of Khwarezmian, those in Freiman's list having a distinctly Sogdian aspect. Several of these variations are due merely to the different age of the two lists. Thus we have: No. 12 Fr. *wyšprn* = Ber. *'χšfrn* (*uχšafarn*), No. 9 Fr. *my'* = Ber. *'my*, No. 17 Fr. *š'r'nt* = Ber. *š'rynd* (*šārend*), etc. Noteworthy is No. 13 Fr. *'strušk* or *'strušk* = Ber. *šwšk*, the latter form recurring in late Uyğur lists which otherwise give merely the Skt. names, for Skt. *Viśākhā* (No. 14), see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 55 (on 1, 18). For No. 24 Freiman's list gives a shortened form, *βrwyšt* = Beruni Khw. *frχšbyθ* = Beruni Sogd. *fršb'θ* (all adapted from Skt. [*pūreca*]-*proṣṭhapada*). Beruni uses an abbreviation for No. 25, *wbyr*, in the place of *wbyr-frχšbyθ* = Fr. *prw-βrwyšt* = Beruni Sogd. *pr-fršt* (also shortened) = Man. Sogd. *prw-frwzšpδ*; *wbyr* = *ubir* is the late Khwarezmian form of the same word as Sogd. *prw-* (= Skt. *uttara-*), Av. *aparam*.



a few words from its end are preserved. We learn that the total number of the mansions was 28 (*ii qmbyy xxx ptšmyrtyy* = *duode-triginta*), and that the mansions of *m'sy'g* = *Pisces* were [*frwxš*] *pδδ prw frwxšpδ 'tyy [ryw'] ndyy*<sup>1</sup> = Nos. 24, 25, 26 of Beruni's list. This shows that the Manichæan catalogue began with No. 27 = Skt. *Aśvinī*, like the Bundahishn, while Freiman's list and the two lists given by Beruni commenced with the Pleiades = Skt. *Kṛttikāḥ*.<sup>2</sup> For the identification of individual mansions it is important to know that Beruni's Sogdian list agrees most closely of all with Skt. This is manifest in those cases where the name was borrowed from Skt. Thus we have<sup>3</sup> :—

Skt. No. 8 *Maghā* = Sogd. No. 8 *my* but No. 9 in Khw. and Fr.  
Skt. No. 26 *Revatī* = Sogd. No. 26 *rēwand*, but No. 27 in Khw. and Fr.

It is a matter for regret that with few exceptions (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, in *Gr. Bd.* 30<sup>7</sup>, 51<sup>4</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, 72<sup>5</sup>, etc.) the names of the Pahlavi lunar mansions are preserved only in a Pazend transcription on which West, *SBE.*, v, 11, n. 3, rightly remarked: "the Pazend names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, etc." Lists of the Pazend forms (here not repeated) are available *apud* West, *ibid.*, and Taqizadeh, *loc. cit.*, 204 sqq.

The first point to be settled is the number of the mansions in Pahlavi. It is not twenty-eight as West assumed on the strength of the numeral characters in the Indian Bundahishn, but twenty-seven. The two available MSS. of the Great Bd. write xxvii. Taken by itself this is of little or no value as all copyists of Pahlavi texts were in the habit of writing numeral signs according to their own lights. More important is that there are only twenty-seven names; for the last words, Paz. *kahtsar vaht miyān kaht*, evidently represent only three names (not four), viz. *kaht-sar*, \**kaht-miyān*, *kaht* = the head of K.,<sup>4</sup> the middle of K., K. *par excellence*. A similar set of names occurs in the middle of the list where in the place of *nahn miyān avdām* (Nos. 10, 11, 12) we have to restore: *naxw*, *miyān*, *abdum* = beginning, middle, and end, viz. of *Leo*.

<sup>1</sup> The question whether the Manich. catalogue agreed with Beruni's Sogdian list, or with his Khwarezmian list and that of Freiman's manuscript, depends solely on the acceptance of this rather doubtful restitution.

<sup>2</sup> Of Rachmati's Uygur fragments, some start with *Kṛttikāḥ*, some with *Aśvinī*; the Arabs began with *aš-šaraḥāni* = *Aśvinī*.

<sup>3</sup> But Skt. No. 23 *Šatabhiṣaj* = Sogd. No. 22 *sdmys* (? Sachau *šdmšyr*) = Fr. No. 22 *sdmys* = Khw. No. 22 *sdmysy*.

<sup>4</sup> "*Kaht*" = name of a constellation. The transcribed form suggests *Cetus* (κῆτος, Syr. *q'l'* and *gyf'*), but this works out only moderately well.

A passage from the third book of the Dinkard (403<sup>21</sup> sqq., ed. Madan), recently translated by Nyberg (*Mazd. Kal.*, 34 sqq.), gives the lunar mansions within which the first points of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricornus lay.<sup>1</sup> Aries began with *Plyspl*,<sup>2</sup> clearly = Pahl. *Plyspl*, *Ptspl*, Paz. *Padēvar*, the first lunar mansion according to the Bundahishn (= Skt. *Aśvinī*). In other words, the lunar mansions were counted from the point of the vernal equinox. Now, if the number of the mansions were twenty-eight the first point of Cancer would coincide with the beginning of the eighth lunar mansion (since seven mansions = 90° exactly), but it should fall within the seventh mansion if the total number was twenty-seven (one mansion =  $\frac{360^\circ}{27} = 13^\circ 20'$ , hence the seventh mansion from 80° to 93° 20'). The latter is the case according to the Dinkard :

Aries . . .	0° "Plyspl" = Bd. "Padēvar" No. 1 =	0°-00-13°-33
Cancer . . .	90° "Lhyt" = Bd. "Rahvat" <sup>3</sup> No. 7 =	80°-00-93°-33
Libra . . .	180° "Slt" = Bd. "Spur" <sup>4</sup> No. 14 =	173°-33-186°-66
Capricornus . . .	270° "TWR" = Bd. "Gā" <sup>5</sup> No. 21 =	266°-66-279°-99

When the system of the lunar mansions was (from India) introduced into Persia, a completely new set of names was created. As in India, the names were taken from the most prominent stars or constellations in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic that were found within the limits of longitude (progressing by 13° 20') prescribed by the system. While after the introduction the system probably was applied mechanically merely as a mode of indicating the longitude, it is highly improbable that at the moment of introduction the longitude of the parent stars should not have been within the limits of longitude required by the lunar mansions which took their names from those stars. This is the minimum to be expected from the adaptation, namely that the system should have been made to fit the sky.

If this point is conceded it will be possible to determine the time when the lunar mansions were brought into use in Persia, provided a sufficient number of their names can be identified satisfactorily. Proceeding from No. 3 *Parwīz* = Pleiades, we have

<sup>1</sup> Nyberg has not seen that the passage refers to the lunar mansions.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably misspelling.

<sup>3</sup> = Pahl. \**lhw*. It is difficult to say which form (*lhw* or *lhyt*?) is right.

<sup>4</sup> = Pahl. \**spwl*; *sl* probably incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. *gāw* = ideogr. *TWR*. *DkM.* has *tuy twr*' (Nyberg's \**dūt-gāv*), but *tuy* should be cancelled (the scribe miswrote *tuy* in the place of *TWR*, and corrected himself without striking out the wrong form).

No. 4 = Aldebaran, No. 5 *Azēsar*<sup>1</sup> (presumably translation of Skt. *Mr̥ga-sīras*) =  $\lambda'$  *Orionis*, etc., No. 6 *Bašn* = Betelgeuse, No. 7 probably = Castor and Pollux. Further on, No. 10 \**Naχw* most likely = Regulus, and No. 20 undoubtedly = Vega (see below *Note G*). The preceding mansion, No. 19, is the "sting of the scorpion" ( $\lambda$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\theta$  *Scorpii*, etc.), see below *Note F*, and No. 22, \**Yōγ*,<sup>2</sup> probably represents Altair. The table below gives the longitudes of these stars (or of one of them where the name refers to a cluster of stars) for the Sassanian period<sup>3</sup>; at its margin the reader will find the number of the corresponding Pahlavi lunar mansions (col. 1), and the limits of their longitudes (col. 2):—

		A.D. 300	A.D. 400	A.D. 500	A.D. 600	A.D. 700	
3	26°·66–39°·99	$\eta$ <i>Tauri</i>	36°·34	37°·72	39°·11	40°·49	41°·88
4	40°·00–53°·33	$\alpha$ <i>Tauri</i>	46°·10	47°·49	48°·89	50°·28	51°·68
5	53°·33–66°·66	$\lambda'$ <i>Orionis</i>	60°·04	61°·43	62°·81	64°·20	65°·58
6	66°·66–79°·99	$\alpha$ <i>Orionis</i>	65°·08	66°·47	67°·86	69°·26	70°·65
7	80°·00–93°·33	<i>Geminorum</i>	86°·63	88°·02	89°·40	90°·79	92°·18
10	120°·00–133°·33	$\alpha$ <i>Leonis</i>	126°·29	127°·67	129°·04	130°·42	131°·80
19	240°·00–253°·33	$\lambda$ <i>Scorpii</i>	240°·94	242°·32	243°·71	245°·09	246°·48
20	253°·33–266°·66	$\alpha$ <i>Lyrae</i>	261°·54	262°·93	264°·31	265°·71	267°·12
22	280°·00–293°·33	$\alpha$ <i>Aquilae</i>	277°·84	279°·24	280°·65	282°·05	283°·46

A glance at this table shows that the date which fits best is about A.D.  $\pm$  500. A *terminus post quem* is provided by No. 6 (A.D. 413 approx.), and No. 22 (A.D. 454 approx.), whilst a *terminus ante quem* is given by No. 3 (A.D. 564 approx.), and No. 20 (A.D. 668 approx.). We know from other sources that under Sassanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war,<sup>4</sup> the other "towards the end of the Sassanian period", possibly under Khosrou I or even a little earlier.<sup>5</sup> We may conclude that the introduction of the Pahlavi lunar mansions took place during the second period.<sup>6</sup> Incidentally,

<sup>1</sup> = "goat's head"? However, the reading of *'pyer* = "crown" is equally possible.

<sup>2</sup> Pazend *gōf*. In Pahlavi script, *gōy* "ball" and *yōγ* "yoke" are indistinguishable. I read *Yōγ* because that is the name of the equivalent (21st) Sogdian and Khwarezmian lun. man. (corresponding to Skt. No. 21 *Śravaṇa* = Altair). The longitude of the 22nd Pahlavi l.m. is 280°–293° 20', that of the 21st Sogdian mansion should be 282° 53'–295° 45'.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the values for right ascension and declination (interval of 100 years) in Neugebauer's Tables (*Chr.* i).

<sup>4</sup> See S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, ix, 133 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See Nallino's paper in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, and cf. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 316–322; *BSOS.*, ix, 136 sq.

<sup>6</sup> This conclusion, however, is necessarily based on the assumption that the Persian astronomers were able to find the point of the vernal equinox and to measure the longitudes fairly accurately, and that they exercised some care in fixing the lunar mansions.

we would gain a valuable date *post quem* for a number of hitherto undatable Pahlavi passages in which the lunar mansions are involved, such as the *thema mundi* in the Bundahishn.<sup>1</sup>

*F. Satavaēsa.* There are nearly as many opinions on the identity of this star as translators of the Avesta. Perhaps the most plausible view so far advanced is that Satavaēsa is Canopus, Suhail (proposed by Kharegat and accepted by Taqizadeh). The main objection to this identification lies in the great southern declination of Suhail, by reason of which it cannot be seen north of lat. 37° approx. Those scholars who are inclined to find the "home of the Avesta" in North-Eastern Iran (e.g. in Merv), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion. As far south as Balkh (lat. 36° 46') where in 500 B.C. it was above the horizon for only 1 h. 9 m. on any one day, at a maximum altitude of not more than 19 minutes, Canopus may have been sighted under exceptionally favourable circumstances, but was certainly not fitted for the role of the "General of the South". Moreover, Satavaēsa occurs as part of the designation of a Sogdian lunar mansion, No. 17, *myn-Sdwys*, and there is no doubt that Canopus never has been (or ever will be) observed in Sogdiana. The 17th Sogdian lunar mansion corresponds to the 17th Indian lunar mansion, *mūla*, to the 19th Pahlavi lunar mansion, "*grafša*,"<sup>2</sup> and to the 19th Arabian lunar mansion, *aš-šaulah* all of which refer to the "sting of the scorpion" (Ar. *mi'bar al-'aqrab*). Although the meaning of Sogdian *myn* (possibly misspelt) is not known, we may safely infer that *myn-Sadwēs* is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name of *Sadwēs*. Since the "sting of the scorpion" forms an appendix to the "scorpion", it follows that *Sadwēs* is *Scorpio*, or rather the

<sup>1</sup> The ascendant is given as *Cancer* 19°, the time being noon of the day of the vernal equinox. At that moment Sirius was rising. Should these data reflect actual conditions (correctly observed), it should be possible to determine the latitude of the observer, and the date of the observation. So far as I have been able to calculate the latitude would be 40° 33', the time BC. ± 330 (a point  $\lambda = 109^\circ$ ,  $\beta = 0^\circ$  is rising, or  $\alpha = 110^\circ 37'$ ,  $\delta = +22^\circ 22'$ ; hence  $\phi = 40^\circ 33'$ ; Sirius' hour angle at rising = its right ascension; position of Sirius in BC. 330:  $\alpha = 75^\circ 6'$ ,  $\delta = -16^\circ 24'$ ). The result (Northern Sogdiana at the time of Alexander's invasion) is rather unsatisfactory, probably because the data are unreliable.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably misreading of *drafsag* (1) "banner," (2) "hem," but most suitably (3) "awl" = NPers. *dīrafš*, *durōš* "awl". The names of the preceding lunar mansions are (in Pazend): No. 16 *srōb*, *srōi*, *srub*, No. 17 *nur*, *nōr*, No. 18 *gela*, *gela*. I should like to suggest the following restorations: No. 16 *srūy* "claws", No. 17 *tar* "breast, front", No. 18 *dil* "heart", namely of *Scorpio*. Note that the Arabic name of No. 18 is also "heart" (*qalb*). [No. 16, Persian *du surūyi gazdum*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 111; cf. Greek  $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, i, 9, p. 24 (p. 50 ed. Robbins, 1940); *ibid.*, "*grafša*" =  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\nu$  = *nīs-i gazdum*.]

chief star of that group, namely Antares. The identity of Satavaēsa with Antares had already been suggested by West, *SBE.*, v, 12 sq. (although from erroneous premisses). The altitude of Antares in culmination was  $35^{\circ} 52'$  in Balkh ( $40^{\circ}$  approx. in Babylon) in 501 B.C., and  $33^{\circ} 33'$  in Balkh ( $37^{\circ} 49'$  in Babylon) in 1 B.C.

G. *Vanant*. There is *īmā'* on the identity of this star, viz. = Vega. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 335, n. 470, has already drawn attention to the appearance of *Vanant* in the list of the Sogdian lunar mansions, No. 20 (*Vanand*). The equivalent Indian lunar mansion is No. 20 *Abhijit* = Vega. But *Vanant* is also employed as the name of one of the Pahlavi lunar mansions, namely No. 20. The Pazend form is *Varant* = Pahlavi *wlnd*, a common Pahlavi spelling of *Vanant* (showing dissimilation *n-n : r-n*). The equation of *Varant* = Vega has already been utilized in *Note E* above.

H. *Tištryaēnī*. Since *Tištrya* is *Canis major*, *Tištryaēnī* would appear to be *Canis minor*. According to a much discussed passage in the *Tištr Yasht* (*Yt.* 8, 12), *Tištryaēnī* is one of the *afšciθra* stars, i.e. stars whose heliacal rising presages the advent of the rainy season. *Tištrya* itself, the Pleiades, and *Upapaoirī* are other *afšciθra* stars. A line in the Great Bundahishn provides some elucidation: "The *āp-ēihrag* (= Av. *afšciθra*) stars are: *Tištr*, *Tlyšk*, "Padevar," *Pēš-Parwiz*, and the six stars that are called *Parwiz* (Pleiades)" (72<sup>5</sup>). With the exception of "Padevar" (the first lunar mansion), these are the same stars as the ones mentioned in the *Tištr Yasht*, hence *Upapaoirī* = *Pēš-parwiz* "the stars in front of the Pleiades" (the second Pahlavi lunar mansion), and *Tištryaēnī* = *Tlyšk*. This effectively disposes of the usual identification of *Upapaoirī* with Aldebaran, which Andreas (*apud* Lommel, *ZII.*, v, 58) supported by referring to the Sogdiano-Khwarezmian name of Aldebaran; that, however, was not *b'brw* (*p'prw*) as Sachau's Beruni MSS. have, but *prprw* (*brbrw*) as we have learned from Freiman's list (where *prprw'k*) = "the star following upon the Pleiades".<sup>1</sup> As regards *Tlyšk*, this is one of the numerous possible readings of the Pahlavi characters which the Pazendist was pleased to read as *Taraha*. And "Taraha" is the name of the eighth Pahlavi lunar mansion the longitude of which is  $93^{\circ} 20' - 106^{\circ} 40'$ . In A.D. 500 the longitude of Procyon, the chief star of *Canis minor*, was  $95^{\circ} 14'$ , i.e. at that time Procyon was eligible as the leading star of the eighth lunar mansion. Now, the name of

<sup>1</sup> [Persian *pas-ravande-i Parvīn*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 108.]

the corresponding Khwarezmian lunar mansion (No. 6 = Skt. *Tiṣya/Puṣya*) is *tsyry*, apparently not different from the Khwarezmian form of Old Ir. *Tiṣtrya* (also spelt *tsyry*). It seems clear that this *tsyry* derives from a prototype similar to *tiṣtrya-* (e.g. *tiṣtryā-* or *tiṣtryaka-*) which had the same meaning as Av. *tiṣtryaēnī* (note the absence of the same suffix in the Khwarezmian form of Av. *paoiryāēnī* which is *prvy*). The same prototype will serve also for Pahlavi *Tlyšk*, presumably = *Triṣag*. Phonetically, one could compare Jewish Persian *trwš* "ram" which is connected with Man. MPers. *twštr* (*nrmyš*, *twštr*, "hwg" in an unpublished fragment of the *Kawān*), cf. Rišahri *tīštār* "she-goat", or Man. MPers. *Zdrwšt*.

## The Book of the Giants

ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, the Huguenot author of one of the best books ever written on Manichæism (*Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, Amsterdam, 1734, 1739), was the one to make the only sound suggestions on the sources used by Mani for the compilation of his *Book of the Giants*: the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Γραφή των Γιγάντων* which Kenan, a great-grandson of Noah, discovered lying in a field (vol. i, 429, n. 6). The latter work has been identified by Alfarié (*Les Écritures Manichéennes*, ii, 32) with a book whose contents are briefly indicated in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, p. 54, ll. 298-9 (ed. Dobschütz): *Liber de Ogia*<sup>1</sup> nomine gigante qui post diluuium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnassee perhibetur apocryphus. Of the *Book of Enoch*, which was composed in the Hebrew language in the second century B.C., only an Ethiopic version, a few Greek fragments, and some excerpts made by the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus survive.<sup>2</sup> Mani, who could hardly read the Hebrew, must have used an Aramaic edition based directly on the Hebrew text (see below, *Šhmyz'd*). He quotes mainly from the first part, which Georgius S. (p. 45, Fl.-R.) called "the first book of Enoch on the Egrēgoroi", but shows himself acquainted also with the subsequent chapters.<sup>3</sup>

It is noteworthy that Mani, who was brought up and spent most of his life in a province of the Persian empire, and whose mother belonged to a famous Parthian family,<sup>4</sup> did not make any use of the Iranian mythological tradition. There can no longer be any doubt that the Iranian names of *Sām*, *Narīmān*, etc., that appear in the Persian and Sogdian versions of the *Book of the Giants*, did not figure in the original edition, written by Mani in the Syriac language.<sup>5</sup> His disciples, who, it is well known, were in the habit of

<sup>1</sup> Numerous variants (p. 126, Dobschütz), e.g. *de ogiae*, *de oggie*, *diogiae*, *diogine*, *diogenes*, *de ozia*, *de ugia*, *de ugiaca*, *de ogiga*, *de ewgia*, *de uegia*, *de eugenia*, etc. In Migne's *Patrologia Latina* the text is in vol. 59, 162-3.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 2nd ed., 1912. For the Greek fragments (and Georgius S.) the edition by Flemming and Rademacher (= Fl.-R.) is quoted here. For Mani's use of the Enoch literature see my papers in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27-32, and in *ZDMG.*, 90, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> See below A 86-94, and compare G 19-21 with *Enoch* 67, 4, and G 38 with *Enoch* 17, 1; 21, 7; 54, 6; 67, 4-13. On chaps. 72 sqq. see *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Namely the *Kamsarakan-k'* (mentioned often in the Armenian history of the fourth century) who claimed descent from the royal house of the Arsacids. This is clear from the Chinese-Manichæan text that preceded the *Fragment Pelliot*, now printed in the *Taishō Tripitaka* as No. 2141a, vol. 54, p. 1280A, but hitherto untranslated: "He was born in the country of Sulin (= Babylonia), in the royal abode of 跋帝 *Buāt-tiei* (= *Patī-g*), by his wife 滿艶 *Muān-jām* (= *Maryam*) of the family of 金薩健 *Kjəm-sāt-g'jōn* (= *Kamsar(a)jān*)." The name *Kápoosa* in the Byzantine formula of abjuration (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, i, 1468) may be corrupted from *Kamsar*. Thus there is a grain of truth in the assertion in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 327, 31, that Mani's mother had belonged to the Arsacid house; *ibid.*, *Maryam* (ed. *marmaryam*) is given as one of her names.—It is not proposed to discuss the origin of Mani's father here.

<sup>5</sup> I have abandoned my earlier opinion on this point (*ZDMG.*, 90, 4) which was based on insufficient material. The important Sogdian fragment, text H, was not then known to me.

translating every word of a text (including the names of months, deities, etc.), have seen fit also to "translate" the names of the giants. Thus *Sām* is merely the translation of *Ohya*. However, they kept some of the original names (e.g. *Šhmz'd*), and adapted some others (e.g. *Wrwg'd*).<sup>1</sup>

The story of the fallen angels and their giant sons needed little adaptation to be fitted into Mani's system. Of course, the heavenly origin of the *B'nē-hā-Elōhīm*<sup>2</sup> of Genesis vi, 2, 4, the *'Eγγήγοροι* of the *Book of Enoch*, did not square with Mani's conviction that no evil could come from good. Therefore he transformed them into "demons", namely those demons that when the world was being constructed had been imprisoned in the skies, under the supervision of the *Rex Honoris*. They rebelled and were recaptured, but two hundred of them escaped to the earth. Mani also used the term *'Eγγήγοροι* (preserved in Coptic, see texts L, M, P, S), or rather *'yr* in Aramaic (once in a Middle Persian fragment, text D), but in Eastern sources they are mostly referred to as "demons" (Pers. *dyw'n*, Parth. *dyw'n* in T 6, Sogd. *dywt* in G, H 17, K 7, *cytyt* in E, *dywt ZY ykšyšt* in H 16).

The puzzling clause of Genesis vi, 4: "The Nephilim were on the earth in those days," was interpreted by Mani in this fashion: "when the *Egrēgoroi* descended, the animals, or proto-animals, were already in existence." Mani confused *nafīlīm* with *nefāl* (*nāfāl*) = *ἄκρωμα*: see Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, 43 (1889), 536, who rightly referred to the formula of abjuration (*P.Gr.*, i, 1461) where the giants and the "abortions" are mentioned in one breath. In Manichaean parlance, "abortion" (cf. also MPers. *'bg'ng*, Sogd. *pš'q*) is synonymous with "animal".

We are therefore left with the *Gibbōrīm*, understood by Mani<sup>3</sup> as "giants". He probably used the equivalent Syriac word, *gabbārē* (*gnbr'*), which his disciples translated as *γίγαντες*, *al-Jabābirah* in Arabic, MPers. and Parthian *k'w'n*, Sogd. *kwyšt* = *kawīšt* (Sing. *qwy*, *kw'y* = *kawi*); cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 30. In Sasanian times the words derived from the Avestan *Kavi* were generally understood as "giant"; see Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 214, and Polotsky in *Mir.Man.*, iii, 901. Thus MPers. Parth. *k'w* is freely used in Manichaean texts, e.g. of the Father of Light (M 40), of solar deities, of leading Manichaeans (both in *Mir.Man.*, iii), also of the First Man and Ahriman<sup>4</sup> with reference to the First Battle (which therefore could have been described as a *γίγαντομαχία*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *BSOS.*, viii, 583; *ZDMG.*, 90, 4. [Cf. also Bal. *girōk*, Geiger, No. 107.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Parthian *ḡppw'r'n*, Sogd. *ḡppšyt*, lit. "sons of God" = angels (also fem. Sogd. *ḡppwryšt*). Thus *ḡppw'r* has a double meaning in Parthian, it being (Sogd. *ḡppwr*) also the translation of Chin. *T'ies-tzū*, or rather of Skt. *devaputra*.

<sup>3</sup> Herein he differed from the common interpretation of the passage (Nephilim = giants), shared also by the authors of the *Book of Enoch*.

<sup>4</sup> M 41: *'br q're'r 'wz zmbg 'stf cy 'whrmzdyg qyrd 'd dyw'n: dw q'w'n 'wz dw nyw'n.*

<sup>5</sup> This word, in the anti-Manichaean book by Alexander Lycopolitanus, p. 8, 10, ed. Brinkmann, refers neither to the Manich. "First Battle", nor to Mani's *Book of the Giants*, as Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 3; ii, 160 sq., erroneously states. Cumont goes so far as to say that in the quoted passage Alexander had given a summary of Mani's work, and Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 213, has repeated this statement. In fact, Alexander says that experts in Greek mythology might quote, from



However, the word *k'w* is applied only to men and such beings as are imagined anthropomorphic. Where one would translate *γίγας* as *monster*, the Iranian equivalent is *mzn*, *Mazan*. Thus the *γίγας τῆς θαλάσσης* (*Kephalaiā*, 113 and notes), whose breathing operations are responsible for ebb and flow (cf. also Beruni, *India*, 203, 10–11), is called *Mzn 'y* (*zrhyyg*)<sup>1</sup> in Middle Persian (M 99, V 22–3). Accordingly, MPers. *mzn* (adj.<sup>2</sup> and noun) and the related words, Pahl. *māzan*, *māzanīg*, Sogd. *mzn'y'n dyc*, Av. *māzainya*-,<sup>3</sup> should be rendered as “monster”, or “gigantic, monstrous”.

The Egrēgoroi and their giant progeny are fought and vanquished by four archangels: Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istraël (*Enoch*, 10, 1; or: Uriel, or: Fanuel). In the *Book of the Giants* they are called “the four angels”. They are frequently invoked by name in Manichæan prayers (e.g. M 4 d 19, f 6; M 20), as *Rwp'yl*, *Myx'yl*, *Gbr'yl*, and *Sr'yl* (= Istraël).

There were no details about individual feats of the giants in the *Book of Enoch*. Mani filled the gap with the help of the above-mentioned *Liber de Ogia nomine gigante*. This *Ogias* has been identified with *Og of Bashan*,<sup>4</sup> who according to late sources lived five thousand years and managed to survive the Deluge, thanks to his giant size.<sup>5</sup> But possibly stories that primarily appertained to *Ogias* were transferred to the better known *Og*, owing to the resemblance of their names. The name of *Ogias* is ‘why’ (‘why’) = *Ohyā* (*Ohyā*) in the Manichæan fragments, and this spelling is presumably more correct than that of *Ogias*. *Og* (‘wg) indubitably would appear as ‘wg (or: ‘wg). Since Mani took ‘why’ from an Aramaic text, the ending of *Ogias* cannot be regarded as a Greek addition.

*Ogias* fought with a *draco*, and so did *Ohya*; his enemy was the Leviathan (text N). *Ohya* and his brother *Ahya* were the sons of *Šhmyz'd* (text H), i.e. *Σεμιαζᾶς*, the chief of the Egrēgoroi in the *Book of Enoch*; hence, *Σεμιαζᾶς* is transcription of *šhm-* (or *šhm-?*). In the Persian edition of the *Kawān* *Ohya* and *Ahya* are “translated” as *Sām* and *Narimān*, but the original names are kept in one passage (A 60). The translator did well to choose *Sām-Krsāsp*, both with regard to *Ogias*' longevity (*Sām* is one of the “Immortals”) and to his fight with the dragon (*Sām* is a famous dragon-killer). In the Sogdian

the Greek poets, the Greek *γίγαστρομαχία*, as a parallel to the Manich. doctrine of the rising by the Hyle against God. In ch. 25 (p. 37, 13 sqq.) Alexander explains that such poetical fables about giants could not be regarded as a satisfactory parallel, because they were myths and meant to be understood as allegories. He then (37, 17) quotes the story of *Genesis* vi, 2–4, which he provides with an allegorical explanation. But he ascribes it to the *History of the Jews* without even mentioning the *Book of the Giants*. This shows conclusively that he had no knowledge of Mani's book.

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Researches*, 37, 67 sq., has “poisonous mass”; cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 752.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the comparative *mzndr* (e.g. *Mir.Man.*, i) and the superlative Pahl. *māzan-tum* (e.g. *Dd.*, p. 118, 12 ed. Ankesaria).

<sup>3</sup> Clearly to be derived from Av. *mazan*—“greatness”. Cf. also Jackson, loc. cit., on *mzn*. Hence, the first part of the name of *Māzandarān* probably = “gigantic”.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Dobschütz, *Decret. Gelas.*, p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Dobschütz, loc. cit., who quotes Fabricius, *Cod. pseudopigr.*, 799 sq., and Migne, *Dict. des apocr.*, ii, 649, 1295.

fragments the name of Sām is spelt *S'hm* = *Sāhm*, as it is often in Pahlavi (*S'hm*<sup>1</sup> beside *S'm*); Ṭabari has *Shm*,<sup>2</sup> cf. Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 130. Sāhm's brother is *Pāt-Sāhm*. This name may have been invented by the Sogdian translator in order to keep the names of the brothers resembling each other. Narimān was evidently not known in Sogdiana as a brother of Sām. According to the *Book of the Giants*, the main preoccupation of Sām-Sāhm was his quarrel with the giant *Māhawai*,<sup>3</sup> the son of *Virōgdād*, who was one of the twenty leaders of the Egrēgoroi.

The *Book of the Giants* was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uygur from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text.<sup>4</sup> The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narimān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A-G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichæan authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichæan writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J-T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vēžan* = *Airyana Vaejāh*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation.<sup>5</sup> The "Kōgmān mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in *thirty-six* towns (text S). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed

<sup>1</sup> For example, *Men. Khr.*, 68, 12; 69, 12, ed. Andreas; *Pahl. Yasna*, 9, 10 (p. 71, 19).

<sup>2</sup> *Shm*, of course, transcribes *S'hm*, not *S'm*.

<sup>3</sup> MPers. *m'hw'y* A 7, with suff. *m'hwey-c* A 19, Sogd. *m'hw'y* C 15 (= *Wrogdad oylt* in B). Hardly = *Māhōi* (as suggested *ZDMG.*, 90, 4), for the ending *-ōi* was pronounced *-ōi* also in the third century (cf. e.g. *wyrwōd* = *Wērōi* in the inscription of Shapur, line 34). Furthermore, there was no *Māhōi* among the heroes of the Iranian epos (M. is well known as the name of the governor of Marv at the time of the last Yazdegerd). More likely *Māhawai* was a non-Iranian name and figured already in the Aramaic edition of the *Kawān*; it may have been adapted to the Persian. Cf. *M'hw'y*<sup>1</sup>, Genesis, iv, 18?

<sup>4</sup> But see *Mir. Man.*, iii, 858 (b 134 sqq.).

<sup>5</sup> The children of the Egrēgoroi share with the inhabitants of *Airyana Vaejāh* the distinction of being regarded as the inventors (or first users) of the arts and crafts. For the spelling of *Aryān-Vēžan* see also Appendix, text U. It is not clear whether *Yima* (text V) had been given a place in the Sogdian *Kawān*. *Ymyš*, i.e. *Imi*, is the correct Sogdian form of the name.

(in Sogdiana) to *thirty-two* (text G, 22): "the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of *thirty-two* cities of devas" (Eitel, *Handb. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastrīṃsat*).

## TEXTS

- (bcd) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.  
 [bcd] = suggested restorations of missing letters.  
 . . . = visible, but illegible letters.  
 [. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.  
 [ ] = a lacuna of undetermined extent.  
 (84)] = same, at the beginning of a line.  
 [(85) = same, at the end of a line.<sup>1</sup>

In the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

## FRAGMENTS OF THE KAWĀN

## A. Middle-Persian

M 101, a to n, and M 911, fifteen fragments of a book, throughout small pieces from the centre of the pages. It has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. On purely technical grounds (size of the fragments, appearance of the margins, relative position of tears, stains, etc.), I at first assumed the following sequence: l-j-k-g-i-c-e-b-h-f-a-d-m-M 911-n. Being unable to estimate the cogency of these technical reasons now, because of the absence of any photographic material, I have decided to change the order of the first six fragments in the following way: c-j-l-k-g-i, in view of their contents.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately we do not know in what order Mani had told the story of the giants. The task of finding the original order is made still more difficult by the fact that besides the *Kawān* the book contained one or two more treatises, namely: (1) Parables referring to the Hearers, and possibly (2) a discourse on the Five Elements (here (1) = lines 160 to the end, and (2) = lines 112-159). The only fragments that undoubtedly belonged to the *Kawān* are c-j-l-k-g-i, while the position of the fragments e-b-h is particularly doubtful. It must be borne in mind that whole folios may be missing between apparently successive pages. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself, all the fragments (including the parables) are published here. The text is based on a copy I made nearly ten years ago (referred to in the notes as: Copy); a revision is not possible under the present circumstances.

(*Frg. c, first page*) (1) ]h[ ]md[ (2) ] 'y '(s)[t]pt tygr '[ (3)]ryn qm'n h'n 'y q[ ]('w)(4) k ]yd oo s'm gwpt' pryd byh (5)] 'yn dyd ny mwrđ hy oo ghy (6) šhm]yz'd 'w s'm 'yš (7) pws gw](p)t oo kw hrw cy m'hw'y (8) ?w](n)st oo dwd'yš (9) ]gwpt kw d' 'w (10)]d hwm oo 'wd(11) ]md (*Frg. c, second page*)

<sup>1</sup> This system of notation has been used also in my book *Sogdica*, and in my paper in *BSOS.*, X, pp. 941 sqq. The various interpunction marks are uniformly represented by oo here.

<sup>2</sup> But possibly *Fry. i* should occupy the first place; see below, notes on lines 95-111.

(12) ]y (d)[ ]p.[ (13) ]rg'n oo 'y [.] 'yb .[ (14) '[yst]ynd oo km wrwgd'd pyd '[. . .] (15) bwd oo oo šhmyz'd g[wpt](16) kw r'st gwyd oo yk 'c hz[r'n] (17) gwyd oo cy yk 'c hz'r'n n[. . .] (18) s'm dwdy nwyst[. (19) m'hwyc ws gy[r]g (20) d' 'w h'n gy(')[g (21) (r)hyy 'wd p[ (22) d[

(Frg. j, first page) (23) ]b[ wr]wgd[d (24) ]t oo hwb(')byš 'w 'hr.[ (25) ]nxtg 'yš zn 'pwrđ oo p(s) (26) nwys]t hynd k'w'n 'gnyn oo 'wzdn 'w (27) ?zn 'pw]rdn oo d'm'nyc nwyst[ hynd (28) 'gn]yn 'wzdn oo s'm pyš hwrxšyd (29) ]st[ oo yk dst pd pr'whr oo yk(30) ](h)rw cy wynd'd 'w b(r)[d?](31) ]'y[ ]'n bst[ (32)]'w (Frg. j, second page) (33) ]nyys[ ]m[ (34) ?]'br txtg oo 'w prystg'n[ (35) ]'c 'sm'n oo txtg 'w[ (36) txtg 'w 'b 'bgnd oo pd prz(')[m ? (37)xwmn txtg dyd šh nys'n[oo yk (38) oo yq w'y 'wd wryc oo 'wd yk[ (39) wnywdy[ oo nrym'n dyd bwy[st'n pwr? (40) [dr]xt'n rdg rdg oo [d]wys[d (41) 'wzyd drxt [ (42) h[

(Frg. l, first page) (43) ?hwn]wx prys[tg (44) ]'w przynd'n pyg'm ookwt'n (45) ] 'y ny drwd oo 'šm'h bstn (46) ]n oo pd wyn'h 'yt'n kyrd oo pd (47) ?'šm'h] przynd'n w'nyšn wyn(')[d] (48) ?p'dy](x)š'y (s)d 'wd wys[t] (49) ]. oo[ ]oo (Frg. l, second page) (50) ](g)wr ? oo p'e[yn (51)nrmyš oo twštr oo 'hwg oo y'[(52) xrbwz oo dwysd dwysd oo jw(w)[g (53)'b'ryg dd mwrw oo 'wd d'm '[(54) ['](w)š'n my šwh hz'r x(w)[mb (55)['w]d s'ryšn 'y [.]b oo (s)[ (56)'wš'n (rw)]yn

(Frg. k, first page) (57) ]'d n(r)[ ](d) oo pydr wyw(d)[(58)](t)'n d' 'w hnz'm 'yš[(59)]br'nd oo pd 'rdyg oo pd b(r)? oo[(60)]'wd pd ('h)ng 'why' u 'hy' (61) ]š 'w br'd gwpt[ oo 'xyz 'wt[ (62)?]'st'n'm oo 'ym'n pydr 'w (63)[m'h]p]rm'd oo pym'n 'y 'm'h kyr(d) (64)]r(z)m('h) oo 'wd k'w'n[ (65)]oo[ ]('gny)[n (66)]oo (Frg. k, second page) (67)['y] (šgr) oo 'n'y[ ]'yš p[d(68) [ny . . ]t 'y drwng oo 'n'y qm[n (69) [h]wstygn' oo ny tyzyy 'y t(y)[y ?oo 'n'y](70) zwr 'y twwr oo ny 'lwp 'y[ (71) 'n'y pr 'yš 'b'g oo ny z(r)[(72) 'n'y bryng 'yš znyd oo ny š[ (73)(g)š oo byc dydym 'yš p(d)[ sr ? oo ny](74) srw b'myw oo [']n'y '[ (75) 'y k(wp)[ (76) (w)[

(Frg. g, first page) (77)]'y n[. . . oo n]y ky pd d'ys(t)[n](78)[?'y](s)tyd oo 'n'y ky pd sxwn r's(t)(79)[oo ny ? b]'r bzg oo 'n'y zhr 'yš 'ndr oo(80)

(13) Poss. merely 'y 'yb, followed by '[' or h[; hardly 'y [pd].

(14) ['b'g] ?

(21) Or (d)hyy.

(24) 'hwm[, or 'hrq[, or 'hrh[, or 'hrn[.

(25) Copy ]axtg without query; prob. incomplete; txtg 34 sqq. presumably different.

(44) Copy rest. [g]w; improbable.

(50) Copy: ](')wr; if correct, = g]wr.

(52) MS. krbwz.

(55) Copy rest. [']b; doubtful.

(56) Copy (dw)[; cf. my 'wd rwyyn "wine and oil" in Kao. oiii, line 8 (*Innerrn. Asia*, ii 1081).

(57) Rest. wywd]g'n ?

(60) 'h'ng corr. prima manu, now indistinct; meant to be 'hy'ng ("nest") ?

(71) Or z(n)[, or z(d)[; poss. pan on znyd.

(72) š[hry'r 'y] ?

(73) gš: or lš.

[ny . . ?](s)m'n 'ystyhynd<sup>stc</sup>oo 'n'y yzd (81)['y hrw] šhr'n oo ny bng ghr'yd  
 'n'[y] (82)[xwd'y] 'yš pd sr oo ny prystq (83)oo 'n'y h'n myrd ky pryst[']d(84)  
 ]oo ps nrym[n](85) ?g]wpt '[. . .] (*Frg. g, second page*) (86) ['](w)m 'nyc  
 gy(')lg ]'n '[y (87) dyd ky 'br wnywdyh oo 'yš[n 'br](88) md gylg'y hynd  
 'wš'n w'(n)[g 'wd](89) 'bxrws d' 'wl 'w 's[m'n] (90) rsyd oo 'wm 'nyc dyd  
 gy'[g (91) 'stpt'n 'wd p'dxš'y[n (92) ws oo ky pd 'st'r oo u dw(š)[kyrdg'nyh  
 ?](93) [p]hryst hynd k' h[(94)[h]ynd oo'wd[

(*Frg. i, first page*) (95) 'y h[ ](r)hyd (')(96) 'wzd oo (c)[h]rsd hz'r 'rd'w['n]  
 (97) ?k](wp)'n pd 'dwr npt 'wd gwgyrd (98)oo 'wd prystg'n 'w hwnwx nhwpt  
 (99)?weydg]c'n'n 'wd nywš'ge'n'n (100) 'wd 'b'g mrzysť hynd oo weyd  
 (101) ]'y hwcyhr oo 'wš'n pd z[ny]h (102)]'wn q[']myst' pdngy[n] (*Frg. i,  
 second page*) (103)]h'm'g[ ] 'pwrđ[ (104)[k](s) ks 'w k'r 'wd [']sp's [ (105)  
 nyr'pt hynd oo oo 'wš'(n)[(106) 'c šhryst'n šhryst'[n (107) 'wd prystyšn prm'd  
 'w (p)[(108) qyrđn oo oo myš'n'yg'n (109) hr'stn oo hwjyg'n rwpt[n (110) [']šyxtn  
 oo p'r[s]yg'n[(111)]r'[

(*Frg. e, first page*) (112) [(š'w)[(113) 'wznyišn oo [. . .] 'rd'w[(114) [(s)tg  
 oo qyrdg'n oo s[ (115) [mhr]'spnd oo 'byr dydym oo (116)] pymwg oo hpt  
 dyw oo cwn<sup>stc</sup> 'hwng (117)[ky wxd] (b)ynyd 'wd wxd wys'hyd oo(118) ]s  
 ky 'c twxm 'y (119) ]t oo 'wd š'h 'spsyd (120) ] 'z'ryd oo k' gylg (121)]pd  
 'bxš'y[šn] (122) ] dšť (*Frg. e, second page*) (123)]pyš[ (124) ]qrys(t)[. . .]kysg  
 wš[(125)[qyrb](kr'n) qxs'n d'hw(')[n] (126) d'd oo bwd ky 'w 'wzdys[n ?](127)  
 ngnd oo jhwd qyrbg 'wd bz[g kyrd](128) oo hynd ky xwys' yzd oo nym  
 (d)[yw] (129) nym yzd qwnynd oo rw.[(130) 'wznyišn oo 'stw[ (131)hpt  
 dyw'n 'b[(132)[. . .]rg 'br[(133) čs(m)[

(*Frg. b, first page*) (134) ]m 'y[ (135)[gwn]g gwng (rn)g [.]cyd oo ky pd[  
 (136) ]b 'wd wys' oo 'gr k[(137)](w)'n 'c pnz mhr'spnd oo (138)[oo c]'wn c'r  
 kw ny myryh oo xw'r(139)['wd] b'r pwr kwnynd oo 'wš'n (140)[. . . .]r  
 pymweyd oo 'yn ns'h (141)]g oo 'wd ny hwstyg'n oo (142) 'wš' bwn ny hwstyg'n  
 (143) ]'zyhyd oo c]'wn] (144)]g 'st' (*Frg. b, second page*) (145)].yn wd[ (146)  
 [ns']h bšť oo [pd] 'stg p[y](147)[pyt r](g) oo 'wd crm oo xwd 'n[dr](148) 'wyrđ  
 oo '(y)g dr'yđ oo 'br y(z)[d](149) r'stygr oo hwršyd 'wd m'[h] (150) dw ty  
 'w dšť d'd oo 'br mhr['spnd](151) drxt'n 'wd d'm'n oo 'y(g) [zrw'n ?] (152) by  
 oo pd ''w'm ''[w'm](153) prystyd oo šyt[y]l zrdwšt] (154) [b]wt oo mšy[h'  
 (155) prys[t](g)[n

(*Frg. h, first page*) (156)]wdyš'n's[(157)oo kw 'c kw[(158)].n md oowpytg'n  
 pnz mhr'spnd (159) ]drxt oo pnz d'm ny d'nynd oo oo (*One line left blank*)  
 (160) (*In red ink*) ]nywš'g'n r'y oo (161)].(y)rym 'c m'ny xwd'y (162)]pnz  
 'ndrz 'w (163) 'w](d) šh m(w)[hr] (*Frg. h, second page*) (164)](zyndg)[(165)

(95) Prob. [p]rhyd.

(110) Or [w]š, or [n]š-š in view of Pahl. 'šnc.

(114) Or [p]šg.

(140) Hardly [twe]r.

(151) Space insuff. for ['wšrmyzd], or [zyn'rye].

(161) E.g. [pd]yrym.

['](s)tw'nyy d'(166) '(w)d whyy oo nm[(167) m'h oo hspyn 'c zwr '[ (168) xwys oo 'wd wmyg pdm'd d'(r)[(169) drxt 'wd x'nyg oo pd dw py[(170) 'b oo 'wd b'r oo šyyr[(171) oo br'd ny 'z'r(d) [oo ?nywš'g](172) 'y zyr oo ky c'[wn (173) 'y 'bwr[s

(*Frg. f, first page*) (174)]ny[(175)]wst[(176) w]s swd oo (c)'wn wrzyg[r] (177)[? ky tw](x)m q'ryd oo pd wsy[ . . . ](178) ]d oo nywš'g ky d'nyyšn(179) ]rynd oo c'wn myrd ky prwšg (180)](y)yr 'bgnd oo hwstyg'n bwd(181)]g ny oo bhr 'y wnywdyy (182)] (n)xwst gr'n oo c'wn(183)](t)[. ]st'n oo nxwst (184) 'w pd]yxšr rs[yd](185)]t'byy (*Frg. f, second page*) (186)]yp[(187) ]wys[p(188)] šwh (r)w(c) oo nywš'g [ky](189)[rw'n]g'n dyyd oo c'wn 'š[kwh] (190) myrd ky dwxt 'w š'h hn(d)[ym'n](191) qwnyd oo 'w wzrg pdyxšr r(s)[yd](192)oo rw'ng'n pd tan'r 'y 'r[d'w] (193)oo 'wn p'k bwyd oo c'[wn (194) ky pd 'dwr 'wd w'd oo[(195) j'mg 'y hwe[yhr 'yg?](196) [p]d tn 'y yw[jdhr (197) wrdy[

(*Frg. a, first page*) (198)g]wg'y[y(199)](')w b'(r)[(200)d]rxt oo [. ]w[ . . . ]g'n p[(201)]yn wyrdyd<sup>168</sup>oo[(202)p]dys[y(203)]kyy oo c'wn[(204)] 'ymg '[(205) k.]šynd oo c'[wn d]nq '[. . .](206) 'špyzyšn oo 'wd nywš'g '(nd)r (207)]oo rw'ng'n pd dyn oo cwn<sup>169</sup>mkwg(208)]['ndr ? dry]'b oo zyyg pd dst 'y (209)]'hynz'g ? 'y ' ]br dmb oo m'l'h (210) d]r'y b šhr mkwg (211)]g'n oo 'hynz[ ](g) (212)?zyy[(g)oo] whyh (*Frg. a, second page*) (213)]oo m'n'g[(214)]oo (ny)[w]š'g[(215)c]'wn 'st]h ? 'y[(216)]'byb[r ?(217) 'b]yb'r k[(218)]'n u nywš'g'n (219)](d) oo b'r ky[(220)(qy)rdg'n oo [ . . . ] m'n'g w[(221)oo nywš'g oo 'wd whmn oo c'[wn](222) šh br'd oo ky 'c pydr[(223) tys m'nd oo zmyg oo[(224) twxm oo 'mb'z b[wd(225) dwrynd 'wd [ . . ]wyn[(226)[n]ywš'g t[ (227) c'[wn

(*Frg. d, first page*) (228)](dn)g[(229)?phy](kr 'y š'h oo pd zr ry(x)[t] (230) š](')h d'šyn d'd oo m'n'g[(231)[nywš]g ky nbyg nby(sy)[d](232) [c'w](n) myrd 'y wym'r oo ky zy[(233) m]yrd d'd oo nywš'g k[y](234) [xwbyš] dwxt 'w dyn dyyd oo m'ng<sup>170</sup>(235)](g)rwg'n ky pws '(w)(236) ](h)mwxtn d'd oo 'w(237)](p)yd grwg'n (238)]. 'w (*Frg. d, second page*) (239)]dwn(d)[(240)[ny]wš'g oo dwdy m'n'g nywš'g (241)]'myc 'škrw[(242) [p]'c[y]hyd oo gryw 'c dyn w[(243)[c](')wn zn 'y hrwm'y oo k(y)[(244) [?py]dg 'yw mwg k[(245) qybye pd dyn'(r)[ (246)bwd oo w'd qnd yk [(247) 'hyd bwd oo pr[(248) 'c bwn[ (249) bw[d

(*Frg. m, first page*) (250) ]pryst'd h[(251) m'n]g nywš'g oo ky y(k)[(252) ](s)'g kwnd oo c'wn (m)['d?](253)]{?rwdw]r oo ky hpt pws pdy[rypt (254) ]oo dšwmy'n hrw '(w)[zd(255) nywš'g ky '(b)[ (256) qyr]bgyy 'š[ (257) ] ky[

(168) Copy *wmyg*, or possibly *zmyg* ?

(173) Better than *'bwr[s'm]*, see note on translation; cf. Syr. *'bāl, Sogdica*, 41, and *'bursā*, *ibid.*, 44. [Cf. also Jewish Persian *'brs*, Horn, *ZATW.*, 1897, 201.]

(180) Poss. [pd[ or: 'ndr] š]yyr, cf. 170 [and conjecturally W.-L., ii, 559, ii, 21, where *šhr* is out of place: "spiritual milk"].

(201) = *wydryd* ?

(220) Probably: [''am] m'n'g w[cydyg].

(232) = *zy[n ? zy[wer* ?

(234) *m'ng* for lack of space = *m'n'g*.

(244) Not *'yemug* as one word.

(Frg. m, second page) (258)p[d c'h yk (p)[(259)]dry'b oo yk pd n'[w (260)[?h'n 'y pd] dmb 'w 'wy ky p[d (261)[? n'w 'hy]nzyd oo h'n 'y pd n'w[ (262)]dry'b oo 'wl '[w (263) c']wn 'rd'n (')[(264) c'w]n mwrw'ry(d)[(265) ]dydy[m

(Frg. M 911, first page) (266)]dyn oo c'wn myrd ky(267)](b)'r 'wd 'sprhm (268)]ps 'pwryn(d) (269) b]'rwr drxt[(270)]. oo zr[ (Frg. M 911, second page) (271) (ky) zmyg xryd oo zmyg[(272) x'nyg oo pwr drhm [(273)ooš'h wdyms(t)[(274) ]h'mbh(r)[ (275) g](rwg'n)[

(Frg. n, first page) (276)]g'n oo 'w (277)]'n 'y ws (278)]t nyws'q oo pd (279)]r oo c'wn pymw(cn) (280) ]oo m'n'g w[ (Frg. n, second page) (281) ('w) xwd'[y (282) m'n'g [(283) 'wd 'h(wngr) oo[(284) zrygr 'w pdyxs(r)[ (285) (')](h)wngr 'w '(b)[ (286) ]n oo yk 'w (w)[

(258/9) Prob. rest. *yk p[d dmb 'y] dry'b.*

(263) 'rd'n: thus Copy; [c']wn, or [']wn.

(271) Or *kyd.*

### Translation

(Frg. c) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: "Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shāhmizād said to Sām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (?)." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Shāhmizād said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands.<sup>1</sup> For one of thousands . . .". Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place . . . he might escape (?) and . . .<sup>2</sup>

(Frg. j) . . . Virōgdād . . . Hōbābiš<sup>3</sup> robbed Ahr . . .<sup>4</sup> of -naxtag,<sup>5</sup> his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other.<sup>6</sup> Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other . . . (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag.<sup>7</sup> To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (or: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narimān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = far less than he could say. Cf. *š hazār yak, ŠGV.*, xiv, 2; *š hazār bāwary yak, ibid.*, xvi, 1. Salemann, *Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, sér. viii, t. vi, No. 6, 25*, quoted Persian as *hazār yak* or *az biyār andakī*.

<sup>2</sup> The texts *B* and *C* (Uyghur and Sogdian) could be inserted here (or hereabouts).

<sup>3</sup> Probably one of the twenty "decarchs" (*Enoch* 6, 7), viz. No. 4 *Kokabiel* = *Χωχαριήλ* in the Greek fragments, and *Χωβαβηήλ* apud Syncellus.

<sup>4</sup> This also could be a "decarch", *Araikiō* = *Ἀρακιήλ*, or *Aramiel* = *Ῥαμιήλ*.

<sup>5</sup> Incomplete name.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Enoch* 7, 5.

<sup>7</sup> *tzig* might be appellative, = "a board". This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.

<sup>8</sup> Evidently this is the dream that Enoch reads in the fragment M 625c (= Text D, below), which therefore probably belonged to the *Kawān*. It should be inserted here.

(Frg. l) . . . Enoch,<sup>1</sup> the apostle, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace.<sup>2</sup> [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed.<sup>3</sup> You shall see the destruction of your children.<sup>4</sup> . . . ruling for a hundred and twenty<sup>5</sup> [years] . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?),<sup>6</sup> gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair<sup>7</sup> . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals . . . and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?)<sup>8</sup> of water(?) . . . and their oil [shall be]<sup>9</sup> . . .

(Frg. k) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?).<sup>10</sup> Not the . . . eagle, but his wings.<sup>11</sup> Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers<sup>12</sup> it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

(Frg. g) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?)<sup>13</sup> in the skies, but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud,

<sup>1</sup> Here (or hereabouts) the texts E and F should be entered, both of which deal with the judgment on the fallen angels. Text F approximates to *Enoch*, ch. 10 (pronouncement of the judgment by God), while Text E is nearer to *Enoch*, ch. 13 (communication of the judgment to the angels by Enoch).

<sup>2</sup> = *Enoch*, 12, 4-5: εἰπὲ τοῖς ἐγγηγόροις . . . οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν εἰρήνη.

<sup>3</sup> = *Enoch*, 13, 1-2: ὁ δὲ Ἐνώχ . . . εἶπεν . . . οὐκ ἔσται σοι εἰρήνη: κρίμα μέγα ἐξήλθεν κατὰ σοὺ δὴσά σοι . . . περὶ . . . τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας κτλ.

<sup>4</sup> = *Enoch*, 14, 6: ἴδῃτε τὴν ἀπόλειαν τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν.

<sup>5</sup> = Synocellus, pp. 44-5 Fl.-R. (*ad cap.* xvi), cf. *Genesis*, vi, 3. ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ὑμῶν . . . ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ ἴσονται πλεῖον τῶν ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐτῶν.

<sup>6</sup> In Jewish Persian *trwš* is "ram" (Lagarde, *Pers. Stud.*, 73), but in the dialect of Rīšāhr nr. Bushire (according to the notes made on this dialect by Andreas about seventy years ago) *fīšār* is "a young she-goat". See *JRAS.*, 1942, 248. [*trwš*, Is. 1<sup>12</sup>, Jer. 51<sup>40</sup> = Hebr. 'attūd, probably understood as "he-goat".]

<sup>7</sup> These lines evidently refer to the promise of peace and plenty that concludes the divine judgment in *Enoch*, 10. Hence = "each pair of those animals shall have two hundred young"?

<sup>8</sup> *sārīn*: cf. *DkM*. 487ap. 488, 3, "when they provoke (*sārēn*-) him, he does not get irritated (*sār*- and better, *sārīn*-)." *GrBd*. 5, 8, "if you do not provoke, or instigate (*sārēn*-) a fight" (differently Nyberg, ii, 202). *sār*-, if from *sarād*- (Skt. *śardh*-), is presumably the transitive to *sarydn* (from *srdhya*- according to Bartholomae), cf. *NGGW.*, 1932, 215, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 10, 19: ἡ ἀμπελος [sic] ἦν ἄν φυτεύσῃσιν ποιήσουσιν πρόχους οἴνου χιλιάδας . . . ἐλαίας . . .

<sup>10</sup> *ty* or *ty[y]* = *tai* from *taih* from *taiy* (cf. *GGA.*, 1935, 18), is ambiguous: (1) sharp instrument, (2) burning, glow, brightness, sunrays, etc. So also is *tyzyy*: (1) sharpness, (2) speed. One could also restore *ty[gr]*.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. "but the wing(s) that (is, are) with him". The curious expression was chosen probably on account of the rhythm. For the same reason *byc* is employed in the place of 'n'y in line 73.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. "beats".

<sup>13</sup> *'ystyh*- is obviously different from *'styh*- (on which see *BSOS.*, IX, 81), and possibly derived from *'yst-*, cf. *'y'h*- "to be born" from *'y-* "to be born". *'ystyh*- is met with in *W.-L.*, ii, 558,



but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . . , but the man that sent him".<sup>1</sup> Thereupon Narīmān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived<sup>2</sup> in sin and evil deeds, when<sup>3</sup> . . .

(Frg. i)<sup>4</sup> . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous<sup>5</sup> . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone<sup>6</sup> . . . And the angels veiled<sup>7</sup> (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch. *Electae et audītrices* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage.<sup>8</sup> Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians<sup>9</sup> to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(Frg. e) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (or: shuts, fastens) and looses (or: opens, detaches) . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125)

R i 25, "blessed chief who stands ('*ystyhyd* ?) as the sign of the Light Gods." Lentz has '*ystyhd*', but without having seen the manuscript one may presume a misreading (cf. *ibid.*, R i 1, Lentz: *pd[ . . . ]dg*, but probably *pr'd]ug*, R i 2, Lentz: *p.d'r*, but probably *pyr'r*, *ibid.*, R ii 22, Lentz: 'n.z, but probably 'sm; for further cases see *OLZ.*, 1934, 10).

<sup>1</sup> St. John, 13, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *phrysta*: *phryz* = Parth. *prz'sn*: *pryz* (cf. Av. *pārihaēza*, Sogd. *pr-yzī*; Parth. 'x'š: MPers. 'xyšt) is mostly "to stand around, to be about, *versari*", sometimes "to stand around for the purpose of looking after someone" = "serve, nurse, protect", often merely "to be". *phryz* "to stand off, to abstain" is presumably different (*para-haēza*).

<sup>3</sup> The series of visions in which Enoch sees the arrangements for the punishment of the fallen angels, etc., and of "the kings and the Mighty" (chaps. xvii sqq.), follows immediately upon the announcement of the divine judgment. Hence, frgg. *k-g* must be placed after frg. 1. Text G (below), which describes the execution of the divine order, could perhaps be inserted here.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to decide whether this fragment should be placed at the end or at the beginning of the book. The 400,000 Righteous may have perished when the Egrégoroi descended to the earth. The "choosing of beautiful women", etc., strongly suggests the misbehaviour of the Egrégoroi on their arrival upon the earth. The hard labour imposed on the Mesenians and other nations may be due to the insatiable needs of their giant progeny (*Enoch*, 7, 2 sqq.). On the other hand, "fire, naphtha, and brimstone" are only mentioned as the weapons with which the archangels overcame the Egrégoroi, after a prolonged and heavy fight (Text G, 38), and the 400,000 Righteous may well have been the innocent non-combatant victims of this battle which may have had a demoralizing effect even upon the *electae*. To clear up the debris the archangels would naturally commandeer the men. We do not know whether Mani believed Enoch to have been moved out of sight (*ἐλάμφθη* 'Enoch, 12, 1) before the Egrégoroi appeared, or before they were punished.

<sup>5</sup> See texts R, and Q (where 4,000 instead of 400,000).

<sup>6</sup> See *BSOS.*, X, 398.

<sup>7</sup> See text T, line 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 7, 1 ?

<sup>9</sup> On *myēn'yg'n* see *BSOS.*, X, 945, n. 2, on *hwjyyg*, *ibid.*, 944, n. 7.

... the Pious gave ... ? ... presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god ... (130) killing ... the seven demons ... eye ...

(*Frg. b*) ... various colours that by ... and bile. If ... from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is ... this corpse ... and not firm ... its ground is not firm ... Like ... (146) ... imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves,<sup>1</sup> [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= *Āz*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over <sup>2</sup> (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames <sup>3</sup> ... ? ...<sup>4</sup> over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrwān ?], in each epoch,<sup>5</sup> sends apostles: Šit[il, Zarathustra,] Buddha, Christ, ...

(*Frg. h*) ... evil-intentioned ... from where ... he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) ... On the Hearers

... we receive ... from Mani, the Lord, ... the Five Commandments to ... the Three Seals ... (164) ... living ... profession ... and wisdom ... moon. Rest from the power (*or*: deceit) ... own. And keep measured the mixture (?) ... trees and wells, in two ... (170) water, and fruit, milk, ... he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves <sup>6</sup> ...

(*Frg. f*) ... much profit. Like a farmer ... who sows seed ... in many <sup>7</sup> ... The Hearer who ... knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) <sup>8</sup> *frōšag* (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not ... The part that ruin ... at first heavy. Like ... first ... is honoured ... might shine ... (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches (a position of) great

<sup>1</sup> *py(y)* always = nerves, sinews (not "fat" as in *Mir.Man.*, i, etc., as alternative rendering). It is equivalent to *nerfe* (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 32/3 [528/9]), Uygur *singir* (*T.M.*, iii, 18/9), Copt. = *Schne* (*Keph.*, 96, etc.), Sogd. *pδδw'* (unpubl.). Cf. also *GrEd.*, 196, 4, where Goetze, *ZII*, ii, 70, wrongly has "fat". MPers. *pai* = NPers. *pai* = Pashto *pala* = Sogd. *pδδw'* (not Av. *piθwēd-*).

<sup>2</sup> Hardly "to". Cf. Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 49, and my paper *NGGW.*, 1932, 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Or*: over the Just God, sun and moon, the (*or*: his) two flames. The "Just God" is the Third Messenger (not = *bgr'štygr*, i.e. Zrwān).

<sup>4</sup> Unintelligible. Lit. "... two flames given into the (*or*: his) hand".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27, and *BSOS.*, VIII, 585.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M 171, 32 sqq. 'wē'at ngwōš'g ky 'w'ū(r)[s] m'nh'g ky hmyw zrgwng 'šyd 'wē zmg 'wēd l'b'n png ny rzynd. 'w'gum hwyē hwrw'n ngwōš'g pδ pδd 'wē wēyd'x pδ zw'r 'wē dyjw'r, kōd dīor 'c wjydg'n 'wē kōd nzd 'w wjydg'n, hie pδ wzybyy frhyft 'wēd w'wryft 'lkybyd, etc. "And some Hearers are like unto the juniper which is ever green, and whose leaves are shed neither in summer nor in winter. So also the pious Hearer, in times of persecution and of free exercise (lit. open-mindedness), in good and bad days, under the eyes of the Elect or out of their sight, — he is constant in his charity and faith." Although the word *'wērs* is incomplete in both passages, its restoration is practically a certainty.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the parable of St. Mark, iv, 3 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 86.

honour.<sup>1</sup> In the body of the Elect the (food given to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a ... that by fire and wind ... beautiful clothes on a clean body ... turn ...

(Frg. a) ... witness ... fruit ... (200) ... tree ... like ... firewood ... like a grain (?) ... radiance. The Hearer in [the world?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea]<sup>2</sup>: the towing-line<sup>3</sup> (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the ...], the ... is the [?al]ms, the tower is [the ...?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. ... (214) ... The Hearer ... is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] ... fruitless ... and the Hearers ... fruit that ... (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, ..., seed. They became partners ..., they reap and ... The Hearer ... like ...

(Frg. d) ... an image (?) of the king, cast of gold ... (230) ... the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his ...<sup>4</sup> to a ... man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church,<sup>5</sup> is like ... pledge, who (= father?) gave his son to ... learn ... to ... father, pledge ... (240) ... Hearer. Again, the Hearer ... is like ... stumble ... is purified. To ... the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (or: Roman) who ... infantist, one shoe ... who, however, with a denarius ... was. The wind tore out one ... he was abashed<sup>6</sup> ... from the ground ... ground ...

(Frg. m) ... (250) ... sent ... The Hearer that makes one ..., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons ... the enemy [killed] all ... The Hearer that ... piety ... (258) ... a well. One [on the shore of]

<sup>1</sup> An elaborate version of this parable is found in M 221 R 9-23: *u nywōg ky h'n ru'ng'n 'w wjydg'n 'wryyd, 'w m'n'g c'w m'kueh myrd [ky] duxr 'y nyq z'd hy, 'wōd pō wryhryy 'wōd 'gr'yūb 'byr hucyhr hy. 'wōd h'n myrd 'y 'skueh 'w hucyhrūyūb 'y 'wōy qnyycg zwoyō duxr p'g'myūb cy 'byr h[wcyhr] [h]y. 'wōd 'wōy duxr 'y hucyhr [ ]. 'wōd 'wōd 'h' hndyym'n [qnyūb] 'wōd 'h' 'wōy qnyycg pō[ndyūb] ? 'wōd pō znyy nō'yūy. 'wōd [ ] p'wōs 'cyyōd z'ynd[ ] p'wōsryn 'yō'c 'wōy myrd 'y 'h'kueh duxr z'[d] (remainder missing). "The Hearer that brings alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charm and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter, for she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter ..., he presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her. ... The sons that were born to that poor man's daughter ...". Throughout the story the *parabolic optative* is in use.*

<sup>2</sup> For a similar parable see below, lines 258 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *zyyg*: this word, hitherto unexplained, occurs in the *Sābuhragān* (M 470 V 14, spelt *z'yy*). The sinners, roasting in hell, see the Righteous enjoying the New Paradise, and ask them: ... 'wōm'n ... z'yy 'wō dōt dyy[d] 'wōd 'c 'yn nocyūn dūzy[d] "... put a rope (or: life-line) in our hands and rescue us from this conflagration". Cf. Pahl, Pers. *zīg*, Nyberg, *Mand. Kal.*, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly "weapons".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Kephalaia*, 192/3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *āhid-gar-ān* below, F 43/4. For a discussion of *āhid* see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 315 sq. Perhaps one can understand Av. *āhiti-* as "something that causes shame", hence "stain", etc. In that case *Andhūtā* could be compared to *Apsaras*. As regards NPers. *χīre*, mentioned by Zaehner, this may be connected with Sogd. *γyr'k* "foolish". The word in *DkM.*, 205<sup>a</sup>, is not necessarily *hyrg-gwōn* (thus Zaehner, *ibid.*, 312). It might be *hyl-* = Pashto *zər* "ashen, grey, etc."

the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].<sup>1</sup> He that is in the boat . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . ? . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M* 911) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. n*) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

### B. Uygur

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 23. Bang, *Muséon*, xlv, 13–17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*ordu*) without increasing (? *ašilmatin* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virögdäd, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . " . . . for the closed<sup>2</sup> door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmän mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, son of Virögdäd, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

### C. Sogdian

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) [ . . . . . ]t oo (2) w(yn)ytw oo (3) 'rty nwkr wydp't xw s]'hm qwy y šyr ?] (4) yp'qβryy wβ' 'rty m[h'wy qwy y ?] (5) δst(w) βr' w'nw 'ty [zw (6) ['tfl'y ptxw'yn oo 'rt] (7) ]n 'nyt q[wyšt ? (8) ]yy '[ (9) ]ny[

(*Second page*) (10) ]z 'ty[ (11) n] p'qwy r p'r(wty) (12) s]'hm qwy y t'f'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, lines 206–212.

<sup>2</sup> On *boyyq* see Bang, loc. cit., p. 15, who has: "the door of the closed (locked) sun." Acc. to Enoch, chaps. 72 sqq., there are 180 doors in the east one of which is opened each morning for the sun to pass through (the idea, familiar also from Pahlavi books, is of Babylonian origin).

q'm't̄ (13) ]'rtšw 'zw ny w'e'mk'm (14) ](')zw xwtyy prδβn kwn'm(k'm) (15)  
pts'r xw m'h'wy q[wyy] (16) ]w xwsnd wβ[ (17) ](nd) kw[ (18) ]kr[

(*First page*) ... I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall ... and kill [you]. Then ... the other g[iants] ...

(*Second page*) ... do not be afraid, for ... [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him ... I myself shall damage ... Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], ... was satisfied ...

#### D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

... outside ... and ... left ... read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus ... and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi ('yr), and the giants that came out of the women. And ... over ... pulled out ... over ...

#### E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) fry]štyy wyn'nd oo [ (2) ] fryštyy ptyc[y] (3) ]wysn cytyt̄ kyy [ (4) ]t̄' wm't̄'nd oo 'rty [p]rw (5) fryštyy wyn'mndyy šyrš'yr (6) wyšndy't̄'kt̄'nd oo ['r]ty sytm[n] (7) wy' rytyy 'nwšt̄'nd oo 'r]t[y] (m)s (8) cn [wy]šndyy kyy 'ty zwst̄m[byyt̄] (9) [']ty [']spynd wm't̄'nd oo j'w [δrβnd] (10) [']ty pcyq(w)[yr'nd oo 'r]t̄p̄t̄[s'r]

(*Second page*) (*traces of three lines*) (14) kww [ . . ]t̄wnyy s'r nyy p[ . . . ] oo (15) 'r]t̄p̄t̄'s'r wysn z'wrqyn(d) (16) (c)ytyt̄ kww šyr'ktyy fryštyt̄ (17) s'r w'nw ptyškwy'nd oo kōwty (18) [ . . ]y'tym cn m'x ''šyy γ[w]'n nyy (19) ['kt̄'t̄?] oo 'rty βγ ckn'c [py]δ[r] (20) [ . . . ]'sδ.[ . . . ]'rty γ'r'n frm[n]

(*First page*) ... [when] they saw the apostle, ... before the apostle ... those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid.<sup>1</sup> Then ...

(*Second page*) ... not to ... Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle<sup>2</sup>: If ... by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed?], my lord, why? ... you have ... and weighty injunction<sup>3</sup> ...

#### F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.<sup>4</sup>

(*Col. A*) (1) ](š)qwh[y] (2) prwxyy 'y 'rd'w'[n] (3) mwrzyd oo 'yd r'y

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 9, ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτοῦς, καὶ πάντες συνηγμένοι ἐκάθηγον πενθοῦντες κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the divine order for their punishment (*Enoch*, 10).

<sup>4</sup> [Other fragments of the same manuscript ("T i"), not however belonging to the *Kawān*, show that there were three columns to a page; hence, the correct order of the columns is: BCDEFA. Perhaps this text, too, is not a fragment of the *Kawān*.]

'[w] (4) h'n wnywdyyh 'wd (5) 'xs'dyy 'y j'yd'[n] (6) 'wd 'w h'n 'dwr (7) m'd 'y wysp'[n] (8) swcyšn'n oo 'wd (9) bwnyšt 'y wysp'n (10) wnywd'n 'stpt'[n] (11) qp'nd 'wd k' 'wys'[n] (12) drwynd'n wnywdyh (13) ghwdg'n 'ndr 'wys'n (14) bryng'n 'wd

(Col. B) (traces of three lines) (18) why ny bwd hyd (19) 'wt'n pd wyptgyh (20) 'wh (p)rm'd kw pd (21) h'n drwzn p'dxs'y (22) j'yd'n hyd 'šm'h (23) ('yn) [h]rwysp nyjd'd (24) ] 'wy

(Col. C) (25) ky pd w'ng 'y drwznyy (26) 'w 'm' 'bxrwsyd (27) 'wd nyc 'wh pdys'y (28) 'šm' 'šq'rg bwd (29) hwm kwm'n wyn'd (30) 'wd nyc 'wh xwys (31) gryw pd 'st'yšn (32) 'wd wzrgyh 'ym'n (33) [ . . . ] d'd 'w 'šm' (34) j'n'y (35) ]md

(Col. D) (36) drwynd'n '[ . . . . . ] (37) (py)d'g 'ystyd kwt'n (38) gryw 'c 'yd 'dwr (39) 'w wnywd 'yg j'yd'n (40) pdr'st oo oo 'wd (41) 'šm'h drwnd'n (42) ghwdg'n 'yg gryw(43) xyšmyn 'wd 'hyd (44) gr'n 'yg gwyšn'n (45) w'br'n 'yg 'wy (46) ywjdr 'wd whwr'g'n (47) 'yg qyrdg'n 'yg (48) xw'styy 'bd'g'n (49) ('yg) 'br qyrbgyh (50) [ . . . ](r)g'n 'yg (51) ]c zyndg (52) ](ky) xwybš (53) ].gyy wn[ . . ]

(Col. E) (54) j'nd oo ('wd) pd (55) pr'n 'spyx(t)'[n] (56) bydyndr<sup>stc</sup> ('c) [h](n) (57) 'dwr 'w[d 'b]r[d]r (58) 'cys pr(w)z(')[nd 'wd] (59) w'y'nd oo 'w(š) ? (p)d (60) zwpy 'wd pd (61) b'ryst nyyš'(nd) (62) 'wd xwd 'wys'n (63) 'rd'w'n kyš 'c (64) byrwn 'wd 'c 'br (65) p(yr)[mwn 'y]st'nd (66) 'wyn x(w)[d] 'br h'n (67) 'dwr wzrg 'wd 'br (68) wysp cyš 'ndr (69) p'dyxs'y bw'nd (70) [ ]'yb . 'zd[ (71) 'wd gy'n'n (72) 'yš p[ (73)//// (74)////

(Col. F) (75) 'dwr wzrg 'yg (76) wnywdyy ky šhr'[n] (77) swcynyd p'kdr 'wd (78) 'bz'rdr h'nd (79) 'wš xwd 'c byrwn (80) 'wd 'c 'br pyr'mwn (81) 'yst'nd oo 'wš'n (82) 'spyzyšn 'br (83) br'z'd 'wš bydyndr (84) 'cys 'wd 'brdr (85) 'cys w'y'nd pdys'y (86) gy'n'n ky 'c h'n (87) 'dwr 'bdxtn k'm'nd (88) 'wd h'n [ (89) p[

(Col. A) . . . poverty . . . [those who] harassed<sup>1</sup> the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons<sup>2</sup> of ruin in those crevices and . . .

(Col. B) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would enjoy this false power eternally.<sup>3</sup> You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(Col. C) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on *your* account, so that *you* could see us, nor thus . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . ., but . . .

<sup>1</sup> *muršidan* is "persecute, harass", not "show pity" as hitherto translated (S 9; *Mir. Man.*, ii; *W.-L.*, ii, 556, r 6).

<sup>2</sup> *ghud* (*Mir. Man.*, ii), *ghudg'n* (*Mir. Man.*, i), *ghweyn* (*ZII.*, ix, 183, 27): the derivation of these words from *ri* + *hū* by Schaefer, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, 492, n. 3, is based on the translation I had given; this translation, however, was based on nothing but this selfsame etymology.

<sup>3</sup> *Enoch*, 10, 10.

(Col. D) ... sinners ... is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self,<sup>1</sup> confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, ... -ers of the Living ..., who their ...

(Col. E) ... and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. .... blaze .... souls that ...

(Col. F) ... they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly<sup>2</sup> (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that ....

#### G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a *wyδβ'γ cn ps'qt dywtty* "Discourse on the Nephilim-demons"). Head-lines: *R: ps'n prβ'r*<sup>3</sup> "... pronouncement", *V: iw fryštyt dn CC* "The four angels with the two hundred [demons ...]".

(Recto) (1) 'wmr'z<sub>t</sub> ky pr sm'ny<sub>t</sub> wm'tnd s't<sub>t</sub> (2) ny'tδ'rnd 'ty βynd'nd oo 'tyy xwt<sub>ty</sub> (3) wyšnd fryšty<sub>t</sub> cn sm'nyy kw z'y (4) s'r w'xznd oo 'rty CC dyw<sub>t</sub> wyšnd (5) fryšty<sub>tyy</sub> wyn'nd oo [jyw p]cykwyr'nd (6) 'ty δrβnd<sup>4</sup> oo 'rtyy mrtxmyy<sub>tyh</sub> (7) p<sub>t</sub>s'δ ny'tδ'rnd 'ty p<sub>y</sub>wš'tnd (8) oo wyδp'tyy wyšnd fryštyy<sub>t</sub> w' (9) mrtxmy[y](t)[y] (cn) dywt<sub>ty</sub> zyn'n[d]<sup>5</sup> (10) 'tyy pr I kyr[n w](s)tynd oo 'tyšn (11) cwpr p's[y]y<sub>t</sub> w'stynd oo ... (12) wnyy kwyš't<sub>t</sub> (13) z'tyyt<sub>t</sub> wm'tnd ... I δβ't<sub>y</sub>' (14) 'pryw 'ngyr(p)[<sup>6</sup> (15) I δβ't<sub>y</sub>' xwt<sub>ty</sub> (16) 'rtyy wyš'nd (17) ky cn wyšndyyh ''jytyy<sub>t</sub> (18) wm't<sub>t</sub>[nd oo] cn dywt<sub>tyh</sub> (19) zyn'nd oo 't<sub>y</sub>yšn nymyyh [cn] (Verso) (20) xwrn kyr'n oo 'ty nymyy cn xwt<sub>ty</sub>xyz (21) kyr'n pr iw mzyx 'rtyy' pδ'mn<sup>7</sup> (22) kw smyryy pδww kww xxxii (23) knδ s'r 'škr<sub>t</sub>δ'rnd oo kyy (24) w'δjyw[nd](y<sub>h</sub>) cn ''γ'zy<sub>h</sub> (25) wyšndy<sub>h</sub> pyδ'r p<sub>r</sub>št<sub>t</sub>'ty<sub>h</sub> (26) wm't<sub>t</sub> oo 'tyy 'ry'nwyjn n'm (27) jyr'nd oo 'rty<sub>h</sub> wyš'nd

<sup>1</sup> This passage in particular seems to show that the text is a fragment of the *Kawān*. There are two groups of sinners here: one is (apparently) to be transferred from a preliminary fire-prison to the permanent hell at the end of the world (= the *Egrēgoroi*), the other consists of the *κίβδηλοι* (= Giants). The digression on their final fate in the great conflagration, under the eyes of the self-satisfied Righteous (cf. *Sābuhragān*, M 470 V), is well in keeping with Mani's discursive style.

<sup>2</sup> *w'y*- (different from Parth. *w'y*- "to lead") = "to fly" or "to hunt"? Cf. *w'yw* "hunter" (*BBB.*, where the translation should be changed), *Air. Wb.* 1356, 1407.

<sup>3</sup> My pupil I. Gershevitch thinks *prβ'r* should be derived from *prβyr*-. It is true that "explanation, announcement" fits most passages better than "chariot"! Hence, *Mahdyāna* rendered as "the great announcement"?

<sup>4</sup> See above, E 9-10; cf. *pδ'rβ*-, P 2, 1163, and *Sogdica*, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *zyt*- *BBB.*, 105 (on f 78); *Saka ysān-ysāt*-, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *'ngyrf* [ ? Hardly *'ngyrδ*]. If -p[, from *ham-kōhrp*-, cf. MPers. *hām-hannām*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. NPers. *dāman*, Yidgha *awānd*, *Morgenstierne*, IIFL, ii, 194.

(28) mrtxmyyt pr p(yr)[nmc](y)k fs'k (29) 'tyy 'nδ(y)[k . . .](y)y<sup>1</sup> 'skwnd oo (30) q]wn'nd oo oo (31) ] fryšttyyt (32) ] 'ty kw δywt (33) ? ''](x)[']s wytr'nd oo (34) ['rtty wyšn]d CC δywt δn (35) (c)[tfr fryšttyy]h 'pryw (36) šxy(y) \* 'x's ('kr)[tw]δ'rnd (37) oo wytwr 't[yy] xw(w) [?] fryšt[yyt] (38) (')tr nftt 't[yh γ]wqt

. . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men<sup>3</sup> and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men<sup>4</sup> from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them . . . the giants . . . were sons . . . with each other in bodily union . . . with each other self . . . and the . . . that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them<sup>5</sup> from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.<sup>6</sup> And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (or: were) . . . in the first arts and crafts.<sup>7</sup> (30) . . . they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone<sup>8</sup> . . .

## EXCERPTS

## H. Sogdian

T ii S 20. Sogdian script.<sup>9</sup> Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: "γστ δ'ns'y cnn β[c'n]pδ[yh w]prs = Here begins: Šanšai's<sup>10</sup> question about the world. Init. rty tym ZK δ'ns'[y] [cnn] m'rm'ny rwyšny pr'yš[t'kw w'nkw ]prs' 'yn'k βc'npδ ZY kw ZKh mrtymyt ('skw'nt) oo ckn'c pyδ'r 'zy mrch 'zyyr'nt = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (*samsāra*, Chin. *shēng-szū*).

<sup>1</sup> Hardly *ywxt]yy* or *fyxt]yy* (it should be *ywxtyt*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *šxy(w)*, but not *šxew*.

<sup>3</sup> *Enoch*, 17,1: *δραν θελωσιν φαινοσται ωσει ανθρωποι. πτο'δ*, cf. Skt. *praticchanda*.

<sup>4</sup> viz. the human associates of the demons, esp. the "daughters of men".

<sup>5</sup> viz. the giants and their children? Or merely the children of the giants? See below, *S*. According to Syncellus (*apud Fl.-R.*, p. 25) there were three generations: (1) the giants, (2) the Nephilim, their sons, and (3) the Eliud, their grandsons. In the *Book of Enoch* the giants are killed, or rather incited to kill each other, before the Egrégoroi are punished (ch. 10). Their spirits shall roam the world, until the day of judgment, as *πνεύματα πονηρά* (15,8-16,1).

<sup>6</sup> This passage shows that the Sogdian text had been translated from either Middle-Persian or Parthian (MPers. *ky myhryzd 'c nux 'wys'n r'y wyn'rd bud*, Parthian *ky w'd jynondg 'c nux hwn wsn'd wyr'š bud*).

<sup>7</sup> 'nδyk probably = skill, art, ability (differently, *BBB*, p. 105).

<sup>8</sup> See above, A 97.

<sup>9</sup> Fairly cursive, difficult to read.

<sup>10</sup> Probably by assimilation from *Šanšai* (= *Šimšai* in *Ezra*).



(1) rty 'wn'kw 'ydcw cwZYšn 'prw (2) sm'ny(th) ZKwy β'γšty myδ'ny (wy)ty (3) wm't oo rty ms tym 'wn'kw cwZYš(n) (4) γypδ 'pz't'ykw (n')β'y tmy' wyt'kw (5) wm't oo rtyšnms 'wn'kw cwZY prw (6) 'βc'npδ wyty wm't wβyw šyrw (w)βyw (7) γnt'kw rty ('γ)'z'nt s't ZKn mrtymy (8) ywγty ZY 'βs'yt oo oo rty (nwkr) (9) ZKn šymyz'ty . . . m. (mh). δ. (h). δw<sup>1</sup> (10) z'(t)[y] ''[z'y]t rtš[y] ? 'yw 'wy]y' n[m] (11) kwnt' oo kyZY 'yw s(w)δy]w s'(ym) (12) kw'y 'z[γy](r)ty oo rtšy ms δβtykw z'ty (13) (γ'y) ? rtšy 'γy' n'm kwnt' rtšy (14) ms swγδ'yw p'ts'ym βwt oo rtyms (15) ZKh 'n'yt kw'yšt cywyšn p'r'ykt (16) δywyty ZY ykšyšty ''z'yt'yt<sup>2</sup> (17) (*in red ink*) ptynty 'δw C δywyty 'ys'm'nt'kw

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth, — all that they began to teach (*hendiadys*) to the men.<sup>3</sup> To Šahmizād two(?) sons were borne by . . . One of them he named "Ohya"; in Sogdian he is called "Sāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahya"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Sāhm". As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakšas. (*Colophon*) Completed: (the chapter on) "The Coming of the two hundred Demons".

#### I. Sogdian

M 500 ■. Small fragment.

(1) [(mr)š'(n)[y']] (2) [p](r) š'w(n)ty zwštmbky'h (3) ny myr(y)ty q'm oo 'rty xw (4) s'hm qwy δ(wn) xypδδ (5) β'r't p(r)yw 'ykwn jw(n)[d]k'm (6) p'rt'y pr 'nytc fcm[bδ] (7) pr š'w'w (t)y z[w](r) oo 'ty pr

. . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (*or*: you ?) shall not die". The giant *Sāhm* and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in . . . [they have no equal].

#### QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

##### J. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 120, V ii 1-5: ['wd pd 'mdyš]nyh 'y dwysd dyw'n dw r'h sxwn 'y byšyšn 'wd rnz 'yg 'stft 'yn 'w dwjx . . . = and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (belong, *or*: lead) to hell.

##### K. Sogdian

M 363.

(*First page*) (1) pyrn(m)[ (2) wm't'nd oo 'rtx[ (3) wyspyy w' xypδ 'rk (pr)[w] (4) pδk' 'škrδ'r'nd oo ['rty] (5) kdry cywyδ pyδ'r 'yw(š)[t] (6) ptywšt

<sup>1</sup> Read: *cn δmwš wδwš 'δw ?!* Or: *cn δmpmš*, etc. The word *δβ'mpnš* (etc.) cannot possibly be fitted in. One naturally expects: . . . *cn . . . γypδ δβ'mpnš*.

<sup>2</sup> Short for ''z'yt'yt'nt; apparently not: ''z'yt'nt.

<sup>3</sup> See above, G 28-9, and below, text M. According to *Enoch*, ch. 8, the fallen angels imparted to mankind unholy arts and undesirable knowledge, e.g. astrology, cosmetics, soothsaying, metallurgy, production of weapons, even the art of writing (ch. 69, 9).

'kt'nd[t oo] (7) p'rty x' CC dywt cn (8) 'skyy sm'nyy pr(m)[ (9) [. . .] c'dr kw 'xrwzn [s'r] (10) w'xz'nd 'rty w' '[

(Second page) (11) [f]cmbδyy 'ywšt (12) ptywšt 'kt'ndt p'rty (13) [? dywy](š)n xw jw'nmyc ptβnd (14) ['](t)y w'tynyy r'ktyy xw (15) [? ptβ]nd cn 'nxrwzyny (16) ptβsttyy 'styh (17) (In red ink) [p]tmt<sup>stc</sup>1 iii fcmδy wyδβ'γ (One line left blank) (18) (In red ink) [''γš]t (yyš)w 'ys'mndyh (19) (In red ink) ](y) wny 'd'my šytylyy δyyn (20) ]δ(rβδ)['] 'ty .[

(First page) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . <sup>2</sup> fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high heaven, and the . . .

(Second page) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins <sup>3</sup> are joined to the sphere. (Colophon) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (Head-line) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . you should care and . . .

#### L. Coptic

*Kephalaia*, 171<sup>16-19</sup>: Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were . . . and there descended those who were sent to confound them.

#### M. Coptic

*Kephalaia*, 92<sup>24-31</sup>: Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is *ērvoia*, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . ., when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .

#### N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled 'rdhng wyfr's = Commentary on (Mani's opus) *Ārdahang*.<sup>4</sup>

(21) oo oo 'wd 'c 'dwr wzrg ''znd (22) kw cw'gwn 'xwryd pd dybhr syzdyn (23) 'w 'ym zmbwdyg 'dwr oo 'wš wxš (24) s'yd oo cw'gwn 'ym 'dwr ky pt (25) tnb'r oo 'w b'yn 'dwr oo ky pd b'r (26) 'wd wxrdyg 'syd oo 'xwryd š wxš (27) s'yd oo byd cw'gwn dw br'dr'n (28) ky frg['w] wynd'd oo 'wd pš mrd oo (29) ['yw pt byd] 'ng'f'd 'wd mwrđ (30) ['hynd] oo cw'gwn 'why' lwy'tyn (31) 'wd rwf'yl 'yw pt byd (32) 'ng'f'd oo 'wd 'pyd 'hynd oo cwgwn<sup>stc</sup>(33)

<sup>1</sup> Copyist's mistake (read: *plymty*).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the stellar demons.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 232 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> If Mani's famous *Ertenk* was indeed a picture-book, this *Vifrās* may well have been the explanatory text published together with it; cf. Polotsky's suggestion, *Man. Hom.*, 18, n. 1, on Mani's *εἰκόων* (but see *BBB.*, pp. 9 sq.). There is no reason for "identifying" the *Ertenk* with Mani's *Evangelion* (Schaefer, *Gnomon*, 9, 347). The fragments of the *Vifrās* (M 35, M 186, M 205, M 258, M 740, T ii K, T iii D 278) will be published at some other opportunity.

šrgz'dg g'wz'dg pd mrg oo 'wd (34) rwb's 'yw pd byd 'ng'f'd (35) ['wd 'pyd 'hynd oo] oo 'w'gwn (36) [hw 'dwr wzrg 'w] hrw dw ('[d](w)r oo

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (*lit.* comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (*or*: on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, *or*: died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .<sup>1</sup>

M 740. Another copy of this text.

(1) 'hy' lwy'tyn [ (2) byd 'ng'f'd oo[ (3) šrg z'dg[ (4) rwb's 'yw[ etc. = Ahya, Leviathan, etc.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian? <sup>2</sup>

Al-Ghaḍānfar (Abū Ishāq Ibn. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrīzī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, Intr., p. xiv: The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

*Keph.* 93<sup>23-25</sup>: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth, — on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.

Q. Coptic

*Manich. Psalm-book*, ed. Allberry, 142<sup>7-9</sup>: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand . . . Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

*Man. Homil.*, ed. Polotsky, 68<sup>18-19</sup>: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous . . . the years of Enoch . . .

S. Coptic

*Keph.*, 117<sup>1-9</sup>: Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> The point is that A eats or kills B, after B had finished C. A man killed his brother over the treasure, but was killed by a third party, etc. The Great Fire will devour the bodily fire which had swallowed the "exterior fire". Hence, Ohya killed Leviathan, but was killed by Raphael.

<sup>2</sup> St. Wikander, *Vayu*, i [1941], 166, quotes my article on Enoch, and my paper in *ZDMG.*, 1936, p. 4, and remarks that *eigentuemlicherweise* I had forgotten Al-Ghaḍānfar's notice on Sām and Narīmān. Less careless readers will find Ghaḍānfar's notice quoted in *extenso* on the page cited by Wikander.

Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget . . . who live a thousand years.

#### T. Parthian

M 291<sup>a</sup>. Order of pages unknown.

(*First page*) (1) ]'dyng pdkr w(s)[ (2) ]r'n bxt mrdwhm .[ (3) ]u hwnwx ngwst o š'n c.[ (4) ](g)'n pdgryft oo pš pd xr'z[n? (5) ](b)ndg u drxt 'by'b oo p[š (6) ] u dyw'n bst oo 'wš'n .[ (7). hft 'wd dw'dys (p)[

(*Second page*) (8) ].r hry hz'r dwysd hšt'd u [ (9) wy]št'sp š'h sr oo '[ (10) ] pd 'pdn 'spyxt oo šbyc[ (11) ]oo byd 'w br 'mšt'g mrd .[ (12) ]. bzyšk w'c'rg'n wrzyg[r (13) ] pd zryh oo 'xw'r[ (14) ]'n oo zygyn 'zgd oof

(*First page*) . . . mirror . . . image . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was veiled (= moved out of sight).<sup>1</sup> They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goats . . . slaves,<sup>2</sup> and waterless trees (?). Then . . . and imprisoned the demons. And of them . . . seven and twelve.

(*Second page*) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty-<sup>3</sup> . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp.<sup>4</sup> . . . in the palace he flamed forth (or: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . . then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

#### APPENDIX

#### U. Parthian

T ii D 58. From the end (. . . r š t) of a hymn.

(1) ] . . . [ . . . ] [ ] 'w[ (2) ] d d'h[w](')n oo r'mgr šhrdrst<sup>c</sup> (3) ] d š'h wyšt'sp (4) ?'ry]n wyjn whmn u zryl (5) šh]rd'r b'nbyšn xwdws (6) ?'mws]tyft pdgryft kwm'r (7) ] oo tlw'r 'w[ 'ngwn (8) ] . . . [ ] wynd'd 'w y'wydnst<sup>c</sup>

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryājn-Waižan <sup>5</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> See above, A 98.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, A 105 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the number of years supposed to have passed from the time of Enoch to the beginning of the reign of Vištāsp. The date for Enoch was probably calculated with the help of the Jewish world-era, or the mundane era of Alexandria (beginning 5493 a.c.), or by counting backwards from the Deluge. Taking 3237 a.c. (but 3251 a.c. according to the Coptic chronology) as the date of the Deluge (see S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, X, 122, under c), and adding 669 (= from Enoch's death to the Deluge according to the Hebrew Genesis), and subtracting the number in our fragment, 3,28[8 ?], from 3,237 + 669 = 3,906, the resulting date, 618 a.c., agrees perfectly with the traditional Zoroastrian date for the beginning of Vištāsp's reign (258 + 30 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia, 330 a.c.; cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*, 127 sq.). From this one may infer that the famous date for Zoroaster: "258 years before Alexander" was known to Mani (Nyberg, *Rel. Ab. Iran*, 32 sqq., thinks it was invented towards the beginning of the fifth century).

<sup>4</sup> The name is possibly to be restored in *Türk. Man.*, iii, p. 39, No. 22, R 5, where *wy.t'šlp* was read by LeCoq.

<sup>5</sup> In quoting this text in *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 5, I took *wyjn* for what it seemed to be, viz. *Vēžan*. But as the appearance of *Bēžan* in connection with Vištāspa is incomprehensible, I have now restored [*'ry*]n-*wyjn*, see above, G 26.

Wahman and Zarēl . . . . The sovereign's queen, Khudōs,<sup>1</sup> . . . received the Faith,<sup>2</sup> the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

### V. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(First page) (1) k[ (2) pyδ'r . . . [ (3) 't[y] 'ww βγγšty δm'n 'ty[<sup>3</sup> (4) 'ww 'ykwncyk š'twxy(')] (5) 'ty šyryy 'wxryy oo [oo] (6) p'rty (w)[]'(nw) wxst[ty ? (7) prywynd jmn(w)[ (8) ymyh prw fcmb(δ)[ (9) wm't oo 'rty pr nwy m['x ? (10) fcmbδykt frn[ (11) sytm'n mnwz'n[d (12) wysp[

(Second page) (13) ] . . . . h pnc (14) ]ps'k nm'ck'n βr'nd oo (15) (')rtšn xw ymyh 'ww ps'kt (16) ]t ptycxš oo 'rtxw w'n(t)t (17) ]'k ky 't(y) [ . . ]'tyh (18) ](')t mzyx 'xš'wn (19) ]yy wm't oo 'rtšn prw (20)](s)tyy oo 'rty šyrn'm (21) ] 'ty cn 'ww<sup>10</sup> š(yrk)ty (22) p]s'k prw srw w'(st) (23) f]cmbδykt

(First page) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . . ? . . .<sup>4</sup> For so it is said : at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) . . . the blessed denizens of the world<sup>5</sup> . . . all assembled<sup>6</sup> . . . all . . .

(Second page) . . . they offered five garlands in homage.<sup>7</sup> And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that . . . and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them . . . . And acclamations<sup>8</sup> . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

<sup>1</sup> For the spelling, cf. *kwōs apud* Theodore bar Kōnay.

<sup>2</sup> 'mest = *amwast* = believer, faithful (not "sad"!), from *hwed-*, Arm. *havat-*.

<sup>3</sup> The lines 3,4 and 14,15 are possibly complete.

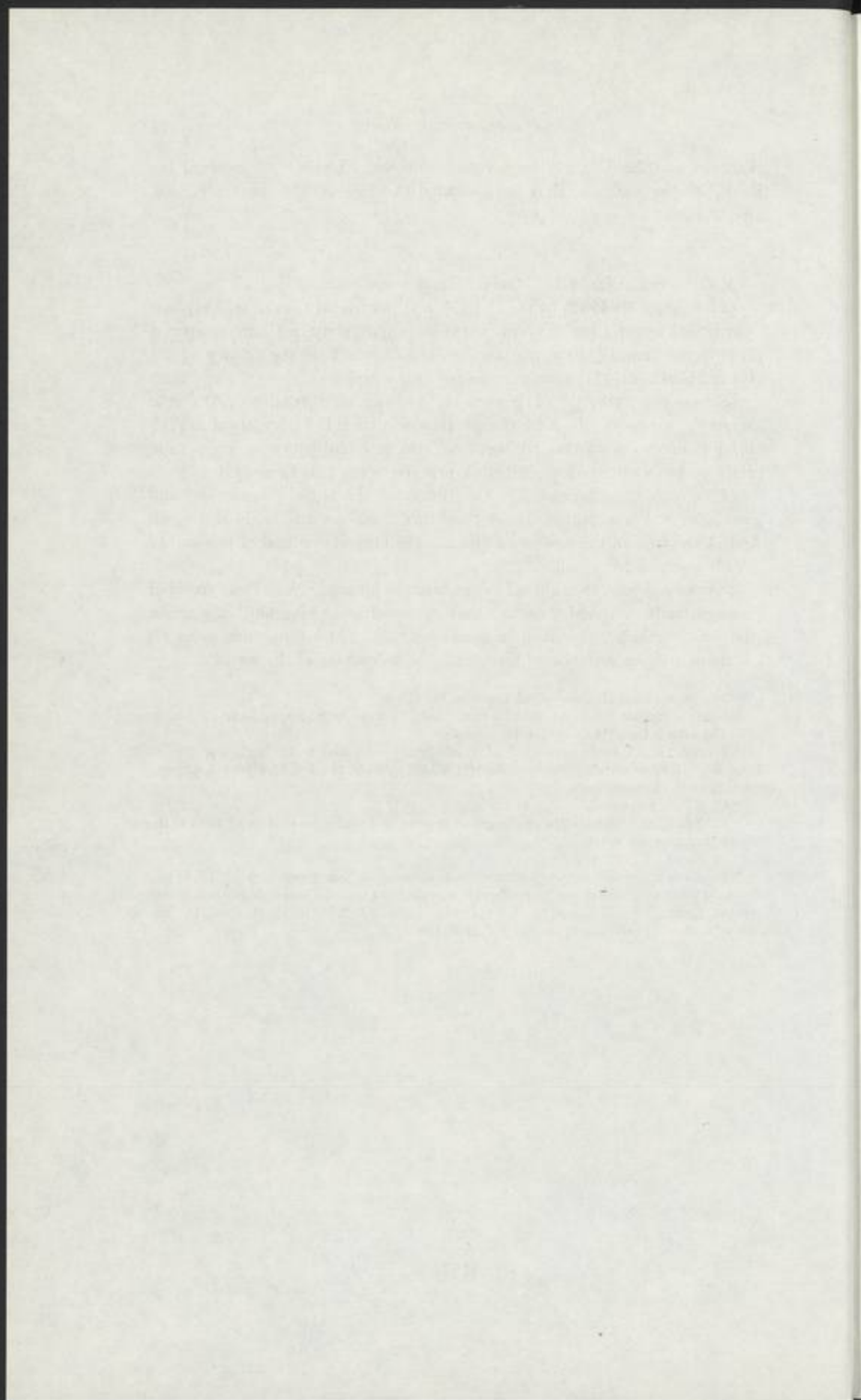
<sup>4</sup> Hardly "food" or "banquet"? Cf. Parth. *wzrn*, etc. Also Budd. Sogd. *wyr-* ('wy'r-) Impf. *w'yr-*, Inf. *wy'wrt*, etc.) "to abandon" (*SCE.*, 562; *Dhula*, 41; P 2, 97, 219; P 7, 82; etc., appears to be of no use here.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. NPers. *šehāniyān*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Vd.*, ii, 20? But the Manich. fragment appears to describe the election of Yima to the sovereignty over the world.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *BSOS.*, X, 102, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *šyrn'm* is a *karmadhāraya*, = acclamation(s), cheering, cf. e.g. *Rustam frg.* (P 13, 5) *prw RBkw šyrn'm* "with loud cheers"; it should not be confused with the *bahuvrīhi šyrn'm'k* "well-reputed, famous" (e.g. Reichelt, ii, 68, 9; *šyrn'm'y*, *ibid.*, 61, 2, cf. *BBB.*, 91, on a 11). But *šyrn'm* is also "(good) fame", see e.g. *V.J.*, 156, 168, 1139.



## The Murder of the Magi

WHEN the Persians, led by Darius, had slain Gaumāta the Magian and a great number of his colleagues (. . . ἔκτεινον ὄκου τινὰ μάγον εὐρισκόν), they instituted an annual feast to remind the Magians of their humiliation: it was called τὰ μαγοφόνια (Herodotus, iii, 79), or ἡ μαγοφονία (Ctesias, *epit. Photii* 15, § 46 ed. Gilmore). Gilmore (p. 149 n.) wisely remarked that "the agreement of Herodotus and Ctesias makes it impossible to doubt the existence of this strange custom". Ctesias, after having stayed at the Persian court for seventeen years, could not help knowing whether or not such a feast existed, and he would never have foregone the opportunity of correcting his predecessor.

In spite of this, however, J. Marquart thought that Herodotus' (and Ctesias') story was based merely on a misunderstanding. The Persians, he suggested, did have a great feast on (or close to) the 10th of *Bāgayādi* (the date of Gaumāta's death) which was called \**Baga-yāda* "sacrifice to Baga" and was devoted to the adoration of Baga = Mithra; it represented the feast known in later times under the name of *Miθrakāna* (*Mihrgān*) which was held at the beginning of autumn. Greek observers, misled by the coincidence of that feast with the anniversary of the murder of Gaumāta, misinterpreted its Persian name and thus invented the *Magophonia*.<sup>1</sup>

One may feel some regret in thus finding one of the more colourful bits of historical tradition consigned to the critical scrapheap, and therefore prefer the compromise solution recently put forward by S. H. Taqizadeh.<sup>2</sup> According to this scholar there may have been two feasts close to each other, the \**Bagayāda-Mihrgān* on the day of the autumnal equinox, and the *Magophonia* on the 10th of *Bāgayādi*. In the year of Gaumāta's death, 522 B.C., both dates would have fallen on the same day, or possibly on consecutive days: the conspirators may have chosen a feast-day for the execution of their plot, "when the court was expected to indulge in pleasure

<sup>1</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, i, 64; ii, 132, 135-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Iranian Calendars*, 39 sq., 44 sq.

and was less on its guard." With the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar about 441 B.C. both feasts were united as the "lesser" and the "greater" *Mihrgān*, on the 16th and 21st of the month of *Mīhr*.<sup>1</sup>

We may do well, however, to remind ourselves on what flimsy foundation the structure is built which Marquart has erected around the presumed feast of \**Bagayāda*. Its basis is merely an etymology of the name of the Old Persian month of *Bāgayādi*, an etymology which has little to recommend itself, judged either from the point of view of word-formation,<sup>2</sup> or from the general character of the other Old Persian month-names (purely agricultural names).<sup>3</sup> The further assumption that *bagā* (if indeed that word entered into the compound) had the value of another name for Mithra, is unsupported by any<sup>4</sup> evidence as far as Western Iran is concerned; in a limited sense it can be admitted only for

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the double feast of *Mihrgān* may owe its origin merely to the mistake made when the epagomenæ were shifted from the end of the year to the end of the first month, at the occasion of the first intercalation (cf. the Lesser and Greater *Naurōz*). The mistake would make itself felt after the epagomenæ were placed at the end of (or, at any rate, after) the month of *Mīhr*, i.e. after the seventh intercalation, about A.D. 400. This, therefore, should be the earliest date for the division of the *Mihrgān*. Beruni, *Chron.*, 224<sup>2</sup>, mentions Hormizd I in this connection (not Hormizd IV, Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 45, n. 4). To speak of a "five-day feast of *Magophonia*" as Marquart did (i, 64), is incorrect. Herodotus clearly says that the feast occupied a single day.—A different case is presented by the Lesser and Greater *Tīragān* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 220<sup>2</sup>). Cf. the Manichaean fragment M 16 in which (*verso*, line 2) we have to restore 'ed n'm ['y tyr] ruc 'y wzrg "And *Nōbiyā* in his book has mentioned the name of the 'Great *Tīr-rōz*' for this reason that a great and mighty work is performed on that fourteenth day".

<sup>2</sup> Not counting *θāigrēi* (of uncertain etymology), *Bāgayādi* would be the only case of *γdādi* in an Old Persian month-name. A form from *γyaz* corresponding to *-yādi* is unknown elsewhere in Iranian. A parallel is often drawn between *Bāgayādi* and *Āθriyādiya*, although the endings differ. In no case could the latter mean "(month) of fire-worship": there is no such word as \**āθri*. "fire". According to Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.*, 65, 154, the original form was \**āθr-yādiya*; this would represent pre-Iranian \**ātr-yāziya* which, however, could appear in OPers. only as \**āt(a)ryādiya*: *-tr.* becomes *-θr.* in Iranian only where a vowel follows. Bartholomæ more correctly assumed \**āθriya* as first part of the compound (pre-Iranian \**ātriya*). But this means "ashes", not "fire": who would worship ashes?

<sup>3</sup> With this in view one might prefer to find Old Iranian *bāga* "lot; allotment; cultivated land" (Sogdian *βāy*, Persian *bāy*, etc.) in the first part of the compound. *-yādi* may be connected with Vedic *yādamāna*, Skt. *yādas*, etc. Thus, *bāgayādi* possibly = "fertilizing the farmland", or even "irrigation of the gardens".

<sup>4</sup> For *Bagay-arič* (*Bagay-arinf*) see Marquart's own remarks, loc. cit., ii, 133 n.



Sogdiana<sup>1</sup> and Khwarezm<sup>2</sup> in late Achæmenian times.<sup>3</sup> In Old Persian *baga* is "deity" in general,<sup>4</sup> and in particular the attribute of Ahura Mazdâ. How little, in Western Iran, the epithet of *baga* clung to Mithra's name, is shown by the Manichæan texts (which reflect the usage of the third century A.D.) in which Mithra is always called *yazd* (*Mihryazd*), while *baga* forms an ingredient of Ahura Mazdâ's (and other deities') names (*Ohrmizdbag*, *Ohrmizdbai*). Finally, the projection of the later feast of *Mihrgân* into remote antiquity is open to objection. Ctesias is the first to mention such a feast,<sup>5</sup> without however connecting it in any way with the feast of Magophonia.<sup>6</sup> It was in Ctesias' time that the cult of Mithra gained wider acceptance among the Persians: there is no reason to believe that a feast dedicated to that deity had any importance for them long before Artaxerxes II.

However that may be, the case for the verity of Herodotus' statement will be strengthened by proving that an exact replica of the word *μαγοφόνια* (*μαγοφονία*) existed in Iranian. Such a word occurs in the Manichæan-Sogdian fragment T M 393 (published here for the first time), as *mwγzt-* (line 27). As the Sogdian text is evidently a translation made from Middle Persian (or Parthian), it is somewhat difficult to decide whether *mwγzt-* is a genuine Sogdian word or merely transliterated from the Middle Persian.<sup>7</sup> Whichever may be true there is little doubt that *mwγzt-* is not a recent composition,<sup>8</sup> but continues an Old Iranian word \**magu-zati* = *μαγοφονία*.

<sup>1</sup> *βαγᾶκᾶν* = *Mihrmāh*. In what way *βαγπῦρ* = *devaputra* = *t'ien-tsü* could point to the equation of *βαγ* = *Mithra* (Marquart, loc. cit., ii, 134), escapes me.

<sup>2</sup> *βιγ* = *Mihrrōz* (Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 38, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> At the time of the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar in those provinces.

<sup>4</sup> Hence also applicable to Mithra. For the Avesta see Benveniste, *Les Magas dans l'Ancien Iran*, 22 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæus, *Dipnosoph.*, x, 434e ("on a single day").

<sup>6</sup> As S. H. Taqizadeh rightly stresses, loc. cit., 45.

<sup>7</sup> The correctly transliterated form should have been \**mwγzδ*, but the translator may have Sogdianized it. The Sogdian script does not distinguish between *-z* and *-ž*.

<sup>8</sup> "to kill" is *ōzadan* in Middle Persian (beside *kuštan*); in Sogdian, *žan-*, *žit-* is hardly used, except for "striking" string instruments.—I take this opportunity to correct the reading of the Middle Persian fragment M 177 (Mueller, *H.R.*, ii, 89) where *'wzy'n* (*recto*, line 11) is written as a single word: "There are nine varieties of slaughtering. Firstly, he who himself kills. Secondly, he who attempts it. Thirdly, he who impels (others to it), etc." *'wzy'n* = Parthian *'wzy'n* "slaughter" (thus to be corrected, *BSOS.*, ix, 80) = Sogd. *'wzy'n* (*wžy'n*), from *ava-žaya-* (*-għhjo-?*).

Sogdian *mwyzt-* in the Manichæan text means "killing the Magians", but not "the feast devoted to remembrance of that act". The murder of the Magi is here ascribed to Alexander: this agrees well with the Zoroastrian tradition in which Alexander always appeared as a monster of iniquity who burnt the sacred books and massacred the priests.<sup>1</sup> The Magians naturally desired to let the true origin of the \**Maγu-žati* fall into oblivion,<sup>2</sup> and therefore hastened to transfer the evil deed to the person of the hated conqueror. The Manichæans, of course, derived their information from the Zoroastrian priests.<sup>3</sup>

The Sogdian fragment in which the \**Maγu-žati* is mentioned enumerates the "greatest sinners in history", those who interfered with the mission of the inspired prophets. To make the text understandable, it may be worth while to recapitulate the Manichæan prophetology. Mani based his teaching on revelation. The object of the divine inspirations he had received, was to make known the true state of the world to mankind. God had granted similar revelations to earlier prophets, Adam, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, and others. But the content of all revelations, whether received by Mani or by his predecessors, was the same: they emanated from the same source and were given for the same purpose. Consequently Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Manichæism must have been one and the same religion. This was Mani's firm belief, and his conviction was in no way disturbed by the deplorable fact (which he could not and did not fail to observe) that those religions were very different from each other. Casting round for a reason to account for this strange diversity, he evolved his theory of the "corruption" of the earlier religions. The prophets had failed to take due precautions for ensuring the continuity of their teachings; they had written no books or too few books; their first disciples already had misunderstood them, and the misunderstandings had multiplied from generation to generation; lastly, the evil powers had been busy sending their emissaries to increase the confusion, so that in the end the kernel of truth was completely lost in the medley of error. From the Manichæan point of view, the traditional

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Markwart, *Suedarmenien*, 536 sqq., Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 151 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Agathias complains that they were all too successful in this (*Hist.*, ii, 25, pp. 122 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> In Greek sources Alexander is a model of toleration. Cf. especially the Syriac *Hist. of Alex.*, ed. Budge, ii, 13 (transl. 82-3).

enemies of the other religions were not greater sinners than their apostles, teachers, and propagators. All of them were equally guilty of leading mankind astray from the path of the truth. Thus we find the murderous Devadatta joined by King Aśoka and the pious Upagupta (?), or the name of the venerable Žāmāsp coupled with that of the accursed Alexander.

Among the enemies of Zoroaster is included one *Kūyūne* (or *Kōyōne*, -e from -ak), "the son of Ahriman." As far as I know, no such name is mentioned in other sources.<sup>1</sup> This is puzzling because the other personages enumerated in the Manichæan text are very well known indeed. However, the name recurs in another Manichæan-Sogdian fragment, M 549, the text of which will be found at the end of this article. Its purport is not very clear, but it seems to be concerned with some heathenish practices. The "Lady Nana" (or *Nan*), in line 20 of that fragment, may be the goddess *Nana(i)*.<sup>2</sup> The town (?) of *Žimat*<sup>3</sup> reminds one of Hūan-ts'ang's 銳秣陀 *Žuei-mei-to* (*I<sup>w</sup>ai-muāt-d'ā*),<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khurdābeh's الزمان,<sup>5</sup> to the south-west of Balkh.

## TM 393

Sogdian <sup>6</sup> script of the late type. Caption: V *ny'wš'k'n'k* R *wy-δβ'γ* = "Homily addressed to laymen". The appending folio (not published here) contains a *ky'n wβr's* = "discourse on the soul".<sup>7</sup>

(R 1) δ'rδ rty wγ'nš L' βyrtw-δ'rδ rty c'n'kw (2) prm tnp'r RBkm'nyty wm'tsδ rtenn tnp'r(-) (3) mycy š't'wγy'kh pyδ'r ZKn γrβ w'tδ'r (4) 'z-w'nh z-ytδ'rδ ZY š'twγw ZY wγš'nty-t (5) 'krtsδ

<sup>1</sup> The name given by Zātspram, xxiii, 8 (xxv, 2, ed. Anklesaria), cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 94, can hardly be compared. This goes also for *Agonaces* (?), Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxx, 1 (2), 4. The name of *Kōyan-ābād* (capital of Bādghēs, Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 150; *Wehrot*, 40) is scarcely pertinent.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Sogdica*, p. 7. Cf. *Hist. of Alexander*, ed. Budge, 204<sup>7</sup> (transl. p. 115). *δβ'mbn* recalls MPers. *bānāk* as epithet of Anāhitā; cf. Hoffmann, *Märtyrer*, 155; Greek *Agathangelus*, 14<sup>15</sup>, 15<sup>100</sup>, 30<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the name of the eleventh Sogdian month.

<sup>4</sup> See Watters, i, 113 sq.

<sup>5</sup> 37<sup>8</sup>, in the tax-list of 'Abdullāh b. Tāhir. See Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOS.*, xi, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> An interesting sentence from that "discourse" may be quoted here: *rtnwkr ZK wyepy ru'n ZY prwrtly š't cym'yδ mrd'ep'nt βyγyty βrks'k γnt rtēn γcty γypδ tymy βnt* "All souls and Fravašis are cut from those element-gods; they are their own seed".

rtý 'kðry γwðk'r p'r'γsð 'wy-h (6) ðywty ðsty-' 'tβn γw L' z'ty L' (7) ðwγth pç'yty L' wðwh L' prγš L' (8) mr'z L' γwtyγwyšt'kw ZY L' šyrγwz-'kw (9) [L]' 'γw γz-ny γ-r'm'kw L' 'sp'nch L' (10) (Z)K š'yknw L' γns s'r'βγ<sup>sic</sup> L' šyr'kk (11) pršt'kw L' 'γw z-yncykw 'spy p'rZ-Yšn (12) wyspn'čw pry ZK yw'r 'krty ZY 'wyh (13) [t]myh 'wptsð<sup>sic</sup> rty 'kðry ðymyð tm'yk 'try (14) swγsð'k'm ZY rm 'tðrmnw ZY ðywty pr'yw pr (15) 'ykwncykw βntw βstyty βwð'k'm oo oo

(16) rty 'γw 'prtmcykw 'psypw w'β'ky ZY 'krt'ny (-) (17) k'r'kw ZKh mrtynh wm't [k]y ZY 'ðry y'wr (18) ZKw 'ð'm cñn ðyny nyšk'w [ZY ZK] <sup>2</sup> 'prtm'wh (19) ptyw'nkw γh kynh wm'tw [ky ZY ZKw γypð] (20) 'HYw <sup>3</sup> ptywstð'rty ZY γwy-(r)[sny kyr'n cynt? (21) ZKw 'prtmw γnt'kw γh '(ð)[<sup>4</sup> about 10 letters] (22) 'kðr'ntw ky ZY ZKw pr'mn'ch [ðynh nštw] (23) ð'rnty ZY 'w ðs z-nk'nw pty'r prw ['βc'npð] (24) 'wst'tw ð'rnt oo rtyw ðβtykw ['psypw] (25) w'β'kw 'γw z-m'spw wm't ky [ZY prw] (V 26) 'z-r'wšcw psypw wγtwð'rty rtyw nksynt<sup>sic</sup> (27) MLK' <sup>5</sup> ky ZY mwγz-tw 'kð'rty rtyw kwγ-wn'kw (28) ZK 'tðrmnw z-'t'k ky ZKw mwγ'nch ðynh (29) nštwð'rty oo ZY 'št'ykw 'ps'ypw w'β'k (30) 'γw wpr'tt šmny wm'tw rtyw šwk' MLKγ<sup>sic</sup> <sup>6</sup> (31) ky prw š'kmmw pwt'y 'ps'ypw wγtw ð'rt (32) ZY ms 'γw tyβð'tty 'krt'nk'r'y ky [Z]Kw (33) pwtý ðynh nštwð'rty oo ZY ctβ'r-mykh<sup>sic</sup> (34) 'psypw w'β'kw γw 'škr'y-wt' wm't k(y) (35) prw mšyγ' 'spypw<sup>sic</sup> wγð'rty rtms 'k[rt](n)y (36) k'rch γh s'tt'nch z-wγš'nch ky ZY 'w (37) trs'k'nch ðynh nštw ð'rty rtms tym (38) 'nyt'w 'krt'ny kr'yty wm't'ntw ky 'tšn (39) ZKh 'z-h 'tyw 'tðrmnw β'r'yeykw z-γtw (40) ð'rty rty prw pwt'yšty ZY rγ'ntty ZY prw (41) 'rt'wty ðynd'rty ZY pr šyr'krtyty mrtymty (42) 'ps'ypw wγt(wð'r)ty<sup>sic</sup> rty y'ntt w'β (43) 'krt'ny kr('yt)[rm] 'tðrmnw pr'w<sup>sic</sup> prwh<sup>sic</sup> (44) ['ykwncykw βntw] βstyty βntk'm w'n'kw ZY (45) [about 14 letters] βntk'm oo oo (46) [about 15]kw p'z-ny ðrm'ykw γwβw ZK (47) [about 12]ntw rγwšny βr'yšt'kw βγ'y mr (48) [m'ny w'n'](kw) prm'tð'rty kw ny'wš'kt s'r (49) [kð' βn] (r)yz-'tk'm rty ny'wšð 'tβn prβ'yr'n (50) [about 8 letters + w](r)nkyntw ny'wš'kty ky ZY ZKw mn'

<sup>1</sup> *ðpatsð* shortened from *ðpatsð*.

<sup>2</sup> Not sufficient space for ZY ZKh.

<sup>3</sup> 'γyw. Cf. P 2, 149; P 12, 62, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 'ð[: ð rather doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> *mðk'*.

<sup>6</sup> *mðky*.

## Translation

(First section)<sup>1</sup> ". . . and you have failed to obtain redemption. While in that body you were arrogant,<sup>2</sup> and for the pleasure of the body you took the lives of many beings and even enjoyed it. But now you are left to yourselves, alone in the hands of the demons: neither son nor daughter can help you, neither wife nor concubine,<sup>3</sup> neither hireling nor friend<sup>4</sup> nor well-wisher, neither treasure nor wealth,<sup>5</sup> neither hostel nor palace nor a firm tower,<sup>6</sup> neither good

<sup>1</sup> The first part of the text is an imaginary address to sinners upon their arrival in hell (lines 1-15). It was inserted in a lecture on sin and sinners given (supposedly) by Mani to an assembly of *auditores* (see the caption). The main section (lines 16-45), concluding the lecture, gives a list of the greatest sinners of history. With line 46 a new chapter begins: its few remaining words show that the fragment formed part of a collection of addresses similar in style to the *Kephalaia*. Cf. also the Sogdian text in *BSOS.*, xi, 69 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "while you were in that body as arrogant ones, you took . . .".

<sup>3</sup> The signification of *pryrš* is not known. An older form, *pryrš*, occurs twice in the colophon of P 8. The man who ordered the manuscript, Čurak the son of N'p'yr, of the Xan (γ'n) family, invokes the blessings of heaven on the members of his family, beginning with his grandfather (ny'k 'BY') and his grandmother (ny'k m'th). After having dealt with the living ones (172-6), he enumerates his deceased relations (178-186, a long list), amongst them his wife Māχ-šāy (185). At the end, after friends, etc., and only before the "five classes of living beings of the Triloka", the 'sp'γšlk *pryrš* appear = "servants (and) slave-girls" (or "respectful slave-girls"?). But later on (191) the *pryrš* occupy the first place: "may I, this slave Čurak, express the wish that together with the *pryrš* and the children and the whole family we all may be well, free from disease, pious, meritorious, etc."

<sup>4</sup> γυτγυστ'kw, lit. "self-wished", presumably = "friend". For the compound, cf. Skt. *sveṣṣa*. The word occurs in P 2, 151 (γυτγυστ'k), P 6, 91 (γυτγυστ'k), and P 8, 186 (γυτγυστ'yt, pl.), twice combined with *šyrywz'k*.

<sup>5</sup> Sogdian *γrāme* compares with Parthian *gr'mg* "possessions" (thus read in *Mir.Man.*, iii, a 13, p. 850, instead of *gr'g*) and Pahlavi *gl'mk* = *grāmag* which renders the Gathic *grōhma*. The Pahlavi word which clearly cannot be regarded as a transliteration (that would be *gl'hm*), is explained as *χωāstag* (Y. 32<sup>12</sup>, p. 141) = "possessions, wealth" (Neryosengh *lakšmi*), and also as *pārag* "presents, bribe". Indeed, it would seem that *grōhma* is merely an older form of *grāmag* (etc.). There is no reason for deviating from the Pahlavi version and taking *grōhma* for a personal name or translating as "opferfresser". The stem is *grōhma*-, n., in Y. 32<sup>12</sup> (*grōhmā* acc. pl., "the *karpan* preferred money, possessions to Right"), but *grōhma*- n. in 32<sup>13</sup> ("they shall get that wealth in hell . . ."), and in 32<sup>14</sup> ("even the Kavis have had an eye on his money"). Cf. also MPers. *grāmīg*, Pers. *girāmi* "treasured, valued, beloved".

<sup>6</sup> Sogdian *sārvāy* (see *BBB.*, p. 104) which translates Syr. *naqdā* (πίπυος), Matthew xxi, 33, Luke, xxiii, 4, links up with Pers. *sārvū(e)*, Arab. *sārvūq*, the name of several labyrinthine castles of great antiquity of which the most famous was the citadel of Gay (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 135; Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 196 sq., 201, 208 sq., 212 sq.; *Fārenāme*, p. 29). The Sogdian would seem to support Marquart's proposal (loc. cit., p. 21, and *UGE.*, ii, 62 sq.) to find an older form

equipment nor a harnessed<sup>1</sup> horse—rather everything you loved is now mourning (?)<sup>2</sup> You have fallen into Hell and shall burn now in this hellish fire. Together with Ahriman and the demons you will be bound in the eternal prison.”

(*Second section*) (16–24) The first calumniator<sup>3</sup> and sinner was *Martēn*<sup>4</sup> (= Eve) who three times led<sup>5</sup> Adam astray from the (true) religion, and the first murderer was Cain<sup>6</sup> who killed his own brother. And in the East<sup>7</sup> the first wicked deed was done by the

of this Iranian word in the mysterious *srbug* = *sārbūg* in the “Hymn of the Soul” (*Acta Thomae*), whose Greek equivalent is *λαβύρινθος*. Cf. also *λαβύρινθος* in a similar passage in the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta (restored by W. E. Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlv, 1943, p. 123, n. 1). Arab. *šarbūkāh*, mentioned by Dr. Crum, belongs to modern Syrian Arabic (thus Belot s.v.), the “root” *šarbaka* being merely a development from Classical Arabic *šabbaka* (see Dozy).

<sup>1</sup> *zēn* = weapons, P 7, 152; P 13, 15; Man. *zyyn* M 133 V ii, 1; M 500<sup>m</sup> 10. Hardly here = saddle (as Pers. *zīn*) which in Sogd. is *pyrδn-*, P 13, 6, from \**parid(h)āna-* = Persian *pālān* “packsaddle”, cf. Pers. *pālād* (also, wrongly, *bālād*) “a (pack-)horse” from \**parid(h)āta-*. The reduction of *-ān* to *-ān* is normal in Sogdian; cf. also Wakhi *peden*, *pōδn* “saddle”, *Morgenstierne*, *IIFL.*, ii, 533 (from \**pōrδen* ?). Note that *syrh* VJ. 770, *Dhuta* 15, P 6, 138, is “wheel”, not “saddle” (the remark on *syrh* is struck out in the copy of his paper in *J.A.*, 1936, i [p. 228], M. E. Benveniste very kindly sent me).

<sup>2</sup> This line is incomprehensible. There should be *cnn* before *wyspn'cwo* (cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 99). There ought to be a pronoun referring to the sinners (viz. *-βn*, instead of *-ēn*). Finally, *yw'r*, usually = “but, only”, also “except” (e.g. P 6, 67: *yw'r ZY nykyr'n cnn*), is troublesome. Probably there were two different words: 1. “but”, etc., 2. “sad(ness)” or “mourning” (hence comparable to Parthian *wō'r* = *wiūd*r). See VJ., 1110: *rtypn pr L' wys'm p'rwoty . . . yw'r 'kri'ym* “(Not only) have I no joy in you, but I am rather mourning (you)” (on *'nw'nty* ? *'nw'zty* ? *'zw'nty* ? see *BBB.*, p. 66; “mourning for the living” = mourning although you are still alive ?). The clearest passage is in M 178 i V 17: *pr jwky' pwo r'f oo prw wys'yy kw 'tyyēn 'ndwzc nyyst oo prw fry'wyyē pwo jys'wec oo prw fryy'w'z kw 'tyēn yw'r nyyst* “in health without sickness, in joy where they have no sorrow; in love without hatred, in groups of friends where they have no mourning”.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M 118 ii V 11: *'rsk yyp'k . . . nfrywn 'ty psypw'βky* “envy and hatred (anger) . . . cursing and slandering”. Man. Letter, iii, 14: [*p*] *syyp ny w'β'mk'm* “I shall not slander”. Possibly connected with Buddh. *'β'syp*-P 2, 1168 (“to throw down” ?) and the words given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Martēna*. Cf. Khwarezmian *Mardāna* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 99<sup>14</sup>), Man.MPers. *Murdānag*, etc. (see Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 9 sq.; Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 179 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Lit. “pulled out, away”.—“Three times”: cf. *Homilies*, 68<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The Sogdian gender endings show that the translator imagined that Cain was a woman! Cf. *BBB.*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> In the older Manichaean texts, those written in Babylonia, “East” connotes “India” (cf. e.g. *Kephalaia*, 12<sup>15</sup>, 14; similarly “West” = “Syria”, *Kephalaia*, 7<sup>15</sup>; Kessler, 349<sup>15</sup>; Beruni, *Chron.*, 207<sup>17</sup>, etc.), while in the later writings it implies “Chinese Turkestan” (see *BBB.*, p. 10).

A . . . . s<sup>1</sup> who spoilt the Brahmanic religion and established the ten adversities in the world. (24-9) The second calumniator was Žāmāsp who slandered Azrušč (Zarathushtra), and (so did) King Naksintar (= Alexander)<sup>2</sup> who committed the murder of the Magi, and Kūyūne, the son of Ahriman, who (= Kūyūne) spoilt the Magian religion. (29-33) The third calumniator was WPRTT (= Upagupta ?),<sup>3</sup> the śramaṇa, — and King Šoka (= Aśoka)<sup>4</sup> who slandered Buddha Šākman,<sup>5</sup> and further the sinner Devadatta who spoilt the Buddha's religion.<sup>6</sup> (33-7) The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered Christ, and the (fourth) sinner<sup>fem.</sup> (was) Satan<sup>fem.</sup>, the hard-hearted (?)<sup>7</sup> one<sup>fem.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Had this name been preserved, it might have given a valuable pointer to the source from which this curious statement was derived (Buddhist? Greek?). As far as I can see there is no equivalent report in the accounts furnished by the companions of Alexander, or by Megasthenes (Strabo, xv, 59-60, C. 712-13, from Megasthenes, *ibid.*, 66, C. 716-17, from Nearchos, *ibid.*, 70, C. 719, from an unknown source, is hardly comparable; cf. E. R. Bevan, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 419 sqq.); cf. also Palladius (Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 7-16, ed. C. Müller) and Bardesanes, *Lois des Pays*, p. 20, ed. Nau (pp. 45-6 transl.). One can hardly ascribe the statement of the text to Mani who never included Brahmanism in the list of the inspired religions.

<sup>2</sup> Corrupted from 'rkeynt. Note the *ks* (as in Pahlavi, etc.) against *zs* in MPers. 'Izsyndrgyrd, *Mir.Man.*, ii, p. 302 (in the Sogdian version of the missionary history, cf. *OLZ.*, 1939, 242, *rysyt' ykyrδ*).

<sup>3</sup> One would expect *wpkēpt*, or, if a Middle Indian form *Upagutta* had been used, *wpkēt* (*wpkōtt*, *wpk'ōt*, *wpk'utt*). Even *wpk'tt*, reproducing Middle Persian (?) *wpgt*, would be possible, in view of *š'kmn* for *Šākyamuṇi*. Now, *wpk'tt*, in an earlier Sogdian manuscript, could have been misread as *wpr'tt*: one often experiences some difficulty in distinguishing the letters *k* and *r* from each other in even carefully written Sogdian MSS.—In considering this restitution one must bear in mind that *wpr'tt* should represent the name of a man famous in the history of Buddhism, preferably of someone associated with Aśoka; cf. F. W. Thomas, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 498.

<sup>4</sup> *šok'* contrasts with the Central Asian forms given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 919. While the indispensable initial *A-* is missing here, there is a more than superfluous *A-* in the Sogdian spelling of *Kaniška's* name (cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1942, 15 sq.) which occurs in P 8, 29: *'knšk' 'st'wpl' βry'r* = *Kaniška-stūpa-vihāra*; cf. *'koc-* = *Kuc(i)*, *BSOS.*, ix, 566; *Sogdica*, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Mir.Man.*, iii, 880<sup>b</sup> and n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The stereotyped relative clauses seem to have been distributed at random among the "calumniators".

<sup>7</sup> Here again the translator has blundered, in mistaking the sex of Satan, cf. *BBB.*, p. 101. Previously I had suggested that *zwyš'nch* belonged to *zwyšk-* (*žwzšq-*, *δrywšk-*) "bhikṣu, disciple", but that does not make sense. In view of the copyist's carelessness it may be permitted to ascribe another mistake to him and to read *zwyš'nch* instead = *žoymānč*, fem. of *žoymāne*, Luke, 19<sup>21</sup>, <sup>22</sup> = Syr. *qašyā* (*žoy-* from *drayu-* from the base of Av. *drang-*; here hardly belongs Saka *dīva-* which could better be derived from \**dīry-* from Av. *driyu-*).—Satan and

who spoilt the Christian religion. (37-45) There were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts,<sup>1</sup> and who slandered the Buddhas and the Arhants, the Righteous Dēndārs and the Pious Men. All these many sinners shall be bound in the eternal prison, together with Ahriman, and they shall be . . . . .

(Third section) (46-50) [And again the pure-hearted Dharmarājā,<sup>2</sup> the . . . Light Apostle, the Lord Mār Mānī spoke thus to the Hearers: "If you please, listen, and I shall explain to you . . . . the faithful Hearers who [accept] my [teachings] . . . .

## M 549

Lower half of a folio. Manichæan script. The appending folio deals with astrological matters (not given here).

(R 1) ]ww (2) ]γrywyy prw (3) ]s(m)[ ]m w'nw 'tyh (4) prywyδ mryncnd w' mγwn xwrnztyc (5) δ'm oo 'tyšn β't βyryy 'ty z'wr (6) wγšyy 'ty 'xwsndyy' wyyh mγwn (7) δyw'styyc(y) δ'myy oo 'rtyy nwkr [? št](y)w (8) mzyx 'n(z)r'<sup>3</sup> 'ty prδβn pty's'cnd (9) ww rw'nsp'syy oo 'rty c'nw x' (10) rw(')[ns]p'syy ptxsyy oo 'rtyy 'yw (11) [about 7] qwγwnyy 'wštyyt δw'n (12) [about 7] .

Iscariot: cf. *Mir.Man.*, iii, pp. 880, 883. The translation of the first passage, i, 72 sqq., is to be corrected: "The cup of poison and death, hatred was poured (Pers. *gusār-*) over you, Boy, by Iscariot, etc."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M 904, 17-19: *mγwn wjyδw'δyy β'rycyq[ī] δyn'βrt' 'ty nγ[ws'kt]* "All mounts of the Holy Ghost: the Elect and the Hearers". *Mir.Man.*, iii, k 40 (on the reading see below, p. 143, n. 6): "Satan made Iscariot his mount" (cf. Luke, 22<sup>d</sup>, *εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς . . . Ἰσκαριώτην*). Possibly also *ibid.*, i 71, *bāragān ēē išmagift*. Cf. also the following somewhat confused Middle Persian passage (M 788, 2-8): *h'n hm w'xš [ywjāhr] [gry](p) b'rg'w šymw[n . . . ] [y']qwβ qyf' mry(m) mrt' (p)'wlyš pytrws tykl'y bhyr [ . . ](š)'(w)[d] (h)yrm' šwb'n [oo 'wδ'n qy[rā] w'xšwrc' pā šhr šhr 'wd d'št dyn pā p'qyh* "The Holy Ghost also took as his mounts: Simon, . . . , James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, Thecla, BHYR (?), . . . , and Hermas the shepherd. They became apostles in the various lands and kept the religion in a state of purity". (*šymwn*, at the head of the list, is Simon Peter rather than Simon the Canaanite: Peter thus is represented three times, as *šymwn*, *qyf'*, and *pytrws*. Cf. M 18, V 12, and Allberry, *Psalm-book*, 142 sq., 192, 194. A gross mistake is "Hermas the shepherd", instead of "the shepherd of Hermas").

<sup>2</sup> Restore: *[rty tym ZK 'ws'wyt']kw p'zny* (but it should be *'ws'wyt-p'zn'y*), or: *[rty tym cnn 'yw'rδ]kw p'zny* (however, there should be ZK before *δrm'ykw*). Possibly *δrm'ykw γwβw* formed merely the end of a longer compound, "the . . . *citta-dharma-rājā*." The introduction of such Buddhist terms may be due to the translator; cf. line 40, "the Buddhas and Arhants" = "the apostles". In any case, the chapter beginning in line 46 need not have been joined originally with the preceding text.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *'n(w)r'*.



'rtyšn 'wrδ βwt̄ xw (13) [about 7] (xw) ? qwγwnyy w'βttt x' (14)  
](x') ? 'spnd

(V 15) prp[ (16) zprtqryy [ (17) 'rty ywnyyδ kw[ ]ryw[  
(18) 'wjγδδt̄ 'rty βwt̄ xw ywxn' 'pšyyk<sup>1</sup> (19) 'spyy ptxwng ryyt̄  
(')ngr'nd<sup>2</sup> 'tyh̄ (20) γwšyy 's oo 'rt̄x' nnδβ'mbn δn (21) ['y](n)ct̄yy  
wyy yt̄qwy' tyys'nd γwδ(y)<sup>3</sup> (22) pt̄sq'fnd 'sk' wxwn'nd r'yynd  
(23) ryyš'nd (f)tr'nd<sup>4</sup> 'ty γryw prw z'yy (24) frp'š'nd oo 'rty pncmx'  
[? qn]δδ<sup>5</sup> (25) kyy jymt̄ xwyndyy 'wrδ r[ . . . . ]δ (26) 'sp'δ 'rty  
w' nfryyn[ (27) jmykyy' mnd'γ'ryy' [ (28) qnδ [

### Translation

(First page) . . . so that thereby they would wreck the whole  
Ahuramazdian Creation, and that in the whole Demonic Creation  
they would have success and power, joy and satisfaction. And  
now, thirdly (?), they did much harm and injury to the "soul-  
service". For when the "soul-service"<sup>6</sup> is performed, one

<sup>1</sup> Or *ywkn' pšyyx*. A letter may be missing at the end of the last word ('pšyyk[.],  
or 'pšyyx[.]). Cf. *xwny pšyncn'*, *S.T.*, ii, 6, 9-10. As the past stem is *pšyt-*, we  
probably have a noun *pšēk* here.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly (*m*)*ngr'nd*. However, an imperfect is not wanted, the preceding and  
following finite forms being in the present. Probably *'ngr'nd* is an infinitive, or  
rather a verbal noun, parallel to *'pšyyk* and *ptxwng* and depending on *βwt̄*. This  
entails taking also 's for a verbal noun, with the genitive (?) *γwšyy* depending  
on it. The latter may belong to *γōš* "ear" rather than to *γōš* "metal"; there  
was also *γōše* from *γōšak* "spy".

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *γwδ(w)*. But cf. Chr. *γwδy*, Buddh. *γwδ'k*, *BSOS.*, x, 91, *γwδ'kh*,  
P 8, 108 (cf. Av. *gaoiḍi*). Different is *γwδ-*, P 2, 962 = Av. *gūḍa-*.

<sup>4</sup> Or (*p*)*tr-*. Cf. '*pt'r-* "to pluck (hairs)" *SCE.*, 88, and Pers. *fitar-* "to pull  
to pieces" (probably borrowed from Sogdian).

<sup>5</sup> *pncmx'*[. . .]δδ. The first word, *pncmx'*, is apparently complete. It is written  
as a single word, hence possibly not *pncm* "fifth" + *x'* (cf. *pncm*, P 2, 1094, 1120).  
The restoration of [qn]δδ, on which the interpretation of *jymt̄* depends, is purely  
tentative; it is supported by *qnδ* in line 28, and by *'wrδ* in line 25.

<sup>6</sup> The signification of this term is not clear. It may refer to a religious service  
for the souls of the departed, a Manichaean *Requiem*. An allusion to the "soul-  
work" (MPers. *rawānagān*, Turk. *uzūlūg iş*), the alms and tithes given to the  
monks by the laymen, is hardly intended (notwithstanding the title of the official  
who collects the alms: *arwānagān aspasag* = "soul-work servant"). In Sogdian  
those alms were called simply *δβ'r* "gifts", or else the Middle Persian (*δβ'r*  
*rw'ng'n*, T i D, R 5), or the Parthian word (*'rw'ng'n*, M 858\* 1) was employed.—  
The passage in *Mir.Man.*, iii, k 42, p. 883, where I wrongly restored [*rw*]'*ng'n*,  
should read as follows (from line 39 onwards: based on the MSS. M 390, M 459e,  
and M 891b): *kyrdwōš b'ry 'škrywōš' h' bzftg fryhstwm 'mwōt' 'c 'bjyru'ng'n oo nm'dyš*  
*pā dštbr 'dyšg* (var. lect. 'dyšg) 'w dws'mnyn 'bysprā (var. lect. 'byspwrā ?) bgywbr  
'bys'w'd 'c r'styft (?) pā p'db'rg cy d'd yhwōd'n wzybyy xwō'y 'wōt' mwōc pāt. The  
strange looking last word probably means "he gave up, sacrificed".

.... Kūyūne steps forward, .... and there they have the ....  
Kūyūne says: the .... sacred. ....

(*Second page*) .... purifying .... without delay .... he  
dismounts, and there take place spilling of blood, killing of horses,  
laceration of faces, and taking (= cutting off?) of ears (?). And  
the lady Nan(a), accompanied by her women, walks on to the  
bridge, they smash the vessels, loud they call out,<sup>1</sup> they weep, tear  
(their garments),<sup>2</sup> pull out (their hairs), and throw themselves to  
the ground. And fifthly, the (?) city which is called Žimat, there  
.... an army. And the curse-....<sup>3</sup> city ....

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 97 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Or (perhaps better) "lacerate (their faces, etc.)".

<sup>3</sup> *mand-āyāryā* contains neither Buddh. "γ'r "pace" (in Man. prob. "z'r  
nor "γ'r "food, meal" (in Man. 'z'r and 'h'r), cf. *BBB.*, p. 98. It is doubtful  
whether the word is connected with *āyarte* "muddy, juicy, etc." (*Sogdica*, p. 30,  
cf. Pers. *āyār*), or with Buddh. "γ'rt "indigestible" (P 8, 124, cf. Pashto *ayār*,  
*Morgenstierne*, *EVP.*, p. 9, Charpentier, *AO.*, vii, 181). Perhaps the most likely  
candidate is the word "γ'r in M 134 i V 7: p' 'ynny jwendyy γryw mrδspndy z'wr  
oo wny zrw' βyyy npyyśn [t]y z'wrnz' βyyy z'tyy oo m[γ'ien ']fombdyy frn 'ty "γ'r s't  
w'tδ'rtyy [...] n rw'n kyycn γrβ β[r]ywr srδytyy mrt's'r oo pr z'y pr sm'n wysprδ[yy ]  
δyštyy δyβtyy w(m)[t] = for the strength of the elements, this *viva anima* the  
grandson of Zrwan and son of Khormazda (*Primus Homo*), the fortune (glory)  
and *āyār* of the whole world, the life (? *jw'n* ?) and soul of all living beings, which  
(= *viva anima*) since many myriads of years (= since the beginning of the world)  
up to now has been scattered and dispersed (cf. *S.T.*, i, 75<sup>16</sup>, and *s'š δβ'n*, O<sup>3</sup> 32)  
everywhere on the earth and in the skies. Similar passages will be found in *Mir.Man.*,  
iii, p. 871, n. 4. The Parthian text translated there runs as follows: *cy wzd 'st*  
*b'm 'wd frh [cy] hmg zmbudyy bun 'wd "c'r cy hrwcy gy'n'n 'wd d'm'd'n z'wr jynohr*  
*br'zyśn 'wd hwcyhryft 'z kw z[ynā] jywynd 'wd pr'wšt bwynd wys[p] jyw'ng.* The  
comparison of all passages indicates that Sogd. *āyār* corresponds either to Parth.  
*bām*, Turk. *qıw* "splendour", or possibly to Parth. *bun ud ācār*, Turk. *töz yiltiz*  
"root and basis". Thus *mand-āyāryā* may mean "lustrelessness", or "base-  
lessness", or even "absence of moisture".

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE AVESTIC STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

THE Avesta was made known in Europe by Anquetil Duperron in the second half of the eighteenth century, but remained a dead letter until Eugène Burnouf, the great French philologist, turned his attention to it. The publication of his *Commentaire sur le Yasna*, in 1833, marked the beginning of modern Avesta philology. From Burnouf until the end of the century the interpretation of the Avesta made great strides. In 1895 appeared the last volume of Geldner's great edition of the text, and in 1904 Bartholomæ's dictionary was published which ranks among the best dictionaries in the world. Thus, at the beginning of the present century, the main work on the Avesta seemed to have been done, and there was little prospect of further progress.

This dismal prospect was suddenly changed by the unexpected discovery in Central Asia of an enormous number of documents written in four previously unknown Middle Iranian languages. The oldest of these, from the second century of our era, were not far removed from the later parts of the Avesta. Thus it was to be hoped that the infinitely increased knowledge of the Iranian history, languages, literatures, and religions, which we owe to these discoveries, would greatly contribute to the elucidation of the many peculiar features presented by the Avesta, which had to be left unexplained owing to the absence of sufficient material.

However, this hope has been realized only to a limited extent. For at the very same time that the first Central Asian discoveries came in students of the Avesta began to

<sup>1</sup> A few days after reading this paper to the Philological Society I received, through the kindness of the author, Professor H. W. Bailey's book: *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books* (Clarendon Press, 1943). In his admirable chapters on "Patvand" and "Den-dipirih" Professor Bailey has dealt with the problems discussed in the present paper. It gives me pleasure to find that there is a large measure of agreement between his views and mine, at least on the more important points.

follow a road which led them more and more to dissociate their work from Middle Iranian Studies. Broadly speaking, their work during the last decades was dominated by a hypercritical attitude towards the text of the Avesta, and by the attempt at reconstructing the supposedly original text, while the Middle Iranian Studies in the meantime tended to show that the text as it stands is perfectly correct and not in need of any reconstruction.

One of the most important steps on the road to the *reconstruction of the original Avesta* was the metrical theory which Geldner advanced in 1877.<sup>1</sup> He found that considerable portions of the Younger Avesta, in particular of the Yashts, or sacrificial hymns, were poems. In the manuscripts of the Avesta there is no distinction of the poetical parts from the prose sections. This was a discovery of great value.

Geldner then proceeded to dissect the text into lines and strophes, and noticed soon that the number of syllables that went to make up a line was fairly regular, mostly about eight. From this he drew the conclusion—and in this, I think, he was wrong—that the lines should have had eight syllables regularly in the original text, and that the metrical principle of the Younger Avestan verse was a mere counting of syllables. In a restricted number of cases he also admitted lines of ten or twelve syllables.

However, it was obvious that among the lines of eight syllables there were also lines of six, seven, or nine syllables, and in no small number at that. Now, it was well known that in Avestan the words were frequently shorter by a syllable than the corresponding words of theoretical Old Iranian. Thus Geldner was led to assume that at the time when those poems had been composed, the language had still approximated to theoretical Old Iranian, and that the shorter or otherwise deviating forms in the manuscripts were due to faulty tradition. In fact, he believed that the existing text of the Avesta was corrupt throughout, and this opinion was shared by many scholars.

<sup>1</sup> K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des Jüngerer Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877.

Let us take an example. Avestan *drūm* corresponds to Sanskrit *dhruvām*, the Old Iranian form should have been \**druvam*. Wherever *drūm* occurred in an apparently catalectic line Geldner restored *druvam*, and thus made up the number of syllables to eight.

Here one must remark that even if one accepted Geldner's theory of the eight-syllable line it would not necessarily follow that the text was corrupt, and that the poets actually had said *druvam* instead of *drūm*. For the difference of an ordinary *ū* from an *û* due to the coalescence of two vowels may have persisted in the pronunciation, probably in the intonation, and therefore *drūm* may have counted as a word of two syllables.<sup>1</sup>

Geldner developed a whole set of rules for the substitution of Old Iranian forms in lines which seemed to be short of a syllable or two. But he had to admit a great number of exceptions, namely, wherever the lines had already the desired number of syllables.<sup>2</sup> He also allowed himself some licence in introducing forms which were justified neither by the traditional text, nor by Old Iranian or Sanskrit. Thus he vindicated three syllables to words such as *uyra*: Sanskrit *ugrā*, *mahrka*<sup>3</sup>: Sanskrit *markā*, *zaotra*: Sanskrit *hōtrā*,<sup>4</sup> *drafsa*,<sup>5</sup> *nmāna*,<sup>6</sup> *raoxšna*,<sup>7</sup> and so on,<sup>8</sup> but this should apply only where occasion demanded. Still more daring were his attempts at reducing verses of nine syllables to eight. Here he had recourse to such questionable expedients as reading *dugḍarəm*: Sanskrit *duhitāram*, or *hvanharəm*: Skt. *svāsāram*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, § 45 (pp. 50 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Geldner, p. 10: *mazdā* = 2 or 3 syll.; p. 11: *mā* = 1 or 2 syll.; p. 12: *gṛuš* = 1 or 2 syll.; p. 13: *kərəsəpa*, *vištəpa*, etc. = 3 or 4 syll.; pp. 16 sq.: *zam* = 1 or 2 syll.; pp. 34 sq.: *-amna-* = 2 or 3 syll.; p. 24: freedom in use of *-y-* and *-v-* as *-uv-* and *-iy-*; etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33, *ādraṭ* trisyllabic, *xšōiθnē* trisyllabic; p. 38: "restitution" of the augment.

as disyllabic words,<sup>1</sup> or as reducing by a syllable the ending of the Nom. Plur. of *i*- and *u*-stems, *-ayō* and *-avō*, in Skt. *-ayas* and *-avas*.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to the considerable latitude which Geldner had allowed himself, his theories met with little response. In fact it is not too much to say that his book rather had the effect of discouraging any further study of the Avestan metrics.

Geldner himself, in his edition of the text of the Avesta, took less notice of the metres than one would have expected. Therefore, it may seem rather unnecessary to discuss the merits of his suggestions now. That, however, is not so. For in more recent times they have seen an unexpected revival. Actually the belief in the eight-syllable line, and in the counting of syllables as the principle of the Avestan verse, seems to be one of the not too numerous points on which the students of the Avesta are agreed. How this has come about I am at a loss to say. For Geldner's demonstration was, I think, manifestly unsatisfactory, and there has been no attempt since at re-establishing his ideas on a more secure basis.

We now have to consider the reconstruction of the so-called Arsacid text of the Avesta, which is associated with the name of the late Professor Andreas. Since I owe my initiation into this subject to Andreas, it is painful to me to find myself compelled to disagree with him on this problem, perhaps one of the most important points in the field of Iranian Studies. However, I think he would have been the first to scrap his own theory, had he been allowed to see the flood of fresh Middle Iranian material which has become available only in recent years. For at the time when he first propounded his ideas, in 1902, only one Middle Iranian dialect, the Pahlavi language, was known, and this lack of information had inevitably the consequence that the picture of the linguistical development of Iranian was somewhat distorted.

The existing text of the Avesta, which is commonly referred

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53; cf. also the restitution of *-ā* in the place of *-āni* (p. 52), the contraction of *-anqm* to *-qm* (pp. 53 sq.), and the "Samdhi" (pp. 54 sqq.).

to as the vulgate text, or the traditional text, is written in an unusually elaborate and precise script. There are fourteen characters for the vowels alone, and altogether forty-eight. This contrasts with the other scripts used in Iran in ancient times, all of which derive from the Aramaic script of twenty-two letters (not counting cuneiform Old Persian, the Indian Brahmi used for Khotanese and Maralbaši Saka, Turkish runes, and Chinese for Middle Persian and Parthian, and similar exceptions). Of these comparatively few letters some were not even employed: thus, the Iranian parts of Pahlavi were written with only nineteen characters, and the Sogdians managed with not more than seventeen.

These scripts share the peculiar character of the Aramaic alphabet in expressing only the consonants, at least in theory. In practice, the letters Aleph, Yod, and Waw, which primarily represent the consonants: Glottal stop, *y*, and *w*, are used also for the vowels. Such was also the script in which Pahlavi was written, the Middle Iranian language which was used in Persia in Sassanian times (third to seventh century), but also earlier.

Now, the elaborate Avestan script with its forty-eight characters was introduced or invented at some time during the Sassanian period, possibly in the fourth century. But if the Avesta had been committed to, let us say, leather, before that time (and the Zoroastrian tradition affirms that that had been done), the script used for it can have been only the Pahlavi script, or at least one of similar character.

Andreas believed that such an earlier text, written in a simple script of the Pahlavi type, had indeed existed, and that it had been *transliterated* into the elaborate Avestan script, which had been created because the ambiguity inherent in the older system of writing had more and more endangered the understanding of the sacred books. For convenience' sake the earlier text has been called the "Arsacid" text, because it is supposed to have been written down first during the half millennium when Persia was ruled by the Arsacid or Parthian kings, before the Sassanian period.

Andreas thought it possible to reconstruct the Arsacid text, with the help of the palæographic analysis of the Avestan script, which in common with most scholars he believed to have been developed from the Pahlavi script. The regular substitution of a fixed character for each letter or group of letters in the traditional text, should produce the earlier text quite mechanically. The thus reconstructed Arsacid text should form the sole basis for our study of the Avesta, while the vulgate text constituted merely an interpretation of the original, which we were at liberty to accept or reject.

For the transliterators, he maintained, had been a bunch of ignoramuses, who had had at their disposal no information worth mentioning beyond the Arsacid text. They had done their work mechanically, but thanks to this mode of proceeding we were enabled to reconstitute the older text, which so to speak inhered in the traditional text. Their main mistake lay in assimilating the ancient language to their own Middle Iranian form of speech. We ought to take no notice of their reading, but interpret the Arsacid text in agreement with the Sanskrit grammar and the principles of comparative philology.

In so far as the form of the words in the original Avestan language is concerned the new method endorsed the results which Geldner had reached with the help of metrical considerations. Let us take the same example we had used before: for Avestan *drūm* Geldner had substituted *druvam* because in his opinion the metre demanded a disyllabic word. Andreas said that *drūm* reflected the spelling *D-R-W-M* in the Arsacid text, and that we should consider how a word spelled in this way should be read, without being deflected by the phonetic interpretation which the traditional text offered. Since our reading should aim at producing a properly Old Iranian form, in accord with the Sanskrit grammar, we obviously had no choice but to read *druvam*.

Before describing the effect which this theory had on the development of the Avestic Studies, I should like to state what objections can be raised against it. It is clear that the



acceptance of the whole theory depends on what credit we can give to its three basic points: Firstly, that the Arsacid text ever existed. Secondly, that it was *transliterated*, in the way Andreas postulated. Thirdly, that the transliterators were very ignorant people. The most important of these points is the third: For, to revert to our example, even if we agreed that there had been a word spelled *D-R-W-M* in an Arsacid text, and that it had been transliterated as *drūm*, we still might consider that the transliterators were justified in writing as they did, and in refusing to adorn their manuscripts with genuinely Old Iranian forms.

Firstly, that the Arsacid text ever existed. The Zoroastrian tradition relates that the Avesta had been written down already before Alexander, and that the surviving books had been collected by a Parthian king by name of Vologasus. However, since the reliability of this tradition is under review, it will be better to disregard it altogether for the moment. Actually, it has been doubted whether the Avesta has been written even in far later times, before the end of the Sassanian period, but such extreme views need not detain us.

But if we want to establish the history of the Avesta from non-Zoroastrian statements only, we must bear in mind that at best we cannot expect very much. If in writing the history of the early Christian literature one had to rely solely on non-Christian and anti-Christian reports, the picture would be neither complete nor correct.

There are no Greek or Roman accounts that in any way could be regarded as conclusive. Pliny tells us that Hermippus, the author of a book on the Magi, who lived in the third century before our era, had written a commentary on Zoroaster's verses, in which he had given a table of the contents of his *volumina*.<sup>1</sup>

More valuable perhaps is what Pausanias relates in his *Description of Greece*.<sup>2</sup> In describing the well-known Zoroastrian ceremony of re-kindling the sacred fire from the ashes, he

<sup>1</sup> C. Clomen, *Fontes Hist. Reliq. Pers.*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 62 sq.

mentions casually that the Magian priest while reciting some invocations in a barbarian language, read them out of a book. Unfortunately, it was in Lydia, rather a long way from Persia, that Pausanias observed<sup>2</sup> that ceremony, although on the other hand he says that the temple in question belonged to the "Lydians who are surnamed Persian".<sup>2</sup> Also, it would be rather irregular for a Magian priest to read his invocations; he ought to know them by heart.

In view of the somewhat unsatisfactory nature of these references, it is fortunate that recently an unambiguous statement has come to light, which is all the more valuable for originating from a hostile witness. The witness I mean is Mani who was born in the year 216, in the reign of the last Arsacid king, and who spent most of his life in Persia under the first kings of the Sassanian dynasty. In one of the Manichæan books in the Coptic language which were discovered in Egypt in 1930, Mani says<sup>3</sup>: "Zoroaster came to King Hystaspes and preached in Persia, and selected just and righteous disciples. . . . However, he did not write any books. But his disciples after his death remembered (his words) and wrote the books which they read to-day."

This, I think, is perfectly clear. If the Zoroastrians had had to rely merely on oral tradition, Mani would have been delighted to say so. For the point he wants to make is that the Sacred Scriptures of all religions other than his own were of dubious authority, because they had not been composed by the founders of the religions themselves. The written Avesta was, in the eyes of Mani, a well-known and long-established fact, obviously not a recent innovation. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Arsacid text of the Avesta existed. Incidentally, the Zoroastrian tradition on this subject is confirmed.

We now come to the second point, the question whether the ancient Arsacid text has been *transliterated* into the elaborate Avestan alphabet. It is important to realize that the assumption of such a transliteration is by no means a

<sup>2</sup> θεασάμενος οἶδα. <sup>3</sup> Λυδοῖς ἐπίκλησιν Περσικοῖς. <sup>3</sup> Κεφαλαία, p. 7, 27-33.

necessity. The Zoroastrian tradition whose predominant interest lay in proving the continuity of the textual history, is silent on this point, and this, I think, goes a long way to show that there was no such transliteration.

The tradition merely says that the Avesta has several times been burned and dispersed, but collected again later, and that the last great collection took place during the Sassanian period. It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that the word "collection" here means: "collection of the oral tradition," and this seems to be the correct solution. There is no doubt that the oral transmission of the Avesta, from teacher to pupil, was an important factor in the history of the sacred books.<sup>2</sup>

It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that when in Sassanian times the need for a new collection made itself felt the new Avestic script was invented, and the various texts were written in it at the dictation of carefully selected priests who were believed to have preserved the ancient texts best. Whether those priests found it necessary to refresh their memories by looking up old manuscripts, we shall never know.

Whatever the truth may be in this question, I have no doubt that in no way can we hope to restore the Arsacid text on the ground of any palæographic analysis of the Avestan script. After Andreas there has been another such attempt<sup>3</sup> with different results in almost every point. The reason for this divergence of views is not far to seek. It is simply this, that the Avestan script is by nature a poor field for palæographic studies. For the Avestan script is not the result of slow development in the course of centuries. It was something entirely new, a departure from the customary system of writing. In one word, it was an invention. Therefore, at best we could only find out what was in the mind of the inventor or the inventors—and that would seem rather a hopeless task.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nyberg, *Rel. Alt. Iran*, 424.

<sup>2</sup> This point has now been fully discussed by Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 149 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> H. Junker, *Caucasica*, ii (1925), 1-92, iii (1926), 82-139.

That the Avestan script is an invention is clear also from internal evidence. Until more recent times it had never been doubted, and in fact it is obvious, that the starting-point for the inventor was the ordinary Pahlavi script of Sassanian times, which was different from the Pahlavi script of our manuscripts only in a few minor points.<sup>1</sup> Wherever the Pahlavi script was clear its characters were adopted by the inventor. This affects nearly all Pahlavi letters. But wherever Pahlavi was ambiguous, or lacked a letter, new characters were invented.

The third point was the ignorance of the transliterators, or, we should say, the priests who wrote down the traditional text. Since the original text is supposed to have been different from the present Avesta in almost every word their ignorance must have been boundless indeed. However, one cannot help noticing that the changes which distinguish the language of the traditional Avesta from theoretical Old Iranian, are fairly regular, and in fact have the character of phonetical laws. This ought not to have been so, had these changes been due merely to mistakes in transliteration. Thus one is led to suppose that the language of the Avesta was a real language, as distinct from a paper language.

But this is a quarrel of a hundred years' standing, in which we are unlikely to get very far with general considerations. There is only one way of establishing the genuineness of the Avestan language. Namely, it is argued that the so-called mistakes are due mainly to the influence of that language which the transliterators themselves spoke, i.e. Pahlavi or Middle Persian. But if we can show that changes which distinguish Avestan from Old Iranian and Middle Persian alike, are shared by other Iranian dialects, this should be regarded as decisive.

Such cases can indeed be proved with the help of the fresh

<sup>1</sup> This has been established by C. Salemann, *Ueber eine Parsenhandschrift* . . . (vol. ii des Travaux de la 3<sup>e</sup> session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, 1876). His results have in no way been shaken by Junker's arguments.

Middle Iranian Material. Let us take the shortening of long vowels in front of *y* or *w*. For Sanskrit *chāyā*, Old Iranian *sāyā*, "shadow," we have *sāyag* in Middle Persian, and *sāyé* in Persian. But in Avestan it is *sayā*, and this shortening of the first *ā* is shared by Sogdian *sayāk*,<sup>1</sup> Ormuri *syāk*<sup>2</sup>, Pashto *siyā*.

Similarly before a *w*. Skt. *nāvāja*, OIr. *nāwāza* "a sailor", is *nāwāz* in MPers. and Parthian, but *nawāza* in the Avesta and *nawāz* (*nw*'z) in Sogdian.<sup>3</sup>

A characteristic case is Skt. *jīva-*, OIr. *ǰīwa-* "to live". In OPers. it is *ǰīwa-*, in Parth. *ǰīw-*, in MPers. *zīw-*, in Pers. *zīy-*. But in Av. the *ī* disappears, and this has happened also in Sogd. *ǰw-*, in Pashto *ǰw-*, Yaghnobi *ǰū-*, Khotanese *ǰū-*.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of Andreas' theory there is no way of explaining convincingly why the transliterators should persistently have written *ǰw-* for OIr. *ǰīw-* in face of *zīw-* in their own language.

One could mention a considerable number of such differences, but I think a single one is sufficient to prove that this language is not merely a huge mistake. In this investigation we are somewhat hampered by the absence of any modern dialects in precisely that region which must be considered to have been the home of the authors of the Avesta, the region from the Hāmūn lake in the south to the oasis of Merv in the North and to Balkh, the ancient Bactra, in the North-East.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = 1. "shadow", 2. "canopy, pavilion". Persian *sāyé* also has the second meaning, cf. *Fārsnāmé*, Introd., p. xxix. In Jewish Persian *sāyé* renders Hebrew *sukkāh* "booth" (Is. 1, 8; 4, 6; etc.) and *mlūnāh* "hut" (Is. 24, 20).

<sup>2</sup> Or Av. *ašavan*, Zoroastr. Pahl. *ahlaw* (Man. 'hlo): Skt. *ṛtāvan-*, OPers. *artāvan-*, Sogd. *artāw*, MPers., Parth. *ardāw*, Pahlavi *ardā*. But Av. *ašavasta-*: Sogd. *artōsp-* (dissimilated as Bal. *gidīsp*, Ormuri *ǰusp*).

<sup>3</sup> For determining the position of Avestan among its fellow Iranian dialects, this point has no less weight than the arguments which led Tedesco, *Le Monde Oriental*, xv, 256 sq., to the conclusion that Avestan belonged to the North-Western group. I do not see how one can dismiss it, "la langue de l'Avesta étant un dialecte du Nord-Ouest" (Tedesco, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 25, 57).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1926, pp. 28 qq.; differently *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. ii, p. 24, n. 1.

From the dialectological point of view the language of the Avesta takes its place between the Western Iranian dialects as spoken in present-day Persia, and the Eastern dialects on the Indian frontier and to the North of the River Oxus.

The theory of Andreas has sometimes been described as the "starting-point for the modern Avesta-philology". Many eminent scholars, Benveniste, Duchesne, B. Geiger, L. H. Gray, Lommel, Meillet, Wackernagel, and many others have, at some time or other, accepted it in a more or less modified form. It has been elaborated and developed in various ways.

For example, one has assumed that there may have been several independent transliterations of the Arsacid text which were reflected in the various readings of our manuscripts. One has also spoken of various readings in the Arsacid text. One has thought to discover cases where the transliterators had misread the Arsacid text. Further, it has been suggested that the scribes of the Arsacid text had confused letters of similar shape, but this would seem a rather unsafe way of proceeding since nobody can possibly say what the script of the Arsacid text was like. Finally, for explaining passages in late Avestan books the language of which is in no way up to the standard of Old Iranian, one has supposed that perhaps the endings of the words had altogether been omitted in the Arsacid text, and that the existing endings had been added by the transliterators.<sup>1</sup>

But the most important development was the union of the transliteration theory with the metrical principles of Geldner. On the one hand, the help of the "transliterated" text gave full freedom in reading the separate words. On the other hand, the eight-syllable metrics provided a means of adding and omitting words and syllables. The combination of both methods has served to transform the text of the Avesta in a fashion which I believe is unparalleled in other branches of philology.

In all this far too little attention has been paid to the soundness of the basis, which has mostly been taken for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lommel, *ZII.*, i, 195 sqq., vi, 126 sqq.

granted. The consequence is that at present the students of the Avesta are split into two groups each of which takes little or no notice of the results of the other.

At the beginning of this paper I pointed out that Geldner's metrical theories<sup>1</sup> did not work out quite satisfactorily. At its end, I feel I ought to make an alternative suggestion.

Let us cast a glance at the newly-discovered remains of Middle Iranian poetry, of which the oldest, the Parthian poems of the third and fourth centuries, are in point of time not too far removed from the later portions of the Avesta. All Middle Iranian poetry, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Khotanese,<sup>2</sup> has this feature in common that the number of syllables to a line is variable. The important point throughout is the number of *stressed* syllables.

Here I take into account only those poems that are divided into lines in the manuscripts. They alone can provide a secure basis for metrical studies. For it is true, the hypothetical Avestan metrics have been applied also to Pahlavi books in which the text is not divided into lines, but in doing so one was forced to the notion that the Pahlavi texts, too, were corrupt throughout and had to be emended continually. The assumption that the principle of the Middle Iranian verse was the constant number of stressed syllables,<sup>3</sup> is in accord with the general character of the Middle Iranian languages which, as is well known, were dominated by a stress of great intensity.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They have been elaborated also by J. Hertel (*Beiträge zur Metrik des Avestas und des Rgvedas*, 1927) whose opinions I fear I cannot share. Musical rhythm formed the basis of the Avestan (and Vedic) metres according to H. Weller, *ZII.*, i (1922), 115 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On Khotanese (Saka) metres see St. Konow, *NTS.*, vii, pp. 7 sqq.; xi, pp. 6 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper in *NGGW.*, 1933, p. 317. Cf. Christensen, *Les Gentes des Rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, Paris, 1936, pp. 46 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> On stress in Iranian see Meillet, *Journ. As.*, 1900, i, 254-277; Gauthiot, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, xx, 1916, 1-25; Tedesco, *ZII.*, ii (1923), 302, n. 4; Morgenstierne, *Report . . . Afghanistan*, p. 17 n.; Reichelt, *Iranisch (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. iv), 46 sq.; H. Hirt,

The favourite type of verse has lines of either three or four stressed syllables, the number of unstressed syllables being free.<sup>1</sup> The line of three arses comprised between five and ten syllables, as a rule, but in this case the average number was seven or eight.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that the verse of the Younger Avesta is in no way different from the Middle Iranian line of three stressed syllables. Already Geldner<sup>3</sup> had noticed that 80 per cent of those lines which he recognized as metrical contained either three words or three words and a proclitic or enclitic monosyllable, but unfortunately he did not draw any conclusion from this fact.

So it may seem advisable to abandon Geldner's metrical scheme. With it, the need for emending not only countless passages, but the whole of the language, will disappear. I do not mean to say that the text of the Avesta should not be emended here and there. There are probably just as many corrupt passages as in any other book of equal antiquity. But I do mean that there is no justification for emending every word of it.

*Akzent*, 1929, 193-8. A remarkable study of the stress in Parachi was given by Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, i, 30 sqq. Within the accentuation theory proposed by Meillet and Gauthiot, it is difficult to see why some words should be derived from the nominative, and others from the generalized genitive of -a- stems. Moreover, the extension of the genitive in -ahya can hardly be applied to the Eastern Iranian dialects. But Persian by itself presents difficulties, cf. (nouns) *paig* < *pádika*, MPers. *bašn* < *bázina-*, but *čakúš* < *čakúša*; (adjectives) *pahn* < *páhana*, *zard* < *záríta*, but *tanúk* from *tanúka*; an unpleasant case is *navád* < *naváti* (instead of \**naud*). In comparing several Iranian languages one finds striking cases of divergent development. E.g. Parthian *az* < *ázam*, but Chr. Sogd. *zu*, Pashto *zə* < *azám*; Persian *mury* < *míga*, but Sogd. Khwar. (a)*mýa* < *míga*; Pers. *kard* < *kfta-*, but Sogd. *kti* (Nom.) < *krtáh*, *ktú* < *krtám*; Pers. *navád*, but Saka *nautā*, *notā* < *návati*; Pers. *pahn*, but Pashto *plan* < *páhana*. Noteworthy is OIr. *upári* which throughout had stress on the second syllable, against Meillet's rule, but in conformity with the Vedic accent MPers. *abár*, Pers. *bár*, Sogd. *par* (probably also Pashto *par*), Saka *vírā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Old Icelandic poetry.

<sup>2</sup> See especially the Khotanese Rāma poem, published by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 365-376. On its metre see Bailey, *JAOS.*, 59, 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. viii.



## EXAMPLES

1. Three stresses to a line. Avestan.<sup>1</sup>

Y. 11, 6.	nōiṭ áhmi nmāne zānāite	8 <sup>2</sup>
	áθrava náēda raθáēstā	8
	nāēda vāstryō fšúyaṣ	6
Yt. 10, 103.	yim harētárəmča áiwyāxštárəmča	10
	fradáθaṭ Áhurō Mázdā	8
	vīspaya <sup>2</sup> frávōiš gáēθaya <sup>2</sup>	8
	yō hárētača áiwyāxštača . . . .	8
	yō ánavanuhábdəmnō záēnəvha	10
	nipāiti Mázdā dāmaṇ . . . .	7
	nisháurvaiti Mázdā dāmaṇ	8
Yt. 10, 39 sq.	išavásčiṭ aēšam əzəzifyō . páreṇa	11
	huθáxtaṭ háča θánvanāṭ	8
	jíya . jatābhō vázəmna . . . .	8
	arštayásčiṭ aēšam húxšnúta	9
	tíyra dárəya-árštaya . . . .	7
	zárštvačiṭ aēšam frádaxšánya	9
	vázəmna háča bázubyō . . . .	8
	kárētačiṭ aēšam húfrāyúxta	9
	yōi niyrāire sárahū mašyākánam	11
Yt. 10, 30 sq.	yásə . θwā aoxtō . nāmāna yásna	9
	ráθwya váča yázaitē	7
	bárō . záoθrō ašáva	7
	aoxtō . nāmāna θwā yásna	8
	ráθwya váča súra	6
	Míθra yázāi zaoθrābyō . . . .	7
	ráθwya váča səvišta . . . .	7
	ráθwya váča adáoymāna	8

<sup>1</sup> The accents are meant merely to indicate which words I imagine were stressed; so far it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, which syllable of a word bore the stress.

<sup>2</sup> Approximate number of syllables. It is a feature of the Avestan language that the delimitation of "syllables" is uncertain and subject to fluctuation. This fact by itself runs counter to the current belief that the syllable is the determining unit in the Avestan poetry.

Yt. 10, 17.	yó nōiṭ káhmāi aiwi.dráoxdō	8
	nōiṭ nmānahe nmānō.pátēe	9
	nōiṭ vísō vísápátēe	7
	nōiṭ zántēuš zántupátēe	8
Yt. 10, 50.	yáθra nōiṭ xsápa nōiṭ támá	8
	nōiṭ áotō vátō nōiṭ gáremō	8
	nōiṭ áxtiš póuru.máhrkō	7
	nōiṭ áhítiš dáēvō.dáta	8
	náēda <sup>1</sup> dúnman uzjásaiti	8
	háraiθyō páiti bārēzayá <sup>2</sup>	8

2. Three stresses to a line. Parthian (*Mír. Man.*, iii, g, 201 sqq.).<sup>2</sup>

'Až rōšn ud yazdán hēm	6
'Ud izdéh būd hēm až hawín	8
'Amwášt abar mán dušmanín	8
'Ušán au murdán idwášt hēm	8
Bág hēm kē zád až bagán	7
Bāmén humayášt ud niság	8
Brázág xumbōy ud hužíhr	7
Bid awás gád hēm au niyáz	8
Grift hēm anáság išmagán	8
Gastgarán kē kerd hēm warád <sup>3</sup>	8
Grfw wxēbeh námr kerd	5
Gášt angáfád ud wxárd hēm	7
Dēwán yaxšán ud paríg	7
Dužārús tāríg aždahág	8
Durčíhr gandág ud syáw	6
Dárdum was marán did až hawín	9
Average :	7.4

<sup>1</sup> In studying the Gathas (which are outside the purview of this paper) Meillet observed that *naēda* was stressed, while *nōiṭ* could be proclitic. This holds good also for the Younger Avesta. See *Journ. As.*, 1900, i, 276 sq. Lommel, *ZII.*, vi, 141 sqq., "emends."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Mír. Man.*, iii, g 1-81.

<sup>3</sup> = "prisoner". Cf. *Av. varaiθya-*, etc.

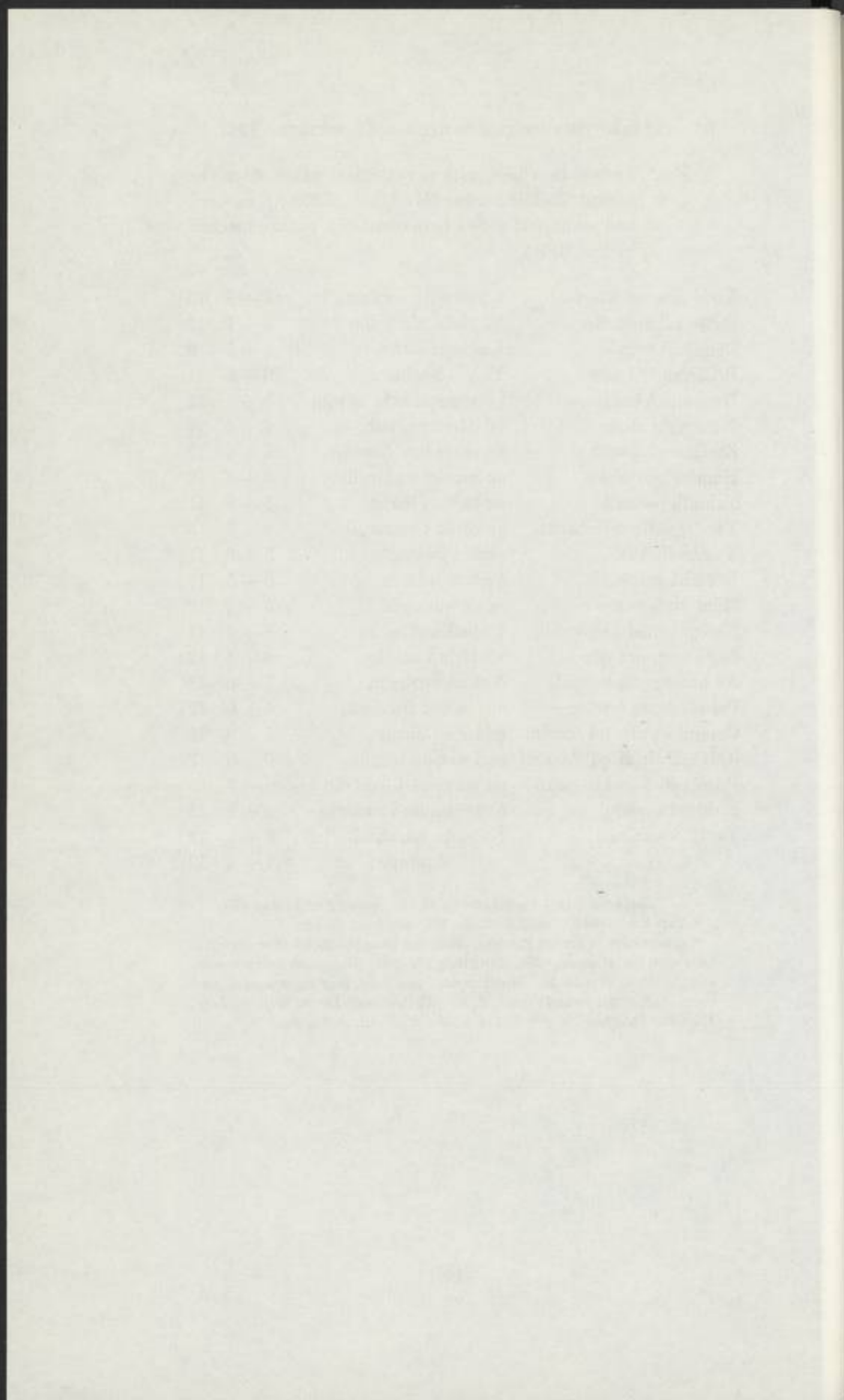
3. Four stresses to a line, with a rythmical pause after the second. Middle Persian (M 83/2 + M 235: "canon" and additional verses here omitted; cæsura marked in the MSS.).

Āfrīn nēw ud istāyīšn	ō frēstagān i wuzargfh	7 + 8	15
Ba'ān tahmātarān	ud pāsbānān i dēn	6 + 6	12
Gōhbān <sup>1</sup> wigrād	Kaftīnūs sārār	4 + 5	9
Dōšārmīgār i nēw	Yāqōb Narimān	6 + 5	11
Hanzamān ōzāxt	i Mahrespandān nēwān	5 + 7	12
Wizīdagfh abzār	ud dēn i xwāštīh	6 + 5	11
Zōridān abzawād	az pidār bay-Zerwān	6 + 6	12
Hamēw istāyihéd	az hamág wuzargfh	6 + 6	12
Tahmfh padiréd	az ba'ān i bārist	5 + 6	11
Yazdegerdīh ud istāyīšn	az zōrān i wuzargfh	8 + 7	15
Xudāwān Yišō'	sārār i frēstagān	5 + 6	11
Rōšnihā wārēnād	ō ašmā tahmān	6 + 5	11
Mānī xudāwān	pūs i wuzargfh	5 + 5	10
Nērōgāyēnād pad wehfh	ō ašmā xwābarān	8 + 6	14
Sāg i wisp istāyīšn	ud āfrīn i zindāg	6 + 6	12
Az hamág yazdegerdīh	ō ašmā farruxān	7 + 6	13
Paiwāzēdum ō wāng	um bawéd frayādāg	6 + 6	12
Čunum az nóx ud fratúm	pad zōr i abzār	7 + 5	12
[Qār]jēd? drūd ud rāmīšn	pad wispān šahrān	6 + 5	11
Rāmēnéd ō xwāštigarān	ud srāxšēnéd ō dōyān <sup>2</sup>	8 + 7	15
Šādīh abzāyéd	ō rāyēnāgān i xwāštīh	5 + 8	13
Taxtīhā wārēnéd	ō wispān hurwānān <sup>3</sup>	6 + 6	12
	Average :	6·1 + 6	12·1

<sup>1</sup> = "shepherd" (not "welthüter"), cf. the meaning of Pashto *yēlē*.

<sup>2</sup> Var. lect. *dēwān*; cf. *BSOS.*, ix, 82. *dōy* from *daiwoya*?

<sup>3</sup> A profusion of similar Parthian verses has been published. For example, lines with two stresses: *Mir.Man.*, iii, g 169-200. Lines with four stresses: *ibid.*, m 50-62; n 16-36. Strophes with two lines, four stresses each, and cæsura after the second: *ibid.*, d, e; Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 112 sqq. Strophes: 4 + 4 + 4 + 3, *Mir.Man.*, iii, text i, etc.



## Sogdian Tales

(PLATES I AND II)

THE rôle which the Manichæans played in the migration of tales and fables from East to West and West to East has received much attention in recent years,<sup>1</sup> but next to nothing has been published of the abundant Iranian material which was found in Chinese Turkestan. The present collection of Sogdian stories, taken (with the possible exception of text J) from Manichæan manuscripts, is meant to close this gap. These stories are also of some interest from the linguist's point of view. For while the Christian and Buddhist Sogdian texts are valuable merely as repositories of vocables, the Manichæan texts alone (apart from the few available Sogdian documents and letters) give us a clear idea of the true structure and syntax of the Sogdian language, and this quality is nowhere better apparent than in these stories, which are sometimes pleasingly vivid. Even the translated texts are written in good Sogdian, partly because the Manichæans were better translators than their Christian and Buddhist compatriots, partly because it was easier to translate from Middle Persian or Parthian, languages closely related to Sogdian, than from Syriac or Chinese. How different real Sogdian was from the miserable stammer of the Christian and Buddhist translators is shown at a glance by the Sogdian *Tale of Rustam*, of which we have a larger fragment now, thanks to the publication of the *Codices Sogdiani, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot)*.<sup>2</sup>

### A. The Pearl-borer<sup>3</sup>

Two manuscripts, one, T i T M 418, in Sogdian script (= S, printed in italics between the lines), the other, M 135, in Manichæan script (= M). The manuscripts represent slightly different recensions, but in the story itself the

<sup>1</sup> See especially W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, xliv, 1-36; cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 1 sqq., *BSOAS.*, XI, 52 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Copenhagen, 1940. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Benveniste's edition of these MSS., which I understand was published in Paris in 1940, has not so far become available in this country. We have still to be content with the facsimile of the MSS. In his preface to the facsimile edition, p. xii, M. Benveniste said that *les deux morceaux* (of the *Tale of Rustam*) *ne se raccordent pas*. It seems to me that P 13 precedes the British Museum fragment without break, in this way: *c'n'kw'γω rwestmy MN δ[w]r ZKw δyw 'sp'δ wgn ZKn rγdy m'yδ w'β "βr ZY βγ' [PZY] kβnw trs [w'n'kw] wn'ygn ktyw dywt kw mry'*. Half of the word "βr is on P 13, the other half on the Br. Mus. fragment. — Of great interest is P 3 and its continuation, Br. Mus. fragm. iii. It becomes clear now that this text deals with the "rain-stone", Sogd. *ēδ-* (previously wrongly compared with Pers. *jīdū* and Skt. *jala*, see *Sogdica*, 5) = Turk.-Mong.-Pers. *جده, يدو, ēdy-kr'y* = *جده-جی* (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Mong. Pers.*, 428 sqq.; Juwaini, i, 152 note). In *γγ'γh* (cf. Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, 50) we can now recognize Pers. *zargāh* "tent"; *mn'tšyr*, Frg. iii, 17, beside "sulphur", is Skt. *manahāilā* "realgar". — P 14 and P 15 contain a different version of the *Padmacintāmanidhārānī* (P 14, 1-15 = *Padm.* 40-52; P 15, 18 = *Padm.* 52 sqq.; P 15, 1-17, end of text on *mudrās* which begins in P 14, 16, but P 14 and P 15 did not belong to the same manuscript). No doubt these points have been made by M. Benveniste in his edition.

<sup>3</sup> [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 56.

differences are on the whole purely orthographical, while in the allegorical explanation the divergence is greater; note that 'YKZY = *kδwtyh* in M 21, but = *kt* in M 36. — The manuscript M 135 consists of two consecutive double folios, i.e. two sets of four consecutive pages each. One set contains the "Pearl-borer", the other a text in the style of the *Kephalaia* (given below as B). This shows that the "Pearl-borer", too, formed part of a *kephalaion*, or in other words that it was supposed that Mani had narrated the story to his disciples. This is presumably a fiction (it is mostly so with the *kephalaia* literature, Coptic or Turkestanian), but not necessarily so. For the story is known only from Burzōi's preface to *Kalila wa Dimna*, hence is quite likely Persian and not Indian by origin. Cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 78; *Kalila wa Dimna*, 28-9, ed. de Sacy, p. 91, ed. Beirut, 1896; Keith-Falconer, 258-9, 311; W. Bang, loc. cit., 4-5. Differently from Burzōi, the Sogdian narrator told the story in the form of a lawsuit. It is noteworthy that of the two Panchatantra-Kalila wa Dimna stories that so far have been traced in Sogdian (texts A and C), the one occurs in K.-w.D. but not in the Pañchatantra, the other only in the Pañchatantra. — According to *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1923, 146, F. W. K. Müller had prepared the publication of this tale; it is a matter for regret that he did not proceed with his intention.

Captions: A i R swmby 'zynd Story of [the Pearl-]borer.

A i V cn mry'rt

On the Pearl-borer.

B i R swmbyy

B i V ''zyndyy

[The explanation] of the story.

(M 135, A i R) (1) ptjy'mc wβ' (2) 'rtyny<sup>stc</sup> fršt'h (3) βwt oo 'rty pts'r (4) δβtyk myδ kw xt̄w (5) s'r pr xty'k šw'nd (6) oo 'rt̄xw xypδ'wnd (7) w'nw w'β kt̄ βγ (8) mwnw mrt̄y i myδ pr (9) C δyn'r zyrn p̄txryt̄ (10) δ'rm o w'nw 'tymyy (11) mry'rt̄ swmbyy oo (12) 'rty t̄ym 'yδc mry'rt (13) nyy swmbt̄ o 'rt̄my (14) qδryy prxyy

(T i T M 418, R) (1) (*weak*

xwjtt̄ (15) skwn oo 'rtyxw mr'z (16) mrt̄yy kw<sup>a</sup> xt̄w s'r (A i V) (17) w'nw traces) (2) mr'z kw 'γtw s'r (w'n')[kw

ptyškwyy kt̄ (18) βγ ywnyy fšy'ws (19) c'nw t̄'m' w'crn<sup>b</sup> (20) ptyš(3)kw'y kt̄βγ ywn'k 'βšy-'ws (4) c'n'kw t̄'m'k ZKwy w'rcn'y (5)

kwsyy wyn o 'tymyy (21) w'nw ps' kδwt̄yh (22) cw 'rq γrβyy oo (23) kwsy wyn oo rt̄my w'n'kw ps' (6) 'YKZY cw 'rkh γrβ(')[y<sup>c</sup> oo] (7)

'rt̄šy 'zw w'nw (24) ptyškwyy kt̄ βγ wyspw (25) 'rk cw 'tymy t̄γw (26) rt̄šy 'zw w'n'kw ptyškw'y (8) [k](t) βγ wysph 'rkh cw [ZY] (9) (m)y t̄γw<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *zic*.

<sup>b</sup> The S version seems preferable here: ZKwy (= *wyy* or *wy'*) is indispensable. Note the metathesis in *wārcan-* from *wācarn*. The first to connect this word with Pers. *bāzār* and to refer to the *-t* of Arm. *vačar* was Bartholomae, *ZAir.Wb.*, 105. See further *BBB.*, 136, and Hansen, *MPers. Papyri* . . . Berlin, 41.

<sup>c</sup> Before this a word has been struck out.

<sup>d</sup> After *t̄γw*, a malformed *p* (meant to be cancelled).

frm'y<sup>o</sup> r<sup>t</sup>y s<sup>t</sup> (27) wyspw 'rk<sup>t</sup> γrβ'm (28) 'tymy c'nw kw x'n' (29) s'r  
 pr'm'y<sup>e</sup> r<sup>t</sup>y s<sup>t</sup>\* wys(p)[h?] (10) γrβ'm oo r<sup>t</sup>my c'n'kw kw γ'n'kh (11) s'r  
 šykr oo r<sup>t</sup>my (30) wyn' fr'm'y j<sup>t</sup>yy (31) oo r<sup>t</sup>y βy'ryy prm (32) prw  
 šykr r<sup>t</sup>y my wyn'kh\* (12) pr'm'y z-yl'y oo r<sup>t</sup>y βy'r'k prm (13) prw  
 xypδ'wndy<sup>h</sup> (B i R) (33) frm'n wyn' jyt(w) (34) δ'rm o r<sup>t</sup>šw x<sup>t</sup>w (35)  
 γypδ'w'nty prm'nh wyn'k (14) z-ytw δ'r'm r<sup>t</sup>šw 'γtw  
 w'nw pδk' nym'y (36) k<sup>t</sup> t<sup>y</sup>w wny mrty mr'z (37)  
 w'n'[kw] (15) pδkh nym'y oo 'YKZY t<sup>y</sup>w ZKn (16) [m](r)t<sup>y</sup> mr'z  
 p<sup>t</sup>xrytδ'ryy o r<sup>t</sup>šw (38) cqn'e pyδ'r (39) mry'r<sup>t</sup> nyy frm'y<sup>1</sup> (40)  
 p<sup>t</sup>yr'y<sup>t</sup> δ'r'y r<sup>t</sup>β (17) [ckn'](c)w pyδ'r mry'r<sup>t</sup> L' pr'(m) [yy] (V) (18)  
 swβ<sup>t</sup>y o p'r<sup>t</sup>yšy (41) xww wyn' jnyy frm't<sup>2</sup> (42) δ'ryy o r<sup>t</sup>y wny  
 [swβ<sup>t</sup>'k p'rZYšy ZK wyn'kh z-n'y] (19) [prm''t δ]'r'y oo r<sup>t</sup>y (ZKn) (20)  
 mrty (43) xww prxyy 'sp<sup>t</sup>y<sup>h</sup> (44) δβr<sup>t</sup>yy γwtk'm o r<sup>t</sup> (45) qδ' tym  
 [mrty ZK] pr<sup>y</sup>y 'sp<sup>t</sup>'k δβ'r<sup>t</sup>'k (21) γwtk'm oo rtkδ tym  
 'yδc mry'r<sup>t</sup> (46) swmbeyq γw't<sup>3</sup> (47) oo r<sup>t</sup>y t<sup>y</sup>m 'nyw o C (48)  
 'y<sup>c</sup>w h<sup>1</sup> (22) [mr]y'r<sup>t</sup> swmpcyk γw't rty (23) t<sup>y</sup>m 'nyw C  
 δyn'r zyrn δβr'<sup>h</sup> (B i V) (49) r<sup>t</sup>fy<sup>y</sup> p<sup>t</sup>s'r (50) 'nyw myδ mry'r<sup>t</sup> (51)  
 δyn'r z-yrn δβr' (24) [p](t)s'r 'nyw myδ  
 swmb<sup>t</sup>k'm o r<sup>t</sup>y (52) xww mry'r<sup>t</sup>y xypδ'wnd (53) m'yδ pwskf<sup>t</sup>y ww  
 swmp<sup>t</sup>k'm (25) [r<sup>t</sup>y ZK mry'r<sup>t</sup>y<sup>h</sup> γypδ'w'nt (26) [ZK]h  
 C (54) δyn'r zyrn t<sup>y</sup>wj o r<sup>t</sup>šw<sup>k</sup> (55) mry'r<sup>t</sup> n' swβ<sup>t</sup> kw (56)  
 C δyn'r z-yrn tw'z r(t)[y] (27) (šy) ZK mry'r<sup>t</sup> n' swβ<sup>t</sup> (kw) (28)  
 'nyw myδ s'r yxnyy (57) p'rxs oo r<sup>t</sup>y xw<sup>t</sup>yy (58) kww šf'r 't<sup>y</sup>  
 'nyw myδ s'r y'γym'k p'r[γs] (29) oo r<sup>t</sup>y γwt<sup>y</sup> kw 'šβ'r ZY  
 kww (59) nm'nyy pr'γ<sup>t</sup> oo oo (60) r<sup>t</sup>y x' γrβ'k<sup>t</sup> w'nw (61) xwycq'wy  
 kw (nm)[n'k] (30) pr''yt oo  
 δβr'nd k<sup>t</sup> (62) xwnyy mrtyy kyy wyspw (63) γnyy 't<sup>y</sup> qrnw'ncy' (64) γrβ'skwn  
 ZK mry'r<sup>t</sup> swmp'(k)  
 oo xw<sup>t</sup>y xcy

\* Mistake for *prm'yy*.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap above *wysp* in S, where *'rk* may have been written above the line. However, its presence makes the phrase a little awkward.

<sup>2</sup> Written above the line.

<sup>3</sup> A letter or two struck out after this.

<sup>1</sup> Mistake for *fr'm'yy*.

<sup>1</sup> To fill the line.

<sup>k</sup> *'r<sup>t</sup>šw = r<sup>t</sup>yšyZK*: possibly *-šw* is not merely the accusative of the pronoun (the statement in *BBB.*, 104, is certainly too sweeping), but also a contracted form, *-š- + 'w (sw)*? In this passage *-šw* clearly means "of him the", as the text of S suggests. Similarly, above in M 34 = S 14, *'r<sup>t</sup>šw (r<sup>t</sup>šw)* seems to mean: "for it the."

- (31) (γw)ty<sup>1</sup> ZK tnp'r γcy oo ZY C δyn'r (32) [. . . . .]<sup>m</sup> C srδ'k 'zw'nħ  
 (33) γcy oo ZY mry'rtyh γypδ'w'nt (34) ZK rw'n ZY ZKħ mry'rt sw[. . .]<sup>n</sup>  
 (35)[Z]K šyr'krtyh γcy oo c.[

Translation<sup>1</sup>

. . . there was a quarrel, it could not be settled.<sup>2</sup> So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial.<sup>3</sup> The owner (viz. of the pearls) spoke thus: my lord, I hired this man for one day, at a hundred gold dēnārs, that he should bore my pearls.<sup>4</sup> He has not bored any pearls, but now demands his wages<sup>5</sup> from me.

The workman,<sup>6</sup> in rebuttal, addressed the judge thus: my lord, when this gentleman<sup>7</sup> saw me at the side of the bazaar, he asked me: "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied: "Sir, whatever work you may order me (to do), I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play on the lute.<sup>8</sup> Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding.

The judge pronounced this verdict: You hired this man to do work<sup>9</sup> (for you), so why did you not order him to bore the<sup>10</sup> pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold dēnārs, and he shall then bore your pearls on another day.

<sup>1</sup> Very uncertain; possibly also (mr)ty.

<sup>m</sup> Restore: [γwty ZKħ]? Or [zyrn ZK]?

<sup>n</sup> Presumably an infinitive, sw[β'k]?

<sup>1</sup> Of M. Variants in S will be found in the annotations. At the end, both versions of the allegorical explanation are translated separately.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BBB.*, p. 98. Probably *farast-* from *fra* + *raz-*.

<sup>3</sup> *zty'k*, *'zty'k*, *'zty'q* (*BBB.*, p. 104; *Sogdica*, p. 53 and *Errata*) "trial, judgment" is derived from *ztye* ('*ztye*) "judge". It would be tempting to connect this word with Av. *ratu-*<sup>2</sup>, but it is difficult to account for the χ (*ratú* > *rtú* > *γtu* > *zty*? For uvular *r* in the place of lingual *r* see Gershevitch, *Gramm. Man. Sogd.*, para. 469. Cf. also the ubiquitous *k'γδ* "paper", which some scholars [Lów, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 55] derive from χάργης. Av. *ratu*<sup>1</sup> is *ri(t)u* in Sogdian. Differentiation?

<sup>4</sup> Other words for "pearl" in Sogdian are: *muf'kk* Dhyāna 45 (cf. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 218) and *murfnt* (P 2, 981, *rtay* ZY *murfnt*). The latter, which also occurs in Uigur Turkish (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 15), may be a Western Iranian word, with *mūr-* from *muhūr-*. Hence, *muf'kk* probably from *mufūr-*. Cf. Parthian "*muhūr-γōn*" (? = *muehry'n*) Bang-Gabain, *Türk. Turfan-texte*, ii, 423 = *yinčulūg* "pearl-". Also Persian *muhre* "glass-bead" (etc.) may belong here (Pahl. *muhrak*, Man. MPers. *muehry*). So also Saka *māha* "pearl", which Bailey has explained differently (*BSOS.*, IX, 73).

<sup>5</sup> = Arab. *uḡrah*. Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 592a, and Persian *barχai* (not *barχī*, cf. Bustan, ed. Graf, iii, 99), see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 515, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Or "hireling". In Arabic *šāni'* and *aḡīr*. Cf. *Orientalia*, viii, 89, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 311, 429. In the Arabic version the possessor of the pearls is a "merchant" (*ūḡīr*).

<sup>8</sup> In Arabic *šānīf*.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "you hired this man as a workman". The translation of this passage in *BBB.*, p. 67, is incorrect; *mr'z* does not mean "work". Also Chr. *mr'z šw-* literally "to go as a labourer".

<sup>10</sup> In S: "order to bore your."



Thus under constraint,<sup>1</sup> the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold dēnārs, his pearls remained unbored,<sup>2</sup> left<sup>3</sup> for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

(M) The wise give this allegorical explanation: that man who understood all arts and crafts,<sup>4</sup> represents [the body]. . . .

(S) The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred [gold] dēnārs represents a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring (?) of the pearls represents piety.

### B. The remainder of M 135

Captions: B ii R j[  
 B ii V [  
 A ii R myδδ iii pty'p βxšy  
 A ii V myy[δδ pr] 'δryy

(B ii R) (1) xwtyy [ (2) ] [ ] 'δyy prw (3) šyr'kty' [ (4) oo 'rty xwnx xeyh (5)<sup>a</sup> '(r)t(')(w) δ[yn]δ'ryy kyy (6) γτβ '[y]δ[y]tyh cn (7) tm' zryneč o 'ty kww (8) wšm'xs'r (9) r'δδt'k βwt oo 'rty (10) kδδryy šm'x nγwš'kt (11) s'r frm'ym w'nw (12) 'tyfn cn t'w 'ty (13) z'wr β'tk'm r'mnd (14) 'ndwxsd' pr xypδδ (15) rw'nyy frtry' o 'ty (16) mn' frm'n o 'ty (B ii V) (17) pr] [']šy'h (18) δ'rδ' oo 't[y] mw[nw] (19) wyzryy r'δδ 'tyy (20) rštyy q'rpδ kyy (21) šm'x ('n)š[t]('t)δ'rm<sup>b</sup> (22) cw 'ty xwtyh xcy (23) 'zprt' dyyn oo 'rtyy (24) pr xyδ q'rpδδ (25) 'ndwxsd' w'nw (26) 'ty mn' pryw kww (27) ''ykw[nc]yq<sup>c</sup> jw'n (28) pryysδ' oo wyδp'ty (29) sγtm'n nγwš'kt (30) šyr wyγwänd o 'ty (31) xwsnd 'kt'nd prw (32) βγ'nyk wyβrtyy (A ii R) (33) 'ty pw 'ry frm'n (34) cw cn fryšty βγγ (35) mrym'ny ptywštδ'rnd (36) 'rty j'm nm'c (37) βrtδ'rnd o 'tyh (38) 'βznw ptycxšnd

(One line left blank)

(39) (In red ink) myyδδ pr iii pty'p βxšy (40) 'rty tym fryštyy (41) βγγ m'rym'ny<sup>stc</sup> (42) m'yδδ frm'tδ'rnt (43) oo kt wnyy γτβ'k 'ty (44) fryyrw'n

<sup>1</sup> These words are omitted in S. The meaning of *puskty* seems to approach that of Persian *nāār*. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic version: *wa-baqiya šuħaruhu γaira maδqābin*.

<sup>3</sup> *yznyy* = Persian and Turkish *yaħni*. The proper meaning of *yaħni*, as the Sogdian passage clearly shows, is "left over and put aside" (cf. *Kanz ul-luyah* under *bi'rah*: *yaħni ya'ni ēzi ke ānrā pas-afgan karde bāši va-šā'i nihāde*). In Persian (and Turkish) the word is then restricted to the meaning of "left-overs" of food, and finally to that of "boiled meat". — If *yaħni* is originally Sogdian, it may provide an explanation for the name of the twelfth Old Persian month, *Viyaxna-* (*e(i)ya-* may become *ya-* in Sogdian). By the way, Persian *gunjidan*, with *gunj-* presumably from *wind-*, may belong to Skt. *vyac-* (although there is no *ru-* class present in Skt.). The meaning of *vyac-*, as given by Böhtlingk and Roth (*in sich fassen, aufnehmen*), is precisely that of *gunjidan*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *BBB.*, pp. 69 sq. On *Vim.* 123 see now Weller, *Soghd. Vim.*, 46 (*yn-* = Skt. *śilpa*; *krw'nc-* = Skt. *kalā*).

<sup>a</sup> Reading of this line rather uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Doubtful; apparently ]yδ'rm.

<sup>c</sup> MS. ''ukw[.

"šyy myyδ (45) prw iii pty'p βxšy (46) γwt̄ oo i prw xwt̄wt̄ (47) 'xš'wnδ'rtyh̄ (A ii V) (48) 'sp's w'nw 'ty (49) 'xwšndyy skwynd (50) frn nyy "zyry o 'ty (51) zβnd 'nfr'sy nyy (52) qwnynd oo δβtyq (53) pty'p pr ktyβryk (54) 'rk 'ndwxsyy prw (55) 'kštyy pr'qndyy (56) β'γ p̄trk'n xryc (57) 'ty pr'δn w'nw 'ty (58) x'n' jyt̄ wβyy oo (59) 'tyh̄ wδw "jwnd (60) βj'wq nyy wβynd (61) oo 'ty ms pnd fryy (62) šyrxwzyy "δyh̄ (63) 'spxšt̄' wβyy oo

... (4) That one is a Righteous Dēndār who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long as there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Bear in mind my orders and [my words], that Straight Path and True Mould<sup>1</sup> which I have shown to you, viz. the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mould so that you will join me in the eternal life.

Thereupon all the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless orders which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received the . . .<sup>2</sup>

*To divide the day into three parts*

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani spoke thus: The wise and soul-loving<sup>3</sup> person should divide the day into three parts. The first (part should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords so that they be well content,<sup>4</sup> that their majesty be not infringed, and that they do not start quarrelling<sup>5</sup> and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and hereditaments, to buying and selling,<sup>6</sup> so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and wellwishers can be well served. . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *kārpāδ*, the true Sogdian representative of *καλοσπίδιον*, confused by Reichelt with Sogd. (*kyδrp̄s(h)*), *SCE.*, 60; *Vim.*, 108, in both passages = 𐰽 "contour, form, shape". Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 506 sqq., while pointing out Reichelt's error, proposed another explanation which is still less likely to be correct: (*kyδrp̄* should equal Avestan *kārp̄*. There are two obstacles to the suggested derivation. Firstly, Sogdian *-δr-* (when not = actual *θr* or *δr*) is historical (or inverse) spelling for spoken *š* (or *z*); *kyδrp̄*, therefore, was pronounced *kišp̄* (or *kišb̄*, or *kišb̄*). Secondly, the Avestan *-hr-* groups with unetymological *h* appear in Sogdian always as *-r-* (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, paras. 139, 141); hence, Avestan *kārp̄* should be *kīrp̄* in Sogdian (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 6). It would thus be better to derive *kyδrp̄* = *kišp̄* or *kišb̄* from OIr. *kr̄e-* and compare Sogd. *-kišp̄* from *kr̄evar/n-* (Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 147), and *'kyšpy* P 2, 636 = 𐰽 = *zambhara* (Parth. *kišfān*). The assumed semantic development (line, circle > contour > form, shape) is supported by Sogd. *kr̄n* "form, beautiful form", which belongs to the same base (*kar̄š* "to draw furrows, lines, circles").

<sup>2</sup> *βzn-* is "garlic" (P 2, 600, 608, 665, 889; cf. Yidgha *wcznu*, Pashto *ūza*, Parachi *bīn*, from *brzn-*?). *βznw* is "shame". But what is *βznw*? One would expect a word meaning something like *χαπορορία*, cf. *Kephalaia*, 37 sqq. Possibly *βzn-* < *βrzn-* from the root of *'nβrz-* [see now *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117 sq.].

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *auditor*. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 77, n. 3, and Turkish *üzütingā amraq* (*Türk. Man.*, iii, 41, 42).

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to my suggestion in *BSOS.*, VIII, 585, n. 2, *'zšndyy* may belong to the base *zšnū* "to satisfy" (*zšnūtaka* > *zšūnte* > *zšūnde* > *zšūnde*). It thus would be the past participle to *'zšn'w-*.

<sup>5</sup> Differently *BBB.*, pp. 67 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *BBB.*, p. 71; *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> The third part of the day, of course, was to be devoted to the care of the Manichaean monks!

## C. The Three Fishes

From M 127, late and cursive Manichæan script. This Sogdian version is very concise. There were two such stories in the Panchatantra. In one of them the foolish fish is killed (1st book, 14th story; Benfey, i, 241 sqq.; ii, 91 sqq.), in the other the two intelligent fishes are caught but the fool is saved (5th book, 6th story; Benfey, i, 242; ii, 337 sq.). The first form of the story was included by the Pahlavi translator (cf. *Kalīla wa Dimna*, ed. Sacy, pp. 107 sq.; Keith-Falconer, 31; also *Mathnavī*, iv, 2205, ed. Nicholson, see commentary), but not the second, which Benfey judged to be "undoubtedly a late addition". The Sogdian agrees with the second form. The names in Skt. are *sahasrabuddhi*, *śatabuddhi*, and *ekabuddhi* (the last is said to be a frog).

## M 127 R 8-14

(8) oo i mzyx [']wz[y]y wm't (9) '(t)yy wōyy c[y]ndr iii kp[yš]t wm't(nd) i kpyy<sup>1</sup> 'yw (10) šm'r'yy<sup>stc</sup> oo δβtyk k(pyy) C šm'r'yy<sup>stc</sup> ō 'ty štyq (11) kpyy z'r šm'r'nyy<sup>stc</sup> wm't ō 'rtty wšp't kpyy'sy (12) w'yw(k) [i ''] (γ)t 'ty δ'm' pš't δ'rt ō 'ty xwnyy δw' (13) γrf šm'r'nyy kpyštyy ny'tδ'rt ō 'ty xwnyy 'yw (14) šm'r'yy<sup>stc</sup> kpyy nyy ny't δ'rt oo

There was a big pond,<sup>2</sup> and in it there were three fishes. The first fish was One-Thought, the second fish was Hundred-Thoughts, and the third fish was Thousand-Thoughts. At some time<sup>3</sup> a fisherman<sup>4</sup> came and cast his net. He caught those two fishes of many thoughts, but he did not catch the fish One-Thought.

## D. The Merchant and the Spirit (Plate 1)

Very badly preserved fragment. The lines are incomplete and the writing is faded and often illegible. Nevertheless, the trend of the story is clear. Cf. *Judges*, 11 (Jephthah's daughter), and the story of Idomeneus (*Servius in*

<sup>1</sup> Mistake for *kpyy*.

<sup>2</sup> Or "lake". See *Sogdica*, p. 51, and *Addenda* (with reference to Minorsky, *Hūdūd*, 56, 195). Cf. also "w'zš" "lake" P 9, 30.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *wšp't* (clearly containing *-p't* "casus") is not known. For an explanation from Av. *oiθra* see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 299. Note that the Avestan word is spelt *oiθra* in the *Frahang-i Oim* (and not *oiθra*), and that the Pahlavi rendering is *yutākīhā apāk* (and not merely *yutākīhā*). — I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Frahang-i Oim*, iii, g, 5, where *šiqkazavatō* should be replaced by *ciqkašavatō* (cf. Reichelt's preface, p. 3, on the letters *-z-* and *-š-*); this is a bad spelling of \**šqkašavatō* "of that which has an elbow, or forearm". The Pahlavi translation gives 'lénēnd (M 6) or ēnd 'lén (K 20) = "as much as an ell (elbow)"; possibly the original spelling was \**lénylēnd* = *arabnīlēnd* (cf. B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, 42, 119). From Av. *šqkaša-* we have Pashto *caṅgal* "elbow, forearm", cf. also Saka *taṅgalai* (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5) and Brahui *ēanguli* "elbow".

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "a fish-catching hunter" (cf. *kpyy's'k mryy* in O<sup>1</sup> and Frg. iia). *w'gwk* = MPers. and Parth. *w'yeg* "hunter" (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 2). Cf. M 523a, 9 sqq. 'yw w'yeg *ba[d]* *ws mwry'n* [d] *d'm[g]* [g] *ryft* 'hynd o 'wš ws zny [d] *nyg* 'wēd wōndg dyrd o u xwj ['n] *xšdyg* 'wēd bzkr *bud* "There was a hunter, he had caught many birds in his nets. He possessed many kinds of nets and snares (cf. Sogd. *wš'nik* 'snare' P 2, 273, 'web' DN., 24). He was very merciless and wicked". M 572, 25 . . . *w'yeg* 'wš *gery* 'yw *gryft* " . . . the hunter, he had caught a wolf". Cf. also Saka *byaha*, etc. (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 573), Yidgha *waiṇa* (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262), Osset. *vain* (Hübnermann, *Etym. Oss.*, p. 30), beside Av. *vā(y)*.

*Virgil. Aen.*, iii, 121: *Idomeneus . . . in tempestate devovit sacrificaturum se de re quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit ut filius eius primus occurreret . . .*, *Beauty and the Beast*, etc.—Manichaean script.

## T ii D 66

(*Recto*) (1-2 orange ink) (1) [. . .]δβ(z)'t̄<sup>a</sup> nγ'd' βr' (2) ['ty] wyst'w wyst'[w] (3) x(yδ) zwrnyy 'nc'y't̄ 't̄[y] (4) (m'x) zrxsym oo 'rt̄[y] (5) . . . . kww 'βt̄'myδpr[m] (6) . . . . (wy)δβz 'ty nwy[.] (7) . . . . wyst'w kwn' 't̄[y] (8) . . . . c nyy nm(') (9) . . . . t̄ oo 'rt̄y xw'q(r) (10) ]k̄t̄myy pr (11) ]r 'ty x'n(') (12) (mzyx) (wyδ')β 'ty rytry['] (13) . . . . cyk 'sty o '(r)[t̄y] (14) . . . . 'w't̄ oo 'tyh (15) (xw')[qr kw] w'x̄yk 't̄[y] (16) (cyt̄)[y s']r w'nw (17) (wyst'w) kwnd' oo kt̄ (18) (c'nw) wβ't̄ 'ty cymyδ (19) smwtr(')<sup>b</sup> pww wyδ'(β) (20-1 orange ink) (20) [. . . . p]t̄s'r [ (21) . . . (*Verso*) (22) 'tyš[w] 't̄[s]mk'm ['ty] (23) [δy]myδ s[m](w)[t̄](r)yk c(y)[t̄y] (24) [p]wšy kwn'm oo 'rt̄y (25) c'nw viimyk myδy mwnw (26)[w]yšt'w kwn' oo p̄t̄s'r (27) xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy 'ty (28) pc'w' mnc'y oo ('rt̄y) (29) xw'qr δn z't̄y ('tyh) (30) t̄'wndy yznyy γr[']m[yy] (31) 'p̄ryw p[ww wyδ'β] (kww) (32) [z]mb s'r nyjyy oo ('rt̄y) (33) m'γ'z šm'r'k(yn) ° (xrt̄) ? (34) [p](δy) 'ndwxcn'k ('wšt̄t̄) (35) kt̄ c'nw wβ't̄k'm (prw) ? (36) wyst'w ky kδ'rm oo (37) δβ't̄ c'(nw) (x'n') (s'r) (38) [p](nd) ° β'wn 'rt̄ymy δ(wy)t̄['] (39) pcp't̄ pyrnm [pt̄ycy] (40) 'ys't̄ oo 'rt̄y (c'nw) (41) [. . . .]k s'r pnd [β'wn] (42) [p]t̄s'r (γryw) ? (qncyk) ? °

" . . . pray and swear the oath, the very moment it will calm down and we shall be saved." For a full week . . . [he pressed<sup>1</sup> him], "take the oath," but . . . he did not lend himself [to it]. The merchant [thought], "great injury and decline is [threatening] my . . . house," and [gave in]. Before the spirit and demon the merchant took this oath: "If it be that [we escape] without injury from this ocean, then . . . . . I shall take it and offer<sup>2</sup> it to the spirit of the sea." When on the eighth day he had taken this oath, at once that very moment the turmoil ceased, and the merchant with his son and huge treasure and wealth came out on the shore in safety. But he began to walk deep in thought, to stand still anxiously, (thinking) "How will it be with the oath I took? Perhaps when I approach my house, this-time my daughter will come as the first to meet me? But if I approach the . . . , then the . . . girl(?) [will meet me first]. . . .

<sup>a</sup> Possibly [wy]δβz't̄, cf. line 6. Meaning unknown. Possible connections: Sogd. *nyδβ'yz-*, *Sogdica*, p. 32; Sogd. *δβz* "hunger"; Av. *θwqz-* (?); Av. *δbzqz-* (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864 sq.; the assumption that the *dément advenice qui figure notamment dans av. [ka]lka-* could occur in Sogdian and other later dialects, is strange).

<sup>b</sup> Or *smwtr(gy)*?

<sup>c</sup> *šm'r'k-* is certain, but cf. *šm'rykyn* below, E 24.

<sup>d</sup> [p]nd (very faint) added at the margin.

<sup>e</sup> The whole line is one long blur. *qncyk* is merely a guess (cf. *BBB.*, 101). What *γryw* (if that is the correct reading) could mean here is not clear.

<sup>1</sup> *neyl* possibly from *neyδ-*, and *wyδβz* from Av. *θwqz-*?

<sup>2</sup> I have restored *jušy* to [p]ušy = Uyγur Turkish *puši* "alms, offering". However, this originally Chinese word has not been noticed in any Sogdian text so far.

E. *Bayiataravon õpos*

Two pieces of a folio, respectively its upper and lower end. The central part is missing. Manichaean script.

T ii D 117

Captions: *Recto* *mrtzmyy* "znd The Story of the [Magian ?] man.

*Verso* *cn* 'sp'sygh On Service . . . .

(*Recto*) (1) m'yδ wyyšn jwγty' myδ'nyyh (2) "wr̄t̄ nwr̄tyy šwt̄ o 'r̄ty pyšt̄  
(3) r'mndyy xypδ šy'δ'r̄t̄ o 'r̄ty xw (4) rw'(nm)yc fr̄try' nyy "yfstt o (5) 'r̄ty  
γyrt̄r wny βγγyšt̄t̄ 'tyyh (6) mr̄δ'spnd 'ty pwt̄yšt̄yy pyrnm (7) s'r m'yδ γwβ(t)[y]  
'ty šyrn'my (8) βwt̄ o c'nw xw(n)[yy . . . .] xwt'w wny (9) xypδ n'fyy  
m[yδ'nyy γwβtyy 'ty (10) [. . .] (w)yδ'β wy(n)[. . . . .](t)y oo mwγ[. . .] <sup>b</sup>  
(The following line was apparently left blank; after it a lacuna of undetermined  
extent) (11) jw'n[w (12) tr̄ny(') . . . .] (13) fryyt̄t̄ 't̄y (14) βwr̄t̄rmy(k)[y'  
(15) 'ty jyn[. . .] (16) r̄t̄šyms [t̄(y)m k[ (17) m'nwq xwp 'ty .n. (18) o o c'nw  
'ty " (19) qδwt̄y pr ny'wr jm(n)[w (20) r'mnd y'βyy 'ty [. . .] (21) βyyiyβr'n  
šw'zskwn [. . . .] i (22) myδδ ms kw y'βy[y] (cn) δβr'h (23) jyw tryt̄zyy  
'ty wx'(s)en šyyr (24) 'ndwxcn'k 'ty šm'rykyn šw' (25) zskwn o 'r̄ty pcp'tyy  
cn βry'h (26) c'δrs'r wxr ptyγwš jyyr 't̄šyy (*Verso*) (27) w'nw w'β mrt̄y'  
przr 't̄ymy (28) jyw <sup>d</sup> z'ryysyyskwn o pyšt̄ šwnyy tw' (29) wyncyk βjyy m't̄  
'rt̄fyy xw n' (30) wyyt̄ nyy pcy'q'm 'rt̄kδ' kδryy (31) mn' w'xš nγwšyy  
'rt̄fyy w'nw jn' (32) βyndmq'm 'ty i jw'nyy šyrβr'n (33) wβyk'm o r̄t̄[xw]  
mrt̄y(h) <sup>e</sup> 'skyy kw (34) kywyδ wnx[r s'r w'jnw ps' t̄yww (35) 'tyβγ' ky  
[yš 't̄y t'm'h w'nw (36) [z](')ryysy(y)[skwn o 'rt̄(y)šyy cn '(s)[kyy] (37)  
[c'δr]s[r w'nw p'] (tc)γ(n)[yy kwn'] (A lacuna of undetermined extent) (38)  
'(s)k[y] qyr'ns'r (39) ] i mzyyx γrw (40) jγryy pδ'mnyh (41) ] βγγy[s]t̄'n  
'styy (42) δjwyδ βγn'<sup>sic</sup> cyndr (43) [γrf ? βγγyšt̄t̄] 'skwnd ky 'ty wy'βrny  
(44) [xnd pyšt̄ ? cn 'sp'sy kβny škwrδtr̄t̄ (45) [xnd 'rtms ? pr] γryy "wzryy  
'skyy (46) [. . . . . ty](m) 'nyw ii βγnyy 'sty i (47) zyr(ny)[nyy 'ty δ]βtyk  
n'kt̄nyy xcy o (48) 'r̄ty δywy[δ δ]yβnw βγny' cyndr cw (49) βγγyšt̄t̄ 'skwnd  
s't̄ wyspr̄nynyt (50) xnd pyšt̄ mrt̄xmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd (51) 'r̄ty q̄t̄'m  
"δyy (')ww r̄wδnyt βγγyšt̄ (52) ky 'ty wy' βγny' 'skwnd 'xšwndyy

. . . so he goes to and fro amidst those cruel ones, but always keeps his consciousness so that his spiritual welfare is not perverted. And later on, before the gods, elements, and Buddhas (apostles),<sup>1</sup> he is honoured and cheered

<sup>a</sup> Restore [pr] or [pw].

<sup>b</sup> mwγ[nc] or mwγ[ny] "Magian" ? Apparently subscription to the text ending in line 10 to which the caption of the *Recto* page refers. It can thus be restored to mwγ[ny ?] mrtzmyy "znd. The caption of the *Verso* page (which was continued on the *Recto* page of the subsequent folio) gives the title of the story of lines 11-52, cf. line 44.

<sup>c</sup> Restore [']z[yy] "free", or [']z[γw] "exiled" ?

<sup>d</sup> Added above the line.

<sup>e</sup> (h) written over (or under ?) (kw), i.e. "read mrt̄y instead of mrt̄y kw" or vice versa.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. after his death.

in the same way as the . . . king is honoured amidst his people and . . . danger visible . . . Magian (?).

. . . submissiveness . . . charity, [faith, perfection], patience, [and wisdom] . . . body<sup>1</sup> . . . and also his . . . is good like . . . As at other times he always used to go roving<sup>2</sup> and . . . in an unhappy frame of mind, so one day, too, he went out of the door for a ramble, very depressed and troubled, in great anxiety and deep in thought.<sup>3</sup> This time he heard a voice coming down from the air. It called him and spoke thus to him: "Man, I feel so very great pity for you. However, in your walk of life that which was visible to you, was evil, so might not the unseen help you?<sup>4</sup> If you will listen to my words now, I shall imbue you with such knowledge that you shall be happy for your whole<sup>5</sup> life." The man (looking) upwards to that voice asked thus: "You, my lord, who are you that you feel such pity for me?" From above the voice replied thus to him, . . . . .

. . . northwards<sup>6</sup> . . . a great mountain . . . on the skirts of the mountain there is a . . . place of the gods (*βαγιστάν*). In the temple there are many gods who are endowed with speech, but they are rather difficult to serve . . . on the flanks (?) of the mountain, upwards, . . . there are another two temples, one of gold, the other of silver. What gods there are in both those temples, they are set with all kinds of jewels, but they do not talk with men. Whoever satisfies the brazen gods who are in the temples<sup>7</sup> . . .

#### F. The Monkey and the Fox

Slightly damaged folio, cursive Sogdian script. An *Æsopian* fable, Korais, 29, Chambry, 38. An Uyğur fragment of the *Yosipas* (*Æsop*) book was published by LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 33. Beginning of the story in Greek (*recogn.* C. Halm, Lipsiæ, 1884, p. 22): 'Εν συνόδῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πίθηκος ὀρχησάμενος καὶ εὐδοκίμησας βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐχειροτονήθη· ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτῷ φθονήσασα ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἔν τινι παγίδι κρέας κείμενον, ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγεν, ὡς εὐρούσα θησαυρὸν αὐτῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, γέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τετήρηκε, καὶ παρήνει αὐτῷ λαβεῖν. Τοῦ δὲ ἀτημελήτως ἐπελθόντος κτλ.

#### T i

(R)(1) ky 'sty ky nwry m'γ[w cwpr] (2) γωβω pc'y-tk'm o rty [cnn] (3) c'β' prtr "dy L' β(w)[t] (4) ZY kdry sytm'n nγšyr[t] (5) ZKn tw' prny γωβω ryz-(k)[ry]<sup>a</sup> (6) ptysynt'nt [o] [rt](β)y kdryh (7) γωβω kwncykw<sup>b</sup> 'sk[w]'nt [o] p'rZ-Y (8) ZKn tw' prny [ny]my CWRH (9) ZKn mrtγm'kty<sup>c</sup> s'r mynt

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 484, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Or "for a drive"? Cf. *BSOS.*, X, 102, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *BBB.*, p. 60 (on 510).

<sup>4</sup> The translation is conjectural.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "one". Cf. MPers. *pd yk 'ux* M 731 V 9 (*HR.*, ii, 33).

<sup>6</sup> Hardly = "upwards" here.

<sup>7</sup> See *BSOS.*, VIII, 584 sq. On 'xšwndyy/'xwšndyy see above, p. 470, n. 4.

For notes <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> see p. 475.

(10) skwn ZY nymy ZKn nγšyryh (11) mynt o ZY kdry 'z-γrt šwy-m (12) ZY prw γw'δk<sup>d</sup> prš'y-δ o ZY pr (13) nγš'y-rtcy cwpr γwβw myn o ZY (14) ZKh γyry mkr' m'γz ZY ZKn (15) rwpsy nβ'nt γyr o c'nkw 'γw (V)(16) [. . . .] s'r pnt β'w'nt o (17)[rwpsy] 'z-yw'rt ZY ZKn (18) [mkr]' s'r m'y-δ w'β kt (19) [. . .]n<sup>e</sup> šyry ZY-'mn ryty (20) ['']γt ZY šyry pty-cyh ktyš (21) o 'mprty [. . .]'k' ptšt'n (22) L' [. . .]y s skwn yw'r ZKn (23) tw'prny [s']t βγty ZY pcp'n (24) sβry-t'kw γcy o 'YKZ-Y γwβwy' (25) šyr'kw γwry-k'm o cywyδ (26) pyδ'r kt tγw kšy šγy'k (27) kwn' 'yny ptšt'n pr (28) δst' ny's o rtyh γyry (29) mkr' mwnw w'γš pty-γwš (30) cpδ' šyr 'γws'nt 'krty

" . . . . Who will now be the right king for us ? There is none better than you ! All animals have approved Your Excellency<sup>1</sup> as absolute king and are at the point of declaring<sup>2</sup> you king. For Your Excellency's body is half like a man's, and half like an animal's. Let us now go quickly, and you shall seat yourself on the throne and be king over the animals."

The foolish monkey got up and went along with the fox. When they approached the [trap ?], the [fox] turned back and spoke thus to the [monkey] : " Good . . . has come before us and you have been placed before a good thing. Filled . . . you would not . . . the frame (?),<sup>3</sup> but it is all presented and ready<sup>4</sup> prepared for Your Excellency so that you shall eat well like a king.<sup>5</sup> So if you will now take the trouble,<sup>6</sup> take this frame (?) into your hands."

The foolish monkey heard these words, at once<sup>7</sup> he became very glad. . . .

<sup>a</sup> There is hardly enough space for the abstract noun (*ryškr'y'kh* : P 6, 164). *ZKn tw' prny* can be accusative as well as genitive-dative. *rešure* (= Persian *kāmgār*) is probably appositional to *γwβw*, cf. P 2, 1144 sq. : 'PZY wntn 'γšywn'k 'krtyw ryzkr'k. Cf. also *ryzkr' Vm.*, 191. — One can scarcely read *ryz-(y)l'n* (as in VJ. 1140).

<sup>b</sup> MS. apparently *kwncyrw*, but several times in this manuscript one can hardly distinguish *-kw* from *-rw*.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *mrtyw'ky-t*.

<sup>d</sup> = *γ'δwk*. Mistake or genuine form ?

<sup>e</sup> Or [. . .]. Three or four letters missing. [ZYβ]n ?

<sup>f</sup> Possibly [γw]n'k ? But the third letter looks rather like *-s*. Hence, ['p]e'k ? ['β]e'k ?

<sup>g</sup> [k]w'n]y ? [w]β'y ? [γ]w'y ?

<sup>1</sup> *farn-* is freely used in Sogdian texts as a polite form of address, especially to dignitaries of the Manichean church.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 1018.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *ptšt'n* is unfortunately not known. It is connected with *ptšy-* "to prop, lean" (*Dhyāna* 25, cf. Weller), cf. also *ptšt'* "to withstand" (*BBE.*, p. 104 and P 8, 136). I am assuming that the trap itself is meant here, but the possibility that the word refers to the piece of meat in the trap cannot be excluded. In that case *ptšt'n* may have the same meaning as Av. *paitišāna-* ("leg").

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *S.T.*, i, 50, 5 ; 87, 20 ; P 7, 66 ; Anc. Letters *pcp'y-* "to be ready for" (the preceding word in Reichelt's glossary, *pcke-* is "to wait, expect", cf. *S.T.*, i, 39, 3 ; "if I shall lead you, then wait for me." The simple verb may occur in Anc. Lett., i, 12, *šyr'kk' kš'n* "I shall have a good time", where Reichelt has *kwn's* ; Av. *kasa-*, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> *γwβwy'* may be a "predicative instrumental", see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 1182, 1223.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is not clear. Literally "on this account that you now make or shall make (imp. or subj. sg. 2) hardness". For *šy'y'k* see *BBE.*, p. 103 ; *Sogdica*, p. 20, and particularly *šxy'q wn-* *S.T.*, ii, 6, 33 : "Through these great (? *xw'n*) efforts they earned the paradise. So we, too, when we hear of such great (*xw'n*) forbearance, should take much trouble, etc." See also below text I, line 5. <sup>7</sup> *cpδ'* possibly from *hačū paδā(t)*, Persian *az pai*.

## G. The Daēnā

Fragment of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Cursive Sogdian script, carelessly and irregularly written. This is not a story; it is given here as illustration to the next number (H). Better than any Manichaean text so far known, this fragment shows that the Manichaeans shared the Zoroastrian idea of the "religion" (*daēnā*) of a man meeting him after death in the shape of a virgin, cf. Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 268-271.

## T ii Toyoq

(1) 'yw 'z-w'nh [ (2) mrtγmy pwny'nyh [ (3) m'δ ZY γwty pw r'yh<sup>a</sup> βwt [ (4) šyr'nk'ry pwny'nk'ry kwδ prnm<sup>b</sup> 'z-wyt<sup>c</sup> rt[y] (5) cyty<sup>d</sup> 'tδmkw'nch<sup>e</sup> δ'm L' δβ'yšt [ (6) MN wyspn'ch pw pckwyr m'δ ZY n [ (7) pδyh pw 'y<sup>f</sup> 'γš'nt (βy)'r'nt<sup>g</sup> (ZKw) [ (8) p'šy "δy [ rty cw zmnyh myrty pstrδ xxxx<sup>h</sup> (9) δwγth βγšpšyt<sup>i</sup> pt'yycy s'r 'ys'nt [ (10) 'sprγmy ZY zyrn'yny kwn'k'r rtšy myδ w(') [ β'nt (11) L' pckwyr 'rt'w rw'nh p'rZY [ (12) pty'p nyst p'rwtγ γr'm<sup>j</sup> [ (13) rty γr'm kw rwγšn'yrδmnwh s'r p(w) [ (14) p(')δy<sup>k</sup> γw wγšy pcy'z p'rZY prm [ (15) 'wz-'ny p'ty wm'tyš m'δ ZY ZKn (w)[y]spw w'tδ'(rt)[y] (16) ZKw 'z-wnh<sup>l</sup> z'ry sy'tδ'ry m'δ ZY šn L' ZY<sup>slc</sup> (17) ptywstδ'ry L' MN y'ty<sup>m</sup> γwrtδ'ry rty kδry (18) γr'm kw βwδ'nty p'ryz wštm'γw s'r kw ZY γw nwšy (19) wγšy [ rtšy γw γypδ 'krtyh p'ryz βγγ-pt(y)[c] (20) [ . . . ] δwγth<sup>n</sup> pwr'ycw my<sup>o</sup> rty 'ystw nwšy mryty<sup>p</sup> (21) [ . . . . . ] ZKwyh pr srw 'sprγmy myn(ch) (22) ]rtšy γwty r'δt'kw βwt

. . . one life . . . a man's *puṇya* . . . so that he will be free of guilt (?) . . . pious and meritorious as long as he lives . . . does not hurt even the demonic creatures . . . without fear of anything so that . . . immediately after . . . without

<sup>a</sup> Or *rngh* ? *ryh* ? [Dr. Gershevitch suggests: mistake for *pw* 'rngh].

<sup>b</sup> Mistake: read *prn*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 810.

<sup>d</sup> Hardly = "demon" ? Possibly = *cyty* in the *Ancient Letters*, ii, 54 ?

<sup>e</sup> Mistake: read 'tδmk- (the same misspelling also in P 6, 191).

<sup>f</sup> Or 'ny, or 'zy. If 'y, one might think of Old Ir. *āyu-* and compare 'yw-'yh, DN, 76; *prw* 'yw 'yh, P 2, 165; 'yw 'yh . . . L', P 6, 19, 181. 'ny "other" is less likely here. "Re-birth" should be spelt 'zy. I do not understand this line.

<sup>g</sup> The first two letters are illegible; hardly β.

<sup>h</sup> There may have been four symbols for "twenty", followed by other numerals. Only the first two symbols for "twenty" are clearly visible, after them only a few traces. Perhaps one should restore: *xx xx [xx xx z iiii iiii NLPW]* (there is certainly not space for more) = 99,000, and compare the traditional number of Fravašis, 99,999 (as e.g. in *Yašt* 13, 59-62; *MX.*, 49, 15; *Ind. Bd.*, 32, 9).

<sup>i</sup> Or *βγspayt*. Presumably mistake for *βypšyt*.

<sup>j</sup> m over (or under ?) nš (= γr'nš).

<sup>k</sup> p(y)δy ?

<sup>l</sup> Mistake: read 'z-w'nš.

<sup>m</sup> At first sight one would certainly read *βrty*, but *y'ty* was no doubt intended.

<sup>n</sup> Restore [wys]δwγth ? Cf. e.g. *wyδγweth*, P 6, 165.

<sup>o</sup> = Buddhist Sogd. 'my (oblique case of 'mw).

<sup>p</sup> Or *myty* ? "birds" ? "meadows" ? "even ones" ? "clouds" ? "nails" ? Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 26.



interval . . . they obtain (?) . . . the watcher. And at whatever time he dies, 80- . . . girl angels will come to meet him, with flowers . . . and a golden litter,<sup>1</sup> and speak thus to him: "Fear not, righteous soul, for you have no part in . . . ; but come forward . . . step forward to the Light Paradise, without . . . , receive joy. For in this [world] you have abstained from slaughter, you felt compassion with the lives of all creatures so that you did not kill them nor eat of their flesh. Now step forward to the fragrant, wonderful Paradise where there is eternal joy."

And his own action, as<sup>2</sup> a wondrous, divine princess (?), a virgin, will come before his face, immortal . . . on her head a flowery . . . , she herself will set him on his way<sup>3</sup> [to Paradise . . .

#### H. The Cæsar and the Thieves

Three pieces of a book, T i α, cursive Sogdian script, beautiful handwriting. One piece is a nearly complete folio, the second a large fragment of a double folio, the third is a smaller piece which helps to complete the text of the double folio. Thus there are three folios; one of them contains the story H, the two others are given below as I (admonitions and enigmas, cf. the Parthian text M 48, *HR.*, ii, 86). — A most peculiar story which despite prolonged study remains rather nebulous. A "Cæsar" is tricked into the belief that he is dead. A thief impersonates his *Farn*. Apparently this is not (as I had been thinking at first) his *daēnā* who should have the shape of a virgin according to text G, but the guardian spirit of a royal person or possibly of his country. Cf. *farrah ud wāxs* of a province, *BBB.*, p. 11, *farrah ud wāxs ī in šahr*, *Man. Dogm.*, 551 (VX 3-4), *Qočo uluš . . . qutī wāxsiki*, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 40, *Khurāsān xvarrah*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ix, 157. The *Farn* is male and wears royal garments; this agrees with the representation of *Φαρρο* on Kushan coins; see Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 64 sqq. — The narrator placed the story in the third century, as the reference to *Šansai* (line 25) shows; he was a disciple of Mani, *BSOAS.*, XI, 69. A *kysr* "Cæsar" who was the brother-in-law of *Nps'/Nβs'* (see *OLZ.*, 1939, 242) figures in the Sogdian version of the Manichæan Missionary History. In Iran *kysr* designated the Roman emperor only (*BSOS.*, ix, 834, inscription of A.D. 262; further references: Schæder, *Iranica*, 35), but the Manichæans may have followed the usage of the Roman empire, as indeed their brethren did in Egypt (cf. *Kephalaia*, 186<sup>21</sup>, 187<sup>13</sup>). Valerian was a prisoner in Persian

<sup>1</sup> *kwn'k'r*: the context of *VJ.*, 1258 sq., shows conclusively that a *kwn'k'r* is a seat that is movable ('wy . . . *kwn'k'r nysty šw'y'skwn* "he went along sitting in his *kwn'k'r*"), cf. also *VJ.*, 1421. In *Dhyāna*, 285, *kwn'k'r* is, on the other hand, a fixed seat, or a "socle" (see Weller on the passage). I do not see why *kwn'k'r* should be translated as "pavilion" (Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1927, 1385; Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 235); neither its meaning nor its form agrees with Skt. *kūṭṭāra*. [Cf. also *Uigurica*, iii, 71 line 8, and E. Sieg, *Sb. P.A.W.* 1937, 137 n. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> Or "and his own action, a wondrous . . . virgin".

<sup>3</sup> *r'š'k-* = *rāšāk-* "setting on the way, sending along the road" (see above, text B, line 9) corresponds with Arabic (*al-bakim*) *al-hādī* in the *k. al-Fārist*, 335, 11.

hands, Cyriades (Mariades) was emperor by the grace of Shapur (cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 835; see now A. Alföldi, *Berytus*, iv, 1937, 58 sqq.). The Manichæans may have approached one or the other.

- T i a

(*Recto*)(1) ]. o ZY kysr wdyδδ[ (2) [. . w]yδp't wys'ntw t'yt [ (3)[. . .](w)r<sup>1</sup> tyt'nt o rty γw w'nk[w] . . . . ] (4) oo 'YKZY ZKwyh γzδ'ny cyntz cr'γ ZY δmt[yr]<sup>2</sup> (5) pswyt'kw 'sty o rty pts'r MN wys'nt['](y) (6) (t')yty 'yw prn dyδym prw (s)rw 'wstytδ'rt (7) ZY MLK'mync<sup>3</sup> nγwδn ptmwytδ'rt Z(Y) (8) kw dywyδ tpn' kw ZY γw kysr np'sty (9) (w)m't pnt γyr 'tšy w'nk w'β 'yy (10) 'yy kysr wγr's wγr's 'PZY n'<sup>4</sup> pckw(yr) (11) p'rZ-Y ('zw) tw' prn 'ym o rty kδry 'nγ(wn)<sup>5</sup> (12) γw p'(š)['](y) prn<sup>6</sup> 'ym γrβw t'yt ZY δ[ym]βynt<sup>7</sup> (13) 'ktw 'p[ryw ?]<sup>8</sup> ('t)βy kδry 'z-w . . . . [ (14) [βr]y' '(š)k[rc]y<sup>9</sup> sγw('ym)k'm w'nk(w)[ (15) L' (wβ)['](t) o rty wyδ(p)[t]y Z(K) [ (*Verso*) (16) ](š)y w'nk w'β 'nβγ[<sup>10</sup> (17) ]y 'tmy γwty 'pstk'ry wβ['] o] (18) ]y ZKn kysry w'nk w'β oo . . . . (19) ]. prw βry' prβ'rcy 'škr'n o rty (20) [Z](K)[w]yh ryt(y) 'ys'ntk'm wys'ntw δymβyntyt (?) (21) (p')rsykt t'[y](t)<sup>11</sup> ZY m'γw w'nk w'ps'nt (22) k'm mwnw cw tpn' γcy ky ZY 'šm'γw (23) (β)rδ'skwn o rty m'γw w'nk w'p'tc[γ]ny (24) kwnymk'm o ktγw kysr 'yw mwšk[y]ch<sup>12</sup> pr (25) '(s)γ'nt<sup>13</sup> kw š'nš'y s'r βr'sy oo ZY "ph (26) . . . . y cyntz w'sty o 'tšy prw γypδ t'pw (27) t'ph o rty kδ' "δy δst' prw [t]pn' (28) ] . . . oo rty tγw [γw](t)y prw (29) [mwškych] βryn' βyks'r wny[r] kwn' (30) ] t'yt ZKw tpn['] prw

. . . and the Cæsar there . . . thereupon those thieves entered the . . . , and so he . . .

When the lights and lamps had been lit in the tomb, one of those thieves placed the diadem of majesty on his head and put on royal garments. He

<sup>1</sup> Or ](t)r [= *cyntz* ?].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sopdias*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> mššk'mync.

<sup>4</sup> Some letters from the preceding page seem to have imprinted themselves on (n').

<sup>5</sup> Or 'nγ(wn)[.] which could be 'nγwny or 'nγwnc, or 'nγ(t)[], or "γ(t)[ (meaning respectively "such", "fight", "whole", "came").

<sup>6</sup> Reading doubtful. One or two letters are lost between p'(š)[ and ]y. The y, however, is uncertain, and may be connected with the following word. The p- of prw was possibly connected to the right side. Thus one may have to read ]tpn' instead of ]y prw although the r seems to be fairly well marked.

<sup>7</sup> The margin is cut off after about three-quarters of the letter -t. There hardly was left any space for the ending -yt which may be represented by 'ktw at the beginning of line 13.

<sup>8</sup> This would fit the gap nicely, but it does not make sense. Perhaps 'p[ym], instead of "p'ym? I feel dissatisfied with the restoration of the lines 11-13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Reichelt, ii, 69, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Or "βγ[, or "γγ[. Possibly a mode of address, š (interjection?) + enclitic -βay ("my Lord").

<sup>11</sup> A piece of paper is folded over the last letters; they could be read on the original. At first I read t'[β]('), but this is not satisfactory.

<sup>12</sup> The damaged fifth letter looks rather like (r) or ('), but mwšk[.]ch can hardly be anything but mwšk[.]ch.

<sup>13</sup> '(z)γ'nt?

approached the coffin where the Cæsar was lying, and spoke thus to him: "Hey, hey, Cæsar, awake, awake! Fear not, I am your *Farn*! Now, besides I am the guardian *Farn* for (?) many thieves and jugglers (??).<sup>1</sup> I shall lift you now . . . to guide you [through the] air, so that there shall not be. . ."

Thereupon the [Cæsar] . . . and spoke thus to him: "Ah, my lord . . . be you my helper!" [The thief] said to the Cæsar: ". . . as charioteer<sup>2</sup> I shall guide [you] through the air. But those jugglers (?), the Persian thieves, will come face to face with us and ask us: 'What coffin is that which you are carrying?' We shall then reply in this way: 'The Cæsar has sent a cat to Šansaī for a joke (?). He has put (her) in (a) water[-chest?],<sup>3</sup> and sealed it with his seal.' If one of them [should lay] hands on the coffin, let your voice be heard in the manner [of a cat]."

The thieves [lifted] the coffin on [their shoulders. . . .

#### Notes on *tpn'*, *γδ'n-*, and *δymβynty*

The understanding of this story depends largely on the interpretation of three words of which, I think, I can explain two.

(A) *tpn'* (one could also read *tp'n*) is here translated as "coffin". It is evidently an Aramaic word, cf. Syriac *dapnā* "bier" and *dupnā* "coffin". The spelling rather points to the word for "bier", but the story clearly requires "coffin". The fact that *-p-* is preserved (*-fnā* would appear as *-βn'*), suggests that the word was borrowed from Eastern Syriac.

(B) *γδ'n-* (line 4), translated as "tomb", furnishes an explanation of the mysterious Pahlavi word *hz'n* ('z'n), regarded by some as an ideogram, which is employed to render the Avestan *daxma-* in the Pahlavi commentaries. The relation of *γδ'n-*, which may reflect Manich. Middle Persian *\*hzd'n* or *\*xzd'n*, to Pahl. *hz'n* is the same as that of Av. *paṣdu-* to Pahl. *paṣūk*, of Pers. *duzd* to Pahl. and Man. MPers. *duz*, etc. Assuming the initial aspirate to be secondary, one could derive *haz(d)ān* or *xaz(d)ān* from Old Iranian *\*azdāna* < *\*azzd'āna* < *\*ast-d'āna*; the word would thus be identical by etymology with *astodān* "ossuary". A slight difficulty is provided by the isolated and doubtful Av. *uzdāna-* (or *uzdāna-*) "ossuary", *Vd.* 6, 50; while *haz(d)ān* could probably go back to such a form, one may prefer to emend it to *\*azdāna-*.

(C) *δymβynty-* (lines 12, 20), provisionally rendered as "juggler". In this manuscript the letters *y* and *β* are not distinguished, nor are *n* and *'*. This makes for a great number of possible readings, such as *δymy'yty-*, *δβmβynty-*, *δβmyβ'ty-*, etc. My reading is suggested by MPers. *dymbndyy* (abstract noun to *\*dymbnd*) which occurs once in a Manichaean fragment

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is not clear, owing to several gaps in the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> *prβrcy* from *prβ'r* "chariot". But see *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 3. Possibly there were two words *prβ'r*, (1) "chariot", (2) "explanation, pronouncement".

<sup>3</sup> Implying: "This is not a coffin as you suggest, but merely a water-chest"! But conceivably the sentence could mean: he has put water [and food] inside (the coffin, namely for the cat).

(M 204): ] *dymbndyy* 'wd *qrwgyh* 'yg *gwng gwng xyr'n* "ywešt'g'n 'wd *trs* 'y *wyptgyy* 'wd *hmwcy* 'n 'zwešt'g'n *ky mrdchm'n* *wygybynd* 'ymyn *hrwysp'n* *dr'yšn'n* *ws'n* u *kyrwgyh'n* [= "... the jugglery (?) and framing of various perplexing points, the fear of (= belief in) error and perverse creeds which mislead mankind, all these many clamours and artifices ..."].

In this passage *dymbndyy* stands beside *kerrōgīh*<sup>1</sup> "art(ifice)s", while the Sogdian *šymbnyntyt* are associated with *t'yt* "thieves"; hence, "impostors" or "jugglers". MPers. *dēm-band*, Sogd. *šēm-βende* may mean "sight-binding", i.e. preventing someone else from seeing what is being done to him. Compare Baluči *čam-band* "eye-fetters" = "deceit, illusion" (see Geiger, No. 52), and Pers. *čašm-band* "a spell put on the eyes".

### I. The remainder of T i α

(First fol., recto) (1) [... ]s'nty *ymy wβy-k'm* o ZY šyr(γ)[wzty] (2) [ntw](γ)ch *βwtk'm* *wβyw* ms *w'γwnc* r'β (3) 'ystk'm *ky* 'β(z)kw *pty'r* *kwnty-k'm* oo *rty* (4) m'nh *r'm'n(t)* [. . .]w\* δ'r o ZY CWRH kδ[c] (5) *γw't* n' w'c oo (w)nkw *šyγ-kw* (kwn)[ ZKwy] (6) '[nt]wγcy ZY *wγ'sy* *myδ'ny* ZKw[ (7) L' *prcy* oo *p'rZ-Y* 'βc'np[δy (8) *βγ'nykw* 'nwt *msy-tr* 'nwt *nys[t* (9) *kw mrepm* MN CWRyh *nw* 'nwt n' (10) wβ' o ms MN *γrβ'kw* *δy-nδ'r* *ky* *γwpw* (11) *wγrš* *ptγwšy* *ky* *γwty* *ršt'* δ'ty (ZY) (12) [p]r'm'nty-' δ'r't *tγw* *wyδ* *wγrš* *pts* [. . .]b (13) [. . . . .] *pr* šyr'kw 'z-n'ptnym wβ't (14) *ly* *ršt'* δ'ty ZY *pr'm'nty-* (15) [(n)y's oo *rt(y)* [kδ'](c) ZKn (*verso*) (16) [*γrβ'kw* *δy*]nδ'r n' *γrš* oo *rtms* *y'* [. . .]c (17) *γz-ny* ZY *βrγ'w* *p't'γš'wn* δ'r ZY Z[Kwh] (18) *wδw* *pr* *ptβyw* δ'r *w'nkw* ZY *prw* *tw'* (19) [. . .]t(y)pt *γwr'nt* [L' ? δβ]z *wyn'nt* (20) [. . . . .] (MN) *mwr'tk'(r)y* ZKwh *tw'* (21) [. . . . .] MN s'nty *psγw'n* d L' (22) ] *rtms* *tw'* 'spy [. . .]γw (23) [. . . . .]y *wynt* *prw* *γwrt* ZY *nγwδn* (24) [š]yr'kwδ'r oo *ms* *pr'm'nw* *trn* ZY *nmrw* (25) *pr'm'y* oo *rty* *tw'* *prywyδδ* RBkw *šyr'kty-* (26) (β)wtk'm oo *kδ'* 'yδych *δβγštc* ZY *βyry* (27) (p)[t]y-'p(t)° *šyr* 'ntwγs *kwn* 'yw(r) t(rp'r)[y]t (28) . . . . s n' wβ' *kt* *γypδ* *rw'n*[h *kw* *tmw* ?] (29) L' *škry* L' *γwty* RB[kw (30) *rty* *pw* p(r)[. . .]h *γ(yš)yppw* [

<sup>1</sup> Or *kirrōgīh*, cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 755; *BBB.*, 70; Messina, *Zāmāspik*, 51, n. 8, 138. I still do not see why the word should be read sometimes as *kērōk* and sometimes as *karrōk* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, 231; *Zor. Problems*, 84, n. 2). Old Persian *kruwaka* would regularly result in MPers. *kirrōg* (or *kerrōg*), which could be spelt either *kyruek/g* or *kruek/g*. Armenian *kiropet* (Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 512 sqq.) disproves *karrōk* (= Arm. \**kaiook*.) as well as *kērōk* (= Arm. \**kirok*.). There is no need for assuming a case of special treatment. The Old Iranian form *karnya* postulated by Bailey does not seem very plausible to me; it should, however, result in \**karr* (not in \**kēr*.), to judge by MPers. *zarr* from *zarnya*-. [Add Pers. *karōgar*, *Lexx. g.* and *č.*, "one of God's names," presumably = *artifex*, *Divān-i 'Unqurī*, Tehran 1298, fol. 29a; *Divān-i Nāšir-i Khusrāu*, 173, 4; *Divān-i Khāqānī*, 226, 1; *Garšāsp-nāme* Gl.]

a Possibly (δγ)w ?

b *ptš[ymt]* ? *ptš[tyt]* ?

c Or *ym* or *β'* or *βm* or *βz*.

d Or *psγwn* (less likely).

e Or (p)[r]y-'p(t).

f n ly tops of letters, hence could be *t(rw'r)[c]*. See below text J, line 8.

g ('š'n) ? ('z'n) ? (rā'n) ? I cannot read this word. [Possibly "zcn].

h Restore *p(r)[m'n]* ? Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 16 (a 6).

(Second fol., possibly continuing the text without break, but whole folios may be missing) (recto) (31) [L'] wβ't oo oo ms γw 'γsr(w-γš)yδ<sup>a</sup> (32) [MN] γntrwy m'yδ 'prs' oo kt (MN) (33) [']sm'ny cw 'sk'tr o ZY cw MN z'y-y (c)'str oo (34) ms MN γwry cw rwγšntry MN tm' (35) cw t'rtr oo MN (γ)[r]' cw γ'r'ntr oo ms (36) MN w'ty cw ryncwkstr oo ZY MN z-ry (37) cw trykystro oo rty ms ky 'δw y'wr "z-yt (38) ZY 'yw p't myrty o ky nysty msy-'tr 't[. .] (39) 'n(γš)[t]y rystro ky' γw γwβny t'w'ntr (ky) ? (40) γyδ [wγ]r'ty βwt o rtkδ' γw ('z-)my ('ysy) (41) γw "my-n'y [. . . ]<sup>b</sup> o kδ' γw "myny 'ys(y) (42) γw 'z-my k(w)[<sup>c</sup> . . . . .] ms ky' γh 'γ(ryw) ? (43) ]('t) c.wy cw . . . . . (44) ]ysty oo cw twγ (45) ]t oo rty cw (verso) (46) γcy ky MN δwry wynty ZY MN pnt [L'] (47) wy-n(ty) oo ms ZK n mrtγmy cw pš'βr p[. . . ]<sup>d</sup> (48) oo ms cw δβ'r šyr'krty-' ptšmyrty ZY 'krt(h) <sup>e</sup> (49) βwt oo ZY cw y' δ'my rytr ZY z-wγttry (50) pt(wr)t<sup>f</sup> ZY cw ZKh mrtγmy-ty z-yšty s'št (51) z-γty o ZY MN 'γrywy δwr ZY γwty p'ty s'št (52) 'skw't oo rtptr' γyδ 'nc(γw) . . (cykw) <sup>g</sup> (53) [r'β]y ZY pδ'nky z-'wr δβry ZY pc'y-y oo rty cw 'yw (54) ky prtr βwt oo rty cw γcy NLPW kyZ-Y rytr (55) (β)wt oo rty mrtγmy kn'c pyδ'r t(r)βγty (56) (γ)wrt ? ZY ptβyw (mn) . . . [ . . . . . ] ky' "m'ty (57) (γwr)t ? ZY ptβyw [ . . . . . ] ty ZKwy (58) knδδ ZY 'wt'ky [ (59) rytr ZY z-wγtry w[ (60) mrtγmy-ty pnt. (First fol.) . . . [if] you are despicable<sup>1</sup> [even] to your enemies, [if] your friends have sorrow, even [if] ever so many illnesses come which may cause sore tribulation, always keep your mind firm (?), never let your body<sup>2</sup> grow weak. So make efforts,<sup>3</sup> in grief and feebleness,<sup>4</sup> do not leave. . . . For in the world there is no greater help than the help of God . . . until death do not be without help from the body<sup>2</sup> (?). Also, you should hear the good salvation from the wise δēnδār who possesses the Right Law and Forgiveness<sup>5</sup> . . . through that salvation you should . . . shall be recognized<sup>6</sup> for goodness . . . take . . .

<sup>a</sup> The rotograph I am using is slightly blurred. It may be possible to read the name without difficulty on the original. The fifth letter is either a final -w, or a -p-, which is connected to the left side. There is little doubt about -γ-, but -š- is uncertain (-s-?). "King Khusrāu" ?

<sup>b</sup> Restore: [kw βwt] ?      <sup>c</sup> Restore: [βwt oo rty] ?      <sup>d</sup> Restore: p(rtr) ?

<sup>e</sup> The tail of the h is damaged, but no other reading seems possible. Surely this is a copyist's mistake for 'krt'nyh ?

<sup>f</sup> The letters (wr) are plainly visible, but so badly executed that the reading is doubtful. One thus has to consider also ptwnt (?) and ptw't (cf. BBB., p. 56, patwite "dry" from pati + wā "to blow", cf. now ptw's- P 6, 88, "to dry out"; note that w's- Fry. iii, 16, is not "to howl" as Reichelt, i, 62, n. 3, assumed, but "to start to blow").

<sup>g</sup> Or "c(γw). (cykw).

<sup>1</sup> Reichelt, ii, 68, 10, *wyspw w'tš'rtly sy'nicyk 't ymy βwt* "he becomes an object of ridicule and abhorrence (or disgust) to all living beings". In S.T., ii, 3, 14, Lentz translated "wealth". The corresponding Syriac word (ibid., p. 560, line 17) is only partially preserved; Polotsky read *mwm* [which could be completed to *mwm*] = *māmā* "macula, vitium", or *mwm*[y] = *māmāyā* "scelestus".

<sup>2</sup> Or "soul", or "self".

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 475, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Or "trouble", cf. BBB., 82 sq.; P 6, 15, 144, 168; P 12, 59.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot construe this sentence; the first *ky* seems superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of 'šn'ptnym is not clear to me. See P 2, 1155; P 12, 70; Man. *jn'-ptnym*, BBB., 64 (where the translation is wrong).

the Right Law and Forgiveness. Never irritate<sup>1</sup> the wise *δενδάρ*. Furthermore, keep control . . . of treasure and wealth, honour your wife so that by your . . . they shall eat, not experience hunger (?), . . . so that after your death . . . there [shall be] no defamation<sup>2</sup> from the side of your enemies. Keep also your horse well . . . in fodder and cover. Give your orders humbly and mildly, you will gain great merit by it. If gains and profits begin to reach you, double your efforts, but do not be too greedy (?) so that you will not lead your soul to Hell and that great . . . and merciless (?) injury to yourself (*Second fol.*) shall not be. — And again the 'ysrw king (??) asked the water sprite<sup>3</sup>: What is higher than the sky? What is lower than the earth? What is brighter than the sun, what darker than Hell? What is heavier than the mountain<sup>4</sup>, what lighter<sup>5</sup> than the wind? What is bitterer than poison? Who is born twice and dies but once? Who is taller when sitting, and shorter when standing up<sup>6</sup>? Who is stronger in his sleep than waking?<sup>7</sup> When winter comes, [where is] summer? When summer comes, where [is] winter? . . . What quickly . . . What is it that can be seen from afar, but cannot be seen from nearby? What provision is [best] for man? What gift is counted as a good deed, but is a sin? What are the worst<sup>8</sup> and hardest (?) retributions (?) in this world, and what is it that man must hate and keep away from himself and guard himself against, but that later on, in . . . sickness and trouble, gives strength and is useful? What is one and superior, what is a thousand and inferior? And a man, for what reason . . . unseasonable<sup>9</sup> food (?), and honour, . . . to whom ready food (?), and honour . . . in town and country . . . worse and harder . . . to men near. . .

#### J. The Kar Fish (Plate 2)

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Between the Chinese text some Sogdian scribbles, written in such a way that even a Sogdian might have had difficulty in deciphering them. Possibly: 'yny pūstk xivvi βγ (?) γypδ γcy ky L' ppyr't pr'ys[t] (?) s'r pδsn (?) "This book has 14 bundles (?). He who does not believe it, can go to. . ." Cf. a similar Sogdian note on another scroll-fragment (also T ii T): ZY "γtprn (? -kr') γypδ o xx z'm k'γδ' γypδ γcy "Belongs to Āyat-farn. Has 20 fine pieces of paper". — Cursive Sogdian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. γr'δ, SCE., 446, and Pers. zarēšādan, cf. Benveniste, BSOS., IX, 514 sq.

<sup>2</sup> ppyw'n from apa.saxvan-?

<sup>3</sup> yatruc- = Av. gandarvāna-, cf. wop-p-yatru, P 3, 131 = Av. upāpō gandarvō. This is the genuine Sogdian form; Skt. gandarvāna- is transliterated as knt'rβ (e.g. P 8, 55). Sogd. and Skt. show final -va, but Av. and Šīyāni šīndīro (Sköld, Pamirspr., 312) have final -ba.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Pahlavi text Yōšt-i Fryān, iii, 22-20 ("lie and falsehood").

<sup>5</sup> ryncwck-, P 6, 185; P 12, 55; Wakhi rānšk. From rānšu, cf. Av. rayu-, rānš-.

<sup>6</sup> The answer is "a dog", cf. Yōšt-i Fryān, ii, 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> The construction of this sentence is not clear, but there is no doubt about its meaning.

<sup>8</sup> rytr is opposite to prtr (on which see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 437), cf. below line 54. The abstract rytry' (rytryh) occurs in P 6, 192 (beside prtry'kh); P 12, 33; and above, text D, line 12. [On royal "aporai" see now W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 427-36.]

<sup>9</sup> trβyt- "untimely, too early, unseasonable, premature" from Av. tarō.baxta- "against (normal) fate", see P 2, 32, 450; P 6, 178, 183, 189, etc.

script. It is generally possible to say, with a fair degree of certainty, whether the scribe of a fragment written with this script (the worst script I know) was a Buddhist or a Christian or a Manichæan, even where the contents give no hint. In this case, I think it was a Manichæan, but there is no certainty. It is thus possible that this is a Buddhist story. — *R'β'n γωβω* can mean (1) the king of the country of *Rāβān*, or (2) the king of the *Rāβs*, or (3) King *Rāβān* (cf. Skt. *Rāvaṇa* ?); if (2), cf. *Rāv-sār*, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 332 ? His son's name is *kwl'* (only as vocative, hence -' could be Sogdian ending), but one could read *kwl'n* instead. *Kwl'n* conceivably = *Kū-lang-na* (Middle Chin. *kju-lāng-nja*) as Hsüan-ts'ang writes for the name of Prince *Kuṇāla* (cf. Watters, i, 246). There is some faint resemblance to the story of *Kuṇāla*, who was (1) a prince, (2) hurt by his evil stepmother. According to Anquetil and Markwart (*Wehrot*, 188) the Kar Fish was the sturgeon, but Justi (*Bund.*, 203) correctly identified it with the wels (*Silurus glanis*). Av. *kara* is by etymology the same word as Germ. *wels* (cf. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 541).

## T ii T

(1) ]wγs L' . . [ (2) [s]r CWRH sn'y'y γrt rm z'kt p[r'γw + about eight letters]  
 (3) ZY krw kpy <sup>a</sup> γwrt δ'rt mn' cw γw'n 'sty rty (4) c'n'kw γwβw MN δβ'mpnwh  
 mwnw sγnw<sup>sic</sup> pty-γwš (wntn)<sup>b</sup> (5) wntn z'ry γn'β(w)<sup>c</sup> kt cw mγδβt' cw  
 p'γsynt (6) wm'tnt s't mnwz-nt wyspw prw tk'wš 'ys (7) 'nt ZY ZKn γwβw  
 sm'tyh <sup>d</sup> ZY ršt'wc'r kwn' (8) rty ZK r'β'n γwβw trp'rky 'ntwγc "pznph  
 (9) s'r <sup>e</sup> rty c'nw kw "pznph s'r pr'ys rty γw mγwn (10) 'nw'z-y nβ'nt rty  
 nyz-nt rty 'γšy'wn' kwnnt (11) rty r'β'n γwβw w'-z'ry γn'βy myδ w'β pry'n  
 (12) prytm z'ty kwl' 'zw prw tw' cyn'kh mδy "γ (13) tym L' 'z-w'nty zww  
 βyr'n L' šy<sup>sic</sup> mwrty zww βyr (14) 'n pry'n <sup>g</sup> z'ty kwl' ZKn m'z-yeh ZY m'th  
 (15) (R)Bk'ss ršt'wc'r kwn' rty kδ' tw' βγy myδry (16) 'skw't tw' m'z-yeh m'th  
 γwty prw'yδ kwn'.<sup>h</sup> (17) rty zyw'rt kw γypδ šykny tys mγwn n'βy rty [y]  
 (18) (rš)t'wc'r kwn' βš'm δβtykw myδ pr'm'y mn' pry'[n] (19) [prytm] (z'ty)  
 "pznph s'r γrt kw <sup>i</sup> "py 'npst ZY (20) [šy krw kpy γwrt] δ'rt [

" . . . he went to [the river-bank] to bathe, together with the children, . . . the Kar fish swallowed [him]. How can it be my fault ?" When the king had heard these words from the queen, he wept so very pitifully that all the ministers and all the councillors<sup>1</sup> ran together; all came to see, and to calm and comfort the king.

<sup>a</sup> Before *kpy* a cancelled *k*.

<sup>b</sup> Badly written, meant to be cancelled.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps *γn'β(y)*.

<sup>d</sup> = *sm'ytyh*, *symtyh*, *VJ.*, 379, 387, 1434. Probably connected with Skt. *śam* "to be calm", etc., which would be \**śam* in Iranian. The ending, however, is somewhat unusual. Hence perhaps a loan from Middle Indian *śamīa* + Sogdian abstract suffix *-yδ*.

<sup>e</sup> A verb seems to have been omitted by the scribe (*γrt*).

<sup>f</sup> Mistake for *'γš'ywn*.

<sup>g</sup> *prytm* left out by the scribe.

<sup>h</sup> On 'YK' = how ?

<sup>i</sup> There is a smudge at the end of this word. It is difficult to say whether *kwn'* or *kwn'n* was intended. I think, one would rather have *kwn'n*, even in the preceding line (15) where the MS. has *kwn'* (which at a pinch could be read *kwnn*).

<sup>1</sup> Corrected *pr.m.*

<sup>1</sup> ? *p'γsyn*-. Chinese ? First part possibly the same as in *baχš* (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 48, n. 6).

And the king of (?) Rāβān went to the bank of the river in boundless<sup>1</sup> grief. When he had reached the bank—the whole crowd came out with (him) and mourned —, the king of (?) Rāβān very pitifully weeping spoke thus: “Oh, most beloved son Kul,<sup>2</sup> I have come here in the hope of seeing you. Shall I find neither his living nor his dead body?<sup>3</sup> Oh, most beloved son Kul, I shall (?) greatly console your stepmother,<sup>4</sup> but if your Lordship's death<sup>5</sup> should have taken place, I myself will call your stepmother to account.”

He returned and entered his palace. The whole people consoled him. On the next day he ordered a proclamation<sup>6</sup> to be made (?) in these terms: “My most beloved son went to the bank of the river. He fell into the water. [The Kar fish] swallowed [him. . . .]”

*Note on prw'yδ (line 16)*

The verb *prw(')yδ* “to demand, seek, ask for” is common enough in Sogdian, but the noun *prw'yδ* does not seem to occur in the hitherto published material. *prw'yδ* in P 3, 102, is merely a misspelling of *pr'ywyδ*. Beside *prw'yδ* = Yagnobi *parwid-* (“to demand, ask, let come”) there was also *βrw'yδ* (= *frawēδ-*) which in Sogdian script may be spelt *prw'yδ*, too. *frawēδ-* means “to reach, hit, attack” (as a misfortune a person). P 3, 117: who possesses such a stone, *rty šy 'wyh γ'n'kyh nws'kw βz'yk' p'tβr's βrw'yδt tns ZY wtyyy ZY sryβt'm ZY 'ntwyc* “in his house tribulation will reach him continually, grief and trouble, suffering and sorrow”. P 3, 108: who keeps such a stone in his house, will be superior to all his competitors, *rtyšy m'z'yγw wγšy m'z'yγ š'twγy'kh prw'yδt* “and great joy and happiness shall reach him”. M 502 p 6: *χwō kyw'n jmn'y' pr myδδ z'y šnyy[ . . . . ] xw'c r'f frwyδδt* “When there is an earthquake on a Saturday during daytime, illness and sickness will attack . . .”. Both *parwēδ-* and *frawēδ-* belong to the base *vaēd* “to find” (cf. Av. *fravaēda-*, etc.).

The noun *prw(')yδ* is met with in the Sogdian version of a Middle Persian poem. MPers. M 651 + Ti Hi = Sogd. T ii T 10, 3.

<sup>1</sup> *trp'rky* from \**tarō.pāraka-*, cf. Av. *pārentara-*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Kula, Gul, Gula, Kūlā, Kōlā*, etc. Or *Kulan, Gulan*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *šnw* = *šyn'kh* (S.T., ii)? Cf. above E 15.

<sup>4</sup> The whole of this sentence is not clear to me. — *m'z'ych m'th* also in *SCE.*, 242 (where the wrong reading *m'nych*). Not apparently connected with Pashto *maira mōr* (from \**mātruiā-* = *μητροιά*, Arm. *maura*).

<sup>5</sup> Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, 507, derives *myδry* from Av. *masa*, *-masa* = Old Iranian *mrtā-* or *marta-* (the spelling *'myδry*, given by Benveniste, is not attested in the published texts; it is agreed that *'myδry* in *VJ.*, 1206, is not “death”; possibly “Mithra”). However, Old Iranian *mrtā-* becomes *murt-* in Sogdian, while OIr. *mart-* is Sogd. *mart-*. A further obstacle to the proposed derivation is the difference in meaning (“dead”: “death”). It seems that Sogd. *myδry* continues OIr. *mryyu-*, see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 185, 507. — The equivalent of Av. *amaša-* in Sogdian is *mrδ[spnd]*, *mrδ[spnt]*.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps rather: “He returned to his palace, the whole people entered, he dismissed them with words of comfort. On the next day he ordered.” Or: “the whole people with words of comfort accompanied him.” *ββ'm* is not too clear here (cf. *VJ.*, 356, 1343).



In MPers.: [*'wd 'gr d'ywr*] *wynd'n 'y r'stwcr*<sup>1</sup>  
 [*kym 'c ? wystem*] *bg'n hng'm kwn'd* . . . . .  
 [*wm pd*] *zwr ny 'w(d)rnz'd*

In Sogd.: *rty kt'r ZKw δ'tnm'n*<sup>2</sup> *'γtw*<sup>3</sup> *βyr'n oo kyZYmy c'wn nz'mtly* (?) *zwβ'st'npyty*<sup>4</sup> *prwyδ kwn't* . . . . . *rtmy prw pδ'ty 'wz'k L' kwn't* "And if I should find the justly deciding judge who would find for me against the tyrants and would not condemn<sup>5</sup> me unlawfully". It is unfortunate that in this passage the MPers. equivalent of *prwyδ*, i.e. *hng'm*, is merely another word of unknown signification; neither Pers. *hangām* nor Pers. *hangāme* appear to be of use. But so much is clear that *hng'm* = *prwyδ* is a term of the juridical language. It seems that *hangām* occurs in a line of the *Šābuhragān*, M 475 R 9, where Müller read *'ng'm*<sup>6</sup>: "but whoever sinned against you, *h'nt'n d'dyst[n] qwn'n u hng'm xw'h'n*, I shall institute a process against him on your behalf and call him to account." Here Müller translated "assembly", and Marr (*apud* Salemann, *Man.Stud.*, 54) referred to Arm. *angam*. One could rather compare Arm. *hangaman-k'* "finding, report, circumstance" (cf. Lagarde, *Arm.Stud.*, p. 83). We should take care not to confuse MPers. *hng'm* with Parthian *'ng'm*.<sup>7</sup>

Closely related to *prw(')yδ* is *prwydy* in *Stellung Jesu*, 95, line 7: *MN βγ'nyšyδ 'zrw'βγ' m'γ prwydy* "who finds for us against (the wrath of) the King of Gods Azrua", or "who defends us before the King of Gods". The translation suggested by Lentz (*Mittler*) is approximately correct. Again there is an unknown word in the Parthian version of the passage (*ky 'ndrbyd*<sup>8</sup> *'m'h 'wd pydr*).

### K. A Job Story

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Some interlineary scribbles on both pages. Cursive Sogdian script. Written by a Manichaean, apparently a beginner in the art.

#### T ii D

(1) *z-mnw "(w)γ'n(')yt*<sup>a</sup> *'skw'nt ZY ZKw 'nw'stk rty pts'r yγw'y'nt* (2) *(γ)w 'yw cnn δβtyk w'nkW 'PZY γwy'r ZK 'yw δn δβtyk L' wyn'nt* (3) *[rty] kδ*

<sup>1</sup> *Le. rüst-wiçir.*    <sup>2</sup> Cf. Reichelt, i, 68, line 10 (see also Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 498).

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 468, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Or *woβ-*; this may be an older form of *zwstmbyy*, *-bky'h* (*Kawān*, E 8, I 2).

<sup>5</sup> MPers. *'wdrnz*: "to condemn" also in M 28 i v i 8, previously wrongly separated (*'wd rnz-*), see *ZII.*, ix, 199, line 8, *ōzate* from *ōzām-*.

<sup>6</sup> It is not possible to control the reading now.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahrāmāg*, 367. Also M 137, ii, 7: *'zōd'g 'ym ruc w'z'w'nyft yz'd'n 'ng'm bg'n 'w'fryšy'g'n* (cf. *Mahrām.*, 343) "Full of mercy this day of confession, time of assembly (?) for deities and angels". Cf. the meaning of Sogdian *ōyām* "feast-time". By the way, in Beruni's list of the Sogdian feasts *من عيد شواره* (*Chron.*, 235<sup>1</sup>) should be corrected: read *مرغد خواره* = *myrūd-xwāre* "the (feast of) eating dumplings".

<sup>8</sup> *'ndrbyd* occurs also in M 678, 27 (no context). Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 50.

<sup>a</sup> At first sight I read *'cy'ntyt*; but *'wy'n'yt* (= Man. *'wz'nyy*, Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 351) was probably intended.

γβsty ZK mrtymy (p)rw γrβ γnpnh rty δβ'yz-t pr γrβ (4) [?'rk]h  
 ZKw γrβ γz-nw ZY γr'm'k rty βwt ZK γ'mkyn ZY prst'yt (5) [γ'n]kh  
 ZY RBkw kty'kh ZY prypt ZK<sup>stc</sup> γrβw wδ'ysth rtyšn (6) "z-yt'nt γrβ z't'y-t  
 ZY δwγtrth rty δβrty ZKn z't'yt<sup>a</sup> (7) [w]δ'ysth ZY ZK<sup>stc</sup> δwγtrty ZK  
 z'mt'yty rty kwnty RBkw βγ'n'yšp (8) [']krty rty ZK γrβw n'β ZKn βrγs'nt  
 prw šyr'kw 'γš'wnh ZY (pr) (9) š'twγw 'z-w'nh ZY prw RBkw γ'n'kh ZY pr  
 kty'kh ZY prw γrβw (10) (γz-)nw ZY pr γr'm'kw ZY pr γrβw z't'yt ZY pr  
 γrβw δγwtrt ZY pr (11) [z']mt'yt ZY pr np'yšnt ZY pr γrβw δ'yh<sup>stc</sup> ZY pr  
 γrβw βnt'yt (12) [ZY] pr 'stwrpδ'k ZY pr γrβw 'rp'st'wyh ZY pr šyr'kk  
 prst'k rty (13) [pr] 'ny'δcykw ZY "βrywncykw<sup>b</sup> 'z-γyr'nt ZKwy 'nytw  
 knδyh ZY prw (14) [. .].m'yt<sup>c</sup> oooo oo rtynwkr pts'r βwt ZK γyrtr (ZY)  
 (15) [. .]r<sup>d</sup> cnn z't'yty ZY cnn δwγtr(ty)[ZY] cnn z'mtyty (ZY) cnn np['](yšn)[ty]  
 (16) [γw'yt ? ZY ? tr] 'z-mnyh ZK (")γ'z-nt mwrty (rty)w nyw('nty)  
 (mr)tym'y<sup>e</sup> (17) [. .]γs'nt<sup>f</sup> ky' ZY ZKh "z-(wnh) "(z)-yt (ZY) L' ZK "z-wnh  
 yw'r (18) [?'kr](t)δ'rt rtms 'sty w'nk w'z-mnw γwty 'kw δštwh ZY ('n)y'z-h  
 (19) [pr'](y)s'nt<sup>g</sup> ZY βwt try'z-yn<sup>h</sup> ZY 'ny'z-kyn pr wyspw "δcw rtyw L'  
 (20) [mr]z ZY L' pstk'r'k βyrt rtyw βwt γwδk'r ZY 'yw-t'(c) rtyw (21) [L']  
 'sp'γst ZY L' prm'nptγwš'k βyrt rtyw nγ(nw) (p'c)<sup>i</sup> prywyδ (22) ['z]-mnw  
 nγnw γwty [. .].yt<sup>j</sup> ZY cnn γ'wh 'γšyβt<sup>k</sup> γwrtly rtyw npδty (23) [ZKw](y)  
 wnyh (s)y('ky)<sup>l</sup> rtyw βrγsty ZKw(y) [. . .]n [δ]štwny ZY δywny δ'yh  
 . . . [at one] time they live together and under the same roof, but later they

separate from each other so that they do not meet each other easily.

And if a man strives with much effort and amasses much treasure and wealth by much work and becomes rich and sets up house and a large household and takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great marriage-feast,<sup>1</sup> many people congratulate<sup>2</sup> him on his handsome power and

<sup>a</sup> Corrected *prima manu* from *z'mt*.

<sup>b</sup> *Prima manu* "βryncykw, above a scrawl in a different hand ps . . . w, probably a teacher's correction = "put in a *Wāw*".

<sup>c</sup> Possibly ]sm'yt. Hardly [p']ym'yt = *pāramitā*.

<sup>d</sup> Not apparently ]w = [zmn]w.

<sup>e</sup> Or *mrtymty*. <sup>f</sup> Hardly [βr]γs'nt? <sup>g</sup> Apparently mistake for [pr']yst.

<sup>h</sup> Or *try'z-y'*. One cannot, it seems, read *trytz*- and combine the word with *Man. tryz'yy*, *Chr. tryz'y* (*BBB.*, p. 60). The word in *Frg.*, v, 5, cf. Benveniste, *BSSO.*, IX, 498, is presumably *tr'yyw* = *Man. tryyn* in *M* 765k: *c'nw tryyn yp'g*. Not clear is *tr'z'w* or *tr'nyw*, *SCE.*, 332.

<sup>i</sup> Reading very doubtful; in fact it is a restoration rather than a reading.

<sup>j</sup> ]sny? There may have been δ after *γwty*, hence *L'*?

<sup>k</sup> There is hardly enough space for this word.

<sup>l</sup> Only tops of letters, suggesting *yy'ky*, *γynky*, *γyzky*, *šy'ky*, *szky*, etc., but *sy'ky* is the most likely reading.

<sup>1</sup> *βγ'n'yšp*-[']krty = *Chr. by'npōqty*, *S.T.*, i, 39, 4 = Syriac *bēθ meštābā*, *Luke* xii, 36. The Middle Persian verse: [druw] 'br tw d'm'd oo qyt pwsryn [r'](y) (wδ)wδg[n] qyrd "Welcome, bridegroom who hast made a marriage-feast for the young men (sons)" (*M* 85, 8) is translated into Sogdian in this way: *zckyh β't ZKn tw' p(y)δ'k (? pyδ'k ?) o ky ZY wcn MN "z-wnty pyδ'r ZKw βγ'ny pškt'kw 'krwδ'ry* (*T* ii D, G). One cannot, apparently, read *wywdg[n]*, cf. *Kawān*, A 57, Pahl. Psalter *wydwtky*, *Gr.Bd.* 51, 10, *wydwtk'n = wāyōdāgān* (cf. *Pers. bayōgāni*). The

joyous life, great house and household, much treasure and wealth, many sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, maidservants, slaves, cattle, great prosperity<sup>3</sup> and beautiful equipment, and name him with laudation and praise in the whole town and . . .

But afterwards, at a later time (?), [he becomes separated ?] from his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren: they begin to die [before their] time. People [think little ?] of such a man to whom children were born but whom no children mourn (?).<sup>4</sup> And at some time he falls into poverty and want and becomes destitute (?) and needy in every way. He finds neither hireling nor helper, neither menial nor servant, and becomes lonely and solitary. At such time the baker (?) even [denies him] bread. His food is milk from the cow, he sleeps in the shadow of a tree, he defers to the . . . poor and to the slave-girls. . . .

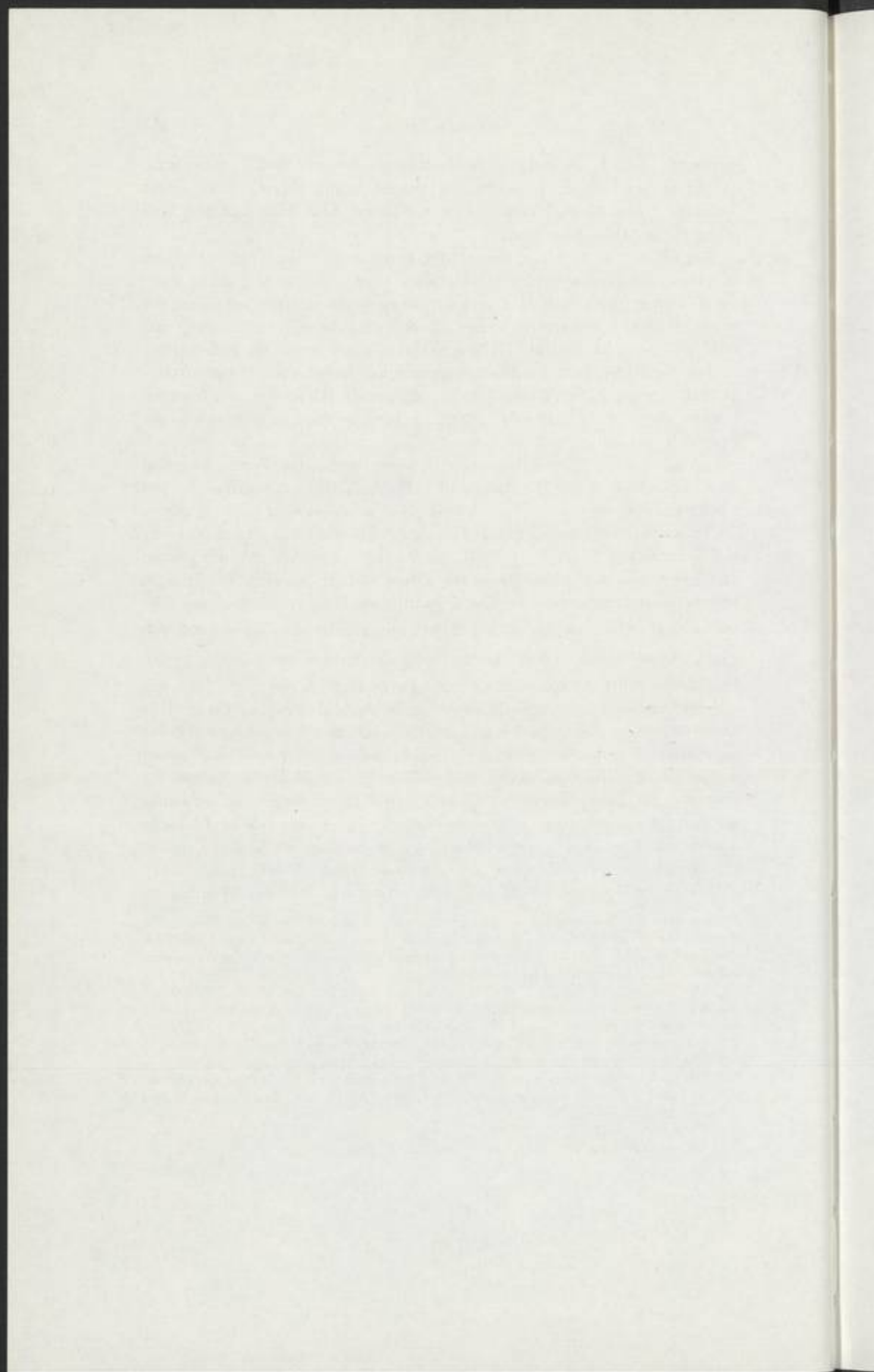
*Additional note.*—Attention should be drawn here to the Sogdian liturgical text *BBB.*, 46-7, where the reading of a Parthian tale is prescribed for the "body-and-soul ceremony"; its title is given as *wyspuhr 'd cnd'l (?) z'dg* = the Prince with the Caṇḍāla's son. It is likely that this was a Manichaean text of "Barlaam and Yoasaf" (cf. *BBB.*, 99) the Hebrew version of which has the title *ben hammelekh wshannāzīr* = the Prince and the Ascetic. The Hebrew derives from an Arabic version which in its turn was translated from Syriac; for *يوانانية* in the presumed Arabic text is evidently a misread *سريانية* (a common mistake!), not *هنديّة* as Kuhn boldly proposed (*Barlaam und Joasaph*, p. 42). Should the other Arabic versions, too, derive from Syriac texts (and not directly from an Iranian original), one would be tempted to explain the ascetic's name (*Βαρλαάμ*, Georg. *Balahvari*, Ar. *Balauhar*) as a misunderstood Syriac appellative, a compound with *bar-* "son", corresponding to the Parthian compound *čandāl-zādag*; Kuhn took the name for *bhagavān*, Sachau for *purohita*. But I cannot say what word the Syrian translator may have thought suitable for rendering the Indian *caṇḍāla*. The gruesome tale of *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 5-7, which S. von Oldenburg discovered in Ibn Bābūye's version of "Barlaam and Yoasaf" (*Izv. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1912, 779-82), occurs also in al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi Sa'ādat*, lithogr. Lucknow a.h. 1279, pp. 51 sq.

Sogdian word does not seem to contain *-kate* "house", in spite of the spelling *-k'ke* in one case and the Syriac equivalent: probably *-kte* from *-krtaka-*. The centre part of the Sogd. compound, *-pš-*, *-šp-*, could be explained with the help of *p(y)š'k = dāmād* in the above passage, but the reading is very uncertain (from *pušraku*?).

<sup>2</sup> Or "honour", or "praise", see line 23 and *V.J.*, 1012 (cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 198 n.). Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 148, recognized that *brys-* belonged to Av. *barag-* "to welcome" (Pahlavi *burzidan* also "congratulate", e.g. *Šnš.*, vi, 5, cf. also the passages given by Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, s.v.). In composition with the preposition *ā-* the meaning of *barag* is "to like to possess, to desire": Sogd. *ābraχse* "desire, lust" from \**ā.brsaka-*, Saka *oraś*, *aurśa* "desire" from \**ā.brsaxa-* (> *ābrsaxa* > *ābrīxa* > *aurīxa* > *aurśa* cf. *-riś-* from *-rzs-* in e.g. *haṅgrīś-* and *-rś-* from *-riś* after a vowel in e.g. *parz-*), Parthian *āwarōg*, Middle Pers. *āwarōg*, Persian *ārzū* "desire" from \**ā.barju-*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 576b.

<sup>4</sup> This passage is not very clear. On *yw'r* see *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 140, n. 2.



## BRÁHMAN

ORIGIN and meaning of this word have been discussed so often and so thoroughly that it may seem hardly possible to add anything new. Not long ago the late Jarl Charpentier devoted a whole book to it (*Brahman. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1932), with its full survey of the various theories put forward by Indian and European scholars an indispensable guide to the student, even though he may find himself in disagreement with the solution favoured by Charpentier himself. However, it appears that perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to the Iranian side of the problem which may help in reaching a definite conclusion.

In a recently discovered Xerxes inscription ("Xerx. Pers. *daiv.*", 41 sqq.) there is a recurring phrase "to worship Ahuramazdā *artača brzmnīy*". To all appearances these words mean merely "to worship Ahuramazdā in proper style, in correct fashion", but opinions vary greatly on their grammatical analysis.<sup>1</sup> Most likely *brzmnīy* is the Nom. Sg. of an adjective (referring to the subject of the verb "to worship") in *-iya* from *brzmn-*, while *artača* = *artāčā* is either a second adjective OIr. (*a*)*rtanhačā* "following Rta" (thus Bailey),<sup>2</sup> or an adverb explaining *brzmnīy*, OIr. (*a*)*rtāt hačā* = Av. *ašāt hačā* "according to Rta". Thus one could translate either "following Rta and possessing (associated with) the *brzmn*", or "following the *brzmn* in accord with Rta". The translation I had given "holding Barəsmān (twigs) according to the Holy Law (Rta)" does not meet the case. The stressing of such a minor detail of the cult as

<sup>1</sup> See Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Mitt.*, viii, 56 sqq., *Altpers. Inschr.*, 27-35, 116-18, 287-9; Kent, *Language*, 13 (1937); Hartmann, *OLZ.*, 1937, 146 sqq.; Nyberg, *Rel. Alt. Iran.*, 367, 478; Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 87, 229, and my remarks, *BSOS.*, x, 506.

<sup>2</sup> However, similar adjectives are formed with *-hak-* (not *-hačān-*) in Avestan where *ašānhak-* occurs.

the Barəsmān twigs were would appear to be incommensurate with the tenor of the inscription. *Brzmn-* must have a fairly wide and general meaning here; it has quite rightly been compared with the Indian *brāhman-*. Also, the spelling of *brzmnīy* in the Elamite and Akkadian versions, *pirracmannīya* and *birazammānī*, necessitates the reading *brazmaniya* (in preference to *barzmaniya*).<sup>1</sup>

It has not been noticed so far that Old Persian *brazman-* survives in Middle Persian and Parthian *brahm*, Pahlavi *brahm(ak)*. There is no difficulty about the phonetic development. OIr. (*u*)*rvāzman-* (Gathic *urvāzəman-*, Av. *urvāsman-*) which appears as *urwāhm-* in Middle Iranian (MPers. *urwāhmīh*, Pahl. *urwāhmanīh*, etc.) provides a close parallel; one could also cite MPers. *ēmag* (Pers. *hīme*) from OIr. *aizma-* (Av. *aēsma-*). The frequent Pahlavi spelling *br'hm(k)* happily leaves no doubt that the Middle Iranian word was pronounced *brahm(ak)*, not *barhm(ak)*.

The Pahlavi word has been discussed by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 62 (cf. also *Man.*, iv, s.v.), and Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 311. According to Zaehner it means (a) garment, (b) manner. However, it is used not so much for the actual clothes as for their appearance or style. Hence, one would prefer "dress" or "costume". Perhaps the best equivalent in English is "fashion" which covers both meanings.

It may be useful to treat the Manichæan passages in which *brahm* occurs, more fully.<sup>2</sup> As in Pahlavi the word refers to clothing: *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 73 (p. 851) "For a short while they gladly<sup>3</sup> clothed themselves inwardly with the costume (*brahm*) of joy, but outwardly they were visible in armed and warlike appearance (*šīhrag*)". M 177 V 17 (*HR.*, ii, 90) "And lo! angels brought the soul of Dārāw and placed him before me, arrayed in the customary dress of kings (*šhrd'r'n brhm 'bdyym*)".

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Unimportant or incomplete passages are not quoted here.

<sup>3</sup> *frh'* is adverb and belongs to *fryh*, cf. *frhyft*, *JRAS.*, 1942, 230, n. 5.

Here we must pause to consider Parthian *abdēn* ('*b̄dyn* or '*b̄dyyn*) which hitherto has been translated as "wonderful" (by F. W. K. Mueller, Salemann, and myself), while in fact it means (a) custom, (b) customary, wonted. It is the same word as Armenian *aurēn-k'*, MPers. *ēvēn(ag)*,<sup>1</sup> and goes back to OIr. \**abidainā*-. Cf. the following texts:—

(1) *Mir. Man.*, iii, d 65 (p. 864) *fr'muxtyyš tnb'r p̄dmwcn 'b̄dyn* "he shed the wonted garment of the body (= he died)".

(2) *Ibid.*, n 6 (p. 886) *p̄d hnd 'b̄dyn* "through blind<sup>2</sup> habits".

(3) M 523a 5 [c] [']ym '*b̄dyn whxt 'š[tyd]* "he has freed himself of this habit".

(4) M 580 R 10 *cw'gwn kyc t'wg cy ny 'muxtg u ny 'b̄dyn buč kw cyš p̄t 'b'myh'c kyc 'st'n'h* "like a rich man who was neither used nor wont to take anything on loan from anybody".

(5) T iii D iii 270 *bwd jyr 'wč frz[ng] nyw 'wč hwnr'w[nd] 'b̄dyn 'w'gw[n kw ?] b'dyst'n p̄d šb kd kyc ny z'nyd byh'zgd* "he was clever and wise, brave and skilful. His custom was such that frequently he went out at nighttime, unbeknown

<sup>1</sup> *ēvēn* < *aiβēn* < *aδβēn* < *aβēn*. Another case of the Middle Persian metathesis of *-βδ-* > *-δβ-* (> *-yv-*) is provided by the later form of the Old Persian word for "palace" whose stem is usually given as *apadāna*-. Parthian '*p̄dn* = *appadan* proves that the OPers. word was *appadan*- (acc. *appadānam*), and this is supported by the Biblical pointing *appeden* (*appadn*-), by Syriac *apaδnā*, Arab. *faḍan*; needless to say, OPers. *apadāna*- could appear in Parthian only as '*b̄d'n*. In Middle Persian *appadan*- became \**āpaδan*, then \**āβδan*. Through the metathesis of *-βδ-* \**āβδan* became \**āδβan* > *āiβan* > *āivan*; the last form occurs in Man. MPers. (spelt '*ywn*, *Mir. Man.*, i). The vowels were transposed in Persian *āivān* (if derived directly from the MPers. form as is likely). A belief that Pers. *āivān* somehow belonged to OPers. "*apadāna*" was expressed by Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 352.—Parth. '*dywn* (?) and Parth. '*wdyn* (*BSOS.*, ix, 79) are uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> *hand* = Ormuri *hōnd*, Saka *hana*, Av. *anda*-, Sogd. *and*, etc., cf. Morgenstierne, *Report . . . Afghanistan*, 33; *IIFL.*, i, 317. Parthian has many words which otherwise are met with only in Eastern Ir. dialects, cf. e.g. *šyr-g'mg*, *pnd'n* (Parachi *panân*), *frg'w*. See also Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 202 sqq. Consideration of the Parthian vocabulary supports my contention that that language was indeed *Parthian* and not Middle-Median (cf. *Mir. Man.*, ii, 303, n. 1; *BSOS.*, x, 501 sq., 508).

to everybody" (*b'dyst'n* = Man. MPers. *b'yst'n* = Pahl. *bāstān*, cf. Av. *bāiđištəm*).

(6) M 92, 7<sup>a-b</sup> (from an *Evangelionīg Bāsāh*)

*jngyn bwd u t'ryg, mgwng 'bdyn pd šhr tcynd*  
*pd 'wrjwg wdyft 'hynd, u krwgyst cy 'šmg'n.*

Dark they were and contentious, brutish in habits they  
roam the world,

Deceived by lusts, and the trickery of the devils.

The word *mgwng* (*mgwng-'bdyn*, a *bahwrihi* compound) in the last quoted passage is perhaps too important to be passed over lightly. In view of its meaning which seems to approach that of "brutish" (or "imbecile"? "drunken"?), it can hardly belong to Av. *magavan*.<sup>1</sup> It has been noticed four times in Parthian and once in MPers. where a shorter form (*mgwn*) is employed:—

(1) M 92, 15<sup>a-b</sup>

*sy'ryft pdmwxt 'hynd, tnb'r gnd'g 'wd mgwng*  
*[p]dmwcn (?) pdngyn, cy b'd b'd pdmwxt 'hynd*

"Clothed in decay: the body, stinking and brutish,  
"Tis a soiled garment that they put on again and again."

(2) T ii D 116, i, R ii *pd dybhr [ ] 'wrjwg [ ] xwmr*  
*'wd . . . 'stft gryw mst m' q[r]'h kw ny bw'h mgwng* "Do  
not intoxicate yourself with anger, . . . lust, . . . sleep, with  
harsh . . . , so that you will not become brutish".

(3) M 460b, 12 sqq. *mst 'yy 'wd mgwng pd frhy[ft] 'wd*  
*zyštyft, [ns]'wyn (?) pd š'dft<sup>te</sup> [ ]wd 'nd'g cy ['y]m šhr* "Thou  
art drunk and brutish in love and hatred, like a corpse in the  
joys and sorrows of this world".

(4) M 87, 14<sup>a</sup>-15<sup>a</sup> (from the *Gōwišn-ī Grūw-rōšan*).

*'šm'hycwm dyym b' m' bnyd (??)*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> However, if one accepted as true the picture painted by Nyberg of the shamanistic Zoroastrians, one could fairly well describe the *Magavan* as an imbecile and brutish drunkard. See *Religionen des Alten Iran*, 147 sqq. Cf. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1943, 119 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As I hope to show in an article I am preparing on "Sogdian Tales",



*tw'nyd'n kwem 'ndr 'w 'spynj 'dym'[d]*

*trwm m' kwnyd 'wd ngwn m' bwyd*

But you should not throw dust into my eyes,

Surely you can admit me to this Inn,

Do not repel me, do not be so brutal.

Let us return to the consideration of *brahm*. In the first Manichæan passage quoted above (p. 109) *brahm* was associated with *čihrag* "appearance, form, figure, face; nature, seed".<sup>1</sup> Both words are often found in juxtaposition. Thus in a "Crucifixion Hymn", M 24 R 8 (= M 812 V), "[*zw'ryd*] *hrw 'mwt'n 'w r's[tyft cy] mšyh'h o bwyd 'zd'g [wd] 'šn'syd p'd 'spwryft hw r'z o brhm u cyhrg 'zwšt* "Grasp, all believers, the Truth of Christ, learn and wholly understand His secret: He changed His form and appearance". The reference is to the assumption of human form by Christ, cf. also *Mir. Man.*, iii, k 4 (p. 881) *šhrd'r 'rg'w wxybyh p'dmwn 'zwšt*. In a hymn addressed to the Father of Light<sup>2</sup> we read (M 679, 27 sqq.): '*st'w'dg jywndg o wygr'dg 'wd 'nušg 'yy o tw nyš'n gryw u p'dgyrb 'm'h pydr qyrbkr o hwr's'n hwcyhr o brhm 'wd cyhrg p'dgyrb 'wd z'wr o cy hw pydr ny'g hsyng o ngwstg u wyd'm'sg wzrg* "You are praised and living, wakeful and eternal. Your sign, your Self, your aspect is our beneficent Father, the beautiful East, (who is) the form (*brahm*) and appearance,

*dēm bastan* means "to juggle, trick", lit. "to bind someone's sight" so as to prevent him from seeing what is happening to him. But the reading *bnyd* is merely conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> The peculiar Parthian *h'mcyhrg*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, 849, n. 3, is "homomorphic" rather than "of the same substance". It refers to those particles of the divine Light which can be collected in the "Column of Glory". This explains why its Sogdian equivalent "*wkršnyy* (*kršn* = form, shape) means "Column of Glory" (*BBB.*, 67; Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, 513 n.), and helps to understand MPers. *xwys-cyhr-yzd*, *Mir. Man.*, i, 187, n. 3 ("the increase of the moon through the Column of Glory").

<sup>2</sup> It belongs to a series of hymns in which his chief emanations (such as the Sun-god and Jesus) are lauded, cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 70 sq., 118 sq. The stereotyped opening formula (up to *p'dgyrb*) refers to the Father of Light. The translation given by Lentz, *loc. cit.*, can hardly be justified.

the aspect and power of the Father, the first ancestor, the hidden and miraculous giant".<sup>1</sup>

In several passages one could translate *brahm* as "form" or "elegant form, gracefulness, charm".<sup>2</sup> The following verses are taken from the hymn-cycle *Angad-Rōšnān*, composed by Mār Ammō<sup>3</sup> in the latter half of the third century (vii, 12 and 25-6):—

'wd wymryd 'wd wzwyd, cw'gwn w'r systg  
 ky pđ 'bd'b hušyd, u hw brhm wygnyd  
 He withers and fades as a broken rose,  
 That wilts in the sun, whose grace is destroyed.  
 'wd hmg jywhr, cy wysp twxm u [. . .]  
 'c tgnbdn wygnyd, u y'dynd 'w 'bn's  
 ['wd hm]g 'wrjwg, zrnyn 'd hrw brhm  
 [            ]'dwr, u 'ndyšt bwynd pđ hw  
 The whole of the lives of all races and . . .  
 Will swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.  
 The whole of the lusts, gilded with all their charm,  
 . . . . . fire, will be heaped on it.

Here we could also mention two compounds, (1) *brahmāwend* "endowed with *brahm*" in *Mahrnāmag*, 314, "z'dgwn brhm'wynd gryw "Noble, graceful soul", and (2) *wadbrahm* "possessing bad *brahm*", apparently = "scandalizing", in M 177 R 5 (*HR.*, ii, 88) where the evil effects of meat-eating are listed, ". . . fourthly that the soul is sullied, fifthly

<sup>1</sup> I fear it is almost impossible for anyone who is not fairly well versed in Manichæan ideas, to understand a passage of this kind. The Father of Light, the "first ancestor", is "hidden". He is in no way concerned with the world where his emanations operate on his behalf; they can thus be viewed as his sign or aspect in the world. The words "your Self" restrict the application of the opening formula to four divinities, viz. Mother of Life, Friend of Light, Third Messenger, and Jesus. "Beautiful East," far from being a poetical turn of phrase, is merely (in connexion with the preceding word "Self") a complicated way of naming the Third Messenger (cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Man. Doqm.*, 546, *cn zwrn kyr'n myšyy βγγy cn γγγyy*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 62.

<sup>3</sup> See *BSOS.*, xi, 216, n. 6.

that it increases lust, sixthly that he (= he who eats meat) becomes evil-mouthed, seventhly that 'w ws'n wdbrahm bwyd it (or : he) scandalizes many people, eighthly that the purification of the Pious Gifts is neglected, ninthly that the poor are left without alms, etc."

The last-quoted passage leads up to the moral aspect of *brahm* which sometimes can be rendered by "correct behaviour, propriety" or even "morals". We find it associated with *xrad*, here presumably = "admonition, counsel" (as, e.g., Armenian *xrat*). Thus in M 210<sup>1</sup>: [*b*]'rygyc xrd 'wd brhm 'y 'w. ywjd'r'n<sup>sc</sup> 'wd 'spwrg'r'n prmwud 'styd<sup>sc</sup> o mn pdyš swst 'wd qmbgyh<sup>sc</sup> nyzwr 'wd m'ndg hym "And also the other injunctions and morals that are prescribed to the Pure and Perfecters (i.e. the Manichæan monks)—in them I am negligent and deficient, weak and remiss". Similarly in M 174 (*Man. Dogm.*, 555) *pd hrwysp xrd 'wd brhm 'yg 'rd'yh* "through all injunctions and morals of Righteousness (i.e. the Manichæan community), the five good commandments of Piety and the three noble Seals, etc."

It is well known that the Chinese *Traité Manichéen* was translated from a Parthian original of which a number of small fragments are preserved. They are invaluable for determining the meaning of difficult Parthian words, but unfortunately still unpublished. Happily *brahm* occurs in one of the fragments, M 349 V 1, *š'x brhm nazšag* "the branch (of the third good tree) is *brahm nazšag*". This corresponds to Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 66 [562], lines 11-12, "*ses branches, les règles imposantes.*" The Chinese term, 威儀, acc. to Chavannes and Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, n. 2, *existe dans le bouddhisme, où il désigne les rites, le karman ou kar-mavacana*. But if we take the Chinese characters separately, we would have *nazšag* = 威 "majestic, overawing, imposing", and *brahm* = 儀 "righteous and proper demeanour, deportment, politeness, ceremony, usages" (Karlsgren). Hence, *brahm nazšag* = "impressive demeanour",

<sup>1</sup> This text was hardly written before the tenth century, cf. *BBB.*, p. 14.

or "awe-inspiring ceremony". It seems that *brahm* refers to dignified behaviour (as suited to ceremonial acts) rather than to the actual rituals.

However, while in the case of *brahm* the Chinese equivalent covers the meaning of the Parthian word, the same cannot be said of *naxšag*. In choosing the Buddhist term the translator did justice to *brahm* and probably also to the meaning of the whole phrase, but was forced to neglect *naxšag*. For elsewhere *naxšag* corresponds to English "nice" (in its colloquial sense) and sometimes approaches "auspicious". Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, b 199 (p. 859) ". . . he comes to you full of love, so you too should receive him as you would your own son, and train him well (*naxšag*) in the art of writing, etc." M 177 V 4 (*HR.*, ii, 89) 'w xyybr' "wsyg w'x[t] kw z[n'm kw] d'r'wpxhr bwg wynd'd 'h'd cym nys'n naxšg d'yd "he said to X.A.: I know that D. has obtained redemption, for I have seen an auspicious sign". M 248 R 1 + M 520 V 4, *bwy wš naxšg* "delightful spices". M 98/9 ii 28a, *jm'n nyw naxšg* "the hour is very auspicious". Curious is the chapter heading in M 267b V i 3-4, *šhr pđ pnj 'yr naxšg 'štyd* "the world is *naxšag* = commendably well arranged in five points", where the chapter itself begins in this way: *byd w'xtg kw šhr pđ pnj 'yr pđ brhm naxšg 'štyd* "And again he said: The world is well arranged in five points as regards behaviour (*brahm*)". Further on, *pđ pnj 'yr dwšfryft u n's 'w šhr "synd 'yw kw xwd'y 'wt s'r[d'r] bzqr bwynd 'wt 'w d'd 'byd'd grynd* "in five points unhappiness and ruin reach the world, firstly that lords and chieftains become sinners and pervert the law". In view of the evidence for *naxšag* we may conclude that the Parthian author understood *brahm naxšag* to mean "nicety of ceremony, or demeanour".

As result of this inquiry we may say that MPers., Parthian, and Pahlavi *brahm* is appearance or form or style in general, especially of persons, be it the outward appearance (whence "form, gracefulness; fashion, costume, dress") or the style of behaviour (whence "demeanour, propriety, ceremony").

It is a high-toned and slightly pompous word. The texts where it is found belong to the period from the third to the tenth century.

It will be readily seen that the meaning thus established for Middle Iranian *brahm* fits also Old Persian *brazman-* in *artācā brazmaniya* (see above, p. 108), "I worshipped Ahuramazdā behaving (*or* : acting) in the proper ceremonial style in accord with Rta (the eternal Law that dominates the world and all its institutions)," or simply "I worshipped Ahuramazdā in proper style".

There is no doubt that Old Iranian *brazman-* is the perfect equivalent of Indian *brāhman-* phonetically. But their meanings, too, agree closely. In India the word was narrowed to "the ceremonial behaviour and acts of priests at sacrifices", or briefly "rite"; it was further restricted to "the recitations that accompanied and formed part of ritual acts", whence "sacred texts". It will be noticed that Indianists often rendered *brāhman-* with "rites"; even Roth's "*Andacht*", i.e. the mental attitude in which the believer approaches the divinity, is not far removed from "the correct ceremonial behaviour". If we look at the numerous R̥gveda passages for which Charpentier gave "*Zauber, Zauberhandlung, Zauberritus*" (pp. 85 sqq.), all we have to do to arrive at the correct meaning is to remove the superfluous word "*Zauber-*" which after all merely puts a somewhat unjustified valuation on the religion of the Ancient Indians. The priest *brahmán-* is a person who is versed in *brāhman-* = ceremonies and rites, cf. Charpentier, p. 9.

The study of the meaning of *brāhman-* has been greatly confused by dragging in Av. *barəsmān-* "Barsom-twigs" and the words allied to it. This entailed (1) the ill-founded assumption that *brāhman-* was evolved by metathesis from an earlier Indian *\*barhman-* (Wackernagel, i, 213; Charpentier, 60), and (2) a truly phantastic scheme of semantic development, from "bunch of grass or twigs, grass strewn to serve as seat, etc.", to the actual meaning of *brāhman-*. It is obvious

that this derivation cannot be maintained in view of the presence in Iranian, too, of a word that in meaning and form is identical with *bráhma-*, and which existed side by side with OIr. *barzman-* (Av. *barəsmā-*). Evidently we have before us two different stems, which are distinguished by their meaning and by the position of the guṇa-vowel<sup>1</sup>:—

(A) form, style, ceremony, rites.

Skt. *bráhma-*, weak stem *bḥhaspáti-*.

OPers. *brazman-*, MPers. Pahl. Parth. *brahm*, Pahl. *brahmak*.

(B) bundle of twigs, bed of grass, pillow.

Skt. *barhís-*, *upabárhana*, etc.

Av. *barəziš-*, Pers. *bāliš*,<sup>2</sup> Oss. *baz*, etc.

OPers. *barzman-* (in *brzmdn'* in an Aramaic inscr.), Av. *barəsmā-*, Pahl. *barsom*, Arm. lw. *barsmunk'*, Syr. lw. *bursmā*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

OIr. *\*barzn-* (and *\*brzanaka-*) in dialects, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, i, 241; ii, 260. OIr. *\*barzaina-* in Pers. *bālin*.<sup>4</sup>

Armenian *barj*.

There is little hope of discovering the ultimate origin of *bráhma-/brazman-*. In view of the meaning "form, style, etc." which I have tried to establish in this article, it may be of interest to point to the combination with Latin *forma* which is due to Osthoff (*BB*, 24, 113 sqq., especially 132 sq.; cf. Charpentier, 7 sq.). A suitable verbal root can perhaps be found in Sogdian Chr. *'mbrz br-*, *'brz br-* (*S.T.*, i, 24<sup>11</sup>, 30<sup>12</sup>, 31<sup>11</sup>) = *ἐπισκέπτομαι*, Syr. *s'ar*, in Manichæan script *'nβrz βr-* (M 1207, 11 = T i a), and Buddh. *'nβ'rzkr'k*,

<sup>1</sup> Only the more important forms are given here.

<sup>2</sup> The *-n* of Pahl. *bālišā* is due to wrong analogy and merely inverse spelling; differently Horn, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.*, i, B, 183.—Here also Bal. *barzī* acc. to Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, 41.

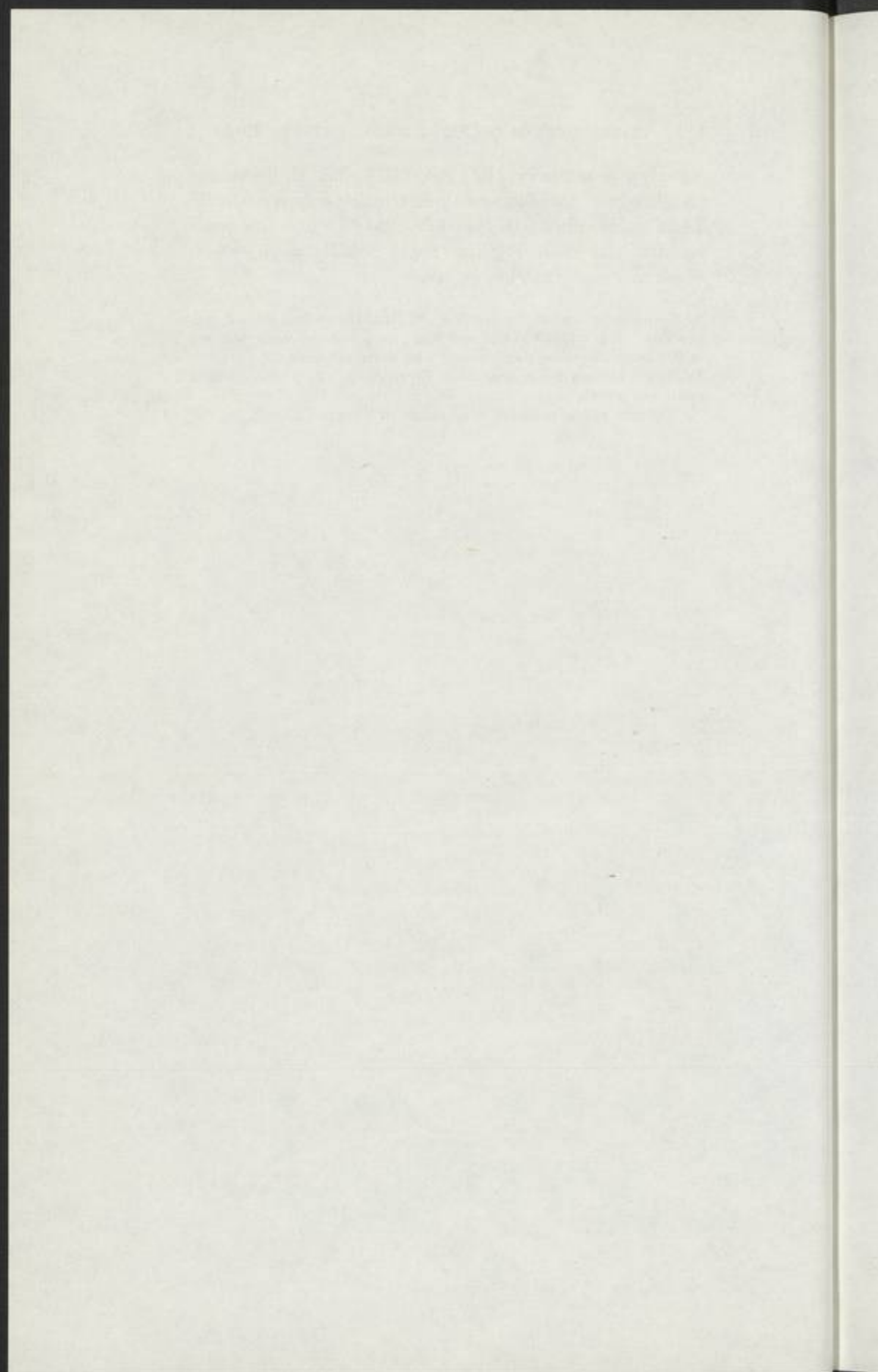
<sup>3</sup> P. Thieme, *ZDMG.*, 92, 50 sqq., explains Skt. *barsva* as a prakrit form of this Iranian word.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *brzyn* in Parthian, see *Sogdica*, p. 41.

'nβ'rzkr'y = anβ<sup>o</sup>rzkrē (VJ., 254, 1337) which M. Benveniste translated as "introduceur au palais, maître des cérémonies".<sup>1</sup> These words reflect OIr. \*ham-brza- and \*ā-brza-. One could mention also Man. Sogdian 'βzn-,<sup>2</sup> possibly = χειρονομία, which may continue OIr. \*brzna-.

<sup>1</sup> Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ii, 105. The spelling amβarž, etc., is wrong. -z- is attested in Chr. and Man., -z- and -ž- are never confused in Sogdian. Therefore, amβ<sup>o</sup>rz cannot be connected with Av. barəg- or Av. barəg-, nor can OPers. brazman-. Herzfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 118, confuses velars and prepalatals.

<sup>2</sup> The text will be published in an article on "Sogdian Tales".





## The Manichæan Fasts

(PLATE XIV)

IN an excursus to his article on "The Early Sasanians" in *BSOAS.*, xi, 42 sqq., S. H. Taqizadeh has given a full and illuminating discussion of the Manichæan two-day fasts which preceded the feast of the *Bema*. All hitherto known about these fasts is contained in a passage in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 333, 28-334, 1, which runs as follows:—

As regards the fasting—

- (1) when the sun is in Sagittarius and the moon is full, they fast two days without break,
- (2) then when the New Light appears, they fast two days without break,
- (3) after this, they fast two days when the moon is full (and the sun is) in Capricornus,
- (4) then when the New Light appears and the sun is in Aquarius and eight days have passed of the (lunar) month, they fast for thirty days, but break the fast each day at nightfall.

It seems to me that this information can be supplemented and (in part) corrected with the help of Sogdian Manichæan calendar tables published here for the first time. They had been referred to before by F. W. K. Müller (in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1907, 465) and by myself (in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95) for the purpose of establishing the correct forms of the names of the Sogdian days and months.

The Sogdian calendar lists, after giving details for each year (eras, "basic numbers" of sun and moon, first weekdays), contain lists of the New Moons<sup>1</sup> (fixed by the Sogdian month and day, the weekday, the hour of day or night, and sometimes the *ratus*<sup>2</sup> of the hour) and, at the end, lists of *five* groups of two days. Although this second list is not fully preserved in any of our manuscripts, there can be little doubt that it constitutes a register of the Manichæan two-day fasts.

This is shown by the intervals between the various groups of two days. Disregarding the fifth group of two days we find that

<sup>1</sup> Thus (rather than New Light) according to S. H. Taqizadeh. The Sogdian word ("New God") could refer to either.

<sup>2</sup> *ratu* = 10 seconds.

the intervals are (a) 16, (b) 14, (c) 23 days in MS. No. 1, and (a) 16, (b) 13, (c) 24 days in MS. No. 2. They correspond precisely with the intervals between the fasts as given in the *K. al-Fihrist*, viz. (a) between full moon and new light, (b) between new light and full moon, (c) between full moon and new light plus eight days. Since the lists of the groups of two days are accompanied by lists of the new moons (or new lights) for the whole year, it is easy to see that the first two-day group coincided with a full moon, the second with a new light (or new moon), etc.

However, the calendar lists have a *fifth* fast which fell twenty-six days after the fourth (and last) fast of the *K. al-Fihrist*, and therefore within the Manichæan fast-month. It seems to me that this interval represents the twenty-six days of Mani's suffering in prison before his death (*Homilies*, 60, 11; *Psalm-book*, 16, 25; 43, 30). The fifth fast thus commemorates Mani's death; it fell on the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month. On the third day after it (*Psalm-book*, 41, 18, cf. Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 49 sq.), hence on the 30th day of the fast-month, the feast of the *Bema* was celebrated.

It is apparent that Ibn an-Nadīm has omitted to mention that within the fast-month there were two two-day fasts (respectively on the 1st and 2nd, and the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month) on which the fasting was uninterrupted. On the remaining days of the fast-month the *Auditores* had to observe the rule obligatory for the *Electi* during the whole of their lives, viz. they were allowed only one meal, at nightfall.

A further point the Sogdian calendar lists may help to settle concerns the *yiti yimki* "Seven Yimki" of the Turkish Khwastwanift. It seems that the *seven* Yimki were identical with the *five* two-day fasts, or, at least, were distributed over the five fasts in some way we can hardly hope to determine with accuracy. In one of the unfortunately badly preserved Sogdian manuscripts, No. 2, *yymkyy* seems to occur as the name of one of the fasts (but the reading is uncertain). In another MS., No. 5, the "Mār Sisin Yimki" is referred to, and it is stated that it took place on *two days* and coincided with a *new light*. One is thus led to assume that "Mār Sisin Yimki" was the name of the second fast (the only one to coincide with a new light).

The word *yimki* may mean "prayer", especially "prayer of intercession" (see *BBB.*, p. 139b, and below, text No. 7). The fasts may have been held in commemoration of martyrs on whose

behalf prayers of intercession were delivered. The first fast was devoted to the memory of the *Primus Homo* (the greatest martyr of world history, from the Manichæan point of view), see text No. 4; the second to Mār Sisin, Mani's martyred successor; the fifth and last, representing the anniversary of Mani's death, surely to Mani. Of the remaining two fasts, the third or fourth probably commemorated the martyrdom of the three presbyters who followed Mār Sisin into death (*Homilies*, 83, 7 sq.; *üč maχistak olurmaq*, *Thomsen-Festschrift*, 147, see *ZDMG.*, 90, 15, n. 1): this may have counted as *three yimkis* (the excess of the *seven yimkis* over the *five* fasts could thus be accounted for).

According to the *K. al-Fihrist* the fasts were fixed by the phases of the moon and the position of the sun in the ecliptic. However, it is far more likely that the early Manichæans determined the dates solely by reference to the Babylonian calendar. Only the Persian Manichæans, being not well acquainted with the Babylonian calendar, may have introduced Luni-solar definitions. Originally, therefore, the first day of the fourth fast, coinciding with the first day of the fast-month and commemorating Mani's imprisonment, was fixed on the 8th day of Šabāṭ (translated as "8th Emshir", *Homilies*, 60, 11). The fifth fast, on the 27th and 28th of the fast-month (= Mani's death), fell always on the 4th (and 5th) of Ādār, while the feast of the Bema took place on the 7th of Ādār (the 30th day of the fast-month).

His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh to whom I submitted this article before publication, very kindly consented to contribute a number of notes on the chronological problems to which these<sup>1</sup> fragments give rise; they will be found at the end of this article.

#### No. 1

M 148. Two small pieces forming one page which is damaged at the bottom and at the outside margins. No whole lines are missing. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. Above the names of the months there are numerals written with coloured ink (to indicate, according to

<sup>1</sup> Similar tables existed also in Uyyur Turkish. Two fragments were published by G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, Nos. 8 and 9 (see also my notes *apud* Rachmati, p. 61). The dates are fixed by reference to the Sogdian and the Chinese calendars: this makes the tables somewhat confused. They cannot be understood without the help of the Sogdian MSS.

S. H. Taqizadeh, the first weekdays of the months); in the transliteration they are given *after* the names of the months.<sup>1</sup>

## Recto

- (1) 'wd iii pnjwg oo nwgwrc iii šmbyd oo xwmn'h [
- (2) n'wsrđyc iii bynwy o "bwx rweyy o pncšmbyd myđyh o
- (3) xwrjnyc v bynwy o "bwx rweyy o šmbyd 'xšpy'h o .[
- (4) nysnyc vii bynwy o "š rwc[yy o 'yw]šmbyd myđyh .[
- (5) [ps'kyc ii b]y[ynwy o "š rweyy o iii]š[mbyd 'x]šp[y'h o
- (6) (š)[n'](xnt)yc [iv] bynwy [o šš]cyy r[wecyy o i]iii [šm]byd  
m[yđyh
- (7) γz'n'nc vi bynwy o ššcyy rwc[yy o "đy]n'h 'xšpy'[h o
- (8) bγk'nc i bynwy o mrt't rweyy o šmbyd myđyh pnc[myk  
'jmny'h o ]
- (9) "b'nc iii bynwy o mrt't rweyy o ii šmbyd 'xšpy'[h o
- (10) bwγyc v bynwy o 'rt't rweyy o iii šmbyd myđyh o [
- (11) myšbwγyc vii by[nwyo ](rt)['t] rwc[yy o p]ncšmbyd [d 'xšpy'h
- (12) jymtyc ii by[ynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o "đyn'h myđyh o
- (13) (')xšwmy(c) [iv bynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o 'ywšmbyd 'xšpy'h o

## Verso

- (14) ]. rweyy o ii šmbyd myđyh o vi-myk 'jmny'h
- (15) (*col. ink*) ]h srđyh
- (16) ]xyh o frwrt 'tyh wšγ[n]h rweyy o iišmbyd iišmbyd
- (17) ]h o spnd'rmd ['tyh 'rt't] rweyy o iiii 'ty pncšmbyd
- (18) ](frwrt) ['tyh w](šγ)[n]h rweyy o iiii 'ty pncšmbyd]
- (19) ]h o m'x ['ty]h [tyš rw]cy[y o "š]yn'h 'ty šm[by](d)
- (20) ]h o dyšcyy 'ty[h "šrw]cyy o iiii šmbyd pncšmbyd
- (21) ] (*blank*) ccccxiii<sup>2</sup>
- (22) ] 'wd viiii 'y yzdgyrd o cclclxxx 'wd viii
- (23) ](y)d<sup>3</sup> tswg o 'wd h'n 'yg m'h xx 'wd
- (24) ](mb)yd<sup>4</sup> oo xw[mn'](h) . . .<sup>5</sup> š(y)r(w)(c) [ ]<sup>6</sup>
- (25) cc]lxxxviii rtw
- (26) cclxxx]viii r(tw)

## Translation

- (1) and three-fifths.<sup>7</sup> Nōgrōč on Tuesday, Xumna<sup>8</sup> [

<sup>1</sup> Handwriting of the later Manichean type.—[restored], (doubtful) or (damaged) letters, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Written in another hand.      <sup>3</sup> Restore: [x + bionmrg 'yg xwrxš]yd ?

<sup>4</sup> Restore: [x pnjwg o nwgwrc iiii š]mbyd ?      <sup>5</sup> Possibly (rwc).

<sup>6</sup> Read and restore: (m)š(y)r(w)c [pncšmbyd] ?

<sup>7</sup> End of the "bunmarag" (basic number ?) of the moon.

<sup>8</sup> Name of the second day of each Sogdian month.

	The "New God" of Sogd. month	(first wkday.)	on Sogd. day	wkday.	daytime	hour
(2)	i	Tu.	10	Th.	day	
(3)	ii	Th.	10	Sat.	night	
(4)	iii	Sat.	9	Sun.	day	
(5)	iv	Mon.	9	Tu.	night	
(6)	v	Wed.	8	Wed.	day	
(7)	vi	Fr.	8	Fr.	night	
(8)	vii	Sun.	7	Sat.	day	5th
(9)	viii	Tu.	7	Mon.	night	
(10)	ix	Th.	6	Tu.	day	
(11)	x	Sat.	6	Th.	night	
(12)	xi	Mon.	5	Fr.	day	
(13)	xii	Wed.	5	Sun.	night	
(14)	[Epagomenae]	—	[4]	Mon.	day	6th
(15)	[The <i>yimki</i> fasts are in this] year					
	No.	Sogd. month	Sogd. days	= weekdays		
(16)	[1]	[9] <sup>1</sup>	19 and 20	Mon. and Tu.		
(17)	[2]	[10]	5 and 6	Wed. and Th.		
(18)	[3]	[10]	19 and 20	[Wed. and Th.]		
(19)	[4]	[11]	12 and [13]	Fr. and Sat.		
(20)	[5]	[12]	8 and [9]	Wed. and Th.		
(21)	] 413 <sup>2</sup>					
(22)	] and nine of Yezdegerd, 388 <sup>3</sup>					
(23)	] a quarter. <sup>4</sup> And that <sup>5</sup> of the moon twenty and					
(24)	] . . . <sup>6</sup> . Xumna-roč (and) Miši-roč [are Thursdays ?] <sup>7</sup>					
(25)				] [2]88 <i>ratus</i> <sup>8</sup>		
(26)				] [2]88 <i>ratus</i>		

<sup>1</sup> The months (whose names are not preserved in the MS.) are found by calculation.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the preamble to the description of the year which followed the year dealt with in lines 1-20. The purport of the number 413 which was written by a different scribe is not clear. It may refer to an era (era of *Šād-Ormizd*?).

<sup>3</sup> I thought at first that this number represented the *bunmarag* of the sun, but it could hardly precede the words *bunmarag 'yg xwrxšyd* for which space is available only at the beginning of line 23. One thus has to assume that 388 is the year of an era whose name unfortunately is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Restore: [name of an era + the basic number of the sun is].

<sup>5</sup> = *bunmarag*.

<sup>6</sup> Restore: [several fifths. *Nōgrōč* on Wednes]day.

<sup>7</sup> Restoration doubtful. *Miši-rōč* (reading very uncertain), the sixteenth day, would be the same weekday as *Xumna-rōč*. The purpose of giving the weekdays of the second and sixteenth days of the year is not clear. It should have sufficed to give the weekday of the first day (*Nōgrōč*). But those days may have been feastdays.

<sup>8</sup> Here began the list of the "New Gods" for the year described in lines 21-4. The possible numbers of *ratus* are 00, 72, 144, 216, and 288; hence 88 should be restored to 288. The whole line could be restored as follows: [n'wšrδyc iv bygnwy o mnspsnd rꝑcyꝑ o iv šmbyd 'xšpy'h o vimyk 'jmnny'h cc]lxxxviii rtw = [The "New God" of month *Nausarōč*, the first day of which is a Wednesday, on the day of *Manspand* = 29th day, a Wednesday, in the sixth hour of the night,] after 288 *ratus* (on the 28th, 11.48 p.m.). From this the number of *ratus* could easily be

## No. 2

T ii D 66 (a). Badly damaged book-leaf. Little can be read on the *recto* page. Handwriting of the later Manichæan type. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. No whole lines are missing.

*Recto* (Plate XIV)

- (1) ] (*weak traces*)  
 (2) ] jmny['] . . . . .  
 (3) (*left blank*)  
 (4) ]y oo oo oo  
 (5) "]p['n](z) [m'xyy oo](z)[mw](x)[tw](y) ['tyy mn](s)[p](n)d  
 (r)[w](cyy) [oo iv](pnz)[šmb]šyy  
 (6) βwγc m'xyy [oo] γwš ['tyy] δy(š)[cy rwcyy oo "δyng 'tyy  
 šm](bδ)[yy]  
 (7) ](y) oo [βwγc m'xyy oo (sm'n) 'tyy (zm)wx(tw)γ r[wcyy oo  
 "δyng 'tyy (š)[mbδyy]  
 (8) [*about* 8 + ]yy(mk)[yy oo myš]βwγc [m'x](yy) oo (r'm) ('tyy)  
 [w']t r[wc](yy) [oo] i 'tyy ii šmb[šyy]  
 (9) [*about* 6 + yym](ky)y oo jyntyx m'x[yy oo] srwš 'tyy [ršn  
 rwcyy oo ]'δyng 'tyy šmbδyy  
 (10-12) (*left blank*)

*Verso*

- (13) γ'w srδ . . . . [*about* 15 + yz]dygy[rd  
 (14) bwnmrg 'y m'h .[. . . . . pn]]][w]g'n oo n[wgrwc "δyng  
 (15) n'wsrδyc βγnwyy oo "[š δy]šc[yy rwcyy] oo (')['δyn]g xš[p' oo  
 (16) xwrjnyx βγnwyy oo (mrt't) rwcyy oo š[mbδ] m[yδyy oo  
 ](št)myk [jmny' oo  
 (17) nys[nyc] (βγ)[nwyy] oo (mrt)['t rwcyy]oo ii šmbδ xšp[' o]o  
 ('štm)[yk jmny' oo  
 (18) [p]s(')[kyc βγnwyy oo 'rt]'t rwcyy oo iii š[mb]δ myδyy oo  
 'št[myk jmny' oo  
 (19) [šn'xntyc] βγnwyy oo 'r(t)]['t]rwcyy oo pnž šmbδ xšp' oo  
 'štmyk jmny']  
 (20) (x)[z'n]'nc βγ[nwyy] oo sp[nd]'rmt rwcyy oo "δ[yn]g myδyy oo  
 'š[tmy]k [j]mny[' oo  
 (21) βγk'nc βγnwyy oo [spnd'rm](t) [rw]cyy oo i šmbδ xšp' oo  
 ix-myk [j]mny'

restored in the table on the *recto* page, e.g. in line 8 it should be "fifth hour 72 *ratus* (passed)". A slight difficulty is provided by the absence of a number of *ratus* at the end of line 14. One would expect: 144 *ratus*. There are two possibilities: either the number was put at the beginning of line 15 (contrary to the scribe's normal procedure), or the year dealt with in lines 21 sqq. is not the year which followed the year described in lines 1-20.

- (22) "p'nc βγnwyy oo xš(yw)[r rw](c)[yy] oo ii šmb[δ my]δyy oo  
ix-myk jmn(y')[ oo  
(23) βwyc βγnwyy oo xšywr rwcyo oo iv[šmb](δ) xšp' oo ix-myk  
jmn(y') [oo] (ii)[cxxxx]xx(xx)vii[i r](tw xr)[tyh]  
(24) myšβwyc βγnwyy oo 'rt'wxwšt rwcyo oo pnžšmbδ my[δyy] oo  
ix-myk (j)[mny' oo i]i(c)[xxxxxxxxviii rtw xr](ty)h

*Translation*

- (1-2) (end of a list of the "New Gods").  
(4) [The *yimki* fasts in this year]
- | (5) | No. | Sogd. month | Sogd. days  | = weekdays                  |
|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (5) | [1] | 8           | 28 and 29   | [Wed.] and Th.              |
| (6) | [2] | [9]         | 14 and 15   | [Fr. and Sat.]              |
| (7) | [3] | [9]         | 27 and 28   | [Fr. and Sat.] <sup>1</sup> |
| (8) | 4   | 10          | 21 and 22   | Sun. and Mon.               |
| (9) | 5   | 11          | 17 and [18] | Fr. and Sat.                |
- (10-12) (Left blank)  
(13) Cow year<sup>2</sup> . . . . . of Yezdegerd . . . .  
(14) The basic number of the moon is . . . . fiths, Nōgrōc is [Friday . . .  
The "New God" of                      on  
Sogd. month                      Sogd day = wkday.    daytime    hour    *ratus*<sup>3</sup>
- |      |      |     |       |       |       |           |
|------|------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----------|
| (15) | i    | 8   | [Fr.] | night | [8th] | [72]      |
| (16) | ii   | 7   | Sat.  | day   | 8th   | [72]      |
| (17) | iii  | 7   | Mon.  | night | 8th   | [216]     |
| (18) | iv   | 6   | Tu.   | day   | 8th   | [216]     |
| (19) | [v]  | 6   | Th.   | night | [8]   | [o'clock] |
| (20) | vi   | 5   | Fr.   | day   | 8     | [o'clock] |
| (21) | vii  | [5] | Sun.  | night | 9th   | [144]     |
| (22) | viii | 4   | Mon.  | day   | 9th   | [144]     |
| (23) | ix   | 4   | Wed.  | night | 9th   | 288       |
| (24) | x    | 3   | Th.   | day   | 9th   | 2[88]     |

No. 3

M 147. Nearly completely preserved book-leaf. Handwriting of the late Manichean type. Text not written in form of a table.

<sup>1</sup> No other restoration seems to fit the existing traces. I am assuming that the author of these tables made a slight mistake in calculating. He ought to have written: "Thursday and Friday."

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the treatment of the year which followed immediately upon the year dealt with in lines 1-9. This is confirmed by the dates given for the lunar phases. For example, in the first year the New Light fell on the 14th or 15th of the 9th month (line 6), while in the second year it fell on the 4th of the ninth month (line 23). This is the correct interval for successive years.

<sup>3</sup> The number of *ratus* is preserved only for the 9th and 10th months, but can be found by calculation for the other months. See above, p. 150, n. 8. The lunations are 29 d. 12 h. 144 *ratus* (= 24 min.) and 29 d. 12 h. in strict alternation. "9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means 8.48. "Wednesday night" is the night before Wednesday. Hence "Wednesday night 9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means: Wednesday, 2.48 a.m. Note that "eighth hour" (without *ratus*) means the full hour = 8 o'clock.

*Recto* (1) βγγγ nwyw xwr rwcyyh i (2) šmbδyy pr myδδ 'tyh (3) (')ftmcyk jmn'y cc (4) lxxxviii rtww xrtyh (5) oo oo šn'xntyc m'x (6) nwyw xwr rwcyy iii šmbδyy (7) 'xšpy' δβtyk jmn'yh (8) lxxii rtww xrtyh oo oo (9) xz'n'nc βγγγ nwyw "pwx (10) rwcyy iv šmbδyy pr my[δδ] (11) δβtyk jmn'y lxxii (12) rtww xrtyh oo oo (13) βγk'nc m'x nwyw "pwx (14) rwcyy "dyn' 'xšpy'h (15) [δ](βt)[yk] (j)mny' cex[vi] (16) [rtww xrtyh]h oo oo (17) ["p'n](c) m'x nwyw "š (18) [rwcyy] (š)mbδyy pr myδδ (19) [t](y)h δβtyq jmn'yh (*Verso*) (20) ccxvi rtww xrtyh (21) oo βwyc (22) m'x nwyw "š rwcyyh (23) ii šmbδyy 'xšpy'h (24) 'tyh δβtyk jmn'yh (25) oo oo myšβwyc (26) m'x nwyw "š δšcyh (27) (r)wcyw iii šmbδyh (28) [p](r) myδδ δβtyk jmn'y' (29) oo oo jymtyc (30) βγγγ nwyw "š δšcyh (31) rwcyy pncšmbδyh (32) 'xšpy' o štyk jmn'yh (33) cxxxxiiii rtww xrtyh (34) oo oo xšw[myc] (35) βγγγnwyw mrt'[t rwcyy] (36) "dyn' pr myδδ [štyk] (37) jmn'y' cxxxxii[rtww] (38) xrtyh oo oo

## Translation

The "New God" <sup>1</sup> of	is on				ratus
Sogd. month	Sogd. day = wkday.	daytime	hour	passed	
[iv]	11	Sun.	day	1st	288
v	11	Tu.	night	2nd	72
vi	10	Wed.	day	2nd	72
vii	10	Fr.	night	2nd	216
viii	9	Sat.	day	2nd	216
ix	9	Mon.	night	2	o'clock
x	8	Tu.	day	2	o'clock
xi	8	Th.	night	3rd	144
xii	7	Fr. <sup>2</sup>	day	3rd	144

## No. 4

M 796. Heavily damaged double book-leaf. The lower half of the leaf published here is missing. The other leaf (not given here) contains the fragment of an astronomical treatise (on lunar and solar years). Handwriting of the older Manichæan type. Text not written in form of a table.

*Recto* (1) [iii] šmbδyy pr m[yδδ] (2) [oo] oo "p'ncm[']xyy (3) [βγγγ] nwyw xwmn' rwc (4) [pnc] šmbδyy xšp'<sup>sic</sup> (5) oo oo βwyc m'xy (6) βγγγ nwyw x(wr)[m](z)[t]' rw(c) (7) "dyng pr m[yδδ oo oo] (8) myš(β)[wyc m'xyy] (*six lines missing*)

*Verso* (9) [βγγγ] nwyw mnspond (r)[wc] (10) (p)[n]c šmbδyy pr

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has βγγγ nwyw "New God" four times, and m'x nwyw "New Moon" five times.

<sup>2</sup> "dyn', "dyn'h, also spelt (historically) "dyng, is borrowed from Persian (or late Middle Persian) as are the other names of the weekdays. Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 198 [174] sqq., *BBB.*, 85 sq. The use by Manichæans of a form corresponding with Persian *âdîne* does not favour the view that *âdîne* was a purely Muslimic term. More likely it was pre-Muslimic.



[myδδ] (11) oo oo xyδ γ'w (s)[rδyy] (12) xwrmzt' βγ[yy ymkyy ?]  
 (13) βwγc m'xyy (γ)[w](š) 'ty (14) δšc[yy rw]c pnc šmbδy (15) [ 'ty  
 "δyng oo oo (16) [mrysystn ? ym](kyy) myš

Translation <sup>1</sup>

The "New God" of Sogd. month	is on Sogd. day = wkday.	daytime
[vii]	[2] Tu.	day
viii	2 Th.	night
ix	1 Fr.	day
x	[1] [Sun.]	[night]
[second in x]	[30] [Mon.]	[day]
[xi]	[30] [Wed.]	[night]
[xii]	29 Th.	day

In this Cow year the [Yimki] of God Khurmazda is in the month of βōγc on the days of γōš and δišci (= 14. and 15.9.), respectively a Thursday and a Friday. [The Yimki of Mar Sisin is in the month of] Miš[βōγc, . . . ]<sup>2</sup>

No. 5

M 197. Fragment of a double-leaf. Older Manichæan handwriting. One folio (not given here) contains Middle Persian hymns of no interest. The other folio contains a liturgical text. Of the *recto* page only inconsiderable traces remain; several beginnings of Persian and Parthian hymns are cited (cf. the texts *c* and *d* published in *BBB.*, 45 sqq.); it is not worth while to print them. Only the text of the *verso* page is given here.

(1) jyy pty'm(s)[t̄ o] (2) c'(nw) βγγy nwy šq(r)[tyy ?] (3) wβ't̄ o  
 pr myhr m'x jm[nw] (4) mrysystn ymqyy βwt̄ o (5) 'ty fr'kcyyny  
 c'nw n'f (6) ['](n)wznd o 'ft̄my<sup>stc</sup> n'(fs)'r (7) ršt̄(')[w](c)'ry[y  
 '](t̄)[y . . . ]ny<sup>3</sup> (8) 'qt̄(yy) γwt̄ o 'tym[s] δynny (9) mzyx  
 [b]wtyšt̄(y)[y '](t̄)[y]h (10) [p]š'[bwt̄tyy (11) p . . [ (12) ]srδnng

Translation

. . . . is finished. When the "New God" is accomplished (??), on Sunday and Monday, the Mār Sisin Yimki takes place. In the morning when the people assemble, it is necessary to comfort and . . . the people in the beginning. Also, the great Buddhas (= apostles) of the Church, and the "after-Buddhas" . . . . the chief. . . .

<sup>1</sup> With restorations (in square brackets) for the missing portion of the table.

<sup>2</sup> The text presumably continued: "on the first and second days, a Sunday and a Monday." The interval between Full Moon and New Light is seventeen days here (sixteen in Nos. 1 and 2). Actually, the "New God" took place in the night following the 30th day of the 9th month.

<sup>3</sup> Restore: [nm]ny?

## No. 6

Caption in a collection of Parthian stories (M 44): j'yd'nyy m'hjmnwy' prβyrc[ = "to be told on Jaidan<sup>1</sup> Monday".

## No. 7

Two sentences from the Sogdian edition of the Manichæan Missionary History. A = TM 389a R 23 sqq., B = TM 389c 26 sqq. Sogdian writing. (A) rtpts'r ZK kβryγβ rm γypδty m(r)['zty pr] xiv sytyh pr ymkw ZY pr "βrywnh ['wšt't] rty pnt βy'r'k c'nkw ZY ZK 'yšw stty rt[y ZK] kβryγβ pt'yey 'yšw pr "βrywnh 'wšt'[t] rtšw w'nkw pt'yškwy "Thereupon, on the fourteenth,<sup>2</sup> Gabriab and his assistants stood in supplication and prayer. And near nightfall when Jesus (= moon) rose, Gabriab stood before Jesus in prayer and spoke thus to him . . .".

(B) rty ywnyδ ZK mr'tt' pr ymkw ZY "βrywnh 'wšt't rty kw βr'yšt'kw s'r pt'yškwy w'nkw ZY cymyδ wnyrš "z'nt βyr'n "And without delay Mār Adda stood in supplication and prayer, and spoke to the Apostle: how can I find the spell that will save me from this ? . . .".

In both these passages *ymkw* (here translated as "supplication") is apparently the accusative of *ymkyy* (= nominative and genitive-dative). Cf. also *y<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>* in Turkish runes (quoted *BBB.*, p. 139), and the *ymg'nyg rwc'n* "days of Yimki-prayers" in the fragment *S<sup>3</sup>* (cf. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 588).

## NOTES BY S. H. TAQIZADEH

Dr. Henning asked me to add some notes to his very interesting article about Sogdian fragments on the calendar, which, as it appears, are related to the Manichæan system. I readily agreed to comply

<sup>1</sup> Presumably = Uyyur "Jaidan" in the Khwastwanift, according to a suggestion made by me in *BBB.*, p. 9 = *Bema*. The Bema Monday was probably the Monday which was closest to the day of the Bema, preferably the Monday preceding Bema (Mani died on a Monday).

<sup>2</sup> Viz. of a Babylonian month, when the moon was full.

<sup>3</sup> Its table of contents may help in establishing the beneficiaries of the Yimki-prayers. After the Manichæan gospels we find mentioned texts relating to (1) Ohrmizd, (2) Mār Sīsin, (3) Jesus, (4) the community of the *Electi*. For the first two this agrees with the order of the fasts as established in this article. It is indeed likely that Jesus was included in the number of the great martyrs. If we assume that the "community of the *Electi*" has replaced the "Three Presbyters", we would gain the following order of the Yimki fasts: (1) *Primus Homo*, (2) Mār Sīsin, (3) Jesus, (4) Three Presbyters, (5) Mani (together seven Yimkis and five fasts).

with his wishes, although my contribution could hardly go beyond conjecture, especially in relation to the possible and sometimes probable dates of the different fragments. Apart from the question of the dates there are a few further points on which also I venture to advance an opinion, that is again only a conjecture.

I propose to take the fragments in the numerical order given to them by Dr. Henning and deal with each of them accordingly.

#### *The Dates*

(1) Fragment No. 1, of which the translation is given above on p. 150, can belong either to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 837 (206 of the era of Yazdegerd) or more probably to A.D. 984 (A.Y. 353). It would take us far afield to give here in detail the reasons for this conjecture. I can only say that the particulars given in the fragment, namely the weekday of New Year's Day, the position of the new moon in each of the Sogdian months and the position of the supposed *Yimki* fasts which ought to correspond to the middle (full moon) of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (or the middle of the eleventh Turco-Chinese month as we will see), the first day (New Light) of Kānūn II (or the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month), the middle (full moon) of the same Babylonian month (or the middle of the same twelfth Chinese month), the 8th day of the Babylonian Shabat (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 8th Adār I) and the 4th Adār (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 4th of Adār II) = 9th or 10th of the first and the 5th or 6th of the second of the Chinese months respectively, cannot fit in any year of the first four centuries of the Yazdegerdian era except in the two above-mentioned years (984 and 837). The same reason applies with more or less certainty to the dates proposed for the other fragments here below.

(2) The passage at the end of the same paragraph discussed above (1) is difficult to explain. It can hardly relate to the following year, which must be assumed if the passage was a continuation of the foregoing table, because the following year, according to our conjecture, must have been either 207 or 354 A.Y.; but neither of them is a number ending with 9. I am also unable to suggest any explanation as to either of the two numbers (413 and 388). Dr. Henning's conjecture with regard to the first number (413)—that it may refer to the era beginning with the year in which Shād Ōrmizd, the great Manichæan leader, died—though ingenious,

does not accord easily with the data obtained from "Mahnāmāg" where the 162nd year from the death of this prominent Manichæan leader is made to correspond with the 546th year of the birth of Mānī. This implies that the year of Shād Ōrmīzd's death began in A.D. 600, should Mānī's birth have occurred in A.D. 216, or in 601 if the founder of the religion was born in the early part of A.D. 217. Therefore the year A.D. 985 would be the 384th or 385th of the death of Shād Ōrmīzd. This last date is of course nearer to the second number in the fragment, i.e. 388. A mistake of three years in the calculation of the later composers of the tables for older times would not be surprising. We find similar mistakes in the Uygur Manichæan Calendar fragment (Rahmati No. 9) where the Yazdegerdi date 358 is given as a mouse year, which in fact must be 357, as the year A.Y. 358 was certainly a cow year.

(3) The first part of Fragment No. 2, if it is a list of the Manichæan *Yimki* fasts, might fit in the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 878 provided that the second part which follows it does not necessarily relate to the year immediately succeeding it, for the year 879 does not correspond to the cow year. But if the two years were consecutive, the only other possible conjecture would be to suppose that this first part (with *Yimki* table) relates to the Sogdian year beginning in the year A.D. 1000 (A.Y. 369). The latter year accords in all particulars, as (a) the year fits with the mouse year, while the succeeding year was a cow year, which began on the 23rd January, 1001 (A.Y. 370); but the fasts would then curiously fall one full month behind their usual position in the Babylonian months (this point will be discussed further below); (b) the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months in the following Sogdian year which began in A.D. 1001 conforms with those given in the table that follows the *Yimkis* (those of the cow year); (c) the New Year's Day of this latter Sogdian year was a Friday.

(4) Fragment No. 3 relates most probably to the Sogdian year corresponding to A.D. 931-2 (A.Y. 300). The reason for this judgment is similar to that explained in No. (1), though in the present case the equation of the new moon days and the weekdays is not a sufficient reason for the date suggested being necessarily exclusive.

(5) Fragment No. 4 relates almost certainly to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 929 (A.Y. 298), which also corresponded to a cow year of the duodenary animal cycle of the Chinese system, except for its last three months which fell in a tiger year. The

[*Yimki* of Ormizd] (the first fast) here corresponds nearly to the 14th of the Babylonian *Kānūn* I, or, more exactly, to the 14th day of the eleventh Chinese month.

(6) Fragment No. 5 can relate to the same year as Fragment No. 4 if the *Mār Sīsin Yimki* was really the second of the two-day fasts, which always corresponded to the New Light of the Babylonian *Kānūn* II or to the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month. This latter day was, in A.D. 930, a Sunday falling on the first day of the tenth Sogdian month (3rd January, A.D. 930).

If the suggested dates are correct all the tables in the fragments will be found to relate to a space of time equal to six Turkish duodenary cycles, i.e. seventy-two years (A.D. 929–1001).

#### *Miscellaneous*

Now here are a few supplementary notes relating to the different points involved in the question of the Manichæan fasts:—

(a) The dates of the "New God", or the beginning of the lunar month in the tables of Fragments Nos. 3 and 4 (according to the numerical order of Dr. Henning's article), correspond to the new moon rather than to the New Light, that is to say they do not correspond strictly to the first day of the Babylonian months, but they correspond exactly with the first day of the Chinese and Turkish months. The same is true of the dates of the *Yimkis* in different fragments, i.e. they do not correspond with the 14th and 15th day of the Babylonian *Kānūn* I, the first day of *Kānūn* II, the 14th or 15th day of the same month, the 8th of Shabat, and the 4th of *Adār*, as expected, but they are as a rule one or two days in advance (earlier), and hence they correspond exactly with the middle and the beginning, and again the middle and the 8th and the 4th day of the eleventh, twelfth, first, and second of the Chinese months respectively.

(b) The two consecutive dates suggested for the tables in Fragment No. 2 (the *Yimki* table and the new moon table) are, of all the years from the first down to the 370th year A.Y. (A.D. 632–1000) the only two consecutive years conforming to those conditions given in the tables, namely the places of the fasts in the year, the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months and the second year in the animal cycle (cow year).

(c) An interesting point is that the dates of the *Yimkis* (or Manichæan fasts) in different *Yimki* tables are not consistent, for

while the position of *Yimkis* in Fragments Nos. 1 and 4 (assuming that the dates suggested are correct) correspond quite nearly to the Babylonian dates of the fasts (i.e. the full moon or the 14th and 15th of Kānūn I, the 1st and 2nd of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month or full moon, the 8th and 9th of Shabat and the 3rd and 4th of Adār; or rather more exactly to the 14th and 15th of the eleventh, to the 1st and 2nd of the twelfth, to the 14th and 15th of the same, to the 8th and 9th of the first and to the 3rd and 4th of the second Chinese months), the dates of the *Yimkis* in Fragment No. 2 differ widely from these positions and are a whole month behind. They are in the middle of the tenth, the beginning and the middle of the eleventh, the 8th day of the twelfth and the 4th day of the first Chinese month. This peculiarity cannot be explained by supposing an earlier date for the table, e.g. some year in the second part of the ninth century (perhaps somewhere around A.D. 865), because although the position of the *Yimkis* alone might fit with such a date, the other particulars of the whole of this fragment, considered together, do not fit with any year except A.D. 1000, as stated above. If the data in Dr. Henning's hand be free of any doubt, the only possible, though perhaps not easily acceptable, explanation may be found in the following theory put forward just as a possibility:—

We may assume that the Manichæan community of Central Asia after some time, perhaps after the severance of their connection with Babylonia, the original centre of the religion, adopted, in the arrangement of their religious calendar, the Turco-Chinese system (the local calendar of their country) and substituted the Chinese months for the Babylonian.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the two calendars, which corresponded exactly to each other except in a very small divergence as to the beginning of the months, did not interfere much with the right time of the observance of religious duties. The divergence consisted in the Babylonian calendar having been based on the New Light for the beginning of the lunar months and the Chinese system being based on the New Moon. Therefore the difference was only one day, or sometimes two days. Otherwise, in spite of the difference in the place of the intercalary months in

<sup>1</sup> Was the difference of one day as to the beginning of fasts (*bāchāg*) between two parties of Bakhshis in the Mongol period attested by Nasir ad-dīn Tūsi (see my excursus in *BSOS.*, xi, 1, p. 48), a trace of a dispute between two Manichæan parties of whom one, the conservatives, kept to the orthodox Babylonian reckoning as regards the times of the fasts and the other used the Turco-Chinese reckoning?

the two calendars the correspondence of the months and the days was always complete. Thus the Manichæans of Central Asia may have arranged the times of their fasts instead of (1) two days in the middle of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (full moon), (2) two days in the beginning of Kānūn II, (3) two days in the middle of the same month, and (4) one month beginning on the 8th of Shabat and ending on the 8th of Adār (or in intercalary years with two Adārs beginning on the 8th of Adār I and ending on the 8th of Adār II), in the following order: (1) in the middle of the eleventh Chinese month, (2) in the beginning of the twelfth Chinese month, (3) in the middle of the same month, (4) 30 days (or 29) beginning on the 8th day of the first Chinese month (quarter moon). The last two fasts of two days each fell therefore in the beginning and 26th-27th of the fast month (i.e. on the 8th and the 9th of the first Chinese month and on the 4th and 5th of the second Chinese month, the Bema coming on the 8th day of the latter). As stated above, the two series of dates (Babylonian and Chinese) corresponded always with each other except in a difference of one or two days due to the difference of the times of the phases of the new moon and the New Light, the Chinese date being by so much earlier than the Babylonian. Now the implication of the above-mentioned advance of thirty days of the *Yimkis* in A.D. 1000, as compared with their usual position in the year (if their position is given correctly by the author of the fragment and is not due to a mistake in working out by backward calculation), may be that towards the end of the tenth century, owing to an unknown reason, this Manichæan community put the periods of their fasts one month back, and thus arranged them in the middle of the 10th, the beginning of the 11th, the middle of the same, and the 8th of the 12th—8th of the 1st Turco-Chinese months. If this was so it would account for giving the name of *Chaqshabat* to the twelfth Turkish month and would explain this difficult and puzzling denomination.<sup>1</sup> Was this shifting of the places of the fasting times in the year due to the receding of the Sogdian year and the falling of the Sogdian New Year close to (or in some years, such as A.D. 1005, exactly on) the Bema Day? If this shifting really took place then the difference in the religious calendar might have caused a greater separation of the western and eastern Manichæan communities than before, just as a difference of one month in the reckoning of the two Parsi communities in

<sup>1</sup> See remark (3) of the above-mentioned excursus (*BSOS.*, xi, 45-6).

India (the Shahanshahis and the Kadimis), due to the intercalation of one month carried out most probably about A.D. 1130, was the reason for the schism among the Indian Zoroastrians.

(d) In the excursus to the article on Sasanian Chronology (*BSOS.*, xi, part 1, pp. 42-51), having supposed that the beginning of the Manichæan fast of one month (the fourth fast of *al-Fihrist*) was always on the 8th Shabat, I maintained that the passage in *al-Fihrist* relating to the time of this fast must be interpreted as meaning that the *eighth day* of the lunar month on which the fasting began was in the astronomical month of Aquarius (the time of the sun's being in this Zodiacal sign), but not the *first* of that month, as otherwise the end of the fast month (which was the Bema Day) could not always fall in March as St. Augustine expressly states. But I realized later that the fast began on the 8th Shabat only in the common years, but that in the Babylonian intercalary years with two Adārs it was the 8th of Adār I on which the fast month began, and in that case it ended on the 8th (or 7th) of Adār II. Thus the beginning of the lunar month, on the 8th of which the fast began, fell always, almost without exception, after the sun's entry in Aquarius, and the end of the fast was on the 8th Adār in common years and the 8th of Adār II in intercalary years. That is to say that the Bema Day fell almost invariably in March (though it might fall very rarely on the last day or the day before the last of February). This rule was certainly true for several centuries after Mānī, until the position of the Julian month March advanced in the tropical year, and the vernal equinox, which was about the 21st of that month in the time of Mānī, receded gradually, until, for instance, it fell in the middle of the month in the tenth century. Part 2 of the above-mentioned excursus must therefore be revised in the light of this, and the supposed difficulty of the beginning of the Babylonian month (on the 8th day of which fasting began) being in Aquarius, will be thus removed. The second of the three "remarks" (Part 2) would therefore fall to the ground. Moreover, the astronomical explanation of the times of the different fasts in *al-Fihrist* conforms exactly with the arrangement of the Babylonian calendar, and if that calendar was not originally based on this combination of the lunar and solar months, it certainly corresponded with the order described by the author of *al-Fihrist*; since, for instance, the full moon of the Babylonian lunar month Kānūn II, which was the



time of the first fast, has always been (in the time of Mānī and many centuries after him) in the astronomical month of Sagittarius, and the beginning of Shabat in common years (and the beginning of Adār I in intercalary years) in Aquarius, as already stated. Thus the luni-solar definition of the position of the fasts given by an-Nadim is in fact a good description of the Babylonian months (as Dr. Henning rightly remarks). In the Babylonian intercalary years the whole time-table of the fasts was certainly one full (Babylonian) month advanced.

(e) The number of the Manichæan fasts given in *al-Fihrist* (four), and that implied by the tables of *Yimkis* in the above Sogdian fragments (five), are not to my mind irreconcilable or conflicting with each other. The version of *al-Fihrist* relates only to the four different times of the year in which the times of the fasting, as separated from each other, fell [i.e. in common years the middle of Kānūn I, the beginning of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month (in each of which a double-day fasting took place), and the 8th Shabat-8th Adār, or one month's fasting, during which the Manichæan auditors used to fast only from sunrise to sunset (with the exception of some days therein when again double-day fasting was observed)], rather than to the order of the five double-day fasts (forty-eight hours) of which the two last were included in that last fast of one month. If on the other hand the Manichæan community (perhaps of later times) attached more particular importance to these two double-day fastings than to the rest of their fast months, and thus recorded on their tables five bigger fasts or *Yimkis*, which in Arabic can be called *Ṣawm al-wiṣāl*, and gave a table of five sets of them without mentioning the ordinary one-day fasts,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the remaining twenty-six days out of thirty days of the fast month, this certainly had nothing to do with the number of the disconnected periods in the year in which the fasting (of no matter what kind) took place. This must rather have meant that some of the days of the fast month were regarded by them as holier than the rest, and perhaps they spent the nights of these days in vigil (Arab. *ihyā'*), similar to the usage of the Muslims who attach more sanctity to one of the days of Ramaḍān and pass the night preceding it in vigil. It may be interesting to mention

<sup>1</sup> [This difficulty can perhaps be resolved by assuming that the Sogdian calendars were for the use of monks for whom the rules of the *Čaxšapat* month brought no change.—W. B. H.]

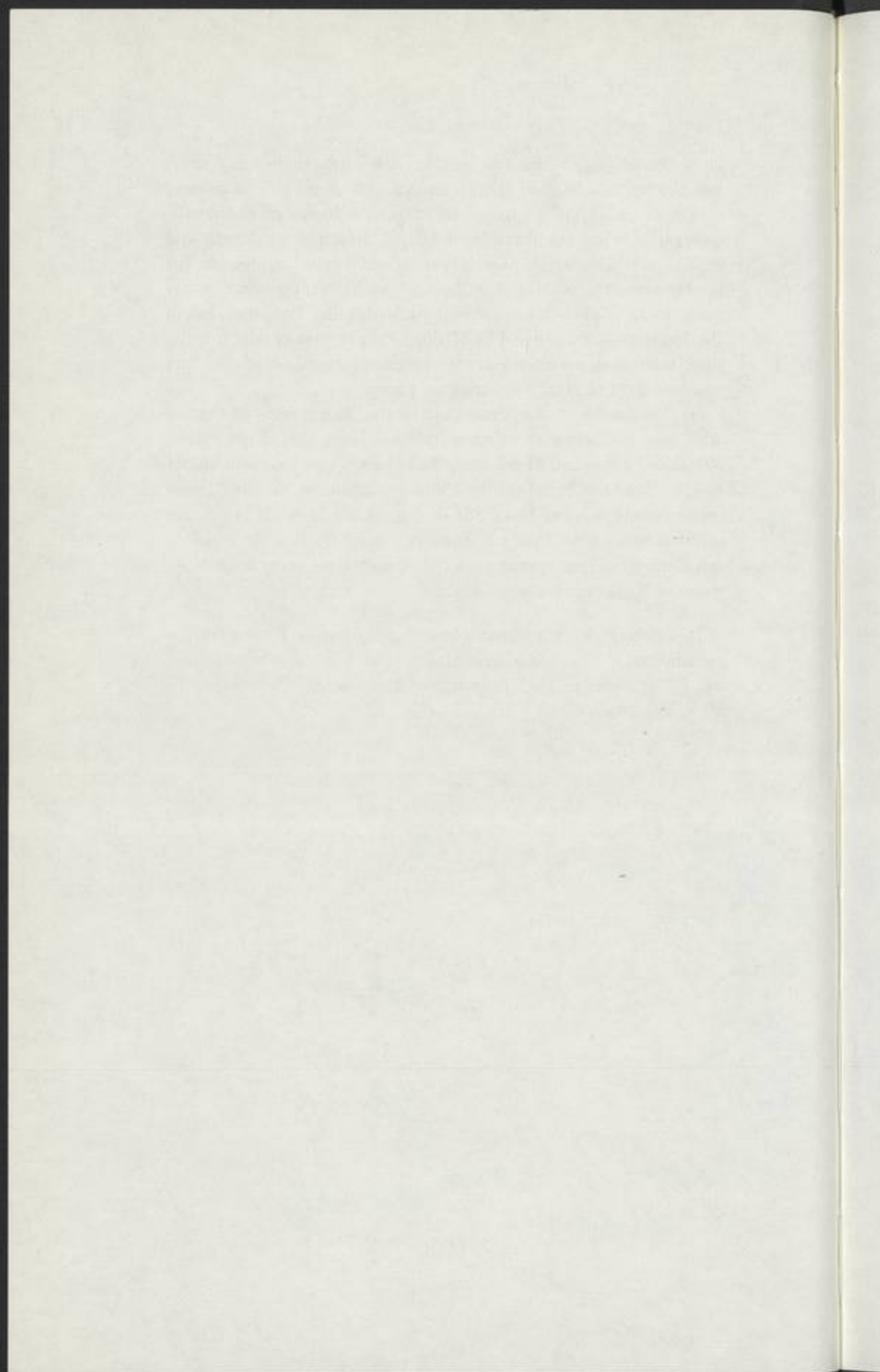
that with the majority of Muslims (the Sunnis) this particularly sacred day is the 27th of Ramaḍān and the holy night preceding it is *lailat al-qadr*, the night in which the Koran was revealed to the Prophet and which is spent in vigil and prayer. The Muslims believe that prayers on that night will always be answered. The apparent similarity in the number (27th) to the last Manichæan *Yimki* is curious, though perhaps accidental. It was on the 27th day of the Manichæan fast month in A.D. 277 that Mānī died. This fast month began in that year on Wednesday, 31st January (8th Shabat), and Mānī died on Monday, 26th February or 27th of the fast month (4th Adār). Another curious similarity is to be found between the last Manichæan *Yimki* and the *lailat al-Qadr* of the Shi'a Muslims, who believe that the place of the holy night in the fast month is unknown; but according to their tradition it must most probably be one of the nights preceding the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of Ramaḍān, i.e. (according to the Shi'a) the day on which 'Alī, their first Imām, was fatally wounded by his assassin, the day on which he consequently died, and the third day of the death when, according to the Oriental custom, the mourning is concluded. They observe vigil and prayer on all these three nights to be sure of not missing the holy night and the right and special hour in it. The similarity is more striking as the last *Yimki* corresponds with the day of Mānī's death and the Bema with the third day of the death, i.e. the second day after it.

(f) The denomination of some of the *Yimkis* (double-day fasts) of the Manichæans after the Manichæan saints, such as Mār Sīsīn and perhaps Mānī himself, explained by Dr. Henning (as a matter of fact the *Yimkis* of Ormizd and Mār Sīsīn are mentioned in the fragments), raises a difficult question. For if this denomination was due to the fact that these *Yimki* days corresponded with the martyrdom of some of these saints, this would make the institution of these fasts by Mānī very doubtful, and would suggest their institution after the death of Mānī. But this late institution is not very likely, and the assumption of these fasts being established by the founder of the religion seems to be more reasonable. Would it not be permissible to suppose that only the last two *Yimkis*, which are not mentioned in *al-Fihrist*, were instituted by the faithful and the leaders of the religion after the death of Mānī, in commemoration of the beginning and the end of his suffering, i.e. his imprisonment and his martyrdom, and that the source of the version

of *al-Fihrist* (which omits to mention these two double-day fasts) was the original book of Mānī himself? The same can be inferred also from Dr. Henning's ingenious suggestion to the effect that the interval between the fourth and fifth *Yimkis* (or the fourth and fifth double-day fasts), namely twenty-six days, "represents the twenty-six days of Mānī's suffering," as this supposition would again make it probable that the two double-day fasts included in the fast month and omitted by *al-Fihrist* really were of later foundation, instituted, as stated above, in commemoration of the first and last days of Mānī's suffering in prison.

(g) The length of the lunar year of the Manichæans of Central Asia was (according to what is inferred from the above tables) 354 days 2 hours and 24 minutes. The basis of this year is unknown to me. It is not based on the Chinese calculation, as the Chinese lunar year is believed to be 354 d. 8 h. 48 m. 36 s. It is perhaps interesting to note that ten Sogdian years are exactly equal to ten Manichæan lunar years + 109 days, and hence every 3,650 lunar years = 3,541 Sogdian years strictly.

In working out the above chronological points I used for my calculations: *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, by R. Schram, and *Hilfstafeln zur Technischen Chronologie*, by P. V. Neugebauer.



## Warucān=Šāh

The Manichaeans in Iran possessed a *Missionary History* of which we have fragments in three languages, in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian. A page of the Middle Persian version was published in 1933<sup>1</sup>; it deals with the missions to the West (under Patecius and Addai) and to Khorasan, under Mār Ammō. More extensive is the Sogdian version, but nothing has been published so far; it is concerned mainly with the various missions to western countries (Patecius, Addai, Gabriab), but contains also the beginning of the Mission of Mār Ammō. Of the Parthian version only a few scraps have survived; two were made available by F. W. K. Mueller,<sup>2</sup> M 48 (dealing with the Tūrān-Šāh<sup>3</sup>) and M 566. Three further pieces which belonged to the same manuscript as M 48 and M 566, make up the fragment M 216; two of its pieces which contained a text parallel to the Middle Persian version, were published together with it<sup>4</sup>; the third which although terribly mutilated is perhaps the most interesting, is given here for the first time:

### M 216 b<sup>5</sup>

Caption R ]cy fryštgrwšn ... of the Apostle of Light  
 V fryštgrwšn [ ... the Apostle of Light

#### Recto

1	<i>fry]štg p'dgyrb</i>	[he saw] the figure of the Apostle
2	] 'wd prw'n qft	and fell on his face and became
3	['wd 'by']wš bwd u mrdwhm'n	unconscious. The people
4	]n bwd 'hynd oo 'dy'n	were[amazed]. Thereupon
5	<i>pdw]h'd kw'm'n</i>	[they] prayed: to us .....
6	] 'h oo oo	...
7	<i>y]yšw'</i>	Jesus ...
8	] 'm oo	we shall

1 *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* (abbrev. *Mir. Man.*), ii, 301-306.

2 *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 86-88.

3 See *ZDMG.*, 90, 7.

4 *Mir. Man.*, ii, 301-304.

5 [square brackets] indicate letters and words missing in the manuscript (restored by the editor).

## Verso

9 <i>dyn'n 'mieg pd wxyb[yh]</i>	...he overcame the teachings of the
10 <i>bzg 'ndrynj'd[oo oo]</i>	(other) religions by their own evil.
11 <i>hbz' wrwc'n š'h w'st]</i>	HBZA, the Waručān-Šāh said:
12 <i>kiv 'ym kd'm wy['w 'r 'st]</i>	what is all this talk about?
13 <i>o 'wd w'stynd k[w</i>	They said: it is ...
14 <i>'st byc [</i>	but ...
15 <i>hbz' p[</i>	HBZA ...
16 <i>'š[</i>	...
17 <i>h[</i>	...

Since this scrap was found in close proximity to the other two pieces registered as M 216, there can be no doubt that its contents refer either to the mission under Addai and Patecius, or the mission under Mār Ammō. The latter is more likely by far, in view of the absence of any mention of a Waručān-Šāh in any of the three descriptions of the western mission which are available. This opinion seems to be supported by a further fragment of the Parthian manuscript to which M 48, M 216, and M 566 belonged<sup>6</sup>. This is a double folio registered as T i < (=M 1306 in my numbering); one of its folios deals with the Tārān-Šāh, the other is given here:

## Recto

1 [ . . ]š hr[	...
2 <i>qryd oo 'w[</i>	makes. To ...
3 <i>'st' w'd '[</i>	praised ...
4 <i>'wd 'w bg'rd[</i>	And Bag-Ard ...
5 <i>pwrs'd hym [</i>	I asked ...
6 <i>jyryft cy bg[</i>	the wisdom of Bag[-Ard]?
7 <i>dšn pdgryft '[</i>	I took her right hand
8 <i>'wd 'c prw'[n</i>	and [left] her presence.
9 <i>[p]š šwd 'hym [</i>	Thereafter I went to
10 <i>[š]hrys[t'n</i>	the city of ... <sup>8</sup>

6 With the help of the originals it may be possible to produce complete pages of these and a few other fragments.

7 Or "the wisdom of the gods"?

8 A tantalizing lacuna!

## Verso

11	]p .'.[	.....
12	r]ngs	shortly.....
13	]'wd 'z 'w	And I [went] to.....
14	h]ym o br'dr'n	The brethren.....
15	].cg <sup>9</sup> cw'gwn dyd	when I saw.....
16	]g z'wr whywn 'w	the improvement <sup>10</sup> of strength
17	[šhr cy w]rwc šwd hym	I went to [the country of Wa]ruč
18	wy]šmn'd oo 'b'w	...was glad. Thereupon...
19	]'wyšt'd hym o	I stood...
20	: ].'n b[	.....

It seems necessary to have the name of a country or a town in line 17, and so it is natural to restore ]rwc (in itself a common Parthian word, = "day") to [w]rwc = Waruč. We have now to consider the question: where lay the country of Waruč whose king was called Waručān-Šāh?

Mār Ammō's mission was directed principally to Abaršahr, i.e. Nišapur<sup>11</sup>, from where he proceeded to Marv<sup>12</sup>. The Sogdian version of the Missionary History describes his success in the following terms: "And.....Abaršahr and Marv ('βrš'r ZY mr [γ] ).....he did manifold...for the profit of the religion. He ordained numerous kings and rulers, grandees and noblemen, queens and ladies, princes and princesses. He fully exposed the Buddhahship of the Prophet of Light (i.e. Mani). He completed and fulfilled all orders and injunctions that [had been given] him by [Mani]". These sentences which are omitted in the Middle Persian version, conclude the surviving portion of the Sogdian story, except for an anticipatory caption over the last page: *mr'mw c'nkw kwš'my pyr* [= "How Mār Ammō [came to] the frontier post of Kushan". On the other hand, Mār Ammō's adventures at the "frontier post of Kushan", where he met a somewhat unsympathetic spirit<sup>13</sup> whose name was Bag-Ard<sup>14</sup>,

9 Possibly *pā]ycg*.

10 Abstract noun (ending -*wn* as in Sogdian) from *why* "better."

11 *Mir.Man.*, ii, 303; *ZDMG.*, 90, 8.

12 His journey to Zamb on the Oxus (*Mir.Man.*, iii, 858; *ZDMG.*, 90, 8) took place much later, after Mani's death. It has no immediate connection with the events described in the Missionary History.

13 The common MPers. word for "spirit, ghost" (*wāxš*) has been confused with the name of the Oxus (*wāxš*) by Schaefer, *Iranica*, 76.

14 On this name see now H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth century books*, 67 sqq. It could also be read as *Bagārd*. It is not impossible

are detailed in the Middle Persian version which in its turn breaks off in the middle of the story.

The two Parthian fragments published here continue the story. M 1306 comes first: Mār Ammō succeeds in reconciling the spirit Bag-Ard who at first was refusing him admittance into the countries whose frontier she guarded, i.e. the Kushan country, the western part of which was at that time (about 265-270 A.D.) a dependency of the Sassanian state. Or more prosaically expressed: Mār Ammō, after some difficulties, succeeded in entering the Kushan country. After passing the frontier, he went to the city of X. (name lost in the manuscript) where he organised a Manichaean community. When it was well established (lines 14-16), he proceeded to the country of Waruč. The story is taken up by M 216 b now: with the help of miracles etc. Mār Ammō becomes the talk of the country, and in the end the attention of HBZ' (*Havazā*?), the Waručān-Šāh, is drawn to his activities.

Unfortunately we do not know for certain where the "frontier post of Kushan" (i.e. the frontier between Khorasan and the then Persian dependency of Kushan) was situated in the third century<sup>15</sup>. But we may conjecture that it lay in the same district where in the succeeding centuries the frontier between the Sassanian state and the Kushan/Hephthalite country was established, namely (according to Marquart) at Tālaqān, halfway between Marv-i-Rōd and Pāryāb (Daulet-ābād). It would thus appear probable that the country of Waruč lay in or close to Gōzgānān and Gharčistān, or at any rate to the south-west of Balkh. It is interesting to notice that a town of that region, Žimat, is mentioned in a Manichaean Sogdian text, in connexion with the Kushano-Sogdian goddess Nana<sup>16</sup>; that the name of the town βγα'ρδα (Ptolemy, 6,8,15) is connected; Darmesteter compared it with Avestan *Vaēkarata*.

15 Cf. Schaefer, *Iranica*, 75.

16 See my article in the forthcoming number of the *JRAS.*, 1944, part 3. It is, however, doubtful that the name in the tax-list Ibn Khurdadbih, 37,9, represents Žimat as claimed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr* 227. As it occurs after Wāšgird Marquart was forced to the assumption that the original order of the list had been disturbed; this can no longer be maintained if Minorsky is right in placing 'Andamīn (?) in the Lesser Pamir (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 332 sq.). But possibly the name of Žimat can be recognized in the mysterious 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *tes'darh*, Ibn Khurdadbih 36,17, of which the second part undoubtedly represents 𐭪𐭫 *īzh* = *Ĵazza*, *Gaza*, *Gčak* (not noticed by Marquart, 218, but cf. p. 86), while the former could be restored as 𐭪𐭫𐭬 *zymd* = *Zimad*.



this town lay, according to Hüan-ts'ang, "south-west from Balkh in a corner of the Snowy Mountains." We may also recognize the title of Waručān-Šāh in the *برجان شاه* *Brj'n-š'h* (*Baručān-Šāh*) who in the list of "the kings whom Ardashir called *šāh*" (Ibn Khurdadbih, 17, 7) is named after the *Kādiš-Šāh*, the ruler of Herat (or districts near Herat)<sup>17</sup>. He must evidently be distinguished from the *wlwc'n MLK'* in the Great Inscription of Shapur I (end of line 29), who was ruler of Iberia.

According to the strict rules of the Armenian language, *Waručān* would appear as *Varčan* in Armenian. Such a name does indeed occur in the *Armenian Geography*, in the list of the provinces of the East<sup>18</sup>. There we find the following enumeration: *Peroz-naxčir*, *Dzin-Avazak* (var. *dzinuazak*, *dzinazak*), *Varčan* (var. *Varjan*), *Manšan*, *Gčak*, *Asan*, *Bahli-bamik*. The name of *Peroz-naxčir* survives in present-day *Pir-Naxčir* (24 kilometres south of Taškurgan, 12 km. west of Hazret-Sultan<sup>19</sup>). *Manšan* (*Mānišān*) represents the Māk valley according to Professor Minorsky<sup>20</sup>, *Gčak* lay due south of Balkh, *Asan* in the south-eastern corner of Gōzgānān, while *Dzin-Avazak* or *Dzi-Navazak* is said to be a name imported from mythology<sup>21</sup>). The sequence of names proves, I think, that *Varčan*, too, should be looked for to the south or south-west of Balkh<sup>22</sup>), precisely in that region over part of which the Waručān-Šāh held sway.

To sum up: in the third century there was a country called Waruč or Waručān which lay in the Kushan country just beyond the traditional border of Persia, but had been incorporated in the Sassanian state under Ardashir or (more likely) Shapur I. It adjoined the country of the Kadishaeans and the valleys formed by the affluents of the Upper Murghāb. But in later times its name seems to have disappeared from history. There can be little doubt that the country of Waruč is the same as that known in later centuries as Gharch or Gharchistān,

17 Differently Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 31.

18 Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 9.

19 Cf. also Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 81 sq.

20 *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 334

21 Thus Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 82 sq; *Wehrot*, 143 sqq; *Catalogue*, 34 sqq. But cf. Minorsky, *loc. cit.*, 185 sq. Possibly originally *Diz-i (H) avazā* "the castle of HBZ," corrupted under the influence of *Diz-i Āvāze*?

22 Marquart thought of Warwāliz (Qunduz).

while the possibility that *yarč* is merely a later form<sup>23</sup> of the word *waruč* cannot be ruled out.

23 In disyllables with two brief vowels and not more than three consonants the second vowel is liable to elision in several Iranian languages, especially if the middle consonant is a continuant, cf. e.g. Persian *lang* "lame" from *lamak*, *pahn* from *pašan*; Middle Persian *bašn* "temple" from *bažin*; Parthian *bašn* "part, limb" from *bažin*; Parachi *pač* "before" from *pašiš*. Thus *waruč*, provided the *-u-* was brief, could become *warč*. Initial *w-* becomes *γ-* (*gh-*) regularly in Parachi, a dialect to which the old language of Gharchistan was presumably closely related. This change occurs sporadically also in other dialects, see Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, I. 9.

## The Sogdian Texts of Paris

IT would be a happier occasion to be able to announce the completion of the publication of all the Sogdian manuscripts that Sir Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot secured from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang, were not this consummation overshadowed by the death of P. Pelliot, who has now followed Sir Aurel Stein after so brief an interval. The Sogdian MSS., which he entrusted to the care of the Bibliothèque Nationale, were believed lost for a number of years, but rediscovered by M. Filiozat in 1936. We cannot but admire the speed with which M. Benveniste has made them available to the public. As early as the spring of 1940 photographic reproductions of superb quality were published by Ejnar Munksgaard in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup>; a few copies of this facsimile edition reached this country before communications were interrupted. A few weeks later M. Benveniste's monumental edition,<sup>2</sup> comprising the transliteration, an excellent translation, a commentary of greatest learning which abounds in veritable pearls of linguistic notes,<sup>3</sup> and a very full glossary which will make the publication of a Sogdian dictionary nearly superfluous, appeared in Paris, too late, however, for us to obtain the book; we had to curb our impatience until at long last, in September, 1945, we received this immensely valuable volume, through the kindness of the author and the good offices of the British Council.

The majority of these Sogdian manuscripts contain Buddhist texts, mostly translated from Chinese originals. For their identification we are indebted to M. Demiéville, whose collaboration has greatly benefited the edition. Of the non-Buddhist texts special mention is due to the fragment of the *Tale of Rustam* (P 13), which immediately precedes the fragment in the Stein collection<sup>4</sup>; the small medical fragment (P 19) which contains three prescriptions, one each for an emetic (*'nyzynykh*), a purgative (*mrzynykh*),<sup>5</sup> and an aphrodisiac (*cnn pcw'z'k pδβ'zn*); and the twice repeated short Manichæan<sup>6</sup> invocation,

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris*, ed. K. Gronbech. Vol. iii, *Codices Sogdiani. Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot), reproduits en fac-similé, avec une introduction par E. Benveniste.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, série in-quarto, vol. iii, Textes Sogdiens, édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste.* P. Geuthner, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> A worthy specimen of their quality is the explanation of ἀκινάκης (p. 202).

<sup>4</sup> See *BSOAS.*, XI, 465, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In translation: "Take three drams of cummin (*zyr'kk*), three of *Ipomœa turpethum*, and three times as much sugar as (both) those drugs together. Pound it finely, mix it with hydromel, give it to drink. It purges all impurities, is useful in all illnesses. Should it purge too much, drink *pt'pçh*, it will cease." *δρυμδνκ* = *δραχμθαν* corresponds to Persian *diramsang*. *kpçky* in line 7 is "spoonful" (= Pers. *kafçe*); *βτκπυε* (8) = Skt. *vatsakabija*; *wšny'epy* (20) = stallion (Pers. *gušn*); *my't* (9) read *my'un*.

<sup>6</sup> Not recognized as such by the editor. It belongs to the *Wazrgān āfriwān*: cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71.

P 25, a learner's first attempt at writing Sogdian, full of mistakes.<sup>1</sup> The shamanist rain-maker's handbook, P 3, a Central Asian rather than Indian production, contains a number of Iranian terms not found in Buddhist texts, as *Upāpō Gandarawō*,<sup>2</sup> *Haft Kišvar*, *wāt artāw*, etc., and mentions such typically Central Asian objects of magic as the rain-stones,<sup>3</sup> sheep's shoulder-blade,<sup>4</sup> etc. Of great value is the colophon of P 8, with its long lists of personal names. In view of the interest that attaches to everything connected with the "Tokharians", it should be pointed out that the name of the painter<sup>5</sup> of P 26 is not *twryrk* "Tokharian", but *twryl* = *Toyril* (a common Turkish name).

The impossibility of obtaining M. Benveniste's admirable work compelled a careful study of the photographic reproductions; with his edition on one's table one would have considered it a waste of time to take a copy of the photographs. What was a nuisance in the past can now be turned to some profit; for the circumstances assure a greater independence in the reading of the MSS. than could have been attained otherwise. It may thus seem not wholly useless to record those passages where my reading or understanding differ from M. Benveniste's. The intention of going through the whole of these texts had to be abandoned, for personal reasons, for the time being; it is hoped to complete this study in a later number of the *Bulletin*.<sup>6</sup>

## P 2

Of all Sogdian texts this is the dullest. Its author needs over 1,200 lines to tell us that we should not eat meat. It is badly composed, worse translated, and the scribe was negligent.

<sup>1</sup> *nyw* (ZY) *nyk* in both copies stands for *'BYW* (ZY) *ny'k*. In both read *rāw* instead of *nāw*. In ii, line 2, read *zrw*, line 3 *wyānt*; "*brtyt* 'yā at the end is a mistake for "*brtyt* " . . . to the King of Gods, the Great King God Zrwān, who is the father and grandfather of all Light Gods. Praised and blessed art thou, together with the great Light World, (and) the Blessed Aions."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *BSOAS.*, XI, 482, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 465, n. 2. The "*yadāi*" (read *yadaāi*) of the Uyyur confession prayers is a rain-stone magician rather than a snake-charmer, cf. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 84 and note; Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, 438, line 60.

<sup>4</sup> See below on P 3, 273.

<sup>5</sup> Read *npyyww* = "I painted" in the place of *npyyāw*.

<sup>6</sup> Of articles, etc., concerning Sogdian that were published in Europe during war-time, the following have come to our notice: A. A. Freiman, *Novaya rabota po sogdiyskomu kalendaryu*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 4 (9), 1939, 124; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument na kože 6 B 5 iz sobraniya dokumentov s gori Mugh*, *ibid.*, 1 (10), 1940, 99-101 [note *srtyy'n* or *sytyy'n* *pwest* in line 5, read *mryw'k* by Freiman, = "pieces of morocco leather" = Pers. *saḫiyān*]. O. Hansen, *Berliner soghdische Texte*, i, *Bruchstücke einer soghdischen Version der Georgspassion (C 1)*, *Abh. P.A.W.*, 1941, No. 10, here quoted as *Giwarjis*; Dr. Dresden kindly presented me with a copy. M. J. Dresden, *Bibliographia sogdiana concisa*, *Jaarbericht No. 8 van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden, 1942, 729-734, to which should be added: A. A. Freiman, *Sogdiyskiy nadpis' iz starogo Merva*, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 1937, 296-302; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument astrologičeskogo soderžaniya (kalendar')*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 2 (3), 1938, 34-49 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 242); *K imeni sogdiyskogo izšida Gureka*, *ibid.*, 3 (4), 1938, 147 sq.; and my paper in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95.

1. *wys'* probably 3rd Sing. Impf. of *wys-* "to be released, emitted", inchoative of *w'c-*, *wyt-*.

3. *prš'yδ-* "to settle down, lodge" ("and piety does not settle on him"), cf. *Tales*<sup>1</sup> 475, line 12. Chr. *pšyd'r-* *S.T.*, i, 52, 10. *pa(r)šīδ-* from *pari.hīda-*.

4. *nβ'nt nβ'nt* "successivement". So also 168, 1206, *Dhuta* 132, cf. *nβ'nt pyš nβ'nt* "en succession" *Dhyāna* 383. I now prefer reading *nβ'nt*, and take it to be the same word as the postposition *nβ'nt*: "attached, near, close, companion." Man. *zβnd* seems to mean "quarrel", cf. *Tales* 470.

4. ZY here merely stresses the preceding word, hence *nwšy* = perpetually (M.B. "crime"). For such use of ZY ('t, 'PZY) see lines 54, 112, 132, 143, 165, 208, 218, 240, 309, 359, 408, 433, 606, 855, 898, 964, 966, 1068; cf. also *BBB.*, 121<sup>a</sup>.

13. M. Benveniste wants to connect the conjunction *mnt*, apparently = "while", with the negative prefix *mnt-* (see his comments on P 9, 96). This seems doubtful. I should like to mention here that Professor F. W. Thomas suggested to me that the Sogdian prefix (pronounced *mand*) could be combined with Skt. *manda-*, as in *mandabuddhi*, *mandamati*, *mandabhāgya*, etc.

35. *δm'k* "wind"? Cf. *SCE.* 153. *δm'kh'rsy* P 3, 12, recalls *Uyγur šīs ig yīlgā . . .* (*T.T.*, vii, 72, line 9).

36. *'spymwch* may be a mistake for *'spymh* = *'spymh* P 7, 61, "tumor", from *spāy-* = Skt. *śvayati*.

37. *'rsy*, also P 3, 12, but spelt *'rs'ny* P 3, 10, 11, is *arsa(n)χ* from OIr. *\*arsah-* = Skt. *arsās-* "piles".

38. *kr'γ* I took for Skt. *grāha*, but *kr'ny* P 22, 19, is difficult; one can hardly think of Pers. *karax* "numb(ness)". *γwrt-snty* is "vomiting", cf. P 8, 126, and *'nyγz-* P 19, 5.

45. *ctβ'r mγ'pwδy*, also 366. M. Benveniste gives "les 4 mahābodhis", but does not explain this unusual term. It seems that the *elements* are meant, which number either four or five, viz. earth, water, fire, air, and sometimes ether. Hence = *cateāri mahābhūtāni* as in *Mahāvayutpatti* 101, 1 (but *pañca m.*, e.g. *Dharmasaṅgraha* 39).

53. *zβ'yr'kh* and the related forms discussed in comm. on P 13, 8, should be read *nβ'yr-* as unpublished Man. texts spell *nβyr-*. The meaning seems to be "counsel". In P 12, 64, 67, *nβ'yr* is imperative, "take counsel with your friends, etc.", *prw nβ'yr* "in order to consult, deliberate".

57. *'pw* is perhaps to be read *'kw* = in what way (lit. "where"). Cf. 104, 621, and the comm. p. 170.

59. *'zy'm* should be read *'ny'm*, and similarly *'ny'mt-*, *'ny'ms-* "to be finished", as these words are spelt with *-n-* in unpublished Man. texts. They should be confused with neither *zy'm-* "to spend", *zy'ms-* "to be spent, wasted", nor *nyms-* "to be caught" [*sic*] P 2, 858, "to be eclipsed" P 6, 147 (here edition *zyms-*) which has *nymt-* as past tense.

<sup>1</sup> *Tales* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 465-487. *Kawān* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 52-74. *Gershevitch* with paragraph = I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (to be published soon).

75. *'γwš'ntk* is hardly the same as Man. *'xwšndyy* (on which see now *Tales*, 470, n. 4). "If he keeps the spirit of friendship . . . growing" ? Cf. *z'wrkym* *š'rt* line 78.

80. *mr'z*. Is it not clear from the context that the word *Arbeit* in *BBB.*, 67, means "travail (salarie) pour quelqu'un" ? See also *Tales*, 468, nn. 6, 9.

91. *'kwšprn* probably = as long as, however long (instead of "wherever"). Cf. also *Tales*, 476, line 4.

95. *šwt* instead of *šw'nt* is the translator's mistake. "In waylessness they walk the path of the Nirvāṇa straightly" = "although the way is invisible, they find the true path unerringly".

109. *ptk'wnh ryzh*, lit. "wrong, perverted desires". The original meaning of *ptk'wn-*, which has nothing to do with Av. *kavi-* (as claimed by H. H. Schaeder and M. Benveniste, cf. *JRAS.*, 1933, 55), is "upside-down", cf. Pers. *nigūn*, etc. An interesting example of the word is contributed by Ibn Khurdābih 28<sup>a</sup> and Qudāmah 205<sup>a</sup>, who tell us that there was a ماء مقلوب *fleuve rétrograde* between *Ispā'āb* and *Ṭarāz* whose local name was ركبواب, read بدكوباب = *padkūn-āb* = *ptk'wn-*"ph. It was formed by "the thousand springs" (cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 24, 263), بارحاح or ارحاح, evidently to be read زارخاخ = *zār-χāχ* (*z'r x'x*).

139. *rws-* "to flow" is *-s-* enlargement of (*h*)*rav-* = Skt. *sravati*. But *pr'wšt* P 7, 139, appears to belong to *pr'wyz-* P 12, 48, both from *frā* + *vaz-* (or *parā* + *vaz-*).

141/2. *nyδ'yeh-ptn'ym* compound adjective, "good-for-nothing, *vaut-rien*" ?

144. *prn'nt*, also 213, is 3rd Sing. (*snks'r* is subject). Almost certainly to be read *prn'z-t*, cf. *n'z-* below 292.

151. *γwbn* "parent". The derivation from OIr. *tauxma(n)-* (not, of course, from Sogdian *tym-*) is supported by the meanings of Av. *taoxman-* 2, MPers. *tehmng* (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 127), Parth. *tezmng* (*Mir.Man.*, iii), etc. There are three distinct words in Parthian: *tezm* "descendants, family, etc.", *tezmn* "seed (for sowing)", *tezmng* "relative". On the etymology of *γactyγwšt'k* see *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 4.

162. *zynyh-γw'ry* I took to be a compound word = "truce-breaker", comparing Pers. *zinhār-χ'ār* "truce-breaker"; for Pers. *zinhār*, earlier *zīnhār* (in verse always - - -, hence not *zīnhār*), is connected with Sogd. *zynyh*, cf. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents*, 93. The original meaning of the Sogdian thus could be "he that eats what is entrusted to him", cf. *ptrq'n-xw'r* "heir", lit. "he that eats his heritage". Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 73, n. 3, attributes this *-xw'r* to a root *hvar-* "to receive", but cf. Arabic *akala 'l-mīrāth* "to inherit, lit. to eat the heritage" (see Dozy, i, 31). However, we have to take into account the obviously identical Parthian term *zyn'yy xw'rg*, which occurs once in an unpublished Manichæan hymn, M 284, 156: *bst hym pt pdyṅ zynd'n, zyn'yy xw'rg 'by'wš u xwrmryn* "I am fettered in a prison of flesh, *zyn'yy xw'rg*, unconscious, and asleep" (cf., e.g., *NGGW.*, 1932,

219 sqq.; *Mir.Man.* iii, 872, 874-5). This *xw'rg* may belong to Pers.  $\chi^{\nu}\bar{a}r$  "abject, contemptible"; hence *-γw'ry* may be the same as Sogd.  $\gamma w y' r$  (see below on 554) ?

165.  $\delta'n'y\dot{c}h$  *wygh* = roots of corn. In 1020  $\delta'n'y\dot{c}h$  is not followed by *wygh*. Hence,  $\delta\bar{a}n\bar{i}\bar{c}$  = the plant that bears  $\delta\bar{a}n$ - (grain).

180. *rtyWR*, read *rty-wr*. The ideogram 'R = Arsac. Inscr. 'L = Pahl. 'L ("WL") occurs only in the addresses of the "Ancient Letters"; its Iranian equivalent is 't (see the Mugh letters). I do not know why 'R is always being confused with *wr*. In Anc. Lett., ii, both words occur, 'R in line 1, *wr* in lines 36, 37. A glance at Reichelt's facsimile will show how little they resemble one another. In his *Glossaire* M. Benveniste gives "*WR sur, à (passim)*". In fact, *wr* is not a preposition; nor is it met with continually; nor is there a reason why it should be regarded as ideogram. It occurs only at the beginning of a clause and is generally preceded by *rty* or a word to which ZY is attached (as ZKZY, 'HRZY); it means "there, therein, thereby". Cf. *VJ.*, 194, 19<sup>b</sup>; *Vim.* 139; P 2, 270, 322; also in Man. (Sogd. script) *rty 'skw'yn'yty kyZY wr skw'nt* "and the inhabitants who live there" (T ii K 178). Thus *wr* = *war* from OIr. *awar* should be added to the words which H. S. Nyberg discussed in his interesting article "Un pseudo-verbe iranien et son équivalent grec" (*Symbolæ Philologicæ* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae, 1932, 237-261). Cf. also Parthian 'wr, *Mir.Man.*, iii (on Pers., i, 5, cf. Nyberg, p. 244; see also *BSOS.*, IX, 845).

184. *wynh* "famine" is surely the Avestan  $v\bar{o}i\bar{y}n\bar{a}$ - (both are fem.), which Geldner thought meant "inundation"; but "famine" seems to fit the Avestan texts just as well. Such shortening of a diphthong seems to occur only after *w*, cf. *wstn'x* from \**waišt-* from *waišt-*, *wp'nc'k* against MPers. *panjak-i wēh* (*Orientalia*, viii, 90, n. 2); Pashto *wala* from *waiti-*,  $\chi wala$  from  $\chi waida$ - (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 86, 98). As a matter of curiosity we may mention that Stig Wikander, to whom we owe already the discovery of the "arischen Männerbünde", has now satisfied himself that  $v\bar{o}i\bar{y}n\bar{a}$ - is a *Bezeichnung für das Kollektiv von Anhängern Aēšma-artiger Kulte* (*Vayu*, i, Uppsala, 1941, 140-151, esp. p. 150).

187. ( $\sigma$ ) $\beta\bar{z}ay$ - or ( $\sigma$ ) $\beta\bar{z}y$ - is the intransitive of  $\sigma\beta\bar{z}aw$ -, hence from \**abi.žuya*-. Cf. MPers. 'bzw-: 'bz'y-, Pers. *afzūyīdan* intrans. (*Mathnawī*, i, 3873 comm., cf. *Farhang-i Rašīdī*, ii, 104) beside *afzāy*- trans.

193. *p'r'yk*- "other" cannot be derived from *pr'yc*-. It is directly = MPers. 'b'ryg, Pahl. 'p'ryk (Av., Skt. *apara*-), and distinct from *pr'yk*- "remainder".

193. *pr'wyy* should be *le ministre-maitre de ce roi, le brahmane nommé Mauvaise Langue* (comm., p. 171). Hence, corruption of Skt. *purohita*. Cf. Saka *pūhī* Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 134, probably also *pūhyā* in the colophon of the *Jātakastava* (cf. Bailey, *Jour. Greater India Soc.*, xi, 10).

200. 'sp'dyh is not clear. The spelling of  $\beta z'ysty$  is curious (cf. Gershevitch, § 263). The construction of  $\beta z'yath$ - is different in all other passages. Read <pr> 'spyh ?

203/6. "The Buddha was still living at that time, but this (fact) did not help those people not to become subjected to that action," i.e. the effect of the evil deed was stronger even than the power of the Buddha.

224. *wyš* "herb, grass" (here inadvertently *feuille*, but see *Glossaire*) from *wāstrya-*, cf. Yagnobi *wēš*, Pashto *wāšə*, Wakhi *wiš*, Parth. *w's*, etc. To compare Sogdian *wēš* with Middle Persian *bēš* "aconite", as is done by P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānik-Vičār*, p. 216 (on xv, 84), shows lack of acquaintance with the basic phonological structure of either language.

237. *ptβyδty* is correct, but the MS. has *ptyβyδty*. *P'rZY* = "but rather" after a negation. "He does not regard it as a damaging action, but rather takes it for a satisfying one."

241. *nw'rsty*, cf. Man. *nw'rt*, *BBB.*, p. 82. "Everyone . . . and should not hire (anyone) for evil deeds so that, out of poverty, they (= the employees) will kill. Since he gains profit thereby (*wδ'y*), he cannot be dissociated, etc."

272/6. *wrn'yeyh* = surf (Av. *varəmi-*) ? *wβ'ntk* = snare = Parth. *wbndg*, *Tales*, 471, n. 4 (see also below on P 5, 24). *'r'β* = flame = Turki *alav* (Pers. *ālāv*) ?

280. *δryh* locative of *δr-* "ravine, glen" = Parthian *dr*, Wakhi *δōr*, etc. ?

292. *z'nt* read *n'zt*, "his eyes . . . roll." See *BBB.*, p. 94 (on b 60; add *Dhyāna* 401), and cf. *prn'z-* above 144.

295. *γwyst* not "he trembles", but "he sweats", from *γwys-* = Av. *x'isa-*.

296. *γwn'k*. M. Benveniste rightly translates *poil* and refers to Av. *gaona-*. Lentz (apud Lüders, *Textilien*, 9, n. 3) wanted to read *γwz'y* in *SCE.*, 302, instead of *γwn'y*. That he erred is made evident by Man. *γwn'yy* (*sic*, cf. the ending in the *SCE.*), M 141 V 13 (Man. script). There the word stands in one of those "series" of which Lentz made a special study and corresponds to MPers. *mwy* "hair":—

MPers.	MPers.	MPers.	Copt.	Sogd.	Uyy.	Chin.	Pahl.
<i>M.M. i, 195. T ii D ii 120.</i>	<i>T'i, 5.</i>	<i>Keph. 96 (107).</i>	<i>M 141.</i>	<i>T.M. iii 18/9.</i>	<i>Tr. 32/3.</i>	<i>GrBd. 196.</i>	
<i>'stg 1</i>	<i>'stg 1</i>	—	<i>Knochen 1(2)</i>	<i>'stky 1</i>	<i>ōngūk 1</i>	<i>os 1</i>	<i>astag 4</i>
<i>py(y) 2</i>	<i>py 3</i>	<i>py 5</i>	<i>Sehne 2(3)</i>	<i>pδδw' 2</i>	<i>siŋgir 2</i>	<i>nerfs 2</i>	<i>pai 3</i>
<i>pyt 3</i>	[ <i>pyt</i> ]	<i>pyt 2</i>	<i>Fleisch 4(4)</i>	<i>y'ty 4</i>	<i>ūt 4</i>	<i>chair 4</i>	<i>gōšt 1</i>
<i>ry 4</i>	<i>ry 4</i>	<i>ry 3</i>	<i>Ader 3(5)</i>	<i>r'k 3</i>	<i>tamar 3</i>	<i>veines 3</i>	<i>rag 2</i>
<i>crm 5</i>	<i>crm 6</i>	<i>crm 1</i>	<i>Haut 5(7)</i>	<i>crm 5</i>	<i>tāri 5</i>	<i>peau 5</i>	—
—	<i>zwn 5</i>	<i>zwn 4</i>	<i>Blut (6)</i>	<i>zwnyy 6</i>	—	—	<i>zūn 6</i>
—	<i>mǰ 2</i>	—	<i>Mark (1)</i>	<i>mǰzy 7</i>	—	—	<i>mazy 5</i>
—	<i>mwy 7</i>	—	—	<i>γwn'yy 8</i>	—	—	<i>mūy 7</i>

299. *pš'yeykh myn'y w'st*, possibly "he lets water". Hence, *w'st* from *w'c-* and *myn'y* = *myz'y* (Av. *maēz-*, Pers. *mīz*, etc.), while the first word is not clear (from *pšync-* ? or cf. Pers. *pšyār* ? or if co-ordinated with *myz'y*, cf. *'pšy* P 7, 166, for the meaning, and *pšyeyk*, Dhuta 281, for the form).

300. *γywnky*. Man. *yxwng* (*Sogdica* 31<sup>7</sup>, 35<sup>4-8</sup>) = "the act of separating" does not seem to share the meaning of *yxw'q* = "the product of separating". Hence, "by the various acts of dissecting" ? It is, however, possible that *γywnky* *γywnky* is a copyist's mistake for *γw'nk(y)* *γw'nky* "articulation"



(SCE., 384, see Gershevitch, § 220), perhaps produced by *yyw'y'n* in the next line.

313. Read *ptywštwd'rm* in the place of *-st-*. *δβnh* here = suspicion. Translating it as "doubt" produces a version that reverses the meaning of the text. "I have not seen that it was killed, I have not heard it, I do not suspect that it was killed (viz. for me)." See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, 55.

326. *rnβ-* "to attack" compares with Parth. *rf-* and Saka *rraph-*. But *rnp-*, *VJ.*, 1094 = "to abuse, curse".

331/2. *γwnγw ZKZY cwz'kk ZK mryy znty* (thus to be read instead of *γty*) = "that which the chicken-bird brings forth", viz. the object called *mryy-z'tk* elsewhere, which is *né de la poule* but not *né de l'œuf* as M. Benveniste has it (p. 173; Pers. *murye* is of doubtful authority, but *murγāne* occurs). *zn-* seems to be *enfant* only, hardly also *naître* as M. B. assumes for 334.

338. "in the Sūtras expounded to the Yakṣas in the ocean" ? We note in passing that *y'γš* in the fragment published by M. Benveniste in *BSOS.*, IX, 501, is merely part of a Yakṣa's name, but not the word *yakṣa* itself, which follows *n'm* in line 1, *yk[šy]*.

344. *ružya* "greed", cf. *Sogdica*, 47; Gershevitch, § 379. For the treatment of *-zd-* in Sogdian, *γztuq* "saliva" is of interest. I wrongly rejected this spelling in *S.T.*, ii, 604. It is, however, becoming clear now that original *-zd-* (between vowels) may become *-d-*, later *-y-*, in Persian. Sogd. *γazdūk* is related to Pers. *ḡayū* (*ḡadū*) precisely as Av. *pazdu-* is to Pers. *payū(k)* "*Filaria Medinensis*" (against *pazūk* in Pahlavi).

359. *mry'wntk y'tk*. Compare the similar accounts in *GrBd.*, 16, 109 sqq., where the equivalent stage is described as *daštak* (?) which I ventured to explain as "a little plain" (*Sogdica* 49). See also *DkM.*, 746, where the same word occurs in line 11, *kay dēsīhistan-i abar daštak* "when (does) the formation (of the limbs) on the *daštak* take place". Mr. R. C. Zaehner, some years ago, drew my attention to Burzōi's discourse on procreation, in the preface to *Kalila wa Dimna*. There we have *ar-rā'ib ath-thaḡīn al-ghalīz*, p. 72<sup>2</sup>, ed. de Sacy = thick coagulated milk (Naṣrullāh simply *māst*). With this compare *GrBd.*, 110<sup>11</sup> (*tuḡm-i narān ud ḡūn-i māyagān*) *šīr [ud] plwšk homānāg* "like milk and *frūšag*" (resulting in coagulated milk). This *frūšag*, a curdling substance, recurs in *Pahl. Texts*, 113<sup>6</sup> *šīr ud panīr . . . ('plwšk =) aḡfrūšag ud māst*, and in *Kawān*, a 179, "threw (put) *prwšg* into milk," where, as well as in *BSOS.*, IX, 86, I unfortunately thought of Pers. *farūše*, Arm. *hrušak*, etc., a kind of sweetmeats. However, *frūšag* (*aḡfrūšag*) is evidently the same as Pers. *furšc*, Pashto *wuržə* "beestings". An interesting dialect-form has been preserved by Ibn Muḡannā, who has *هَرشِه*, read *hurše*, with *hr-* from *fr-* (p. 51).

388. M. Benveniste justly points out that *zwtk* is not "wine" but *boisson alcoolique* (his other translation, *alcool*, is better avoided). It corresponds to Skt. *madya*, e.g. in line 664 *zwtk ZY y'tk* = *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 258<sup>13</sup> *māmsamadyādi*. Its Chinese equivalent in *SCE.* means "spirit, wine, liquor".

On the other hand it is not a general term for "intoxicating drink", as that meaning is always expressed in Sogdian by *mstk'r'k cš'nt*; a phrase like *mδw 'PZY zwtk* in the line under review strongly suggests that *zwtk* is a term for a special kind of drink, presumably the Sogdian variety of "beer". May not Sogdian *zūte* be the same word as Greek ζύτος (ζύτος), ζύθος (Lat. *zythum*, Syriac *zwtyn, zwtw*)? The Greek word, first employed by Theophrastus, is common in papyri from the third century B.C. onwards, but its origin, reputedly Egyptian, is I believe not settled. It is not likely that the Sogdian was borrowed from the Greek or vice versa, but both words may have a common origin, possibly in some Scythian language. Cf. the case of ἀκμάκης: *kyn'k*.

407. "and obtains an opportunity against him (*šw prw*) quicker." The construction is the same as in *Vim.*, 149, where 'yty is a misspelling of 'ty (= 'kwZY), cf. 'ky 'ty P 2, 1005, etc.

411. "and much later still he is afraid and trembles." *šyr* is necessarily adverb (*šyr γyr*, with *pyštrw*, in 446), and *pckwyr-* does not need an object.

416. "and to him it (= his food) becomes quickly indigestible." *γ'm* = undigested, indigestible, as Skt. *āma*, ἄμος, *crudus*, etc.

459. *ty-*, if from \**taha-*, perhaps = river = Pashto *tōe*. Cf. Pashto *sōe* from *saha-*.

501. *βγδ'n'k pršt'yt* (comm., p. 176), cf. Uyγur (*yayışlıy*) *tängirliq it-*, *T.T.*, iv, 436, line 46; *yayış* corresponds to Sogd. *δr'wš'ycyk 'st'wr* (540), cf. now Chr. *žwšy* (Giwargis). The incomplete word *jkwδβγδ'nyy*, *Sogdica*, 56, line 19 (cf. *Errata*) may contain *βγδ'n'k*. The village (if it ever existed) which gave its name to Baghdād may have been called *Baydān* originally (cf. بغداد, etc.); which would agree well with Arm. *Bagaran*.

527. *š't* was already known from *Dhyāna*, 325 (*š'tth*). It was borrowed by Persian as *lād* (Asadi, etc.), and should be added to the words collected in *BSOS*, X, 93 sqq. Instead of *š'y* it seems we should read *šβy*, which, if correct, could be \**šfi* from Av. *fš(biś)*.

544. "the town is broken and \*conquered"? *'nyw'yt* here passive, as e.g. *VJ.*, 6<sup>b</sup>. Also *wn'yk škr-* (548) may mean "to lead away as conquered". Presumably from *wan-* "to gain a victory".

554. *γwy'r*, Chr. *zwy'r* (B 49, 13, and Giwargis A 30). A comparison of all passages shows that it means "easily". M. Benveniste, too, sometimes gives *facilement* in his translation, but otherwise *exactement, en détail*. Cf. also *Tales k 2*. Confirmation is desirable for the expression *zwy'ry' wntysq* "verachtet", quoted by Lentz *apud BBB.*, 81. Probably = "he takes lightly". This makes one think of Pers. *χ'ār*, in spite of the obvious phonetical difficulties. Cf. also *γw'ry* above, on line 162.

597. *pc'wp-* "to exchange", instead of \**pcywp-*? Cf. *pcyufs-* "to be changed, transformed", *S.T.*, i, 16\*; B 49, 8; see also *BBB.*, p. 63 on 521.

600. *kβrδh* = leeks, acc. to the Chinese (p. 189, n. 4). M. Benveniste adduces Pers. *kabar, kavar* "capers", but botanists, one fears, will frown

upon such a comparison. We should compare Pers. *kavār* "leeks", from \**kabardā-* (but with *-r* instead of *-l*), and further Turkish (from Iranian ?) کورد (*kōverde* ?) = *kurrāth*, Ibn Muḥannā, p. 182. The word strangely, although perhaps accidentally, resembles κεφαλωτόν, *Allium porrum* (also κεφαλών), which is said to be merely the neuter of κεφαλωτός "headed".

600. 'βζn- "garlic", see now *Tales*, 470, n. 2, where OIr. *brzn-* was proposed. This may have existed also in Western Iranian, although with slightly divergent meaning. بوسه یاز. Muwaffaq 44<sup>11</sup>, a kind of bitter onion, probably = βολβός, should almost certainly be read بوسه *būsne* (from \**burznak* ?). Syriac *buṣn'* (also misspelt *buṣy'*, *buṣn'*, the last = βολβός), which puzzled Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 74 sq., is apparently the same word.

601. *prw'rt*, it is true, is "chapter". But nevertheless its proper meaning is "roll, scroll". It belongs to *prw'rt-* "to turn", precisely as Uyḡur *tāgzin'* is formed from *tāgzin-* "to turn". Both *prw'rt* and *tāgzin'* answer to Chin. 卷 *chüan* "roll, scroll, chapter". Thus *parw'rt* is different from MPers. (etc.) *frawardag*, which, however, can also be explained as "roll, folded document" > "letter".

635/6. *myw ZY wyrkyh* 'kyšpy βnt = Skt. 257<sup>15</sup> (*anyonyabhakṣaṇāḥ sattvāḥ*) *kravyādakulasambhavāḥ* (*durgandhi-kusaṇīyaśca unmattaścāpi jāyate*) = Guṇabhadra acc. to M. Demiéville "tombent dans l'espèce des tigres et des loups". The parallel versions led me to assume (*Tales*, 470, n. 1) that the meaning of 'kyšpy here was different from that of 'kyδrp-, but possibly M. Benveniste is right in translating 'kyšpy, too, as *forme*. However that be, we are in agreement in believing that both forms are identical etymologically, although we disagree on the question which of them should be regarded as the original spelling. M. Benveniste has made his etymology of 'kyδrp- (Av. *kəhrp-*) the basis of a far-reaching phonetical law, involving the transition of OIr. *-θr-* to *-hr-* (to *-š-*) in Sogdian. In addition to the reasons advanced before against this theory (in the annotation quoted above), I should like to point out that the Sogdian language lacked the *-h-* sound, and that if only for this reason *-hr-* was unlikely to be the result of *-θr-*. The fact that in a single (and somewhat doubtful) instance a *foreign -hr-* was changed to *-š-* by the Sogdians merely demonstrates the absence of such a group of sounds from their language. My etymology of 'kyδrp-/kyšp- (OIr. *kršv-*) is supported by 'βtkyšp' P 3, 209, "the world" = Av. *hapta karšvan*, Pers. *haft kišvar*. M. Benveniste has misinterpreted this word.

659. *pcwēnδ'* is awkward, as no such verb is known otherwise (only the noun Man. *pcwēn*, etc.). It corresponds to Skt. *vivarjayet* 258<sup>10</sup>. In line 649 the same Skt. verb (*vivarjitam* 258<sup>5</sup>) corresponds to *pcw'y-*, which also stands against *antarāyakaro bhavet* in 258<sup>12/3</sup> (*pcw'yt*). Thus *pcwēnδ'* may be a scribal error for \**pcwēyδ'*, the intransitive form of *pcw'y-*. This could apply also to *pcwδ'* in line 658. "Concerning what I taught before: that you should see, hear, suspect, and (in that case only) avoid, now (I declare): seen or unseen, every kind you shall avoid."

663. *ym'n* is "defect, fault", e.g. = Skt. *avadya* in line 670, hence hardly comparable with Pers. *gumān* "opinion, fancy, suspicion, doubt".

671. *'wpy'krt*, see also *Sogdica* 18 (and *Errata*). M̄Pers. *'wpy* is apparently a different word. Here = *buddhānuvarṇitam* 258<sup>15</sup> (= 說).

676. *β'wcy γrδβ'*, I used to read *γrδy'* instead, taking it for Skt. *hṛdaya*, in view of 心量 (heart [mind] + capacity), which is both Guṇabhadra's and Śikṣānanda's translation of *mātrayā* (259<sup>1</sup>) acc. to Suzuki; M. Demiéville has a different reading (p. 191, n. 9). M. Benveniste translates as if the text had *γrβδ'*.

677/8. = Skt. *yogī piṇḍaṃ samācāret*. Cf. also *'cw wyspw šyr'k m'n 'škr'n'tt* 629 = *yogī*.

683. *pδβh*, also 714, possibly to be read *pδkh*. It is not a satisfactory *-k-*, but it is not a good *-β-* or *-y-* either. The letter *-k-* has been maltreated by the scribe throughout the manuscript; it can be mistaken sometimes for *-r-*, sometimes for *-p-*, etc. The meaning of *pδkh* could be "habit" or "category" here. Cf. the weak *pδkh* in P 12, 52, *pr s'n pδkh* "like an enemy" (here M. B. emends, I think, unnecessarily), *pr βγ'n'yk pδkh VJ.*, 873, *'stty w'γwn'k pδkh 'PZY* "it happens that" P 6, 108 (edition *'sttyw*, but the apparent *-w* merely serves to fill the line; = *'sty*), and P 6, 60, comm.

732. *prγwn-* I took for the present stem of *prγwt-* (868), *prγwt-* (1035, 1039), and compared the noun *prγwn* (see *BBB.*, 76). "So that they will reject (condemn) meat and [not] desire its various kinds." However, this does not agree well with the Chinese.<sup>1</sup>

756. *nyz'nt* "vertueux, honnête" acc. to M. Benveniste. In 794 *nyz'ntyh* = Skt. *kīrti*, in 1181 *trn nyz'nt* evidently = Chr. *trn nzn̄t* = Syr. *tammīmā* "perfectus, sincerus, simplex" = ἀκρίταος. Chr. *nzn̄ty'*, *S.T.*, ii, certainly the same as *nyz'ntyh*, corresponds together with "obedience" to Hebr. *'wny* ii Sam., 16<sup>12</sup> (as A. Rucker has seen), which has been interpreted in different ways (mostly taken for *'onyī*). Here "humility, subjection" would suit, and similarly *nzn̄t* in the hendiadys *trn nzn̄t* could be "meek". Cf. also M 765\*8 *c'nw nzn̄dy'h 'f[yy] nmryh w'x[šf]* "as humbleness and soft (polite) words". I compared Pers. *nižand* (*na-*) "cast down" (*S.T.*, ii, 604) and later Arm. *hnazand* ὑπήκοος (see Gershevitch, §§ 27, 397).

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not always realized with sufficient clarity that the Sogdian translators (1) may have had before them Chinese manuscripts whose text differed considerably from that printed in the Taishō Tripitaka, (2) may have thoroughly misunderstood the Chinese. An instructive example is *SCE.*, 79/80, *γwny ZKZY ym'n nws'kw 'wy cīny' syt*. Anyone acquainted with Sogdian will understand "that one to whom faults appear in the eyes perpetually", viz. a habitual fault-finder. I venture to think that a true-born Sogdian would have understood the same thing. But alas! the Chinese text used by M. Pelliot bears no resemblance to it. It says *mot à mot* "sew-falcon-eye-joint" = "(he that) sew(s) together a) falcon's eye-lid(s)". One wonders if it is wise for us to resign our knowledge of Sogdian and try to bring the Sogdian text into line with the Chinese. For this short sentence we have to impute to the Sogdian language not less than three otherwise unknown words, all of them homonyms of well-known words, namely (1) *ym'n* a new pronominal form (as if we had not enough of such already), otherwise = fault, defect; (2) *nws'kw* a falcon (which in fact is *nws* or *zws*), otherwise = always; (3) *syt* he sews, otherwise = he appears.

771. *γrtr'k* "mule" from *χαταρα-*, cf. also Saka *khaḍara*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, X, 590 (24). The Sogdian word was borrowed by the Turks: *χαταρα* > *χάταρ* > *qatir*, and further in Mongol and in several Turkish dialects (cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1943, 43) *qatir* > *qecir*. As Turkish loan-word it reappeared in Iranian (Pers. *qātīr*, Pashto *qačara*, Bal. *začar*, etc.), and entered also Indian languages (Hindi, Nepali *khaccar*, Sindhi *začar*<sup>a</sup>, etc.).

811. *kysn'k* = jungle, forest, cf. *Sogdica*, 29 n. Dhuta, 257, probably "the plant does not grow and disappears in the deep jungle"; *zγrwβs-* = Parth. *'zgrys-* "to disappear" < "to be taken out (of its normal place)". But Parthian *zrwβ* (the text was given in *BSOS.*, IX, 90) may be < \**zrwβ* = "gold-worker", with \**zrwβ* "artist" from Av. *hwapah-* = Skt. *svāpas-*.

847. *pn-<sup>1</sup> monnaie* is loan-word from Skt. *pana* (cf., e.g., Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, i, 282, No. 561), rather than from Chin. 分 *fən* < *piuən* "candareen" (now "cent"), which appears in Eastern Turkish as *puñ* (Menges, *SbPAW.*, 1933, 1285).

856. *L' yysy'nt L' k'mynt = ni donné d'instructions, ni sollicité.* *yys-* (not *yysy-*) thus renders a Chin. character with the meaning of "to instruct", which the Sogdian translator (who understood the here apparently very difficult Chin. text differently) took for "to be instructed, to learn". Hence, *yys-* defective spelling of *ywys-/yγus-*. "Even if they neither learn, nor desire, nor consider for what reasons the fish is caught. . ."

911. *βγ'n γwn'y = Raurava* (Skt. and Chin.) explains the puzzling reference to *raurava* in *BSOS.*, IX (1939), 511 sq. Similarly, the reading and interpretation of *mkγw* (*ibid.*, p. 499) can be understood only with the help of the Paris texts. One wondered why M. Benveniste wanted to compare (*ibid.*, 502) Sogdian *wzpw-* (Chr. *užb-*) with MPers. *wyz'b-* (*wizāb-*); we find now that the word is spelt *wyzpw-* in P 6, 193. All the same, as the Sogdian has *-žb-* with no vowel intervening, but the MPers. *-zāb-*, the words cannot be connected. As M. Benveniste complains that the passage where *wyz'b-* occurs is not generally accessible, I give here the text (of the whole column, M 26 ii R), *'wd 'st'yšn 'yg [. . .] xwys pydr yzd r'stygr o kw 'wn c'wn xwd pd r'myšn 'wd š'dyy pd b'ryst phryzymbd o 'wš'n ks wyz'bg'r ny 'st' o 'wn 'c xwys r'myšn u drwd wšyd'xw 'wd 'wrv'hmyyhb wnyr'nd 'br hm'g dyn ywjd[dr]*.

951. *mk'* "ink" = Uyγur *mākā*, from Chin. 墨 *mo* < *mək*, see Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 92.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Benveniste (in the Glossary) connects *pn-y* with *pn-y* in the medical fragment P 19, 8. It would, however, seem that *pn-y-γ'y* in that text is a single word. In unpublished medical fragments it occurs (throughout out of context) as *pn-γ'y*. There is little doubt that this is the name of a medicinal measure or weight, presumably a fraction of the *st'yr* (P 19, 6) = ounce. In Uyγur Turkish the tenth part of a *sitir* = *tael* = ounce is called "baqir" = *mace*, see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurische Glossen, Ostas. Ztschr.*, viii, p. 320. This "baqir" (*p'γyr*) or *pačir*, which should not be confused with Turk. *baqir* "copper", is evidently the same word as the Sogdian *pn-γ'y* (etc.) = \**panγ'ri*. One frequently finds *-aχ-* instead of *-aγ-* in Sogdian words.

<sup>2</sup> In view of M. Benveniste's remark, p. 181 n., it should be noted that *BBB* was published on 13th April, 1937. I received *Notes iii*, through the kindness of the author, on 4th May, 1937.

980. 'ntrnykh (ZY *ptmr'kh*), read 'ntrnyrh = *indranīla* (and *padmarāga*), see *Sogdica*, 24 (c 11/12), and *Errata*. On *mwrβnt* see also *Tales*, 468, n. 4.

1016. -*šwβt*-, if -*š*- from *θr*, possibly = Pers. *sift* "tight, thick, etc."

1017. *ryz'kh*. M. Benveniste translated "rice" at first (this was also my first translation), but abandoned it later. In view of Saka *rrīys*- and the other forms quoted by Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 91, it deserves consideration. In *Padm.*, 28, *ryz'kh* seems to have no equivalent in the Chinese (*Taišō*, No. 1082, vol. xx, p. 199c); why not "rice"?<sup>1</sup> The word corresponding to "mustard" (白芥) there is certainly *šywsβdn*, which should be compared with Saka *šašvām* "mustard" (quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 136). Sogd. *csth* = 酪 "drink made of fermented mare's milk, etc."

1019. *γwrst'ny* is presumably "millet". *γwrst*- exactly = Pashto *γōšt*; cf. further Pers. *gāvars*, Saka *gawsā*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 214.

1019. *kymp'*, M. Benveniste tentatively "hemp". We should primarily compare Saka *kumbā* "flax", quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 128. On confusion of hemp and flax see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 288 sqq. \**kembā* is certainly loan-word in Iranian and belongs to Akk. *gunnapu*, Syr. *qnp'*, *κάνναβις*, etc. Hence, "as thickly as (the plants in) a field of flax, millet, or corn."

1029. *cytβnt* "homage" or "greeting" is possibly connected with Saka *twamdana*- (Tuḡre *twantam*, see Konow, *NTS.*, xiii, 1942, 207-8), although the initials are not easily explained.<sup>2</sup>

1045. *pc'w*- = agitate, stir up, excite, see now *Tales*, 472 (D 28).

1065. *zyncry'kh* "chains", cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 240, n. 1 (strike out *tcamgalai*, see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5). *kwδ'ynty*: M. Benveniste justly refers to Skt. *kudaṇa*, which Bagechi, *Deux Lexiques*, ii, 371, 379, wrongly restored as *kodaṇa*. He should have written *kudaṇa* as in *Mahāvīyutpatti*, 223, 279. This is pseudo-Sanskrit. Sogdian *kwδ'ynty*, which in my view is in the singular, should be pronounced *kuδende* and connected not with Pers. *kudine*, etc., "mallet", as M. Benveniste proposes, but with Pers. *kunde* "stocks for offenders", shortened from \**kudandak*. The word is still used in Eastern Turkestan, as *gundu*, cf. Menges, *Sb.PAW.*, 1933, 1977.

1114. *prγ'yz*-, beside *t'y* "thief", probably "to rob, plunder, strip", cf. *prγ'stk*, *SCE.*, 78, *prγ'stw*. Anc. Lett. v, 12. M. Benveniste refers to Chr. *prγyž*, *S.T.*, ii, but gives "léser". In view of Av. *tāyuš* . . . *hazanha* perhaps from \**parahazyā*? For Chr. -*γ*- instead of older -*χ*- see Gershevitch, §§ 55, 57. Man. *prxyz*-, *BBB.*, *Kawān*, 62, n. 2 (where *prγyž* should be cancelled) must be a different word.

1121. (*cn*) *βr' βr w'γš* " (from) carrying words to and fro " = "tale-bearing". A good example of the ablative of the infinitive (cf. Gershevitch, §§ 913, 919).

1152. *p'z'rmy m'r*. The line is a little blurred, but the first word, to judge

<sup>1</sup> *rysk* Anc. Lett. hardly so.

<sup>2</sup> *cytβnt* serves also as transliteration of *Jetavana* P 8, 30, "to the *farn* of *Jetavana Vihāra* (and to the *farn*) of *Navavihāra*" [sic].

by the facsimile, almost certainly ends in *-rny*. Thus *p'n'rny/p'z'rny* or perhaps *p'y'rny*? I venture to propose *pty'rny*. "I have borne many evil things . . . but never have I done them, even to the inimical Māra"? However, *m'r*, too, is very doubtful; it may be *mwo*<sup>1</sup> = hater, enemy, as in Dhuta 87.

1155. *'nz'ptnym* read *'zn'ptnym*, and so read also in P 12, 70, in the place of *'zn'pt'ym*. Man. *jn'-ptnym*, *BBB.*, p. 64. See now *Tales*, 481, n. 6.

1203, 1222. *nyš* "here, now" (see *Comm.* and *Additions*). The correct translation was already implied by Weller, who (on *Dhyāna* 272) stated that *nyš* probably = 此. Unfortunately for us non-Sinologists he considered it superfluous to reveal the meaning of the Chinese character, which is "in this place, here, now".

1205. *'pšty-*, different from *'pšty-* "to abandon", *VJ.*, 301, probably "to order, command, recommend", to judge by Man. *'pšl'w'nh* "order, recommendation" (see Gershevitch, § 1084), to which it bears the same relation as *nyšty-* (ibid., § 561) does to OPers. *\*ništāwan-*. Man. *'pšl'w'nh* (in Sogd. script), *'pšl'w'n* (in Man. script), = *apaštāwan*, is used only of Mani; *'pšty-* is used of the Buddha. These Sogdian words make it possible to propose a new explanation for the name of the "Avesta": *Apastāk/Abastāg* = The Injunction (of Zoroaster).

1233. *np'yšty*. Some scholars still cherish the idea that the ancient Iranians, instead of *writing* and *sealing* their letters, preferred to *fix* and *confirm* them, although it seems to have been abandoned now as far as the Sogdians are concerned. The basis of this strange opinion was the misreading (*hambāštan*) and consequent wrong etymology of the Middle Persian equivalent of the ideogram *HTYMWN*. Although he did not fail to recognize the Semitic word for sealing, Bartholomæ insisted that the MPers. equivalent should be translated as *festmachen*. The verb is written ideographically nearly always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the *Epistles of Manuščīhr*, p. 24<sup>4</sup>, *ušan nibišt ud 'wōšt*, read *'wōšt*. Important is the Pazend form *hawast* in *ŠGV.*, xi, 39, which sufficiently indicates *'wōšt* (instead of *hmbšt*) as the proper reading. It has been misunderstood by P. de Menasce in his recent reprint of the Pazend text (Fribourg, 1945). Why does the Quran say, exclaims the author of the *ŠGV.*, *kum dil, gōš, čašm-i mardumq bē hawast* = that "I sealed the heart(s) and the ear(s) and the eye(s) of men"? Even a slight acquaintance with Quranic terminology teaches that *hawast* here renders Ar. *ḥatama*. P. de Menasce has not recognized that the passage quoted is Sūrah 2, 6, *ḥatama 'llāhu 'alā qulūbihim wa'alā sam'ihim wa'alā abṣārihim (ghīšāwat<sup>n</sup>)*, a text familiar to most first-year students of Arabic. The final proof for reading *'wōšt* (with

<sup>1</sup> Not connected with MPers. *myn*, *Mir.Man.*, i, which was assumed to be the offspring of Av. *mažni-* (Skt. *meni*). Ibid., *gbr* = uterus (cf. *Kephalaia*, 177, 29); *dn'h* = tooth-ache (*dann-* from *dant*? + Pers. *āh*); *wcyh* = Pahl. *wcyh-* = Av. *vyuqm*; *hug'w'n* read *hug'n'n* "to fill up (a well)"; *phng* read *p'ng*. In *Mir.Man.*, ii, *pylg* may be "altar" = Akkadian *parakku*, Syr. *prakkā*, Mand. *pryky'* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 14). But in Parthian *pylg* is apparently "steps, staircase", hence = Pers. *pille*.

-wb- = -β-) is provided by Man. MPers. 'wyšt in an unpublished fragment (M 785, 28) *prwrdg 'yg 'wyšt 'wd pryst'd 'w dw'zdḥ p'ygwš'[n]*.

1233/4. The name of *Khumdān* occurs first in the Ancient Letters ('xwmt'n), see my note *apud* M. Black, *Transactions of the Glasgow Oriental Society*, viii, 1938, p. 25. The phrase 'wy γwt'w βryβ'r is incomprehensible. A reference in such terms to the ruler of Ch'ang-an, viz. the Chinese emperor, is out of the question. Also, 'wy should precede a locative. Cannot βryβ'r be a mistake for βry'r? Hence, "in the γwt'w monastery", γwt'w being either its Sogdian ("lord, king") or its Chinese (\*hu-tao) name.—Read 19 in the place of 28.

## P 3

3. *s'w-β'm'k* = black, or blackish. -βām in Sogdian is always "colour", as is -fām in Persian (cf. BSOS., X, 100 sq.).

10. 'nkyr here, in view of 'rs'ny (on which see above on P 2, 37), may be = *angīr* = Pers. *anfīr(e)* = *foramen ani*.

38. *s'yn'ynch* probably "ague", lit. shaking, from *šan-* (cf. Pers. *larz*).

55. *pych* "visage" should in my view be read *prch* "back". "If with this stone he knocks, ever so softly, his opponent on the back without his noticing it, etc."

66. *wš-* perhaps "piece", cf. *Sogdica*, 25. "Emitting pieces" = "splintering"?

74. 'sp'rδt may be a verbal form, "his eyes \*burst (and) come out". Cf. Pashto *spar-*, *Morgenstierne*, *EVP.*, 68? In meaning the Sogdian word agrees well with Skt. *sphaṭ-/sphuṭ-*.

100. *cnt'n-β'm'k* can hardly mean "sandal-coloured" as M. Benveniste proposes. Such a term would lack clarity, as sandalwood can be white, red, or yellow. Moreover, Skt. *candana* is regularly spelt *cntn* in Sogdian. *s'w-β'm'k*, 'sp'yt-β'm'k, etc., in the parallel clauses make one think that *cnt'n* (or *czt'n*) by itself is the name of a colour (brown?).

106. 'm'rδ- apparently "companion, colleague, competitor" from *hām-arθa-*, cf. Pers. *hamāl*. See now also Chr. 'mrtḫ "colleagues", *Giwargis* 78.

124. γry'γh, as was suggested in *Tales*, 465, n. 2 = tent = Pers. *xargāh*. Independently, the same explanation was proposed by H. H. Schæder to M. Benveniste (see his note), who objects to it on the ground that we should not have Persian loan-words in a Sogdian text. It was not my meaning that γry'γh should be so regarded. One would rather consider *xargāh* a loan-word (slightly changed by popular etymology) in Persian.

126. 'šych. The imperfect *m'sync* occurs in an unpublished glossary fragment, but the MPers. column is missing (M 356). The corresponding MPers. word is "to water (the garden, the streets, etc.)", cf. *Kawān* a 110. Neither MPers. 'šynz- (*Mir.Man.*, i; *ZII.*, ix, 198) nor Parthian (')'šyj'd (see *BBB*. s.v.; apparently a preterite) are clear. "Poured down water" = "a waterfall"?



132. *yn'kw* conceivably *yz'kw* = \*space, cf. Man. 'yz-, Chr. 'yz- (BBB., 122) ?

134. *cynr'w'k* ? Better read *cyr'w'k* = Pers. *čayz-lāve* (*čayz-vāre*) = (frog-spawn), the scum on stagnant water, etc. Hence, "Paint the big space full of water, and on the back, down to the duck-weed, paint various kinds of *nāgas*."—The somewhat similar word *cyngr'y* in *Sogdica*, p. 36 (*g* 30), can now be explained more fully. The interpretation of MPers. *cmb* as the name of a musical instrument (as in *g* 28, cf. also Sogd. *cmb-l'r-*, *ibid.* *a* 1), and the comparison with Pers. *čangale* "a musical instrument similar to a harp" (BQ.) can be confirmed. For Sogdian *cyngr'y* was borrowed by Turkish: it appears as چینگر *čing(e)rū*, equivalent of *sanj* "harp", in Ibn Muḥanna's Arabic-Turkish dictionary, p. 146, ed. Stambul, 1338/1340.<sup>1</sup> Aptullah Battal, *Ibnü Mühennâ Lûgati*, Stambul, 1934, p. 25<sup>a</sup>, should not have emended it ("čeng"). It is likely that these words are diminutives of *čang* (*čing* ?) "harp".

147 sqq. "the houses of the twelve constellations are to be painted over Mount Sumeru, and also the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the twelve (MS. eleven) great and terrible Hours and all other zodiacal stars are to be painted." The MS. has clearly "eleven hours", but M. Benveniste prints "ten" (cf. above P 2, 1234, where the edition has "28", but the MS. "19"). "Eleven" is a scribal error. The "twelve Hours" are the twelve sections of the ecliptic, each of which needs an hour (= double-hour) to pass through the meridian (= 30°). Astronomers still nowadays calculate right ascension in "hours" (of 15°) instead of degrees. Thus our shamanist had to paint, beside representations of the twelve constellations (as little circles for the stars, connected by lines), also the "circle of twelve animal figures typifying the double hours of the Chaldaean *νυχθήμερον*": so Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. *δωδεκάωρος*. Cf. also Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, plate 7. *pr'ykt* copyist's mistake for *pr'ykt*. *'nyr-wz'nt* is adjective, "lying in, or belonging to, the zodiacal circle."

161. *nyzw*, if = Pers. *nayz* (as M. Benveniste suggests), = smooth, since this is the proper meaning of the Persian word (see e.g. *Čahār Maqāle* 7<sup>a</sup>, opp. *durušt*).

172. *wzprnh* beside camphor, sandalwood, costus, etc., perhaps "safflower" = Ar. *'uṣfur* ? The second half of the Sogdian word looks suspiciously like Ar. *za'farān*, believed to be of Persian origin by some authorities. But "saffron" cannot be meant here, as the proper Sogd. word for it (*kwrkwnph*) occurs in the next line. It is true that *'uṣfur* may be good Arabic, and is apparently not connected with *za'farān*. On the other hand, both may be arabicized forms of two different, but related, foreign words.

174. *yysz aloēs*. It is difficult to believe that for this Indian incense the Sogdian language had a word so dissimilar to the Indian terms (*agaru*, *aguru*). The identification rests on P 7, 108, where the Chinese has *du parfum*

<sup>1</sup> چکر = *barbuṣ* ? p. 161 (cf. Battal, p. 26, *čīñir*) is not clear.

*candana* ou de l'aloès et du musc, acc. to M. Demiéville's translation, while the Sogdian is *ZKw cntn 'PZY ȳȳsh ZY ZKw kp'wr* = sandalwood and *ȳȳsh* and camphor. Obviously, as the Persian lexicographers say, *ġāy-i ta'ammul-ast*; for camphor is not musk. Until we are better informed by Sinologists, we may provisionally assume that *ȳȳsh* is *musk*.<sup>1</sup> If so, one could understand "32 *ȳȳsh*" in *Anc. Letter*, ii, 58, as "32 (vesicles of) musk" (a quantity of considerable value, as can be seen from Marvazi, tr. Minorsky, p. 20).—This is a good opportunity to call attention to the Pahlavi word for "lign-aloes", which is found in *GrBd.*, 118<sup>a</sup> (but omitted in the Indian Bundahishn): *'wlog* = *awalūg* from *\*aγalūk* (with *-w-* from *-γ-* as often), a form that is very close to *ἀγάλοχον*. It corroborates the Syriac spelling *'wlog* (also *'blug*), on which see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 11. As to the *soi-disant* Persian *بلنجوج* (BQ.), *النجوج* (Löw, *Ar. Pfl.*, 295), this absurdity may owe its origin to misreading a corrupt Pahlavi form, e.g. *\*'wlogwγ* misread as *ulangūg*.

175. *z'm nγw'y*. M. Benveniste (see his note on P 2, 298) translates *trancher* and rejects Reichelt's *auspressen*. In my view the correct meaning is "to pound (drugs in a mortar)". Wherever drugs are mentioned in Sogdian texts, they are unfailingly subjected to the action expressed by *nγw'y*, which thus corresponds to Pers. *sūdan*. Together with *zām* "fine" it is the equivalent of Uyγur *yumsaq soq-* (cf. Rachmati, *Heilk. Uig.*, i, 469 on 138). As to *zām*, one does not see how it can be the Chinese 織 *hsien* < *siām* (Benveniste, *JA.*, 1936, i, 231). Neither the initials nor the vowels agree. Middle Chin. *si-* was invariably reproduced by *s(y)-* in Central Asian languages. Cf., e.g., 辛 *siēn* = Sogd. *sin* (*SbPAW.*, 1907, 462), 小 *siāu* = Uyγur *siō-*, *sau-* (ibid., 1938, 374, and often), 心 *siēm* = *siēmī*, 信 *siēn* = *siēmī* in Brāhmī (F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, 91, 43), etc. An Iranian etymology was proposed *apud* Gershevitch, § 285.

179. *cntn'yn'k k'p* possibly "a block of sandal-wood", cf. Pali *candana-gaṇṭhi* (PTS. Dict.)? *k'p* from *kβt-* "to split"?

181/2. *δ'r'yn't p'styt* = wooden cups, or small tablets? The mysterious word *pāšt-* is perhaps merely a dissimilated form of *tāšt-*. Cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 50, n. 2.

199. *wyškȳrd-* perhaps "to pierce"; compare, beside *wšk'rδ* "needle", also Saka *pāskal-*, etc., see Konow, *NTS.*, ix, 64. The Sogdian word for "embers", *ȳȳwγ* = *zarwe*, is no doubt (with metathesis of *-w-*) related to the Pahlavi for "embers", *hwlg* = *zwarg* (from *zwārak*), which is familiar also from Pazend *xurg* (= *aṅgāraka*, *ŠGV.*, xiv, 25), Jewish Persian *xwerg* = *zwarg* (Is. 44<sup>19</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>; Ez. 1<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>), and vulgar Persian *xulg*, *xarg* (instead of *x'arg*), Wollaston s.v. embers.<sup>2</sup> The Sogdian phrase *ȳȳwγ wyškȳrd-*

<sup>1</sup> If this can be established, it may even become worthwhile to consider whether the Sogdian is related in any way to the Chinese term for "musk" (see Karlgren, *Analyt. Dict.*, No. 865).

<sup>2</sup> Not recognized by indigenous dictionaries. P. de Menasce (on *ŠGV.*) quotes a solitary Pers. "zarak D", but does not explain the *D*. This *\*zarak* which I find in Johnson's Dictionary is, of course, a mispointed *zarg/zorg*.

reminds one of Pahlavi *xwarg škastan* "to break up live coals", *DkM.*, 794 apu.<sup>1</sup>

204. *ššny w't* is probably "south-wind". MPers. *dašn* is "right (side, hand)" only. In the place of *w'n'ntk* one could read *wz'ntk* "blowing". The passage in its whole recalls *Hadokht Nask*, ii, 7-8.

205. "swift as thought", literally "swift thought-equally ('yuznkyδ)". On Pahl. *vāt-i artū* see also *Sogdica*, 37, n. 1.

219. "And now, a great oath has been taken by the Nāgas . . . (to the effect) that whenever all such preparations, as described, have been made in full, they will feel obliged to come there, together with the wind, in order to make . . ."

226/7. *w's-* "to begin to blow", see *Tales*, 482, note *f*. Both M. Benveniste and myself have been deceived by the "frogs" *γekt*. "Sulphur and realgar," see *BSOS.*, X, 398, and *Tales*, 465, n. 1.

242. *nm'y* is perhaps the same particle as the Talmudic *ny* (*Levy*, iii, 399), whose Persian origin Nöldeke suspected (*Mand. Gramm.*, 485). Syriac *lam* is generally derived from *ny*.

273. *'psβ'yc* (*'stky*) is almost certainly a "sheep's shoulderblade", an object indispensable to a Central Asian magician. One could refer to Quatremère, *Histoire Mong. en Perse*, 267 sqq. (note 89), and to the recent discussion by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 92-3, 101. As *'ps-* = sheep, *-β'yc* = *frēc* must be "shoulder" or "shoulderblade". This should be compared with MPers. *prygg*, Pahl. *plyk* "shoulder", see *OLZ.*, 1934, 752 (where *Dād. Dīn.*, 37, 97, p. 102, ed. Anklesaria, could be added). Both the Sogdian and Middle Persian words represent Old Iranian *\*frayikā-*, which cannot be separated from *\*fayaka*, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 208 (Dr. Gershevitch reminds me also of *βyk'*, *VJ.*, 56<sup>e</sup>).

285. *kn'twš mastic* = Pers. *kandōš mastic*. This explanation, which Reichelt, ii, p. vii, approved, is not possible. There is no such Persian word. It is true one finds it in Johnson's dictionary (and its descendants), but one looks for it in vain in reliable books. The correct Persian word that can be identified with Sogd. *kn'twš* is *kundūs* = Ar. *kundus* = Syr. *qyndwš* and means "a kind of *Saponaria*" or according to some authorities (for example, Schlimmer, p. 559) "white hellebore", see Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 305 sq.; Achundow, transl. of *Muv.*, 261 sq. [of the reprint]. It is in this case still possible to trace the mistake as to "mastic". In the *Kāšfu 'lLughāt* (sixteenth century) Arabic—but not Persian!—*kundūs* is thus defined:—"the name of an animal; also, it is said, the name of a drug, which they call *maštakī* = mastic in India; thus in *aššurāh*." Obviously, the author of the *Kāšf* declines responsibility for the second meaning. Looking up his source, the *Šurāh* (thirteenth century),

<sup>1</sup> This passage, along with many others, was discussed by Dr. Mirza in his able commentary on *Pahl. Riv.*, ch. 35, where he proposed "light (emanating from fire, etc.)". However, the word was sometimes confused with *x'arreh* (as Mirza pointed out) and thus may appear as *GDH* in Pahlavi texts. Thus, e.g., in *GrBd.*, 124<sup>19</sup>, "three fires like three embers in a fire-place" (differently Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 45).

we find s.v. *kdš*:—"Arabic *kundus* = Persian 'akke va-kundur' = magpie and incense (mastic). Since the *Šurāh* is merely an abridgment of the *Šihāh*, we have to turn to the latter work, where, as in any other Arabic dictionary of repute, *kundus* has only the meanings of (1) magpie, (2) a certain sternutative drug (= *kundus*; purists disapproved of the spelling with -š), see, e.g., *Tāf al 'Arūs*, vol. iv, p. 346. Thus *kundur* in the *Šurāh* is necessarily a mistake. No spelling *کندوش* occurs in either Arabic or Persian; the vowels of "*kandōš*" are pure invention.

286. *z'r* is almost certainly "poison" here as everywhere else. Hence, *mōš'kk z'r* = the poison, Skt. *mūṣaka*, *Salvinia cucullata* Roxb., cf. also Skt. *mūṣakamārī* "rat-killer" for the same plant; M. Benveniste's translation *mauve musquée* can hardly be justified. Further, *šr'ynk z'r* is surely the well-known poison, Skt. *śrngī*, which in Arabic and Persian books partly appears as *شرنک* (thus Bērūni) or *اسرنق* (from *اسرنق*?), partly is translated as *al-qurūn* "the horns" or *qurūn as-sunbul* "the horns of the corn-ear"<sup>1</sup>, or also *bīš al-qurūn*. To judge by the statements of Muslim pharmacologists, *śrngī* was *Secale cornutum*; it figured in the lists of so-called "aconites". See Muwaffaq 59<sup>6</sup>; Achundow's translation, 276 sqq.; Ghāfiqī, No. 181 and note; *K. al-Dhakhīrah*, 298, ed. Sobhy. The text of the relevant passage in Bērūni's *k. aṣ-Ṣaidanah* is available in part *apud* Z. Validi Togan, *Biruni's Picture of the World*, p. 113 (where *شیرنک* = *شیرنک*?), more fully but less correctly *apud* Ghāfiqī, loc. cit.

## P 5

1-89 re-edition of the *Dīrghanakhasūtra*. 90-125 is not well described as *le début d'une longue invocation bouddhique*. It is a confession-prayer for Buddhist monks. One regrets that there is so little of it. The Uyğur *Sündenbekenntnisse* published by Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 76 sqq., and Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, were intended for the laity.

28 n. It is perhaps more correct to say that *γwnc* "colour" translates *色* "colour", which in its turn represents Skt. *rūpa*, irrespective of the meaning of the Skt. word in various contexts.

41. *šyr'w'y* (M. B.'s correction) is properly "goodness". It may not be superfluous to mention that the ordinary meaning of *好*, which here is rendered by *šyr'w'y*, is "good, well, happy, etc." The Sogdian translator was hardly aware of the special value of the Chinese character.

94. Read [.](šy) *βwmh*? Before *βwmh* there is space for not more than four or five letters. *γwyz'y* [.](šy) *βwmh* should be = *Sukhāvati*. One could restore [*wy*]šy, "the very [happy] land of the West." Cf. P 8, 72, "to with-great-joy = blissful *Sukhāvati*" (M. Benveniste's translation differs).

94. *pr'pt* (or is it *pr'pty*?) occupies the third place in a list of *Bodhisattvas*.

<sup>1</sup> Often misunderstood as "the horns of the spikenard".

Hence, abbreviation of [*Mahāsthāma*]prūpta, see, e.g., *Larger Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, § 34.

106. *wsn* 107 *juwyty pyδ'r* cannot be seen on the photograph. '*puh* is a little doubtful, but cf. *c'wn 'pw''y'z mrt's'r* P 9, 120 (which could conveniently be restored here).

108. *yrβ'wk* 109 *wn'y* is, to judge by the facsimile, a rather dubious reading. After *lobha* and *dveṣa* one expects *moha* (usually *mntyrβ'kyh*). Perhaps *yyr''k-wn'y*? "Desire, hate, stupidity, and suffering are endless, that torment. . ."

114/5. Nearly completely blotted out in the facsimile. *δ'r'ny* read *δ'ryny*? One wonders if *\*poytw* can be read in the place of *pertw*.

120. Cf. *T.T.*, iv, p. 436, 28 sq., *bursong quwrayy iki yartim qiltimz ārsār*. Hence, read *'krtw*?

110-125. M. Benveniste has not translated these last fragmentary lines. They mean roughly this: "If I should have destroyed (*[n]stw*) a *stūpa* . . ., burnt or destroyed a sacred book, stolen and kept the possessions of the Three Jewels . . ., slandered (and said) 'it was not taught by the Buddha'. If I should have . . . and kept and hidden it . . . without the commandments and keeping the commandments . . . if I should have slandered and detracted . . ., hurt a life . . ., kept servants . . ., split the united community into two parties. If I should have given rise to the very heretical opinion that . . . action has no retribution. Furthermore, if by day or night, habitually (*r'm[nt]*) I should have committed sins of the body, [sins of the mind], sins of the mouth, . . ."

## P 6

Fragment of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhatahāgatasūtra*. To our misfortune, M. Benveniste has not printed the apparently very close translation of the Chinese original which M. Demiéville had prepared for him. W. Liebenenthal's translation, given in an appendix, is not as literal as one could wish. One misses explanations of the passages where the Sogdian apparently deviates from the Chinese, judging by Liebenenthal's version.

7. *kyn'k* means "sword" according to the Chinese version. M. Benveniste justly compares ἀκινάκης. There is, however, no need to bring in *kynβr Padm.*, 25, which, as Weller has shown (on *Vim.*, 136), is "enemy". Cf. Pers. *kīnāvar*, from *kīn* "hatred, revenge, enmity, fight, battle".

7/8. *cnn 'sk' šk''βy* has no equivalent in Liebenenthal's translation. Professor Haloun kindly informs me that Hsüan-tsang's text, in agreement with most other versions, has "precipice", 懸峻. Pers. *šikāf* "crevice, cleft in a mountain".

13. *wyn'ync s'n* (Demiéville *ennemi étranger*). One does not quite see how one can arrive at this reading. The MS. has *nyn'ync* (or *zyn'ync*, etc.).

21. '*βt*, read '*št*. Added by the scribe above the line, but apparently superfluous.

25. *γw''t*. M. Benveniste (see his long note) has not seen that this *γw''t* is merely an orthographic variant of *γ'wt(y)*, *γw'wt(y)* in the Dhuta text which

were discussed in *BBB.*, p. 58 (on 505). This  $\gamma w't$  (from  $\gamma w'ut$ ) means "he breaks (the law, etc.)", and has no obvious connection with the adjective  $\gamma w't$ , Man. and Chr.  $xw't$ , which in all passages means nothing but "weak", certainly nowhere *endommagé*. The comparative is naturally *moins de force*, weaker. That this adjective was formed from a root  $xwā$  was explained in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). It is entirely a different matter to ascribe a present stem  $xwā$  to Sogdian. Such a present stem does not exist. I have no apologies to make for the statement to that effect in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). There are no present stems ending in  $-ā$  in Sogdian. As proof for his point of view M. Benveniste quotes  $\gamma w't$ ,  $\gamma w'nt$ , *SCE.*, 185, 212. In my view these forms belong to  $\gamma w-$  "to fail, *commettre une faute*", see *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 552).

82.  $\beta'z'kh$  "upper arm and shoulder" corresponds to Pahlavi *bāzā*, spelt  $b'z'y$ , as *nasā*, *ardā* are spelt *ns'y*, *'l'y*. We have countless examples of this orthographic peculiarity in Pahlavi inscriptions now, see e.g. *BSOS.*, IX, 829 sqq. The Pahlavi words have frequently been misread as *artāk*, *nasāk*, etc. Salemann, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, a, 279, beside  $b'z'y$  and *ns'y*, quotes the much-discussed *nkyr'y* ("nkyr'b"), transliterated in Pazend as *nigōrāe*. According to H. H. Schæder, *Ung. Jb.*, xv, 571, n. 2, this word should prove the existence in Middle Persian of a participle-adjective in  $-āy$  (which I had denied, *NGGW.*, 1932, 219, n. 7). I submit that the spelling on the contrary shows that the word ended in  $-ā$ . It would, moreover, seem that *nkyr'y* is a loan-word from Aramaic, a form from *nkr* "to repudiate", although the true original, *\*nakkīrā* "denying, repudiating" (as *makkīkā* "humble", etc.), does not apparently occur in Aramaic.

98.  $pδ'yβ'reyh$  shows that Chr.  $pdyb'dey'$ , *S.T.*, ii, is wrong reading of  $pdyb'rey'$ . The  $-d-$  was marked as uncertain in the edition; the difference is merely a matter of a dot. Misled by the Christian form, I restored  $pdyβ'dey'$  in *BBB.*, p. 36 (line 613), but indicated that this was doubtful. Read  $p(δyβ)['](rc)[y](')$ .

111.  $'yw kpyy$  50 litt. *cinquante moins un. Il en résulte que kpyy* (ici "à défaut") est confirmé dans la fonction de substantif et dans le sens de "manque, défaut" posés *Notes iv* [*BSOS.*, IX], p. 515. To my mind this use of the word (cf. also *JRAS.*, 1942, 243) shows again clearly that *kpyy* means *moins* and is not a substantive, but the comparative of  $kβny$  "little". As pointed out in *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 546), *kpyy* = Man. *kmbyy* is ἐλάττων. Hence, *kpyy* from *kambiyah-*, but  $kβn-$  from *\*kabna-* = *\*kmbno-*<sup>1</sup>. The word corresponding to *kpyy* in Persian, *kam*, is similarly used, cf. Pers. *sad yak kam* = 99; cf. also Bang *apud* Marquart, *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, p. vi, n. 3, where *bir kem otuz* = 29.

113. 'W copyist's mistake for 't? The entry in the *Glossaire*:—'W, *ou* (*passim*), is hardly justified. This word occurs neither in these, nor in other Sogdian texts. "Or" is 'WZY; similarly, "and" is 'PZY, but never \*'P.

<sup>1</sup> One wonders how often more "MPT. *kambišt*" will be quoted. No such word is attested. Cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 751.

119. *ny'wδ*. The reading is confirmed by Man. *nywδ γρβγγ* (?), M 502'R 1 (out of context) = as far as one knows (?).

145. *zγ'rš-* may be *ny'rš-*. Dhyāna 231 has been overlooked, "neither old age nor death befall him", cf. *BBB.*, 55, where Chr. *nzš-* was quoted.

151. *γnšy'kh*, the object of *w'c-*, should name the punishment which the king had imposed upon his prisoners and from which he should release (*w'c-*) them now. In view of *γnš'kh* "toil" (*SCE.*, 44) one could think of compulsory labour. Similarly *γnšn γnšn* P 2, 1043/4 = various efforts, or renewed efforts, while *γnš'y 'štn*, *VJ.*, 769, may be "he carried (the body of the cart on his neck)",<sup>1</sup> cf. the employment of *kašūdan* in similar contexts in Persian (*bār k-*). Or else, *γnšyāk* may mean "captivity", shortened from *γrans-*, cf. *γr'nš*, *BBB.*, p. 63. One could thus account also for Sogdian *γnš* (*Sogdica*, p. 39, *h* 37), whose Middle Persian equivalent *bš* may reflect OIr. *bastra-* (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 87); this is true also of Persian *baš*, which was differently explained in *Sogdica*, p. 42. Not necessarily connected with either group is *γršy'kh*, P 13, 3. This is perhaps a measure of length? "He (Rustam) came close (from *β'w-* "to approach") to the town by one thousand feet, or paces"?

163. *kršn* here corresponds to "beauty" in Liebenthal's translation. This further confirms the opinion put forward in *BBB.*, p. 93 (cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 37).

165. *γ'ttwkh* corresponds to "wives of the princes" in Liebenthal's translation, but M. Demiéville gives *la seconde femme (de l'empereur)*. One would have valued an explanation of this divergence.

167. *β'mkyr'nt conseillers, ministres qui secondent* is a puzzling word. Would it be permissible to regard it as a case of semi-translation of the equally mysterious Persian title *kanārang*, *Χαυαράγγης*, which may have been analysed as *kanār + rang*? For Sogdian *β'm* = Persian *rang*, and Sogd. *kyr'n* = Pers. *kanār*.

167. *'ynδ'yth les dames* may belong to Wakhi *indigunf*, Yidgha *idiko*, etc., "slave-girl."

185. *rynckwk litt. "enfantin", d'où "bénin"*. Not a happy etymology. In P 12, 55, it is opposed to *γr'n* "heavy". Hence = "light". See also *Tales*, 482, n. 5.

193. *kyc* conceivably = Persian *gīc* (modern *gīj*) "giddy, stupefied, perplexed".

197. *kwntk* is an ingenious, but apparently rather uncertain, reading, to judge by the facsimile.

<sup>1</sup> *βetywmp'y 'skwn*, *ibid.*, 771, must mean "she pushed the wheel". This reveals a root of five consonants, (*fra +*) *stynp*, or at least four, *\*stym*, if *-np-* = *-mb-* developed from an original *-m-*. Hence compare Pahl. *stahm*, *stahm(b)ak*, and *Vistahm*.

## Misprints and Minor Points

P 2-6<sup>1</sup>

P 2.—17 'krt'. 22 *rtšy pr 'ws'wyl'k*. 25 'zw'n "life". 26 *y't'k*. 27 'myh. 30 *prywnk* (here and P 7, 193) = *prnywnk*? 40 *c'wn*. 55 *š't'kh* "law"; *rtšth*, too, prob. subst. "truth". 89 copyist's mistake for *cywyšn*. 93 [*c'n'kw ZY*] omitted by the scribe before *ZK*. 96 'ns'γtk. 101, 116, 154 *γypδh*. 106 copyist's mistake for *pryw*. 157/8 "care cannot be taken (to prevent) that (*rtγ*) the son might kill". 160 copyist's mistake for *p'rZY* (here = rather, even); *rtyšw*. 162 *ZNH* (not in index). 164 'st'y opt., " (if there) were." 166 *βrz* also *VJ.*, 1131; here = rather. 167/9 "and need not realize successive re-births when he dies". 172 *ZKZY*. 176 *mz'γyh*. 209 "this vengeance follows (pres.) him who (*ZKZY*) has taken (impf.) my sweet life". 219 'wγ'wrt. 232 *pyšy*. 235 'γ'zt "begins . . . to kill"; omit 'rγ'nt from glossary. 246 *ZY* (instead of *ZK*). 251 *m'skh*; "that the butcher's means increase." 262 "merciless is he that buys". 269 "meat-production" ? Cf. 286, and also 347 "it is very wicked to prepare (produce) meat" ? 271 'nyppδ'y uncertain; poss. 'nzpδ'y (or 'zn-). 293 'δ'kw. 298 *zγ'y* as *z-γ'y* occurs in unpublished texts. 305 *ZKwyh*. 307 *γwny*. 323 *péché*, read *meurtre*. 328 *γwnγw*. 335 *γrβyh*? 359 *nt* (also gloss.) read *ZK*. 361 'ndβy-, cf. Gershevitch, § 293. 363 *ZK* read *ZKw*. 366 cf. *Sogdica*, 16, 18, "stability? station?" 390 On *zm'wr'k* see Gershevitch, § 380. 401 *cytk* from *kačta-*, Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 97. 419 "his food is not well digested" (as Skt. *pac-*, BR. meaning 3). 432 some kind of *vātavyādhī*, cf. Pers. *bāš . . . xēzād* (often in *Muv.*). 433 *knpy'strh* "particularly short" (relative of *knpy*). 467 *pn'yšt*. 509 *y't'yn'k*. 513 *prw'y'nt*. 523 *syδrt*, no doubt copyist's mistake for *srδyt*. 546 *m'th*. 551 'šk'yrtγ (also gloss.). 557 *γwy'r* read *γwy'rstr*. 582 "on the morrow, to-morrow" rather than *tōt*. 609 insert *ZNH* after 'PZY. 621 'pw read 'kw; "how could I dare . . . not to listen." 635 *wyrkyh*. 639 *sk'rn'k*. 641 -škr'k. 642 *γwn* a particle? 665 *ZNH* read *γh*. 672/3 "so that you shall eat it, all you monks, as if". 689 *rtšy*. 713 *pcγwδ'* (also gloss.). 785 cf. also Parth. *tyšt-yn*, *BSOS.*, IX, 88. 815 the MS. has *ptr'yδry*, corrected into -δky (or vice versa); was -δrky intended = *ptr'yšky* 458? 850/1 from *ā + karš*, cf. also *Sogdica*, 29 (e 11). 866/7 "except for a Buddha's or Bodhisattva's expedient (*upāya*)"; Chin. differs. 875 *z'rcn'wk'*. 891 copyist's mistake for *pw'rt'y*. 892 *kwyšt-* (if = sesame) = *kūiš* < \**kūinšt* < \**kūinčt* < *kunčit*? 923 *zw'rt*. 954 lit. "and walk in such matter" = "and act accordingly". 966 *srδ* left out after *RYPW*. 969 *pyrnm'str*. 983 *δwyth*. 992 cf., e.g., *Mahāvvyutpattī*, 15, 16 (ed. Minayev). 1010 *mystk'r'k*. 1044 'škrty. 1052 *prwy'w'k* (also 214) here synonym of *yp'k* = *dveša*? 1067 insert *pyδ'r* before *ZKwh*. 1071 *ctβ'r* is correct, but the MS. has *ctβ'k*. 1077, 1082 *pātux* "on his guard" from *pāta + axw*? 1085 'wyh *tmyh*; *mr* perhaps meant to be cancelled, the scribe having begun to write

<sup>1</sup> To save space, where no confusion is possible only those readings are given which are correct in my opinion. Thus, "P 2, 17 'krt'" means that in that line the MS. seems to have, in my view, 'krt' instead of 'krtγ.



*mr(ck)*. 1098 'yh read 'znh "knowledge". 1110 z'ygyz'k, cf. Pers. *xazidan* "creep". 1154 *srw* "head"? 1161 'pwh is emendation; MS. 'npwh. 1163 pδ'rβ-, cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 4. 1168 'βs'yp-, possible connections, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3. 1176 'rt'wpsyh. 1181 nyz'nt. 1189 'cw. 1207 γrδ'k poss. = γδ'kh, P 7, 64 = Man. γδy' (?), *BBB.*, 105. 1223 prβ'yrw is subj., not impf. (which is pr'yβ'yrw). 1230 *srw*.

P 3.—4 ZK. 11 ZY read 'ny "other". 15 "it quickly heals and gets better". 24 Enter L' at end of line. 41 'ns'ytch. 48/9 "unlimited", *Sogdica*, 27 sq. 50/1 "early in the morning, before eating (Gershevitch, § 63) or talking". 57 "his words are going = fluent? successful?". 82 p'tz'r'k. 97 "cannot easily be set forth". 108 *frawēd-*, cf. *Tales*, 484 sq. 110 'zw'nh not quite certain; poss. 'w'nh ("w'zh). "Elle est belle" has no equivalent in the Sogdian text. 112 rty. 125 prδync is correct, but MS. prδyc. 129 pr'yuk "damask", see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 150 sqq. 142 nγs'yr. 158 MS. prδ'nkh, corrected *prima manu* to prδynch. 174 wyspn'c. 179 pw read [Z]Kw. 206 βwδn(-βr'n). 209 "the living beings of the whole world", cf. above on P 2, 636. 251, 282 "sheep". 267 "to hide", cf. *Sogdica*, 33. 284 restore Reichelt's translation, "after boiling it", cf. Gershevitch, § 932.

P 5.—8 nβyy, and first 'PZY read ZKZY (with Gauthiot). 21 'z'wny (with Gauthiot). 24 rather [w]β'n[t]k (cf. *Tales*, 471, n. 4) as Chin. has 網 "net, web, trap". 28 pwrny't (in gloss. pwrny't read pwrny't, two words (with Gauthiot). 47 'z'wny (with G.). 65 pcyrβ't (with G.). 79 'βrys'k (with G.). 90 'ws'wyl'. 94 'myl'. 95 ksytkr = *Kṣitigarbha*. 96 γwt'w. 98 'ws'wly. 105 wyc'w'k, "come to witness the confession of my sins." 106 [yw] δ[ry]wšky t'nm'n "I, this Bhikṣu of such and such name". 'wyc'wyt'k read 'ws'wyt'k? 113 prw'yt (from prw'c-). 116 cf. Man. psyp-, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3 (see also above on P 2, 1168).

P 6.—9 stp'δ'k. 12 ZKw. 13 'ys't. 29 'dry is not translated. 33 'z'wny. 35 'PZYsy. 42 β in 'βc'npdyk with a hook below. 47 'YKZYn. 49, 63 p'yr. 51 mæck'. 54 'wyh. 62 šw'mntk. 66 pδβr- "stage" (thus here, too, acc. to Liebenthal's transl.). 78 'zy'ms'y, 2nd letter poss. damaged, meant to be 'y- as in 80? 81 'wyh. 83 Enter rty before 'ncuδst. 89 ZK. 91 γctyγwštk. 94 z't. 98 'myh. 115 ZY; wrnty. 127 ZKw. 130 prs't (also comm. and gloss.). 139 rnk'n. 146 'sp'yn'w'y. 150 m'ytr is *maitrī*, not *mitra*. 151 prk'yšt'yt, corrected *pr.m.* from *pkk-*. 168 r'βyh. 179 'PZYn. 184 c'γwn'kw. 191 ZKw.

## P 8 Colophon

166. *srδy 'my βγp'wr stny 'kw δrw'nckndyh*. As these first words of the colophon are followed by a date of the common Central Asian kind which tells us precisely nothing (15.6 of the Tiger year), they are unlikely to contain a date too. M. Benveniste's translation, "*l'année du prince . . . , à Tuen-Houang*" cannot be correct, if only because Sogdian grammar requires that the word for prince precede that for year (cf. e.g. Reichelt, ii, 70, 34). Thus

*srđy* may be different from *srđ-* "year"; or else the scribe intended to put in a sensible date, leaving a line blank for the purpose, but forgot to do so. Neither explanation can be viewed with favour. It is something of an understatement to render *βγρ'wr* as "prince"; the *βαγρūr/Fayfūr* (on the origin of the term see *BSOS.*, X, 94, n. 2)<sup>1</sup> was the Emperor of China. And *βγρ'wr stny* "the land of the Fayfūr" is necessarily "China". M. Benveniste has not always recognized the value of the suffix *-stn-*, which corresponds to Persian *-stān* (see Gershevitch, §§ 122, 1118); thus *'yntwkstny* "(in) India", P 21c, 17, is read °*st'y* in the edition and assumed to mean "*période (ou vie) antérieure*". It is interesting to note that those Sogdians that lived in China abandoned the older name of that country, *čynstn*, which they had used in the "Ancient Letters"<sup>2</sup>—*my* is the locative of the *im-* pronoun,<sup>3</sup> see Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ii, 126, cf. also *Man. my, Tales*, 476 (G 20). Hence, "... in China in the town of Throana."

167/8. 4 *kwtr'y*, read *γ'n kwtr'y*; *npt'yr* read *n'pt'yr* (also in 173). Thus the name of the gentleman who ordered the copy (not the scribe, as M. Benveniste assumes) was "Čurak, the son of Nāftir, of the family of Han" (as stated already, *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3). At the time when this colophon was written (eighth century?) the Sogdians in China appear to have adopted Chinese family names; there is no trace of such designations in the *Ancient Letters*. Cf. Reichelt, ii, 70, "the lay-man Čatfārātsarān, of the family of An" (dated in A.D. 728). *BRY* "son", cf. also *Sogdica*, 59.

169. *pčny* = Saka *pajsamā*? A loan-word from Khotanese? Sogdian *-č-* may represent *-dz-* (and *-ts-*), cf. Gershevitch, §§ 71-2.

171. Here begins the long list of persons whom Han Čurak wants to share in the *puṇya* accruing to him in reward for the modest sum he spent on his copy of the *Avalokiteśvaranāmaśaṣṭakasūtra*. He expects much for very little. He wishes he could do more: "... that I shall not be reborn<sup>4</sup> as a stingy man, who does not give, but that I shall be rich enough to build, at my expense, a big monastery . . ." (194 sqq.), but the execution of his wishes has to be postponed to his next rebirth. In addition to the parallel passages quoted by M. Benveniste in his commentary (p. 217), one could refer to the colophon following the confession-prayer of the *upāsikā* Ūtrāt, *Uigurica*, ii, 80 sq., where *bu buyan ādgū qilīncīy avīrar-mn* corresponds to *ywn'k pwrny'nyh šyr'krtyh ptwyδ'm*. The names of the beneficiaries are given in the dative case in Uyğur, but are followed by *δst'* in Sogdian. M. Benveniste translates *δst'* as "hand" and explains that *sa main symbolise l'appui spirituel qu'il* [= each beneficiary] *a prété au copiste*. Could one not rather assume that the word for "hand(s)" was devalued in Sogdian in the same way as it was in Persian (and many other languages, e.g. Hebrew)? . . . *δst'*, or *cnn . . . δst'* may mean

<sup>1</sup> Sogd. *βρpf-* "pregnant" (mentioned there) has been left untranslated in P 22, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *čynst'n* in the Si-an-fu inscription is the Persian term.

<sup>3</sup> Care should be taken not to confuse it with *'my*, the suffixed pronoun of the first person, as in VJ. 18, 462, 524, 570; even *'myh* VJ. 689; ordinarily *-my*.

<sup>4</sup> *'zy'n*, 1st pers. subj. of *'zy-*. M. Benveniste has a different explanation.

merely "for, to the benefit of . . .". Cf. MPers. *pā dāt 'y* = "for", *Mahrnāmag*, 200, Pashto *lāsta* "direction, towards", etc.

172. 'By' should be 'BY'; *mynč* presumably the name of Han Čurak's grandfather. *'rutprnδ'yh* and *'rutprn-č* (175) may contain Av. *aurvant-* (here short for *aurvaš.aspa* ?); on *Haurvatāt-* in Sogdian see *Sogdica*, 19.

174. *mrkth* = "Emerald", see *Sogdica*, p. 26; 175 "PZY r. 'PZY.

177. *ptr'yδ'mskwn*, surely a copyist's mistake for *ptw'yδ'mskwn* ?

178/9. *βγτω'č* "Gift (lit. emission) of Fortune" ? *γωτ'γωrh* read *γωτzyrwh*, with *-zywr-* "necklace, ornament".

181/2. *znyprn* read *nyy-prn* "having good fortune from Nanai", cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7.<sup>1</sup> *stčry* "having a hundred courses" ? Possibly *mγ'mnyh* (which then could be misspelling of *mγ'm'yh*) ?

183/4. *tyč*, rather *t'č* (also considered in the edition). *γωτ'yt* read *γωτzt'*; *nnpkkn* read *nnpkrz* (-z distinguished), or *znprkz*; both names were useful for foundlings, "Self-born" and "Shore-miracle", the last would have fitted Moses admirably.

185/6. *k's'k*, cf. *q's'nc Mahrnāmag*, 146, see *BSOS.*, IX, 567. *ynt'*, perhaps rather *yzt'* "divine" ? *mγ'δ'yh* read (*wδyh*) *m'γ'δ'yh*, the late wife of Han Čurak (cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7). *r'w'γš* = *\*rēwaxš* ? Cf. *rywzšy'n Mahrnāmag*, 100, where *rywzšy'n* is a mistake.

186. *wk'wr* can perhaps be elucidated with the help of a so far unpublished Man. fragment, T ii D ii 169, i R 8 (Sogd. script), "δy uty' nyst wyrky tm γ'w o šrwyy pryw wkury' nyst γyδ 'rk tw' γypδ m'γwny 'γw. This is rather cryptic, "With a cow the wolf has no great bother, but with a lion he has no easiness. Your position is wholly like that." Here *wkur-y'* is opposed to *uty'* "trouble, difficulty" (see Gershevitch, § 1070), hence "easiness". Or should it be "association" ?

188. Enter *cnn* before *L' ptz'n*. Here is an instructive example of the divergence which may arise when the meaning of a word has to be guessed from the context. For *prγrš* M. Benveniste suggests "*les défunts*".<sup>2</sup> In *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3, "concubine, slave-girl" was proposed. I owe thanks to Professor Tritton for supporting my guess with a striking etymology: Hebrew *pīlāgāš* "concubine", generally compared with *παλλακίς* (etc.) "*pellex*". The word, whose ultimate origin has not been settled yet, may have been borrowed by Sogdian in ancient times from Old Persian, where foreign *-l-* was regularly replaced by *-r-* (cf. the case of *hārāš* < *\*harāka* < Aram. *halāk*, *Orientalia*, iv, 291-3). The second *-r-* of *prγrš* is due to inverse spelling; *prγš* in the Manichaean fragment is the better form.

190. *'sktm* read *'sk'tm*.

<sup>1</sup> *šp'tsyf*, *ibid.*, can be explained now. *syγ* appears to be synonymous with *šm* "fine". E.g. M 568, 12 *šyr syγ ptryδ* (Man. script) "mix very finely".

<sup>2</sup> Thus, *šnn prγrš 'PZY šnn 'z'wnt* "avec les défunts (?) et avec les vivants" (191/2), but "*z'wnt*" is "children". The proper meaning of "*z'wnt*" is "that which has been born (or re-born)", whence "child" and "anything born" "a (living) being". It is never found in opposition to "deceased". The dead also were born.

195. 'δβ'nz may be 'δβ'z and therefore represent OIran. \*θyāja-, cf. the words treated in *BSOS.*, X, 105; *Sogdica*, 32. In this case, as in many others, -' and -n- are not easily distinguished, although they are formed in different ways. As regards Av. (dā)bz-, it has been claimed for Sogdian δβ'nz "broad, thick" by M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864, who ascribed this etymology to *BBB.*, p. 124. It is pertinent to state that in that book Sogd. δβ'nz was compared only with the noun Av. *bzāh-* (which should reflect older \*dabzāh-) and attention was drawn to the Pahlavi translation of the verb GAv. *dābz-*, without the expression of an opinion on the presence or absence of a relation between those Avestan words. See also *Tales*, 472, n. a. The verb Av. (dā)bz- was quoted for Parthian *bz-*, *Mir.Man.*, iii, 897.

198/9. Preferably "by blankets (and) rugs (and) couch . . . with nursing and service"; *rty my* read *rty ms*; *šyr'k rtyh* (with a strange explanation, also in P 12, 18) read *šyr'krtyh*.

## INDEX

(\* = uncertain. † = wrong)

SOGDIAN		
'k'y)k 734	'W 732	y'm 720
'm'rδ- 726	'wep'y 722	y'n 736
'r'β 718	'zwmf'n 726	y'ttānāh 733
'šyčh 726	'ywd'yth 733	yδ'kāh 735
*'w'nāh 735	'ywtwktstny 736	ynd- 733
'z'wān 737 n. 2	'yuznkyδ 729	yrd'k 735
'zy'n 736 n. 4	'R 717	*yrdy' 722
'βkyšp' 714, 721, 735	-β'm'k 726	yry'yāh 726
'BJ- 714 n. 1, 737	β'mkyr'nt 733	yrdy'kāh 733
'βz'y- 717	β'z'k'k 732	ytr'k 723
'βzm- 721	βyp'wr stny 736	yruy 728
'δβ'z 738	βyδ'w'k 720	†y'y 719
†'yāh 735	βytw'c 737	yw't 731
'yws'ntk 716	βr'k'yδ 734 on 582	ywn 734
'kwδprm 716	*βryβ'r 726	ywn'y'y 718
'kyδrp- 721	βrpāh 736 n. 1	ywnc 730
'nδβy- 734	βrz 734	ywst'ny 724
'nywnc'nt 727	βs'ywt 731, 735 on 116	ywrtstny 715
'nyw'y- 720	βt'ywncp- 733 n.	yw'w 726
'nyyz(nykh) 713, 715	βyl' 729	ywtm 716
'nkyr 726	cδ- 714	ywtz't 737
'npwāh 735	cyr'w'k 727	ywtzynerh 737
†'ntnykh 724	cul'n- 726	ywy'r 717, 720
'ny'm 715	cāh 724	ywys- 718
*'nyppδ'y 734	cātyh 734 on 785	*yyr'kwā'y 731
†'nz'ptnym 725	cyngr'y' 727	yztwq 719
'pōβr'yc 729	cylβwt 724	k'p 728
'pāty- 725	cylk 734	k's'k 737
†'ry'nt 734	δ'n'yčh 717	kβny 732
'rs'ny 715	δ'p'isyyl 737 n. 1	kβrδāh 720
'rsy 715	δ'r'ym't 728	kapy 732
'rwā- 737	δ't 720	kapy'otrēh 734
'sp'rδ- 726	δ't'k'k 734	kut'wā 729
'spymāh 715	δβ'nz 738	kpeky 713 n. 5
'st'wr 735 on 251	δβnāh 719	kr'(ny) 715
'st'y 734	δm'k 715	krdā 733
†'styyw 722	δr- 718	kāytkrp 735
't 717	δrywδnk 713 n. 5	kwδ'ynty 724
	δst' 736	*kwntk 733
	δšny 729	kwyt'yc 734

kyc 733  
 kymβr 731  
 kymβ' 724  
 kysm'k 723  
 \*m'r 725  
 m'yr 735  
 †my'δ'yh 737  
 \*my'm'yh 737  
 my'pwoδy 715  
 †my't 713 n. 5  
 mk' 723  
 mnt- 715  
 \*mno 725  
 mr'z 716  
 mrznykh 713  
 mus'kk 730  
 mync 737  
 myz'y 718  
 n'z- 718  
 nβ'nt 715  
 nβ'yr- 715  
 ny'rs- 733  
 nyw'y- 728  
 nyzo 727  
 nm'y 729  
 †nāto 714 n. 1  
 †nā 734  
 nu'raly 718  
 ny'woδ 733  
 nyδ'ych-pn'ym 716  
 †nyk' 714 n. 1  
 nym- 715  
 nyn'ync 731  
 p'r'yk 717  
 p'lyt 728  
 p't'woy(w) 734  
 †p'z'rm 724  
 pc- 734  
 pc'w- 724  
 pc'wp- 720  
 \*poyw(n)- 721  
 pcm 736  
 †pcw'yt 731, 735  
 pcw'z'k 713  
 pδ'yβ'rcyh 732  
 pδβ'zn 713  
 pδkh 722  
 pn- 723  
 pn(y)yr('y) 723 n. 1  
 pr'pt(y) 730  
 pr'woy 717  
 pr'wst 716  
 pr'woz- 716  
 pr'ynk 735  
 pry'β- 724  
 pry'yz- 724  
 pry(r)δ 737  
 †pryoδ' 734  
 prywn- 722  
 \*pryonk' 734  
 prn'z- 716  
 prδ'yδ- 715  
 prw'rt 721  
 prwy'w'k 734  
 pδ'yeykh 718  
 ptyd'r- 715  
 pl'konā 716  
 \*ptr'yδky 734  
 ptrq'n-zw'r 716

ptōpry 734 on 366  
 †ptlz'r'k 735  
 †psych 726  
 r'w'yδ 737  
 rym- 734 on 621  
 rnβ- 719  
 rnp- 719  
 rtāh 734  
 ruδ- 716  
 ruzy'kh 719  
 ryncok 733  
 rysk 724 n. 1  
 rywazy'n 737  
 ryz'kh 724  
 rdy 736  
 rtyy'n 714 n. 6  
 r'yr 723 n. 1  
 rrcry 737  
 ryy 737 n. 1  
 ryy'y'n 714 n. 6  
 δ'yn'ynch 726  
 \*rβy 720  
 ik'β- 731  
 r'ynk 730  
 δw'm'k 735 on 57  
 -kwoβt- 724  
 δyr'w'y 730  
 δywoδpn 724  
 ty- 720  
 tr'yur 713 n. 5  
 †twyryk 714  
 w's- 729  
 w'isnyh 734 on 432  
 wβ'ntk 718  
 wynh 717  
 wk'wr 737  
 wn'yk 720  
 wr 717  
 †werc'w'k 735 on 105  
 wrm'ycyh 718  
 wδ- 726  
 wōny 713 n. 5  
 †wyn'ync 731  
 wyδ 718  
 wyδkyrδ- 728  
 wyz- 723  
 w'ntk 729  
 wprnh 727  
 y'lk w- 734 on 269  
 yys- 723  
 yyah 727  
 yywnky 718  
 ym'n 722  
 yz'kw 727  
 yz' 737  
 z'm 728  
 z'r 730  
 z'yyyz'k 735  
 †zβ'yr- 715  
 zβnd 715  
 zy'y- 734  
 zywoβs- 723  
 zn'w'k 734  
 zn- 719  
 znprkz 737  
 Z'Y 715  
 zyncry'kh 724  
 zynyh-yw'ry 716  
 zyr'kk 713 n. 5

## AVESTAN

aurant- 737  
 (do)bz- 738  
 pazdu- 719  
 fšō(biδ) 720  
 maēni- 725 n.  
 maēs- 718  
 varami- 718  
 vāstrya- 718  
 vōiyā- 717  
 vyuqm 725 n.  
 hapta karēqn 721  
 hazarōhan- 724  
 hapah- 723  
 x'isa- 718

## SAKA

gauā 724  
 khāḍara 723  
 kumbā 724  
 pajamā 736  
 pāskal- 728  
 pūhī 717  
 rrapl- 719  
 šāšvām 724  
 tvamdana- 724

## PAHL., MPERS., PARTH.

'b'ryy 717  
 'ps'k 725  
 'wōštn 725  
 'wōw 728  
 'wp'y 722  
 'wr 717  
 'woyt 726  
 'zgyfs- 723  
 b'z'y 732  
 bš 733  
 dn'β 725 n.  
 dr 718  
 det 737  
 dēn 729  
 dēt 719  
 gbr 725 n.  
 †hnbātn 725  
 †hng'w- 725 n.  
 hngn- 725 n.  
 hwlg 728  
 †knbyšt 732 n.  
 myn 725 n.  
 nkyr'y 732  
 p'nq 725 n.  
 †phng 725 n.  
 plyk 729  
 priordg 721  
 priwdg 719  
 prygy 729  
 pylg 725 n.  
 pzok 719  
 rf- 719  
 sthm(b)k 733 n.  
 tuzmg 716  
 tyštyn 734  
 w'f 718  
 wōndg 718  
 wcyb 725 n.

woz'ō- 723  
 xzurb 723  
 zyn'yū xw'ry 716

## PERSIAN

ālāw 718  
 aḡ:ūyīdan 717  
 †alanfūf 728  
 anfir(e) 726  
 Baydān 720  
 baš 733  
 bāš xēzāš 734  
 būme 721  
 čayčāw 727  
 dīramsang 713 n. 5  
 furš 719  
 gāwars 724  
 gīš 733  
 haft kišvar 721  
 hamāl 726  
 hurš 719  
 kašče 713 n. 5  
 kam 732  
 kanārang 733  
 karax 715  
 kavār 721  
 kunde 724  
 kundus 729  
 lād 720  
 muryāne 719  
 nays 727  
 nigūn 716  
 payū(k) 719  
 pēyār 718  
 pille 725 n.  
 qātīr 723  
 saxtiyān 714 n. 6  
 siḡi 724

šikāf 731  
 xayū 719  
 xaxīdan 735  
 x'ār 717, 720  
 †yalanfūf 728  
 zinhār 716

## MOD. IR. DIALECTS

šōr 718  
 γōšt 724  
 indigunf 733  
 lāsta 737  
 qačara 723  
 spar- 726  
 tōe 720  
 wēš 718  
 wurš 719  
 xwary 728

## ARMENIAN

Bagaran 720  
 Anazand 722

## INDIAN

aršas- 715  
 kudayča 724  
 khaccar 723  
 grāha 715  
 paḡa 723  
 purohita 717  
 manda- 715  
 mahābhātāni 715  
 šrḡgi 730  
 śvayati 715  
 svavati 716  
 hrdaya 722

## GREEK

ἀγάλογον 728  
 ζέρος 720  
 κάναβις 724  
 κεφαλωτόν 721  
 παλλακίς 737  
 Χαναράγγης 733

## SEMITIC

'witeg 728  
 buzn' 721  
 lam 729  
 nmy 729  
 parakku 725 n.  
 pīlāpāš 737  
 qnp' 724  
 qyndus 729  
 ziwtes 720

## ARABIC

isrīg 730  
 'usfur 727  
 badkūn-āb 716  
 Baydāš 720  
 kundus 729  
 qurān 730  
 širink 730  
 za'farān 727  
 zār-zāx 716

## TURCO-MONGOL

alav 718  
 baqīr 723 n. 1  
 čing(e)rā 727  
 gundu 724  
 \*kōverde 721  
 puš 723  
 qatīr 723  
 yaḡ(a)ḡi 714 n. 3<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. I. Gershevitch has put me under a great debt of gratitude by reading the proofs of this article and kindly adding the index during my absence from this country.

## TWO CENTRAL ASIAN WORDS

THE study of "cultural loan-words" is perhaps the most fascinating of philological pursuits. Such words, passed on from nation to nation, often undergo considerable phonetical changes; but they possess very precise and limited significations. So the more latitude we may claim in regard to form, the less we should arrogate to ourselves in the matter of meaning.

### A. DAMASK

In the Kharoṣṭhi documents found at Niya there occurs twice a word *prigha* (Nos. 316, 318) which Lüders, *Textilien im alten Turkistan* (*Abh.P.A.W.*, 1936), p. 30, combined with Skt. *prīṅga* in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, 232, 26, there explained as 縵絹 "thin flowered silk", Tib. *dar ri-mo-can* "silk marked with figures". In Doc. No. 318 (line 6) Lüders corrected the text given by Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, and proposed *śpeta-prigha* "white damask", an admirable suggestion which we shall be able to confirm with fresh material. Lüders' conclusion (based on his own emendation) that *prigha* meant "unicoloured figured silk (= damask)" can be fully substantiated now. His emendation has been approved by T. Burrow, *Transl. of the Kharoṣṭhi Doc.*, 1940, p. 59, who examined the original.

In the *Mahāvvyutpatti* *prigha* is spelt *prīṅga*, with variants *prīṅgu* and *prīṅgā*. The best Sanskrit form would presumably be *prīṅga*. Thus spelt the word is found in yet another dictionary of Buddhist Sanskrit, the *Fan-yu-ts'ien-tzū-wen*, fol. 38<sup>a</sup>2<sup>a</sup>, cf. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, i (1929), p. 280, No. 541.<sup>1</sup> It is there explained by 綾 *ling* "fine and thin silk material, damask".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We note in passing that *thacaṇa* *ibid.*, No. 537, *toile, tissu*, is *tharaya* (cf. Lüders 21 sqq.); and that *sucikarmma* = *sūcikarma* is translation of Iranian *su'īnakirta* (cf. Lüders 31).

<sup>2</sup> "Properly thin silken satin fabric, also thin linen, figured taffeta" (Palladius).

\**pring* occurs only in Central Asian Sanskrit; it is unknown to Sanskrit proper, or indeed to any Indian dialect. However, it is found also in several Iranian languages, notably in those spoken in Chinese Turkestan; it also appeared in Western Iranian, in Pahlavi and Persian, whence it migrated to Aramaic and Arabic. We shall deal with Sogdian and Manichæan Middle Persian first.

Among the Sogdian manuscripts discovered by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang and published by M. Benveniste in 1940 (*Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, série in-quarto*, vol. iii, *Textes Sogdiens*, Paris, Geuthner) there is a shamanistic text (P 3) which describes the various types of "rain-stones" (*Jade*) and their application. The poor "rain-maker" (*Jade-kare*) needed an enormous number of utensils for his performance, enough to discourage anyone from taking up his profession. Amongst other duties he had to paint several pictures, one of them on a *kp'utk pr'yuk* = *kapōte pring* "a dark-blue piece of damask" (P 3, 128), another on an *'sm'n'γwn kp'utk pr'yuk* "a light-blue piece of damask" (P 3, 146). M. Benveniste, who tentatively suggested "*rideau*", did not recognize our word.

We know next to nothing of Sogdian poetry. But among the unpublished Manichæan Sogdian fragments there are at least two which seem to contain poems written in that language; both are unfortunately difficult to read and understand. The contents of M 137<sup>11</sup> are described in its caption as a *zndp'syk* = song-hymn; its last lines are:—

<i>spyttyy pryng n'γwδn'</i>	Garment of white damask,
<i>βγγγ n'pyk 't δsty'</i>	God's book in the hands.
<i>'δryy z'r wftyy kwrδ'k</i>	Three thousand woven jackets,
<i>pnz'r zwynk'h oo</i>	Five thousand <i>zwinkas</i> ,
<i>zyrnync šwq 't δsty'</i>	Golden pen in the hands.
<i>n'ktync</i> [end of fragment]	Silver . . . .

The translation admittedly does not make much sense. But the passage is valuable for at least two of its words. Firstly, *zwynk'h*, evidently a kind of garment or fabric. This is surely the same as the *ثوب ژونکی* "suit of \**zwinki*",



an item among the presents<sup>1</sup> sent to Maḥmūd of Ghazna by the ruler of Khitay (in about A.D. 1024), according to Šaraf az-zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī, ed. V. Minorsky (text 8<sup>15</sup>, transl. 20, comm. 79); Professor Minorsky suspects that the curious word is Chinese by origin. Secondly, *spyttyy pryng* "white damask", so exactly the *špeta-prigha* of the Niya documents. In all Sogdian passages *pring* is qualified by an adjective denoting a colour, a fact which corroborates Lüders' definition of its meaning as monochrome damask.

In Manichæan Middle Persian *pring* has been noticed only once, in M727<sup>a</sup>V, a hymn fragment which is given here in full:—

- 1 *rymn'n qyyš'n u hmwš'g'n o myl'(d)*
- 2 *pymwg pryng u prng'n o n'zyšn 'yg znyu u*
- 3 *srud 'y š'dyḥ o shyngy 'y xwd b'w*
- 4 *'wd bwyyst'n o 'wd p'rg d'sn 'wd*
- 5 *pdyst'wg'n ny pry'dynd pd h'n rwc 'y*
- 6 *wdnng oo phyqyrb 'y pydr qnygrw[šn]*
- 7 *h'n 'y xwd pry'dyd pd h'n rwc ['y]*

- 1 . . . the accursed dogmas and teachers; mantle<sup>2</sup> and
- 2 suit, monochrome and polychrome damask; pleasantries of women
- 3 and songs of joy; the wonderful sights of vineyard<sup>3</sup>
- 4 and garden; bribes, presents and
- 5 promises<sup>4</sup>:—they do not help on that Day of

<sup>1</sup> The شکردی (*ibid.*) is perhaps Sogdian \**uškarđi(k)*, from *uškarđ(wšk'rđ)* "needle". Hence, Sogd. \**uškarđi(k)* = Pers. *šezangerd* = Niya *szj'inakirta* (see above, p. 150, n. 1), or more exactly = Pers. *šezani* which occurs, e.g., in the *Divān-i Albise* by Niẓāmuddīn Maḥmūd-i Qāri-i Yazdī, p. 201 (ed. Stambul, A.H. 1303). [Professor Bailey kindly reminds me of Turkish *ışkürti*, *ışkirti* and *züngim*, *zungum*, both for kinds of "brocade", see *Türkische Turfantexte*, vi, p. 170.]

<sup>2</sup> *myl'(d)*? Reading uncertain. Provisionally I translate as if this were one of the words which from time to time have been connected with *μηλωτή*, viz. Mand. *mwrf't*, Syr. *mrš'*, *mrwof'*, Arab. *mirš'* on the one hand, and Syr. *mīlthā*, Aram. *myl'* on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Or "garden", etc.; *bāw* from *bāy*.

<sup>4</sup> *BSOS.*, ix, 86. Restore *pdyst'[w]* also in *Mir.Man.*, iii, p. 851 (a 54).

6 Distress. The Image of the Father, the Maiden of Light,<sup>1</sup>

7 she who alone helps on that Day [of Distress . . . .]  
 Here we find *pring* joined by *prng'n* = *parnagān* which provides the genuine Middle Persian form of Persian *parniyān* "multi-coloured damask". Horn<sup>2</sup> derived the Persian from a pretended Middle Pers. \**parnikān*; he allowed himself to be deceived by the Pahlavi spelling which he analysed as *PLNYK'N* while in truth it is meant to be read as *PLNYD'N*, inverse spelling of *parniyān*.<sup>3</sup> The Pahlavi word is thus not different from the Persian. Horn, of course, could not refer to the Man. MPers. word; but he might have known the Arabic loan-word *بَرَئَكَان* *barnakān* (Jawāliqī, *Mu'arrab*, 24, 29, ed. Sachau), or the Jewish *פֶּרְנִיגָן* *parnagān* in the Esther Targum (5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>), see Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, p. 74. Fleischer apud J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wb.*, vol. iv, p. 229, proposed reading *פֶּרְנִיגָן* instead, and referred to Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabb.* (Basel, 1639), col. 1820, where this spelling was given. But Buxtorf himself gave *פֶּרְנִיגָן* (thus very correctly pointed) in col. 2383, and this is undoubtedly the proper reading. The Targum text is *דְּוִיא שִׁירֵאָאָה פֶּרְנִיגָן טַבָּא*, Buxtorf *est sericum Parnaginum optimum*, "it is best (multi-coloured) damask silk."<sup>4</sup>

In Persian *pring* has suffered three changes. Firstly, a brief vowel, either *i* or *a*, was inserted between *p* and *r*. Secondly, the final *-ng* was replaced by *-nd*. Thirdly, the main vowel was changed to *-a*. The standard Persian form, *parand*, occurs already in Pahlavi where we have *parand ud parniyān*

<sup>1</sup> "Maiden of Light" here = *Lichtgestalt*, cf. Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 270 sq. C. R. C. Allberry, *Manich. Psalm-book*, 66<sup>22-4</sup>, 81<sup>21-2</sup>, 84<sup>2-3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss Iran. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, *GrBd.*, 118<sup>4</sup>, *d'lypucnyd'n* = *dār-i porniyān* = Pers. *dār-i parniyān* "brasilwood" (for *-pul-* cf. Jewish Pers. *d'l-porny'n*, Bacher, *Hebr.-Pers. Wb.*, p. 51 of Hebrew text, No. 237).

<sup>4</sup> Chinese patterned silk has been found in Palmyra in tombs as early as the second or third century A.D., see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The Art Bulletin*, December, 1943, vol. xxv, 358 sqq. (with full references).

combined in *Šnš.*, iv, 4, p. 86, in Tavadia's edition<sup>1</sup>; in the MS. K 20 the last letter of *parand* is here marked as *-d* (fol. 63<sup>v</sup>14). It also is found even in the Talmud where, as already Buxtorf saw (*loc. cit.*), שֵׁרָא פֶרְנָנָא *šērā pərānā* "damask silk" replaces the Targumic *šērā pərnagān*; but the words *pərānā* and *pərnagān* are naturally not identical.

The change of final *-ng* to *-nd* is common enough in Persian, although it is not mentioned in any historical grammar of that language. The following examples may suffice:—

1. Pers. *aurand* "throne, glory, etc." from Pers. *aurang*.<sup>2</sup>
2. Pers. *kuland* "pickaxe" from Pers. *kulang*.
3. Pers. *dīrand* "world, time" in a verse by Rūdakī, *čun to bas dīd u binad īn dīrand* "this world has seen many like you and will see still more" (Asadi, ed. Horn, p. 30; S. Nafisi, *Ahvāl va Aš'ār-i . . . Rūdakī*, vol. iii, Tehran, 1319, p. 1055).<sup>3</sup> From Pahl. *dērang* "(the) long (period of the present world)", in *Zarwān-i dērang-xwadāi*. Even in Pahlavi MSS. the word is often pointed *dērand*. In the new edition


<sup>1</sup> B. M. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats*, Bombay, 1932, p. 30, erroneously translates as "a girdle of silk". I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Šnš.*, iv, 6, where Tavadia, p. 87, gives *garmānak-i 2-tōk*, against the MSS. both of which have *garm'nk*. Read *gurmānak* = Syr. *gurmān'*, *gurmān(a)gā* "vestis duplicata" P. Smith 692, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 134, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 40, n.3. Arab. *zurmānaqah* "a sleeveless woollen vest" (*Mu'arrab*, 76, and Sachau's notes, p. 38) is possibly the same word (differently Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 289). *gurmānak* < *gurbānak* < *varpānak*? Cf. Arm. *varapanak*, etc., Pers. *barvān* (Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der Persischen Pentateuch-Uebersetzung*, 56 sq.), the etymon of Skt. *vārabāṇa* which P. Thieme, *ZDMG.*, 91, 91 sqq., discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Parthian *'brn(n)g* has been compared, but it means neither "splendeur" (Bonveniste, *JA.*, 1936, i, 194 sq.), nor "chastity" as I had translated, misled by the apparent Syriac equivalent *nkpuw'* = *nakh-pūthā* (Pognon, *Coupees de Khouabir*, 129<sup>14</sup> = 189<sup>22</sup>; Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 35). This is almost certainly a copyist's mistake for *'kypw'* = *akkīpūthā* "sedulitas"; it corresponds to Sogd. *'ntwys*, Uyğur *tavranmaq*, and the Chinese words *apud* Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Dogm.*, 490 sq. (H 165<sup>5</sup>, 170<sup>5</sup>, 174c<sup>5</sup>). Hence, Parthian *abrang* = eagerness, assiduity.

<sup>3</sup> *dīrand-āsā*, in another verse, is certainly a wrong reading, in the place of *faryand-āsā* (see Nafisi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1000, 1153 sq.), or rather *fašyand-āsā*. The error may be due to the proximity of the articles *dīrand* and *faryand* (= *fašyand*) in Asadi's dictionary, at any rate in the MS. published by Horn.

of Asadi's dictionary by A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1319) there is even a verse by Rūdakī for *dīrand* = *dirāz* "long" (p. 101).

4. Pers. *āvand* "a line on which grapes are hung to dry" from Pers. *āvang* (both forms are well attested) from \**āving*, from the root of *āvīxtan* "to hang", cf. *āvingān* "hanging", etc.

The last-quoted example shares with *parand* the change of *-ing* > *-and*. The derivation of *parand* from *pāring* is put beyond doubt by the fact that the latter form still occurs occasionally in Persian.  is registered by the author of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* who gives *pīrang* as pronunciation<sup>1</sup> and "a damascened sword" (see below) as meaning; but he quotes no passage. However, I find that the rare form was used by Jāmāl al-Qurašī in *aṣ-Ṣurāḥ mina 'ṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ*, his abridged Persian translation of al-Jāuharī's Arabic dictionary, for example *s.v. firind*. The author who lived in Kāshghar in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably used a local form. As regards the main vowel of the word, Firdausi still pronounced it as *p(a)rind* (*pārind*); he rhymed it with *hind*, e.g. *Šāhnāme* 7, 759; 15, 4079 (= ed. Vullers, i, 171, 759; iii, 1729, 4087). But his contemporary 'Unṣurī said *parand* (e.g. Asadi, ed. Horn, p. 31), and so did Naṣīr-i Khosrau (*Dīvān*, 143, 14). The Arabs who borrowed the word preserved the older pronunciation; they have it as *birind* (*Mu'arrab* 28) or, more commonly, *firind* (*ibid.*, 60, 111), cf. Siddiqi, *loc. cit.*, 23, 71.

The meaning of the Persian word is sometimes wrongly given as "plain silk". This misunderstanding arose from the frequent juxtaposition of *parand* and *parniyān*; as the latter was known to mean "figured silk", the inference was drawn that the former should be "non-figured = plain silk". In truth both words mean "figured silk" in Persian (as in the other languages), the difference lying merely in the

<sup>1</sup> Better *pāring* or *pīring*. Not to be confused with the word for "bronze".

colours of the fabrics they describe. Cf., e.g., this famous verse by Farrukhi:—

*čun parand-i bīdgūn<sup>1</sup> bar rūi pūšad marzār  
parniyān-i haft-rang andar sar ārad kūhsār<sup>2</sup>*

which E. G. Browne translated<sup>3</sup>:—

Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues

And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues.

The fine tracing of fresh meadow-grass is compared with the light lines woven into damask, which is here said to have the "colour of (the young leaves of the) willow" (if *bīdgūn* is the proper reading); *parand* is monochrome, *parniyān* polychrome, here as always.

Further proof is provided by the development of the meaning of the word in Persian and Arabic which can be understood only if it meant "damask". For *parand/firind* is commonly used also of the "damask" of a sword, see, e.g., the elaborate description given by al-Beruni in the *Kitāb al-ġamāhīr fī (ma'rifat) al-ġawāhīr*, cf. Zeki Validi, *ZDMG.*, 90, 26 sq. (the text is now available *apud* Zeki Validi Togan, *Bīrūnī's Picture of the World [Mem. Arch. Survey of India, vol. 53]*, p. 102; *firind* and also *īfirind*). Finally, the word is misapplied as "a blade of damasked steel": with poets it often means little more than "a good sword".

One hesitates to propose an etymology for a word of this type as its home language is not easily established. Possibly *pring* belonged originally to the language of the Sogdians who played such a prominent part in the overland trade between China and the West, with their settlements all along the road which not unsuitably has been named the "silk-route". One could imagine an Old Iranian \**upa-riṅga-*

<sup>1</sup> *Vulgo nīlgūn*; the rarer word *apud* Asadi, ed. Horn, 31 and 97, ed. Iqbal, 92 and 370.

<sup>2</sup> *Divān*, ed. 'Alī-i 'Abdu'r Rasūlī, Tehran, 1311, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Čahār maqāleh*, transl., p. 43.

(with the word *ringa* occurring in Av. *Haptō.iringa-*), which would mean "marked, lined, figured" or the like, and which certainly would become *pring* in Sogdian.

#### B. TOMB

*գերիզման* *gerezman* "grave, tomb" is a frequent word in Armenian. It occurs in the earliest (fifth century A.D.) documents of that language—e.g. the "(whited) sepulchres" of *Matthew 23*<sup>27</sup> are *gerezman* in the Armenian version—and is still used nowadays, cf. Artašes Abeghian, *Neuarmerische Grammatik*, 1936, p. 232:—*gerezman* = *Grab*, *gerezmanatun* = *Friedhof*, *Kirchhof*. It has often been suspected of Iranian origin, but the only Iranian etymology ever proposed, a derivation from Parsee Persian *garzmān* "heaven", has been rejected by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, i, 127, for the very best of reasons. For that Iranian word (Av. *garō dāmāna*, *garō nmāna*, Pazend *garōθmān*, Sogdian *γarðman*, Parthian *gardmān*, Manich. Middle Persian *garāsmān*, etc.) which in any case has interior -δ-, not -z- (Parsee Persian *garzmān* being a late and corrupt spelling), means nothing but "the highest heaven, the Throne of God", or loosely "heaven, paradise". While a word for "tomb" may come to mean "the underworld", "the Beyond", conceivably even "paradise" (although one hesitates to admit this), the reverse development, paradise → tomb, is well-nigh unthinkable.<sup>1</sup>

Far from Armenia, on the eastern fringe of the area penetrated by Iranian culture, there is another interesting word for "tomb" in Mongolian, *ᠰᠤᠪᠦᠷᠢᠶᠠᠨ* *suburyan* = "sepulchre, tomb pyramid for the relics of deified persons";

<sup>1</sup> Marr, *Zap. Vost. Old. Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obšč.*, 1890, vol. v, 319, n. 3, ably but unconvincingly defended the derivation from *garō dāmāna*. He quoted Hebrew *šō'ōl*; but whatever may have been the original meaning of the Hebrew, it certainly was not "paradise". He suggested an intentional depreciation of the word by Christians; but there is no other trace of such a process (which would be parallel to the way in which the *Devas* became *demons*) in Armenian. In any event, the interior -z- is the stumbling-block.

as Buddhist term, *suburyan* is the equivalent of Skt. *stūpa*, i.e. a mound or tower or pyramid or dome in which relics of the Buddha are preserved. It is found already in Uyğur Turkish where in the hendiadys with either *sin* "tomb, grave"<sup>1</sup> (see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, i, 58; ii, 53; Bang-Gabain-Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte*, vi, p. 128, line 290 var.), or *sitavan* = Skt. *sītavana*, *śī-* (*Uigurica*, iii, 19<sup>o</sup>, 21<sup>o</sup>) it is "burial-place" in general. By itself it is met with in a Manichæan story (LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 6<sup>o</sup>, spelt *sewury'n* in Man. script, = either *supuryan* or *suburyan*) which tells of a prince who being intoxicated spent a night in a tomb: he mistook it for his own house. It is clear from the story that a *suburyan* was a sepulchral monument raised above the ground, not, e.g., a subterranean vault. The word was still current among the Turks of Transoxania in the eleventh century; Maḥmūd al-Kāšyārī registered it in his *Divān luyāt it-Turk*, i, 425 (where سبرغان is misprinted as سبغان) and explained it as *an-nā'ūs wa-maqābir ul-kafarah* "a non-Muslim sepulchre,<sup>2</sup> the burial-places of the heathen". See also Brockelmann, *Mitteltürk. Wortschatz*, p. 184.

MM. Chavannes and Pelliot, at the end of their careful discussion of the Turco-Mongol word (*Traité Manichéen*, 131-2 [107-8]), suggested that it might be a loan-word from Iranian, and M. Gauthiot supported them with an etymology, \**spur-χān* "demeure de perfection". This explanation, although ingenious, is not perfect; for *suburyan* has -γ-, but *χān*(*ak*) "house"<sup>3</sup> has -χ-; further, \**spur*, properly *uspurr* (in Sogdian *spurn* → *spun*), means "perfect" but not "perfection" so that we should have to assume a type of compound that is rather rare in Middle Iranian. But the main objection

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Alī's Qiṣṣa'i Jūsuf*, p. 52; Aptullah Battal, *Ibnū-Mūhannā Lūgati*, Istanbul, 1934, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. *nā'ūs* (*vaós*) has often this meaning, see Dozy *s.v.*, cf. also Syr. *nausā* = cemetery, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 421. One is tempted to render it with "*stūpa*" here.

<sup>3</sup> In passing we note that Sogd. *k'n'kh* "hut" should be read *k'z'kh* = Persian *kāze*.

is against the proposed semantic development: *demeure de perfection*, or rather "perfect-house", does not seem to me to be a satisfactory term for a "tomb".

Thus we have two words, Arm. *gerezman* and Turk.-Mong. *suburyan*, both = "tomb", both suspected of Iranian origin but never compared with each other. So far no corresponding form has been found in any Iranian language. However, a suitable word is at hand in Persian where we have *mary(a)zan* and *marz(a)yan* "sepulchre, cemetery". The second spelling is established by a pun upon (-bar) *zayan* "vulture" (or "kite")<sup>1</sup> in a verse ascribed to 'Unšurī, the poet-laureate of Maḥmūd of Ghazna<sup>2</sup>:—

*har-ke-rā rāhbar zayan bāšad*  
*manzil-i ū be-marzayan bāšad*

i.e. "whoever takes a vulture as his guide, his lodging will be in the cemetery" (Asadi, p. 105, ed. Horn, p. 362, ed. Iqbal). The other form, *mary(a)zan*, invariably evokes a play on *maryzār*. Imāmī-i Haravī, a poet of the thirteenth century, said:—

*ān jihāndār-ī ke gašt andar nabard*  
*maryzār az zaḡm-i tīyaš mary(a)zan*

i.e. "that great king through whose sword-blows, in the course of the battle, the plain has turned into a graveyard" (*Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*). Šams-i Fakhri (fourteenth century) produced this not very original verse:—

*šāhī ke bar muḡālif-i dargāh-i x'īstan*  
*az kīne maryzār kunad hamčū mary(a)zan*

i.e. "the king who in his wrath against the antagonists of his court turns the plain into a cemetery" (p. 108, ed. Salemann). *Mary(a)zan* (*Farhang-i Rašīdī*) is better than *marz(a)yan* (*F.-i Jahāngīrī*) in a verse by Sanā'ī (first half of twelfth

<sup>1</sup> From *zayan*, from *zyan*, see *BSOS.*, x, 97, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> S. Nafisi, *loc. cit.*, p. 1104, No. 801, attributes it to Rūdakī, apparently on the authority of Surūrī. One would rather trust Asadi whose work preceded that of Surūrī by several centuries and was one of the most important sources of Surūrī's dictionary.



century) who may have been the first to play on *maryzār* :—

*hāc nandīsi ke āχir<sup>1</sup> čun buvad anšām-i kār*  
*maryzār āyad šazā-yi fi'l-i to yā mary(a)zan*

i.e. "are you not worried at all by the thought how<sup>2</sup> your *finis* will be? Whether the retribution of your deeds will be the Meadow (of Paradise) or the Tomb (of Hell)?" It was from this verse, I presume, that some clever lexicographer inferred that *mary(a)zan* should have had the meaning of *ātaš* "fire"; by that word he evidently meant "the infernal fire". His successors interpreted his *ātaš* and boldly asserted that *mary(a)zan* meant (1) Hell, (2) a brazier, (3) cemetery. This set of meanings is as baseless as the wrong spelling *marzayān* which is paraded in the dictionaries. The older lexicographers know only of *marz(a)γān*, *mary(a)zān* = *gūristān* "cemetery".

A variant of *mary(a)zan* is the form used in Parsee Persian, *maryūzan*, from \**maryūzan* < \**maryozan*. It is employed for the famous mausoleum of Khosrau Anosherwan, see B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats*, 586 (with references). J. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, ii, 132 sq., proposed an etymology (from \**mary* "death" + Pahl. 'z'n<sup>3</sup> "daxma-" = Old Pers. "apadāna"<sup>4</sup>) which, although brilliant at the time, cannot seriously be entertained now. An etymology should be based on the correct Persian form, not on a corrupt spelling.

A major obstacle to the intended comparison of *gerezman*, *marzyan*, and *suburyan* appears to be the initial group of sounds of the Turco-Mongol word, but there is no real difficulty. The first vowel of *suburyan* is obviously intrusive (this was assumed also by M. Gauthiot); the vowels of all three words seem to be altogether of no account, excepting the stable -*ā*- of the final syllable. Initial *s*- in a foreign word in Turkish can

<sup>1</sup> Var. *ke tā xvad*.

<sup>2</sup> Or. whether in the end, when the final accounting will be, the retribution, etc.

<sup>3</sup> On this word see now *BSOAS.*, xi, 479.

<sup>4</sup> See these *Transactions*, 1944, 110, n. 1.

represent original *s-* or *z-*. As Turkish did not possess initial *z-*, that sound was regularly replaced by *s-*. This is so well established that there is no need to quote examples; but we may take this opportunity of mentioning a hitherto unrecognized Sogdian loan-word in Turkish, viz. Turk. *سندواچ sanduwaç* "nightingale" (see Kāšgharī, i, 435; iii, 134 = 'andalīb; Ibn Muḥannā, 176 = *hazār*) from Sogdian *zntw'ch* ('*mry*') = *zandwāc* "singing (bird)", but also "nightingale" as similar Sogdian loan-words in Persian (*zand-wāf*, etc., see *BSOS.*, x, 104 sq.) prove. Thus *suburyan* may represent an earlier *\*zburyan*. Its initial *zb-* can perhaps be explained as the outcome of an original *zm-*. Such groups of consonants are often subject to changes, especially when a word has to be adapted to an alien tongue. A good parallel for this particular change in a loan-word is provided by the Arabic for "emerald", *zabarjad* form *zmargad*. The whole structure of *zmargad* closely resembles that of \*Sogdian *\*zmuryan* or *\*zmāryan* which, I think, we are entitled to claim was the original word that the Turkish tongue transformed into *suburyan*.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there was an Iranian word for "tomb" or "sepulchre" which consisted of a final syllable *-ān* preceded by the four consonants *r*, *m*, *z*, and *γ* (Arm. *g* = Iran. *g* and *γ*) which were interspersed with some odd vowels and occurred in variable sequence; the liberal metatheses were due no doubt to the character of the consonants as continuants. Neglecting the vowels we have:—

*Median	<i>γrzm-an</i>	→	Armenian	<i>gerezman</i>
*Sogdian	<i>zmry-an</i>	→	Turkish	<i>suburyan</i>
Persian	<i>mrzy-an</i>	→		<i>marzayan</i>
Persian	<i>mryz-an</i>	→		<i>mary(a)zan, maryūzan.</i>

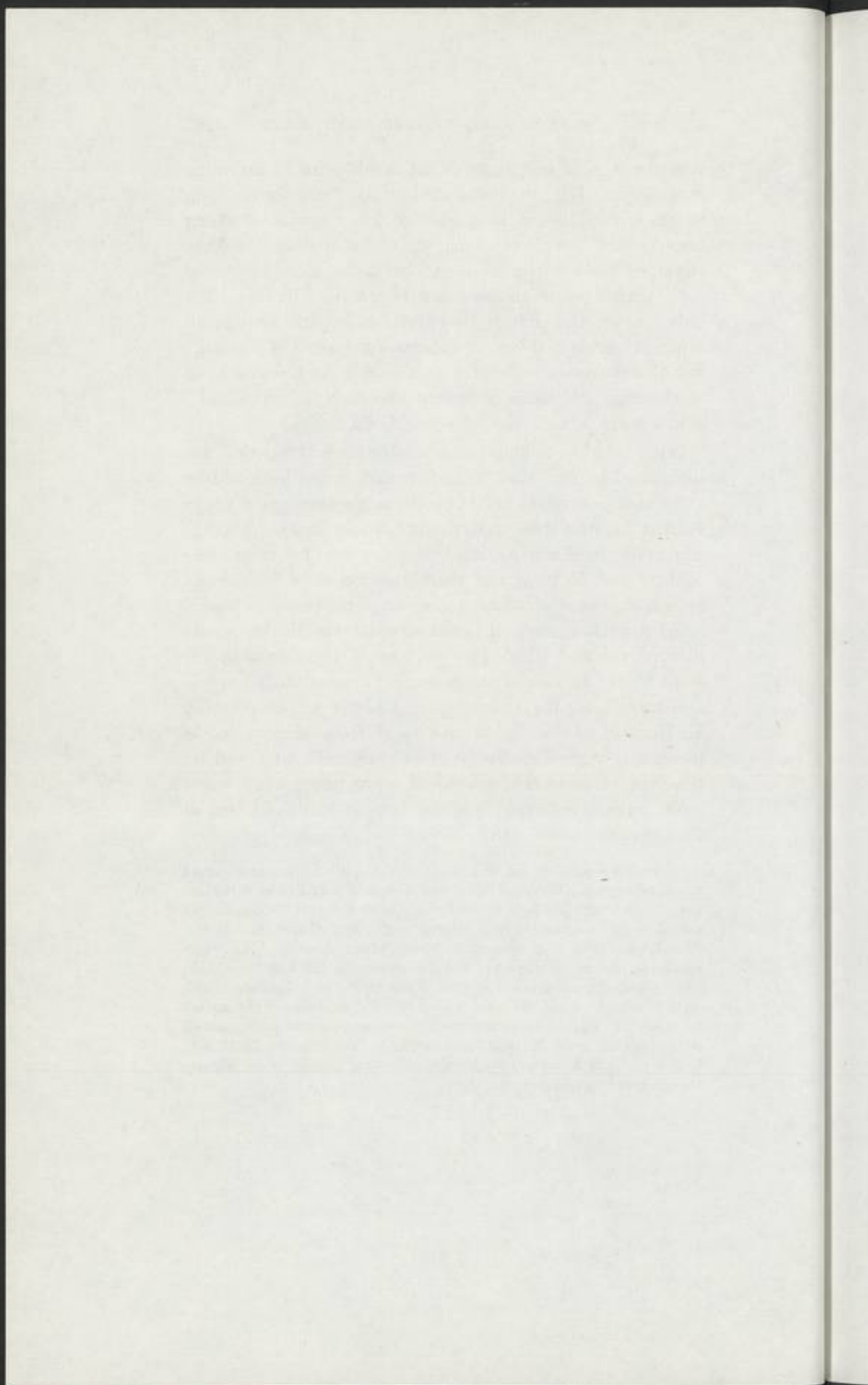
This is as far as matters can be carried with safety. As we have no means of deciding which order of the consonants

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Kāšgharī's *tarmaz/turmuz* "sorte de courge" (recently discussed by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 101) from *tarbuz*. Professor Bailey reminds me of Minorsky's derivation of Turk. *ismar-la-* from *ūspār-*, *JRAS.*, 1942, 194. Note the presence of *-r-* and a sibilant in these words.

was the original one, there is not much point in inventing etymologies. E.g., one could think of Av. \**zəmarkana*- "dug in the ground", on the model of Av. *zəmarkūz*- "hiding underground" on the one hand, and of Av. *avākana*- "hollow, cave" or *hankana*-<sup>1</sup> on the other; but unfortunately the word for "tomb" seems to have had an interior OIr. -g-. The only known Old Iranian word which apparently has all required sounds is OPers. *m(a)rgazana*, the name of a month; but this is merely restored from the Elamite transliteration *markazanaš*, and hence somewhat uncertain; "sepulchral" is in any case not convincing as name of a month.

One would like to know what kind of tomb it was that was designated by our word. The fact that it was borrowed by other nations suggests that the tomb in question was of a type current in Iran, but certainly not an ordinary "grave". The nearly total oblivion into which the term fell in its home country and in particular the silence on it of the Avesta (which surely contains more than enough references to funeral rites) point to a mode of burial of which the Magian priests disapproved and which they suppressed together with the word for it. In view of the passages discussed in this article and considering the archæological evidence as presented by E. Herzfeld, *Archæological History of Iran*, 31 sqq., one is inclined to think that the word was originally employed for the type of grave-chamber raised above the ground whose most magnificent example is the famous tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.

<sup>1</sup> But this is possibly not an Iranian word at all. Av. *hankana*- would become *hangan* in MPers., and this occurs in Man. MPers., T i 5 = M 1005, 21 (no context), *hngn 'wd hyjg*, evidently = "basin and pail". This *hangan* cannot easily be separated from Hebrew *aggān*, Syr. *aggānā*, Ar. *inṣānah*, *iffānah*, etc., from Akk. *agannu*, cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*<sup>2</sup> 4a (where references, also to Arm. *angan*). The Av. passage, in the Ardvi Sur Yasht (from about 400 B.C.), *hankaine paiti aighā zəmō* "in a *hankana* of this earth" reminds one of Talmudic *aggānē d'ar'ā* "hankanas of the earth" (so to say), cf. Buxtorf 23 "fossae proprie rotundae quae sunt quasi *aggānōth* crateres rotundi, scribit R. David", see further J. Levy, *Neuhebr. Chald. Wb.*, i, 21 sq. Thus *hankana* may be the Akkadian/Aramaic word, slightly transformed by popular etymology.



**Two Manichæan Magical Texts**  
with an Excursus on  
**The Parthian ending -ēndēh.**

(PLATES I AND II)

**I**T is surprising that the Manichæan religion did not become altogether submerged in the slime of witchcraft and sorcery. There were countless demons to be warded off and nearly as many divine and semi-divine beings that could be invoked. Mani, it is true, had regarded his "gods" as hardly more than exponents of particular functions of the Godhead, and had been conscious of the inadequacy of the anthropomorphic terms he had ill-advisedly employed: *the resplendent hosts, he said in his Treasure of Life, will be called young women and virgins, fathers and mothers, sons, brothers and sisters, because such is the custom in the books of the prophets. In the country of joy there is neither male nor female . . . they do not differ from each other in weakness and force, in length and shortness, in figure and looks; they are like similar lamps which are lighted by the same lamp and nourished by the same material* (Beruni, *India*, transl., i, 39). But in the minds of his adherents, who were not all theologians, the shadowy "emanations" were bound to take on the character of gods that could scarcely be distinguished from the gods of polytheists. The Manichæan custom of "translating" even the names of gods, no doubt meant to ease the work of missionaries by giving a misleading tinge of familiarity to the strange new religion, made matters worse. The introduction of divinities whose names the translators light-heartedly used, had in its train the import of beliefs with which they were associated in the local cults. They tended to bring their friends and attendants with them. Such an additament to an already overgrown pantheon was, for example, the Iranian First Physician *Frēdōn*, the *Θραῖταονα* of the Avesta, whose name is as common in Manichæan prayers and incantations as in Zoroastrian amulets (see e.g. J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for some diseases of the eye*, Bombay, 1894).

The influence of local religions upon the later Manichæism is hardly noticeable in theological works, except in a few rare instances. To trace it we have to turn to more popular productions, such as prayers that are on the verge of being incantations, or magical texts in the proper sense. Of the latter there are quite a few among the Iranian material, but none have been published so far. The two specimens given below exhibit some curious points; they would have shocked the founder of the Manichæan Church.

**I. Middle Persian Spells (Plate I)**

M 781. Fairly well preserved two-leaved folio, first lines missing. Largish, clear handwriting. The fragment contains two texts, which are not connected with each other. The first (i) is a spell against fever, remarkable chiefly for

the appearance of the griffin *Paškuč*. The second (ii) is to give protection against the evil spirits of a house; the description of the protecting genius is not unlike that of the "spirit of fever" in (i).

(i R) (1) mbr'spnd[n ] (2) rwn'n j'yd'n z[yw'd oo] (*Three lines left blank*)  
 (3) 'pswn 'y tb 'wd w(')[d] 'y (4) [ . . . ] 'wd xwnyhyd 'ydr' [wš] (5) [s]h phyqyrb  
 'st' 'wš (6) (p)r c'wn pšqwc 'wd 'ndr (7) [ . . . ] (d)g nšydyd 'wd 'ndr mstgrg  
 (8) ['y m]rdwhm'n 'wd xwnyhyd tb (9) [ z]yhyd pd 'b (10) [ ] 'wd  
 'dwrystr (11) [ ] 'yd'wn

(i V) (12)[ ] ny šwyd 'wn (13) [ . . . . . ] 'y 'w'hm'n 'y (14) ['w'hm]('n  
 pws 'wzyh'd 'wd (15) [wny] bw'd pd n'm 'y xwd'wnn (16) [y]yšw' 'ry'm'n pd  
 n'm 'yš (17) [p]ydr bwrzysť pd n'm 'y w'xš (18) ywjdr pd n'm 'y hudy[šyšn]  
 (19) nxwstyn pd n'm 'y 'yl (20) ywjdr pd n'm 'y bwbw. (21) pd n'm 'y mwmyyn  
 'y 'yryc[n ?] (22) myx'yl 'wd rwf'yl [wd] (23) gbr'yl pd n'[m ] (24) 'wd  
 wsyxwr p[ ] (25) eβwť 'wd [

(ii R) (26) h[']m'g [ (27) prydw'n nyr'm'd [ (28) 'wm šh phyq[yrb] (29) 'wd  
 prwdg 'y 'dwryn 'ndr] (30) 'yst'd hynd 'wd tb(r) ['y] (31) tyj 'wd wšwb'g  
 pd ds(ť) (32) d'rym 'wm šfšyr 'wd (33) [cy]ll'n 'y hswd 'y 'rm's (34) ['y p'k  
 pyr'mwn 'wb'ydyd (35) 'wm 'spšwn 'yg gwyšn u (36) 'šnwyšn 'y prystg'n [ . . . ]  
 (37) 'b'g 'st' 'wd hft cy'l'n (38) 'stft pwl'(wd) 'ym pd dst (39) [gry](ft)[ ] pd  
 wzrg (40) 's]tft'n

(ii V) (41) [(wysp'n)] (42) 'yg qdg 'wd (43) [wysp'n] r'z'n 'y qdg 'wd (44) [wys]p'n  
 w'd'n bzg'n 'y (45) (q)dg wysp'n xyšmyn 'pr'n (46) 'y qdg zn'n 'wš'n nyspwrđ  
 (47) 'yrp'y'n bng'n 'wn kw zyyn (48) ny 'st'n'n<sup>stc</sup> 'wd pdyrg m[n ny] (49)  
 'yst'd<sup>stc</sup> 'wš'n rwn 'pr'n] (50) 'wd 'br xwys 'spyzyšn (51) 'bz'y'n 'wš<sup>stc</sup>zwr  
 'pr'n (52) 'wd 'br xwys zwr 'bz'y'n (53) 'wd 'wys'n p'n'g mrg 'y (54) w'ny[  
 (55) cy q[dg

#### Translation

(i R) . . . the elements . . . the Light ones. May he live for ever. [*End of a text.*]  
 Spell against Fever and the Spirit of [Fever?]. It is called Idrā. It has three  
 forms and wings like a griffin. It settles in the . . . and in the brain (?) of men.  
 (Then) it is called Fever. . . . It is born in water . . . and ashes . . . thus. . . .

(i V) . . . [if the spirit of fever] does not go [of its own accord], then it shall  
 come out [of the body] of NN. son of NN. and vanish in the name of the Lord  
 Jesus the Friend, in the name of his Father the Highest, in the name of the  
 Holy Ghost, in the name of the First Reflexion, in the name of Holy Ēl, in  
 the name of Baubo (?), in the name of Mūmīn the son of Ērič (?), (in the name  
 of) Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, in the name of . . . the glutton, [in the name  
 of] Sabaoth and . . .

(ii R) . . . Frēdōn shall throw down . . . all. Three forms are in me, and a belly (?)  
 of fire. In my hands I hold a sharp and stirring hatchet, I am girt with whetted  
 sword and dagger of pure adamant, and have with me the whip of speech  
 and hearing of the angels. . . . The seven daggers (of) hard steel that I have  
 grasped with my hand . . . in great . . . the hard ones . . .

(ii V) . . . all the . . . of the house, all the occult things of the house, all the

evil spirits of the house, all the wrathful "robbers" of the house: I shall smite them and their downtrodden underfoot slaves so that they will not take up arms and stand against me. I shall take away their light and add it to my brightness, I shall take away their strength and add it to my own. Death that strikes . . ., is watching for them (?) . . .

## Notes

(3) *w'd* rather = spirit (as in line 44) than "wind(-illness)".

(4) *'ydr* may be the name of the spell or the fever or its "spirit". The ending proclaims it to be a foreign word. May one think of ὕδρα? The absence of the aspirate is against it. One is perhaps too easily tempted to explain unknown words as loanwords. In *Mir.Man.*, i, p. 183, line 4, I pretended<sup>1</sup> that *'bwes* was ἄβυσσος; now I see that it is merely = Pahl. *'pws* "pregnant" (Av. *aputhra*, Pers. *ābis-tan*,<sup>2</sup> etc.).

(6) *psqwc* = griffin. Whether merely the spirit's wings, or his having three "forms" as well as his wings are here compared with the *pskwē*, is by no means clear from the wording. In the former case the author ought to have said *'wš pr c'wn pr 'y pskwē* "and its wings are like the wings of P.", in the latter *'wd pr* in the place of *'wš pr*. In the construction of their comparisons, similes, and parables the Manichean authors are notoriously lax. Our soothsayer's negligence makes it impossible to determine from our text, taken by itself, whether the *pskwē* was an animal noteworthy merely for the shape of its wings, or an extraordinary winged creature possessed of several "forms". The second alternative recommends itself, in view of the character of the text and the other forms of the word quoted below. Having several "forms" (*pahikirb*) means being a composite monster of the type of the winged bull, the griffin, etc. The Manicheans boasted a King of Darkness who was even *πεντάμορφος* (*μορφή* = *pahikirb*): he had a lion's head, an eagle's wings, a dragon's belly, demons' feet, and a fish's tail, cf. Polotsky, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.*, vi, 250. That the *Pskwē* = *Paškūc* was a griffin or a monster like a griffin, is assured by a series of words in other languages. The words are throughout extremely rare: we have one example in Man. MPers. and Parthian, one in Pahlavi, one in the Babylonian Talmud, two in Armenian, one in Svanetian, two in Ossetic, and several in Georgian. The Caucasian words have been the subject of a long paper by N. Ya. Marr, *Osetica-Japhetica*, i. *Φαγονῆ-ι οσετινικῆς σκζοκ ἰ γαφητιέσκῆς τερμῖν φασκυνῆ* "mag", "v'estnik", "v'esčaya ptica" (*Izv. Ross. Ak. Nauk*, 1918, 2069-2100; with an addendum, *ibid.*, 2307-2310), who did not know of the other forms: the meaning "Magian", etc., attributed to the word by Marr has no basis in fact: it is founded merely on "Japhetite" speculations. The archaeological evidence

<sup>1</sup> *prystr(-dys)*, *ibid.*, line 2, is *frestr*, corruption of Av. *xrafstra-*. There is much to be said for deriving Bal. *rastar* from the same word. Restore *prystr 'y zmyg* in M482 v 7.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Man. MPers. (S 11 and *Mir.Man.*, ii). But Parthian *'bystn* (once in *Mir.Man.*, iii) is presumably "delay, respite", = Sogdian (*'pstañ* (see *S.T.*, ii; cf. possibly also Av. *apastananhō* *BSOS.*, x, 509).

has been collected by K. V. Trever in a book, *Sēnmurv-Paskuŭ* (*Izd. Ermitaž*, 1937), which I have been unable to obtain, and in an article in the *Trudi Otdela Vostoka* (of the Ermitaž), vol. iii, 1940, 167 sqq., which I have seen. Mme. Trever describes the monster as "the winged dog (*krilataya sobaka*) of the Ossetic epic" and quotes the word as *Ossetic paskuŭ, paskondzi*; such forms are not found in the Ossetic material available here. She wants to add a Ukrainian beast *Paskuda* to the series; of this I cannot judge, her book not being accessible; one would require convincing proof of its being unconnected with the ordinary Russian appellative *paskuda* "monstrosity". The following forms of the word can be regarded as certain:—

(1) Talm. פִּשְׁקָנְסָא = *pušqansā*, *Bäḅā baḅrā* fol. 73b, with a variant פִּשְׁקָנְסָא: one wonders whether the word was פִּשְׁקָנְסָא = \**pašqunsā* originally. It is traditionally explained as a female raven: what it really means is evident from the context. In 1639 Buxtorf translated (col. 1863): *vidi hhy' 'grwqf' istam ranam [??] quae erat tam magna ut Akra [ἀκρα] pagus Hagaroniae. Pagus hic quam magnus erat? sexaginta continebit domos. Venit serpens et deglutivit ranam [mispr. ramum]: 't' pēsqnš' wbl'h l-tyn' venit corvus et deglutivit serpentem et consedit in arbore quadam. Vide quantum fuerit robur istius arboris . . .* The gigantic dragon-eating corvus is a griffin.

(2) Man. MPers. *pškuc* = *Paškūč*.

(3) Pahlavi *bškuc* = *baškūč*. In *Pahl. Riv.*, 22<sup>10</sup>, it is said that the Spirit of the Drōn will fight with certain demons, "ninety-nine times will it fight as fiercely as *tnn' bškuc*." As the text stands, this would mean "as the bull (*TWR'*) *bškuc*" or "as bull and *bškuc*"; one would think of a "winged bull". However, *tnn'* may be a rare word misspelt. Should we not read \**tnyn'* (*w*) *bškuc* ". . . as fiercely as dragon and griffin"? Unfortunately, *tnyn'* = *tannīnā*, too, is not hitherto known as a Pahlavi word; it could be either loanword or ideogram (for *āzdahāg*?). Professor Bailey, to whom I submitted this reading, suggested that *tnyn'* would be a suitable reading also in *DkM.*, 816<sup>13</sup>, a passage he discussed in *Zor.Probl.*, 29 sq.: *kayān xzarreh \*tannīnā* (pr. *tnn'*) *kerb būd* "the *xzarreh* of the Kays took the form of a dragon".

(4) Armenian *paskuč* translates γρόψ in *Lev.*, 11, 13 (Marr 2083). In the Armenian Geography the *paskuč hav* "bird Paskuč" (in the Whistons' edition, p. 366<sup>27</sup>) is among the strange animals of India (Marr, 2084 sq.). Marr discussed the explanations given by dictionaries ("a bestial bird, which is called *korč*", p. 2083, n. 3), in which a Middle Armenian spelling *pasquč* is registered (p. 2087); in an unpublished medieval dictionary it is glossed by "bone-swallower" ("ossifrage"),<sup>1</sup> p. 2087, n. 2.

(5) Georgian *p'askunji*, var. *p'ask'uji* translates γρόψ in *Deut.*, 14, 13 (Marr, 2083). In late medieval versions of the *Shahname* *p'askunji* renders Pers. *simury* (Marr, 2085 sq.). According to Orbelian the *p'askunji* is "in body like a lion, his head, beak, wings, and feet are like those of an eagle";

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pers. *humāi* (1) a mythical bird, (2) = Pers. *ustuxān-xān* "ossifrage (osprey)". The confusion is ultimately due to the use made of γρόψ in the Septuagint.



he is downy; some of them are four-legged, some two-legged; he carries off elephants, hurts horses; there is also another kind, which is quite like an eagle, but very big" (Marr, 2083). Orbelian has also *paskunji* (with the non-aspirate *p*), Marr, 2307, n. 1. In a modern fairy-tale *p'aškunji* occurs (Marr, 2087). There is also a popular dialect-form *p'aškund* or even *p'ašgund* (Marr, 2088). All these are evidently corrupt forms. The old and classical spelling is *p'askunji* alone.—The following two are loanwords from Georgian:—

(5a) Svanetian *p'aysguj* in a folk-tale, from *p'asguj-i* by metathesis (Marr, 2082).

(5b) Ossetic *pakondzi*, a winged creature with seven heads, in Miller's *Osetinskie El'udī*, i, 64–8, 126. In an Ossetic tale recorded merely in Russian the same beast is called *Paskondi*, *ibid.*, i, 146, 161 n. 15 (Marr, 2079 sq.). The latter, which obviously comes from vulgar Georgian *p'aškund*, is not recorded in the Ossetic-Russian-German dictionary (ii, 907, only *pakondzi*). Marr explains the absence of *-s-* in one form as due to the influence of a language of the type of Mingrelian (p. 2096). [Professor Bailey kindly informs me that in an Ossetic book in his possession, *Iron Adāmon Sfaldistad, fāndzām činīg*, 1941, p. 204, he has found a one-page story entitled *Daredzanti Amiran amā Paquindzā* "A. of the Daredzan family and P." (cf. Miller *loc. cit.*), which thus provides a third Ossetic form of the word.]

There are thus only four chief forms: *pašqansā* (\**pašqansā* ?), *paškuč* (with *baškuč*), *paskuč*, and *p'askunji*. Armenian and Georgian may have come from Middle Iranian \**pašku(n)č/š*, but *-sk-* is strange. The Aramaic may have come from Iranian or vice versa; *-s-* can be = *-č-*, in either direction. Perhaps an Akkadian word?

(7) *ldg* or *lrg*. Before the final letters some weak traces can be seen. They exclude the restoration of *predg* (line 29), which may belong to *prud* "below". *nšyd-*, instead of *nšyy-*, is found only here; in Parthian we have *nšyd-* beside *nšyl-*. Whether *mstgrg* does in fact mean "brain" or "skull" (*mastgr-ag* from Av. *mastgrān-* Pahl. *masturg*), is open to some doubt: it was proposed in *BSOS.*, IX, 85, on the strength of our passage. However, the Parthian homograph is clearly "intoxicating" (*mastgarag* = Sogd. *mstk'r'k*) in the only passage on record, M 312, 9, *nzwyn pyd 'wt sy[r]yft bwy, bdyg mstgrg tyšng*<sup>1</sup> "First, meat and smell of decay: second, intoxicating drinks". In Man. MPers. *mstgr* (*mastgar*) occurs once, M 246 V 11, [*j*]m . . . 'y *mstgr* "inebriating . . . cup", and there is a doubtful reading (*m*)*strg* in M 654, 17 (no context). Thus one could translate as "it settles in . . . and in men's intoxicating (drinks)". [Restore [*b*]d*g* "must" ?]

(18) *hndyšyšn nzwstyn*. In Gnostic parlance the "First Reflexion" (*ἐνθύμησις*) would be the *Σοφία*: in Manichæism it should be the First Man. As a matter of fact, the First Man is named *Raisonnement antérieur* in the

<sup>1</sup> In MPers. = thirsty, but in Parthian = drink (cf. Sogdian *č's'ut* "drink" beside *č'sn* "thirst").

Chinese *Traité*,<sup>1</sup> see Chavannes-Pelliot, p. 23 [519], n. 3. Unfortunately, the Chinese term 先意 does not precisely correspond to the Middle Persian *handēšišn nazwistēn*: the usual rendering of *handēšišn* in the lists of the five "limbs of the soul" leads one to expect 先思. However, in view of the wider application of the term ἐνθύμησις in Manichæism (ἐνθ. of Life, ἐνθ. of Death: *andēšišnān šwāwandagān*; *marcēnē šmāra*; *ōlūmlūg saqīnē*: Polotsky, *Mani-fund*, 78 sqq.; *BBB.*, 91), it will be better to regard the Chinese as a "terminologically inexact" translation; for that in our text the First Man is meant, should not be doubted.—Thus we need not involve ourselves too deeply in the intricacies of the so-called "macro/microcosmic correspondences" with which the Manichæan authors have caused us so much delight. But it should be pointed out that *hndyšššn* could be used as a substitute for the name of the *Gloriosus Rex*, MPers. *Wādahrāmyazd*. For *hndyšššn* is the fourth of the five "limbs of the soul", and the *Gloriosus Rex* is the fourth of the five Sons of the Living Spirit: the two series "correspond" to each other. We find it sometimes stated that not the "limbs of the soul" but the "Five Gifts" were so engaged (Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 15, cf. my remarks in *OLZ.*, 1934, col. 5, n. 2; Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 265), but this is an error induced by the Chinese *Traité*, 52 [548] sqq., where, however, the "Gifts" are merely said to symbolize the Sons of the Living Spirit (cf. below the note on line 43). We will admit that this error may already have been present in the mind of the man to whom we owe the *wohldurchdachte dogmatische Werk*, see Polotsky's just remarks in *Mani-fund*, 77 (first lines). The true facts—if these mental aberrations can be described as facts—are plain from what Theodor bar Qōnai says: *L'Esprit Vivant . . . fit sortir de son intelligence l'Ornement de Splendeur . . . de sa réflexion le Roi de gloire et de sa volonté le Porteur* (Cumont, *Rech. Man.*, i, 22).<sup>2</sup> The relation between the two series is one of full identity in the *Kephalaia*, see Ch. xxxiii, especially p. 93, 9/10, "the great King of Glory who is the great ἐνθύμησις". That it must be ascribed to Mani himself is proved by the occurrence of the term *Prm'ngyn yzd* in the fragment M 98, which there appears once as the name of Atlas, see *OLZ.*, 1934, 751-2. *Prm'ngyn yzd* is the god of *parmānag* = λογισμός, cf. *Kephalaia*, 91, 31, "the Ὠμοφόρος who is λογισμός".

(20) *bwbw.*: the last letter cannot be read with certainty, but may be *wāw*. Hence *bwbw(w)*? The Greek Baubō is hardly worth considering.

(21) *mwmymn* 'y 'yryc[ or 'ydy[c]. The restoration of 'yryc[*n*], i.e. the patronymic of Ērič, is merely tentative; a descendant of Frēdōn would be suitable here, but Ērič (Ira) died sonless (Manūčīhr is sometimes said to have been his son). Or should we restore a finite verb, 'yryc[*yā*] or 'yryc[*ynd*], and regard *mwmymn* as a loanword (with strange ending) from Syr. *maumāthā* (pl. also *maumyāthā*), Talm. *mōmī* "oath, exorcism"? Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, i, 1603, quotes the stat.abs. pl. *kl mwmyn* "every kind of oath". Hence,

<sup>1</sup> So also in the Chin. Hymn-scroll 124c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, 24 [520], n. 1.

"in the name of the exorcisms that Michael, etc., 'bound' "? If 'yryc- is a verb, it could belong to Pahl. *bōxt ud ērixt* "freed and bound" ("acquitted and condemned"), see Bartholomae, *Sasan. Rechtsb.*, 23<sup>12</sup>, and cf. *ZII.*, ix, 199<sup>17</sup>.

(31) *tyj* is "sharp" (root *taig*), and *tyz* is "quick" (root *tak*). Both have coalesced in Persian: *tīz* (*tēz*) 1. sharp, 2. quick. In *Kawān A* 69 *tyzyy 'y ty[gr]* can only mean "speed of the arrow".

(32) *cyl'n* (also 37) and *'spšwn* (35), see *Sogdica*, 23, 36. *hswd* = whetted, from *ham* and (Pers.) *sūdan*, cf. *hs'c-*, *ZII.*, ix, 227<sup>15</sup>, and *hs'r* from *ham-s-*; *'swd-dnd'n* *Sogdica* 21 is not clear. *'rm's* here is evidently "the hardest metal, probably steel", certainly not "diamond", see also Bailey, *Zor.Probl.*, 134.

(34) *'wb'y-* (*ZII.*, ix, 188) seems to mean "to place" (or "suspend" ?). Together with *pyr'mwn* it is found also in M 535/6, a fragment of the Šābuhragān, in line 36: *'wd h'n swcyšn 'y zyšmyn 'y nwn pyr'mwn h'mkyšwr 'wb'ywd [w]d (p)rsp(y)l<sup>1</sup> u p'd 'ystyd*. In both passages *'wb'ywd* is probably preterite. The meaning of Pahlavi *'wb'y-/hnb'y-*, on which see Salemann, *Manichaica*, iv, 34/5, Bartholomae, *Mir.Mund.*, iv, 13 (*GrBd.*, 131<sup>2</sup>), is also far from clear.

(38) *pu'wd* = Pahl. *pu'pt* = Arm. *połovat* = Pers. *pūlād*. "Oriental damask steel," cf. Zeki Validi, *ZDMG.*, 90, 27, 33.

(43) *r'z'n 'y qdg*. The word for "secret, mystery" (*rāz*) is used for some kind of demons or evil spirits also in Mandæan. See Pognon, *Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants* [*MSL.*, viii, 1892], p. 21, "ils sont liés, les génies . . . les démons . . . tous les êtres mystérieux (*r'zy'*) et mauvais . . . les fées etc.", cf. p. 23. They are frequently mentioned in the *Qolastā*, see Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. 4, 22, 36. Once we have there "360 mysteries that are in the house", *r'zy' dōgn b'yl'* (22<sup>3</sup>). In the Manichæan texts *rāz* is nearly as multivocal as in Mandæan.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in the sense of "likeness, pattern, symbol" (cf. Syr. *rāzā*). Thus twice in M 727<sup>c</sup>, a fragment of the Parthian original of the Chinese *Traité*. M 727<sup>c</sup> 1 [*bdyg*] *rec p'd r'z 'st cy b'my[stwn]* = *Traité* 71 [567], 1 *Ce jour . . . imite . . . Su-lu-sha-lo-i*, cf. the Turkish version for the third "day" (*kün tāñrikā*) *oγšayur yōlāsūr*, *T.M.*, iii, 18<sup>4-7</sup>; hence, "the second day is on the pattern (similitude, type) of the Column of Glory." The second passage is M 727<sup>c</sup> 12, . . . *rec, 'wš 'ndrxt 'w šb, p'd nxywn r'z* = *T.M.*, iii, 19<sup>11-3</sup> (*ymā*) *ōñrāki (xormuzta-tāñri sōñūsūū) yōlāsūrū* = *Traité*, 72 [568], 10-12, *c'est un signe qui symbolise (la soumission du démon par) le premier (Envoyé de la Lumière)*<sup>3</sup>; hence, "on the pattern (likeness) of the first." These passages, beside enabling us better to appreciate the value of the "symbolical signs" that make the *Traité* such delightful reading, make it possible to understand others that up to now caused difficulties. Thus M 42, 36 (*Mir.Man.*, iii, 879, 18), *twyc qr pyd'g wxylygh drgunnyf! p'd b'rcr'n ricšun r'z*

<sup>1</sup> Probably *fraspīd* "thrown aside", rather than *parispīd* (which should be spelled *pyrpyd*); Av. *fraspaya*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Beruni's remark, *India*, p. 59 end (transl. i, 123).

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese is here much closer to the Turkish than to the Parthian.

"you, too, like the burdened Light Ones, show your longanimity"; here I regarded *r'z* as a verbal form, while H. H. Schaefer<sup>1</sup> took it for the Parthian equivalent of OPers. *rādīy*, MPers. *rāy*.<sup>2</sup> However, *pd . . . r'z* is parallel to Syriac *ba-rāz* "sicut". In the Middle Persian fragment M 219, 20 (*Mir.Man.*, ii, 312, 2, cf. Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 69, n. 35) *r'z* "stw'nyy 'wš'n wrwyšn probably means "the sacrament(s), the profession, and the belief in them", cf. again Syr. *rāzā* "sacrament".

(45) 'pr'n "robbers". As adjective 'pr "predatory" (*ZII.*, ix, 175 sq.) is common as an epithet of demons. As substantive it occurs occasionally as the name of a class of demons, cf. T i M. 100, 112, *mzn'n dwy'n*<sup>3</sup> 'wd 'pr'n *rp'g'n*<sup>4</sup> 'wd 'bd'g'n<sup>5</sup> 'rdykr'n *ky mr ny 'st* "the giants, . . ., robbers, assailants, attackers, and fighters, who are numberless" (all groups of demons). A passage of exceptional difficulty is S 9 a 24 (see *NGGW.*, 1932, 219 sq.), 'wm *zynd'nyg 'pr hynd dyw drwzš 'wd hrw prygg*, where one would be tempted to translate "and my jailers are 'robbers', demons, *drwzš*, and all peris", if the meaning "jailer" could plausibly be suggested for *zynd'nyg*. In Persian we have *zindānī* for "prisoner" and *zindānbān* for "jailer", and so also in Pahlavi, see e.g. *MhD.*, ii, p. 13<sup>9</sup>, *zynd'nyk* "prisoner" beside *zynd'nb'n* "jailer", and in Pazend, e.g. *ŠGV.*, xvi, 25, 38, *zindānī* "prisoner". However, there are some loanwords in Aramaic that apparently presuppose MPers. *zindānīk/g* "jailer". In the homilies of Aphraates *zdynyqy'* (var. *zydynq'*) occurs once for "jailer", and this has been restored as \**zndnyq'* by Lagarde, but as \**zndnqn'* by S. Fraenkel, see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*<sup>2</sup>, 201. In the Talmud there is a single passage (Taanith, fol. 22a) with *zndwq'* (*zndwqn'*) "jailer" (Levy, i, 545a), which again is either \**zndnyq'* or \**zndnqn'* (an Iranian \**zindānagān* is, of course, possible).<sup>6</sup> Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, i, 1141, has Mand. *zndyq' custos, praefectus carceris etc.*, in the place of \**zndnyq'*.

(46) *nyspwrđ*, from *ni + spar*, not noticed elsewhere in Man. texts.

(48 sqq.) The text as it stands yields no meaning. I have assumed three mistakes, 'st'n'n (48) for 'st'n'nd, 'yst'd (49) for 'yst'nd, and 'wš (51) for 'wš'n.

(50) 'spyzysn, it should be noted, is here merely a stylistic variation on *rwšn*. Similarly M 842 R 5, 'spyzysn 'gr'w u rwšn *prhyd*. In Parthian we have 'spyzt *pdmweg* and 'spyztyn *pdmweg*, which recall the *zohithā* of the Acts of St. Thomas. There is also (*yyšw'*) 'spyzt'n as translation of Syr. *zīwā*. All this

<sup>1</sup> *Morgenland*, vol. xxviii, 106, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Which, however, is *r'd* in Parthian. With Persian *ba-rāy*, also *ba . . . rā*, Pahl. *PWN . . . r'd*, we can compare Sogdian *pyd'r* (*pyδ'r*) from *pati-dār*, cf. the old spelling *pytδ'r* in the *Ancient Letters*. Metathesis of the consonants (cf. Persian *bidār*, *BSOS.*, X, 103, n. 1) is present also in the Khwarezmian postposition *dār*, cf. e.g. *ī juft dār = Ar. ilā zaufihā*, apud S. L. Volin, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 88; *ī nānām dār* "to N.N." and *rāyyān šuylān dār* "for field work", apud Freiman, *ibid.*, 314.

<sup>3</sup> 'bd'g'n . . . 'wd *dwy'n*, *Mir.Man.*, ii, 316, 7, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 82 (the preceding words may have been taken from the *Ascensio Jesaiae*, x, 13); *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 56, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *BSOS.*, IX, 87.

<sup>5</sup> S 12a 28; *Mir.Man.*, ii; *BBB*.

<sup>6</sup> Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wb.*, 123, proposed *zndnq'*.

ensures the meaning "to be light, bright, radiant". On the other hand 'spyz- occurs as "to sprout, blossom, be verdant", and in this sense is spelt *spc-* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which indicates (ə)*spiz-* or (ə)*spēz-*. Thus [sp]c[ʔ] (so proposed ZII., ix, 213<sup>37</sup>) = Syr. *nā'pā*, Ps. 131<sup>18</sup>, "but upon himself shall his crown flourish," and the causative *spcn'n* = Syr. *aḏnaḥ*, Ps., 131<sup>17</sup>, "there will I make the horn of David to bud."<sup>1</sup> That one verb should comprise such a set of meanings is by no means surprising; it is sufficient here to refer to the above-mentioned Syr. 'p' "effloruit, luxuriavit, splenduit" and to Persian *sarv-i sahi*<sup>2</sup> from MPers. *sahik* "resplendent, showy" (cf. MPers. *srw b'myw*, *Kawān* A 74). As *spc-/spyz-* = (ə)*spez-* can mean "to be verdant", should one not connect with it Persian *sabz* "green, fresh, in full bloom", *sabz šudan* "sprout, shoot, germinate" (etc.)? Although there are difficulties,<sup>3</sup> this etymology of *sabz* may seem better than the one proposed by Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 66; *NTS.*, i, 66. To come to the origin of 'spyt/'spyz- itself, the obvious etymon is the Iranian base *sprg* (*sparg*) "to sprout, blossom". The past participle \**sprxta-* would become *sprixt* in early Middle Persian: for the rule is that -r- becomes brief vowel + r before a simple consonant, but r + brief vowel (generally -i-) before two consonants. As a word may not begin with three consonants, irrespective of a prothetic vowel,<sup>4</sup> *sprixt* was necessarily shortened and became *spixt*; but where it was preceded by a preverb, no change took place, cf. Parth. *wyspryxt* (or Saka *haspṛiya* as against *spṛtai*). The present stem, \**sprjya-*, would develop in the same manner, *sprify-*<sup>5</sup> > *spify-* > *spif-* > *spiz-* > (ə)*spiz-*. We have to call in the help of analogy to explain the noun 'spyg, -spyg (Pahl. *spyk*, inverse spelling), i.e. (ə)*spig* < \**sprig* < \**sprga-* (which should have become \**spurg*). Nyberg, *Texte zum mazd. Kal.*, 77 sq., has a different etymology.

## II. A Parthian Amulet (Plate II)

T i a (M 1202). Upper half of a book-leaf, badly preserved; writing slightly faded, here and there obliterated. A Parthian amulet (*zāwar*) whose chief content was a *Manichæan Yakṣa catalogue*. Each hour was ruled by a Yakṣa who occupied a certain country and had so-and-so many thousand sons who ate this or that food. Of the twenty-four sections that must have gone to make up

<sup>1</sup> For Pahl. forms see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 311; X, 620; Bailey, *Zor.Probl.*, 109, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Misunderstood and misapplied as "erect" in Persian.

<sup>3</sup> Pers. -a- from MPers. -i- is common and occurs even in monosyllables (*zam* "cold" from *zim-*). Metathesis as in *γarv* "cane" from *grav-*, *surb* "lead" from *srw-*. Words in -abz are rare. *dabz/gabz* "thick" are equally dubious; if *dabz* is correct, it could be from *dbaz* (Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864) and help to prove the case for *sabz*. *barz* (*bauz*, with a side-form *baz*) "humble-bee" has original -bē-, cf. Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, 45 sq.—*Sabz* occurs as "green" even in Pahlavi books, e.g. *GrBd.*, 140, 7, *spz* (in the next line repeated as *spycz*), *Pahl.Riv.*, 202, 6 *spz* (not "brilliant" as de Menasce, *Anthropos*, xxxvii-xi, 183 sqq.).

<sup>4</sup> *zgrift*, etc., has original *uz-*. *sprhm-* is from *spargman-*. Latin *strata* becomes *srūt* in Pahlavi, see Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 505; *Zor.Probl.*, 115. *Istraël* becomes *Sr'yl*, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 54. The only exception, Parth. 'strtyu' = *στρατιώτης*, is deceptive. It was no doubt pronounced as *astartiyōtā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Khovar *isprenjik* "to blossom" (with secondary nasalization). Cf. Morgenstierne *BSOS.*, VIII, 662.

the catalogue originally only five are preserved; owing to gaps in the MS. only four names each of Yakṣas and countries are available. The countries mentioned are in North-Western India. Our fragment is closely related to a type of Northern Buddhist literature of which the Mahāmāyūri and the Candragarbha-sūtra are the best known specimens. The Yakṣa catalogue of the Mahāmāyūri was brilliantly commented on by Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 19-138; to the same scholar we owe a survey of the Candragarbha-sūtra, *BEFEO.*, v, 1905, 253-305. None of the Buddhist texts, as far as I can see, offers a five-fold series such as we find in the Manichæan fragment, hour: yakṣa: country: number: a food. In the Mahāmāyūri it is merely yakṣas: countries. In the Candragarbha, ch. xvii (pp. 262-8) it is countries: protectors (incl. yakṣas). In ch. xviii (pp. 268-281), we have nakṣatras: countries, the nakṣatras, arranged in *twenty-five* groups, being parallel to the *twenty-four* hours of the Manichæan text. In ch. xix there is first a list of *twenty-five* *caityas* which is found, with variations, also in the Avatamsaka-sūtra and the Sūryagarbha-sūtra, where they are put into relation with countries (pp. 281 sq.). It is followed by an enumeration of countries: numbers (of *lieux de Bouddha*), the countries being (on the whole) the same as in ch. xvii (pp. 281-5). Similarly we have in the Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra, ch. xxii (p. 303), a short list of countries with chief Nāgarājas, who are accompanied by thousands of Nāgarājas, e.g. "*dans le royaume de Tchen-tan [China], le Nāgarāja San-kio avec dix-huit mille Nāgarājas*". The Buddhist material thus attests at least a four-fold relation, nakṣatras: yakṣas: countries: numbers.

In employing such seemingly meaningless enumerations as charms or parts of charms, the Manichæans again imitated the Buddhists. Thus the Mahāmāyūri, the "Great Peacock formula", is *une des cinq grandes formules que le bouddhisme du Nord groupe sous l'appellation collective de Pañca-rakṣā "la Quintuple protection" . . . ne doit son importance qu'à sa valeur magique. Il consiste essentiellement dans une série de formules en abracadabra . . . est donc par excellence une formule de protection contre les serpents.* Its catalogue of yakṣas is merely a minor item within endless lists of divine beings whose aid is invoked to assure the efficacy of its central formula (*J.A.*, 1915, i, 19-22). Unfortunately that part of the text that made the transition from the introductory sentences to the yakṣa-formula is missing in the Manichæan fragment.

The Candragarbha-sūtra was translated into Chinese in A.D. 566, the Sūryagarbha-sūtra in 592 (loc. cit., 261). The first part of the Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra, to which the passage from ch. xxii quoted above belongs, was translated between 414 and 421 (ibid., p. 303). Of the Mahāmāyūri the oldest Chinese version that included the yakṣa-catalogue is of A.D. 516; the first incomplete translation, lacking the catalogue, is from between A.D. 317 and 322 (p. 26); the Bower MS., which belongs to the second half of the fourth century, contained parts of the book. S. Lévi assumes that the Mahāmāyūri catalogue *remonte aux trois ou quatre premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne.* Altogether one can perhaps say that the chief period of interest in this kind of literature was

the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; it is to that time that one would assign also the Manichæan text.

The Manichæans of Chinese Turkestan did not, as a rule, use the Parthian language as their medium; in the rare cases they did so use it, they betray themselves by lack of idioms, monotony of syntax, poverty of vocabulary, and patent mistakes (for details see Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 28-30). As the language of our fragment is intact, its composition must be ascribed to a period when and an area where Parthian was the living language of the Manichæan communities. The area in question is either Parthia itself or the countries bordering immediately on Parthia in the east, where the influence of the Parthian language was strong, and where the Manichæan religion had been spread by Parthian emissaries. We know now that Mani's Apostle of the East, Mār Ammō, went beyond Marv into the former Kušān dominions and reached districts near Balkh, possibly even Balkh itself (see my paper "Waručān-Šāh", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, xi, 85-90<sup>1</sup>). This Mār Ammō, who was destined to become the founder of Eastern Manichæism, made Parthian the official language of the Eastern Church. It maintained this status until, in consequence of the spread of Manichæism still further east, it was replaced by Sogdian in Transoxiana probably under Mār Šād-Ormīzd (second half of the sixth century); but in the Parthian home provinces as well as Marv and Balkh Parthian no doubt continued to be used. Of the history of the Manichæan church in Marv and Balkh we know little; that it had strong communities for several centuries is beyond doubt. In the second quarter of the seventh century, Hūen-tsang reported that Manichæism was the religion *par excellence* of Persia (*Mém.*, ii, 179, as corrected by Marquart). This means that Manichæism was a very strong religion in those districts of Persia that bordered on Tokharistan; for it was there that Hūen-tsang received his information on Persia.<sup>2</sup> Even at the beginning of the eighth century a Manichæan archbishop resided in Tokharistan (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, 176 [152] sq.).

<sup>1</sup> I made the mistake there of making use of the *WLWC'N MLK'*, who is mentioned in the Great Inscription of Shapur I. The later discovered Greek and Parthian versions of that inscription (see below, p. 53), which became accessible to me only in August, 1945, have proved me wrong and shown that the *WLWC'N MLK'* was the king of Iberia (in Parthian *WYRS'N*). It is only fair to say that I had envisaged the possibility that Iberia was meant, but had discarded it because I did not see (and still do not see) how such a spelling, which no doubt underlies the *Warjan* of the Armenian Geography, could be defended, in view of the other forms of the name, Arm. *Wirk'*, Gr. *Υρκανοί*, and now Parth. *Wyrān* = *Wirān*. Persian (etc.) *Gurj/Gurz* is easily derived from *Waruč*; the difficulty lies in explaining *Waruč*.—Striking out the *WLWC'N MLK'* does not necessarily affect the chief argument of my article. As we have two countries of the name of *Warjan/Warčān* in the Armenian Geography, one = Iberia, the other somewhere near Balkh, so should we find two *Waručāns* in the Iranian material. The Manichæan fragments in which *Wrac'ān* occurs are in Parthian: the name of Iberia should there be spelt \**wyr'ān*; for *wrac'ān* is known only as the Middle Persian form. On the other hand, one feels some hesitation on account of the name of the king, *Haβazā* (*Habazā*), which strangely resembles the name of the contemporaneous king of Iberia, *Hamazasp*, and could perhaps be regarded as a hypocoristic form of it.

<sup>2</sup> That is clear from his mentioning *la ville de Ho-mo* (*Mém.*, ii, 180) as the eastern frontier of Persia. *Ho-mo*, as already Marquart pointed out (*Erānsahr*, 75), is a mistake for \**Mo-ho* (*mudt-yāk*) = *Mary/Marv*.

Already the oldest Man. Parthian documents, the poems we can now ascribe to Mār Ammō himself (*BSOAS.*, xi, 216, n. 6), contain several Indian (Buddhist) terms (*mnrn* "death", *rdnyn* "jewels", *nrh* "hell" with *nrhyg* adj., *krm* "action", and *zmboddyg* "world"). In the texts written in the fourth century (see Ghilain, loc. cit., 26 sq.) their number increases gradually. Our fragment, showing closer contact with Buddhists and an interest in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, may have been written in the sixth century, probably in or near Balkh.

- (R) (1) pd tw n'm pd t[w] (k)[']m pd t[w] f(r)[m'n '](wd) pd tw z'wr  
 (2) (xw)d'y yyśw mšyh['] o p]d n'm mrym'[ny] 'njywg yzd'n  
 (3) [f](ryštg) o 'wd pd n'm cy tw'n (w)'[d ? wjyd](g) [']st'w'dg  
 (4) 'frydg k(y) wyg'n(yd) (')w hrwyn dyw'n 'wd z'wr['n t'ry](g)[o] pd n'm  
 (5) [m](y)h'yl sr'yl rwf'yl 'wd gbr'yl [  
 (6) [. . . .] qftynws<sup>1</sup> 'wd brsymws fryš[t]g[  
 (7) [n]'m 'nyl 'wd ddyl<sup>2</sup> 'bryl nysdyl<sup>3</sup> 'w(d) (r)fy[. . . . .]  
 (8) ['](w) 'šm'h hrwyn dyw'n yxš'n pryg(')n [d](r)[w]j]n r(x)[šs'n ?]  
 (9) ['](w)zdys'n t'ryg'n 'wd w'd'n bzg'n (o) hrwyn z'dg'n [t'ryg]  
 (10) '(wd) ? šb'nyg (t)rs 'wd 'hr's (dr)d 'wd yw(b)[hr . . . . .]  
 (11) ['wd] [z](r)w'n 'c prw'n z'wr 'stft 'wd sx[wn . . . . .]  
 (12) ['c] 'ym mrdwhm ky pdmw(x)[t](g) d'ryd o wryx[syd . . . . .]  
 (13) [. . . .] 'wd 'bn'syd 'spwhyd 'zyh[<sup>1-2</sup>]yd o (yd)[  
 (14) [. . . .] 'w dwr (w)[y'](g)[  
 (15) [. . .]my[
- (V) (16) hz'r (p)w[h]r['n . . . .] [']h'r 'xwrynd [oo pn]jwm jm'n 'c  
 (17) rwe yxš pd[xš]hyd byš p'r(n) (n)'m o 'w pws(k)wr<sup>4</sup> [pr]xyz[yd o]  
 (18) 'wš '(s)[t pwhr'n] wys(t) hz'r šw(r)yn 'h'r 'xwrynd [oo]  
 (19) šhw[m jm'n ']c rwe yxš pdxš'hyd qwctr n'm [o]  
 (20) ['w . . . . .] prxyzyd o 'wš 'st pnjwyst hz'[r]  
 (21) [pwhr'n .].g.(n) 'h'r 'xwrynd oo hftwm jm'n 'c  
 (22) [rwe yxš pd](xš)'hyd nrg'n n'm 'w cynyst"[n]  
 (23) [prxyzyd] ['wš] ('s)t pwhr'n hšt'd hz'r mygdyy[n]  
 (24) ['h'r] 'xwrynd oo (h)štwm jm'n 'c rwe yx(š)  
 (25) [pdxš'hyd] nrg(')[n ?] n'm 'w qšpyr [prxy]zyd o (')[wš]  
 (26) ['st . . . . .] hz'r pwhr'n 'sprh(m)yn 'h'r ['xwrynd]  
 (27) [oo nhwm] jm'n 'c rwe yxš pdxš'hyd [. . . . .]  
 (28) [. . . . .]myl n'm 'w d(jr)tbwhr<sup>5</sup> (?) p[rxzyd]  
 (29) ['wš 'st pwhr'n . . . . . hz']r šyft[yn 'h'r]  
 (30) ['xwrynd oo dswm jm'n 'c rwe yxš] pdxš[hyd]

<sup>1</sup> Or *qplymws*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *ryyl*.

<sup>3</sup> Or *nyryl*, possibly even *nyenyl*.

<sup>4</sup> Or *pwšzur* ?

<sup>5</sup> Or *d(š)lwhr* ? Or *r* ?



## Translation

(R) . . . in your name, by your will, at your command, and through your power, Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of Mar Mani the Saviour, the apostle of the gods, and in the name of your Holy, praised, blessed Spirit, who smites all demons and powers of darkness. In the name of Michael, Səra'el, Raphael, and Gabriel . . . of Qaftinus and Bar-Simus the angel . . . in the name of An-el, Dad-el, Abar-el, Nisad-el, and Raf-el [who will smite] all you demons, yakšas, peris, drujs, rākšasas, idols of darkness, and spirits of evil. All ye sons of darkness and night, fear and terror, pain and sickness, . . . and old age: from before the firm Power and Word . . . away from this man, who wears it: flee ye, . . ., vanish, take fright, pass away until . . . to a far place . . .

(V) . . . [he has] . . . thousand sons; they eat food of . . .

The fifth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Bis-pārn* by name, rules it. He occupies *Puskavur*. He has twenty thousand sons. They eat food of salt.

The sixth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Kuātr* (?) by name, rules it. He occupies [ ]. He has twenty-five thousand sons. They eat food of . . .

The seventh hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Naragān* by name, rules it. He occupies *China*. He has eighty thousand sons. They eat food of fruit.

The eighth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Naragā[n ?]* by name, rules it. He occupies *Kashmir*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of flowers.

The ninth hour, of the day: a Yakša, . . . . . *mīl* by name, rules it. He occupies *Dārtabuhr*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of milk.

## Notes

(3) Cf. *tw'n* . . . *w'd wjydg*, *Mir.Man.*, iii, 863, 9 (cf. p. 912 n.), where *tw'n* refers to the Father of Light. In our passage it may belong to Jesus (cf. line 1) or to the Father.

(6/7) Qaftinus, etc., see Müller, *HR.*, ii, 45, 48, 55-9. Cf. also M 196 *mrsws nrsus nstyqes y'qeb 'wd qptynws s'ryndes u 'hryndes syt 'wd brsymws (šw)h'n'n nyw'n* "the valiant shepherds", and the hymn published in *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 56.

(8) The Parthian equivalent of Av. *druj-*, Man. MPers. *druš-*, does not seem to occur elsewhere. There is not enough space for [d](r)[wzš]n.

(8) *rk[* or *rx[*. There is a hole over the *k/x* where there would have been the point that transforms *k* into *x*; the letter itself is damaged, but nevertheless quite certain. A class of demons whose name begins with *rk[* or *rx[* is not mentioned anywhere else in Manichæan literature. In view of the pre-occupation with Indian matters that distinguishes our fragment, *rākšasa* would be appropriate. Parthian borrowed *yakša* as *yazš*,<sup>1</sup> *bhikṣ-* as *bizš-*, *mokṣa* as *mōzš*, and *śikṣāpada* as *čazšābed*, so *rākšasa* should turn up as *\*razšas* (the first vowel would necessarily be shortened in Parthian) or even *razšaz*,

<sup>1</sup> Apart from Khotanese Saka, it is only in Parthian that Skt. *-kṣ* is rendered by *-zš*; for Sogd. *y'ys* (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 771) does not exist (see *ibid.*, 719), and Man. Sogd. *czš'pt* (whence Uigur and Mongol) comes from Parthian.

cf. Saka *rakšaysa*, but Uigur *r'kš's*, *Uig.*, i, 44<sup>12</sup> (see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 771 sqq., for further forms).

(9) *uzdēs* "idol" is loanword from Middle Persian (Parth. \**zdys*, cf. MPers. *'wzdyh*: Parth. *'zdyh*).

(10) *'hr's* = Pers. *hirās*, cf. *'hr's'dn*, Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 75.

(11) *z'wr* is the key-word to the whole text. Its value cannot be appreciated until one has found the correct reading of *plmwztyg* in the next line; it eluded me for a long time. The demons are to flee "from before" the "firm" *zāwar* = power, away from *this* man who wears it, viz. the *zāwar*. The *zāwar* thus is the amulet itself, and *sz[wn]* "word" is the text of the amulet. This reminds one of the use of *δύναμις* as "magically potent substance or object", see Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie s.v., ii 5, and cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 46, n. 1.

(13) *'bn's-* is transitive elsewhere, see Ghilain, loc. cit., 69. *'spch-*, not otherwise noticed, belongs to *'sp'w*, *BSOS.*, IX, 81.<sup>1</sup> The transitive verb, *'sp'w-* "to frighten", also occurs. The *-h-* in *'spch-* is unetymological, cf. *wnehg* from *wnc-*, Ghilain, loc. cit., 67. The gap in *'zyh[.]* *.yld* may be deceptive; the paper is broken and may not have been put together properly. The derivation given for *yā* "until" in *BSOS.*, IX, 89, is unsatisfactory. One should pose *\*yātā* and compare OPers. *yātā*, which Salemann (*GrIrPhil.*, i, 1, 318) justly connected with Pers. *tā*. The syntactical value of *yātā* is precisely that of *tā*. That Pers. *tā* has lost its initial syllable is shown by Man. MPers. *dā*, from which it cannot be separated in any case. The Pahlavi form was *tā*, not *\*tāk*; the occasional confusion with the word for "piece" occurred after *tāk* "piece" had become *tā*; to those who persist in writing *tāk* we recommend *kak* for *ka* "when", *mak* for *ma* " (that) not ", etc. (*Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, 2, 7). The Pazendists knew *dā* beside *tā*, see *Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, n. 14; this may account for the second half of Paz. *andā*.

(17) *byš p'rn* = *Bis-pārn* must be *Viśvapāni*, who leads a shadowy existence in Northern Buddhism as the fifth of the "Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas"; he is due to create the next world, the world of Maitreya. As his colleague *Vajrapāni* appears frequently as a *yakṣa*, cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, -viii, 311-17, there is no reason why *Viśvapāni* should not play such a homely role too. In the Candragarbhā-sūtra the *yakṣa* of Puruṣapura is Manipuṣpa, that of Gāndhāra is Siṃhaloma (?). Puruṣapura is not mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī catalogue, where Gāndhāra occurs twice, in 32 (*yakṣa* is Pramardana), and in 72, where the *yakṣa*'s name seems to be *Vaikṣtika*; it has been connected with Av. *Vaēkərəta* by S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1925, i, 67-9; cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 917, n. 1. The discovery that *Vaēkərəta* is Gāndhāra (which I take for proved) is of the greatest importance for the list of countries in Vendidad, ch. 1. It encourages me to propose a new explanation for *Varəna*, which in the Vendidad precedes *hapta həndu*: should it not be = Skt. *Varṇu*, the *\*Aopros* of Alexander, the

<sup>1</sup> Parth. *'skd* *ibid.* is evidently "thorns" = Sogd. *'skt* "thorns" *SCE.*, 48, also Man. *skf* (1060 V4). This meaning fits Av. *skaiti* better than any other.

modern Buner? See Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 71-3. In the Mahāmāyūrī catalogue *Varṇu* (30) stands shortly before *Gāndhāra*. The usual identification of *Varṇa* with *Gēlān* (cf. Christensen, *Premier Chapitre du Vendūdad*, 1943, 49 sqq.) is ill-founded; for the Pahlavi version has no authority whatsoever in matters of historical geography, and the derivation of *Gēl* from *varṇya-* is weak (1. *-arny-* > *\*-ēl-* against Pers. *zarr*, etc., 2. *\*gē-* < *vē-* hardly anywhere in the West, 3. and all this by the time of Pompey, see Strabo, xi, 5, 1, p. 503).

(17) *puškwur*. At first sight one would perhaps read *pušxur*; but what seems to be a *-x-* point, proves on closer inspection to be merely a smudge; it stands a little lower than the *-x-* point should. The form *puškwur* is thus as good as assured. *Puškwur*, which may represent *Puškawur* or *Pošk-*, is almost certainly an old form of the name of Peshawar (Puruṣapura). I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett how one could best explain the relation of pseudo-Sanskrit *Puruṣapura* to *Puškawur* or *Poškawur* (and *Poškašur*, see below). He very obligingly suggested that the original form of the name was Skt. *\*Puṣya(ka)-pura*, whence in local Prakrit arose *\*Puṣṣa(ka)-p.* or *\*Pōṣṣa(ka)-p.* (for sporadic change of *ṣ* to *ṣ* see Pischel, § 125); presence or absence of suffixed *-ka-* creates as little difficulty in Indian as in Iranian; *\*Puṣyaka-* is perhaps an abbreviation of a compound name such as *Puṣya-mitra* or *Puṣya-datta*, and the name *Pusaka* occurs twice in the lists of donors at Sanchi (*E.I.*, vol. ii, pp. 104, 387). In popular etymology *\*poṣṣa-* was confused with *\*poṣṣa-*—*\*poṣsa-*—*pōsa* derived from Skt. *puṣa* or Pkt. *purisa* through intermediary *purṣa* or *pursa*, and hence arose the form *Puruṣapura*. To this I should like to add that the Iranians were bound to change foreign *\*Poṣṣakapura* to *\*Poškapur*, which would later become *Poškašur* and finally *Poškawur*; it is necessary to assume an older form *\*Poškapur* in order to account for the presence of an original *-k-* beside *β/w* from *-p-*. We can now discuss the only other occurrence of a form of the name with interior *-k-*. In the Parthian and Greek versions, discovered shortly before the war, of the inscription of Šapur I at the Ka'ba-i Zardušt (A.D. 262, see *BSOS.*, IX, 845), the easternmost limit of the Sasanian state and at the same time the "Kušan country" (*kušn hštr*; i.e. that part of the former Kušan state which the first Sasanians had conquered) is described as *Pškbwr* = (ἐμπροσθεν) Πασκιβούρων.<sup>1</sup> The passage runs like this, "and all the upper countries: Kermān, Sakastān, Tuyrān and Makurān, Pāratān<sup>2</sup> and Hindastān (*hndstn*, Gr. Ἰνδία; = Sind), and the Kušan country up to *Pškbwr*". The Parthian version of the inscription is now accessible in a good photograph, published at the end of M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr I the Great. On the Kaabah of Zoroaster = AJSLL.*, lvii [1940], 4, 341-420. The Greek text is dispersed in little bits and pieces (which are interlaced with odd remarks on anything, from the shape of letters to the political situation) over the eighty pages of

<sup>1</sup> The other terms used to define the eastern limits will be discussed at the end of this note.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Παράσηρj in Gedrosia. Sprengling (353) wrongly attributes to Marquart the view that the corresponding name in the Paikuli inscription should be localized in Surat. On Skt. *Pārata* see S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 103 sq., on Mahāmāyūrī, 95, where *Pāratāš* stands beside *Sakasthāna*, *Pahlava*, and *Kāpišī*.

Sprengling's article. It is supplemented by two articles by A. T. Olmstead in *Classical Philology*, xxxvii [1942], 3, 241-262; 4, 398-420. Sprengling's editing technique excites no admiration, and his earlier exploits into the field of epigraphy inspire no confidence; cf. also M. N. Tod's critical remarks in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxiii, 1943, 84 sq., and see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis and Dura, Berytus*, viii, 1943, 17-60. Confirmation must be awaited for the Greek spelling of the name which Sprengling (pp. 354 sq.) correctly referred to Peshawar; Parthian *pškbr* is certain. It may be of interest here to mention briefly the parallel sentence in which the north-western limits of the Sasanian empire are defined: "Atropatene ([*t*]reptkn), Armenia, Iberia (*wyršn*), Sisakan (Siunik'; spelt *sykn*),<sup>1</sup> Albania (*rr'n* ?), *Balāsakān* (*bl'skn*), up to Mount Caucasus and the Gate of the Alans."<sup>2</sup> The last words are read *kpy krukny* [or: *grwryny*] *w 'VnNTRkny* by Sprengling. The photograph, however, shows clearly enough: *kpy TWR' w 'Vnn TR'* (= *Kāf kōf ud Alānān bar*); even a non-Semitist can recognize the Aramaic words *tūrā* "mountain"<sup>3</sup> and *tur'ā* "gate". We note that Sprengling has also not succeeded in restoring the appropriate word for "gate" in the Greek text, which is of course *πύλαι*; he has tried hard to find it and proposes "*Alanōn* [*parakh* or *paakh* or *phouriou* or *pyrgou* or *kleisouras*]"<sup>4</sup>. To return now to the *Pškbr* passage, after "and the Kušān country up to Peshawar" the Greek text has, according to Sprengling (p. 355), *kai (h)ēos Kas Sōdikēnēs kai Tsatsēnēs orōn*, the Parthian being *W HN 'L k's siegd W s's*; the first *s* is not clear in the photograph; Sprengling gives *s'ss(tn)* and restores the word for "mountain"; whether *-stn* should be read or not I cannot say; it cannot be seen in the photograph, and in any case its presence or absence is immaterial for the meaning of the passage. Sprengling has recognized Sogdiana and *Čāc*; for *Kās* he proposes with a fine display of judgment first *Cutch*, then *Kashmir*, then *Kišš*, deciding himself in favour of the last. He takes it for granted that the last Greek word was *ὄρων*. With this I cannot agree. We should read *καὶ ἕως Κὰς Σωδικηνῆς καὶ Τσατσηνῆς ὄρων* = Parthian *ud yad ō Kās Suγd ud Čāc (± astān)* [*wīmand*]. The boundary of *Kās* was the famous *λίθινος πύργος*, whence the traveller reached *ἡ Κασία χώρα*, Chin. *K'ia-ša*, Sogdian *Kās* (*BSOS.*, IX, 567; *Sogdica*, 8, 10), later *Kāšgar*; for the western frontier of Kashghar at the time of Shapur see Markwart, *Wehrot*, 68. The boundary of Sogdiana was the Iron Gate. Shapur thus claims to have held at least a part of Transoxiana, in particular the important first stretch of the Silk Route, from Balkh to the Stone Tower. The definition of his eastern possessions, therefore, ends with the words ". . . Pāratān and Hindastān, and the Kušān country up to Peshawar and up to the limits of Kashghar, Sogdiana, and Tashkend".

<sup>1</sup> Not understood by Sprengling. Same list as in the Armenian Geography, provinces of *K'ustī-Kapkoā*, 1-6 (where Sisakan follows Balāsakan).

<sup>2</sup> A new sub-sentence begins with *w hmk* . . . Not understood by Sprengling.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs several times in the inscription. Sprengling misreads it throughout.

<sup>4</sup> Sprengling's transliteration.

(18) *šwryn* "salt(y)" (not noticed elsewhere). There are forms with *š*- and *s*-, Persian *šōr*(-), but Bakhtiari *sūr* (Lorimer, p. 69), Gabri of Yezd *sūr* (Lorimer, *JRAS.*, 1916, 437), Baluchi *sōr*, Brahui *sōr*, and last but not least Pahlavi *sōr*. The word is unknown to Old Iranian and seems to be restricted (loanwords from Persian excepted) to the area of Persia and Baluchistan. Could it belong to a substrate language and be connected with Dravidian \**suvar* (Gondi *sawwōr*, GondiM. *hovar* "salt", Tamil, Malayalam *uwar* "salt-ness", quoted by T. Burrow, *BSOAS.*, XI, 352) ? For the mineral salt Parthian has the common Iranian *na/imaδka* (*Sogdica*, 8, and *Add.*; *na/imaθka* cannot be maintained); as *nmylk* it occurs in M 377 R 5. In addition, there is a strange word for "salty" in Parthian, *wl* = *wal* ? The Manichæans had, as of everything else, so also a series of (five) tastes, see Polotsky, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.*, vi, 250<sup>12</sup>. A full set does not seem to occur in the Iranian material, but there are three fragmentary series, one in Middle Persian (T i M 100, 121 sqq.) and two in Parthian (M 183 and M 840), viz. :—

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
MidPers.	—	—	[ <i>dj</i> ]n	<i>šyptg</i>	<i>thr</i>
Parth. 183	[ <i>w</i> ]	<i>tryfš</i>	—	—	<i>trl</i>
Parth. 840	<i>wl</i>	<i>tryfš</i>	<i>djn</i>	<i>šy[ftg]</i>	—
<i>Keph.</i> 33	<i>salzig</i>	<i>sauer</i>	<i>scharf</i>	<i>süss</i>	<i>bitter</i>
			( <i>brenzlich</i> )		

(19–22) *qvctr* (= *Kucchattra* ?) is not known to me. *Nrg'n* = *Naragān*, which recurs in line 25, is also not clear; *Naravāhana* (Kubera), who is mentioned in the *Candragarbha* (p. 264 under No. 9), is not close enough. It is not altogether impossible that *Naragān* is an inverse spelling of \**Narāyān*, which could be regarded as a popular or local form of *Nārāyaṇa*<sup>1</sup> (in *Sogdian n'r'y'n*, *VJ.* and *P* 8; *Saka* spellings *apud* Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 909, 914): he, too, is found in the *Candragarbha* (p. 265 under No. 17). The Middle Ir. ending *-agān* (earlier *-akān*) became *-ayān* and finally *-iyān*, which then was liable to confusion with *-iyān* from *-igān*/*-ikān*, cf. the case of *parnagān*/*parniyān* (Pahl. "parnikān"), *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 153. In the region of Tokharistan *-igān*/*-ikān* had become *-iyān* by the middle of the fifth century, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 215, and this may be true also of *-agān*. We cannot tell whether names such as *Čayāniyān* represent *Čayān-agān* or *Čayān-igān* (cf. Marquart, loc. cit., 226, n. 1). Some words have both *-agān* and *-igān* originally, e.g. *sāsānagān* in Parthian, *sāsāniyān* in MPers.

(22–25) *cynyst'n* = *Čēnistān* (or *Čīn*-) = China, *qšpyr* = *Kašpīr* = Kāśmīr. *Kašpīr* reflects a Prakrit form with *-šp*<sup>2</sup> and must not be confused with the Iranian and Central Asian form with *-sp* and apparently a brief *-i* (*Κασπερία*,

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is supported by the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and *Sūryagarbha-sūtra*, where "la Grotte de Na-lo-yen [i.e. *Nārāyaṇa*] est le lieu saint de la Chine" (*BEFEO.* v 282, 6. For details see *BEFEO.*, ii, 248; iv, 547.

<sup>2</sup> *-p* as in *lyšp*, etc., cf. *Sogdica*, 58 and *Add.*

Κασπεῖοι Ptolemy; Chin. *Chi-pin* = \*Ka(s)pīr; Khotanese Saka *Kaspār-*, *E* xxiv, 5, cf. Konow, *NTS.*, xi, 30; Tib. *Kaspar*, Thomas, *Tib. Texts and Doc.*, i, 193). The form with *-sm-* occurs in Iranian only in comparatively late times, e.g. in Pahlavi (*Gr.Bd.*, 197<sup>2</sup>, 199<sup>1</sup>) and Persian (Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 254). The proximity of China to Kashmir in our text would by itself be sufficient proof for its dependence upon an Indian prototype. Originally no doubt the Indian *Cīna* was meant, cf. Mahāmāyūrī cat. 80 and S. Lévi's remarks, pp. 101, 120. This may also be the explanation of the series *Bru-śa*—Kashmir—*Rgya* (i.e. China)—*Nagarāhāra* in a Tibetan text, F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., 261. One and the same yakṣa, it seems, looks after *Činistān* and *Kāspīr* according to our fragment; in the Mahāmāyūrī Pāñcika dwells in the confines of Kashmir, his eldest son in the lands of *Cīna* (understood as *China* by the translators):—

- 77 *Prabhaṅkaraśca Kāsmīre Caṅḍakaśca Jaṭāpure*  
 78 *Pāñcika iti nāmnā tu vasate Kāsmīrasaṃdhiṣu*  
 79 *pañca putrasatā yasya mahāsainyā mahābālāḥ*  
 80 *jyēsthaputraḥ Pāñcikasya vasate Cīnabhūmiṣu*

The same Pāñcika, who, as Sylvain Lévi pointed out, is mentioned in a Pali story of the conversion of Kashmir, appears as the yakṣa of China in the Candragarbha-sūtra (p. 268, No. 55).

(23) *mygdyyñ* "consisting of fruit". In M 93, 14b, *mygdg* "fruit" occurs. Sogdian *myδ'kw* (etc.) = *mayde* "fruit" and MPers. *myw* (*Mir.Man.*, i), Pers. *mēve* "fruit" (for which Morgensterne proposed a different origin, *Acta Orientalia*, i, 272) belong here; MPers. *mēw* < \**mēγ* from \**maḍg* (*miḍg*?) with metathesis. The Parthian, Sogdian, and Persian words, in conjunction, prove Old Iranian \**migda-* (and \**migdaka-*) "fruit"; all of them are collective nouns. This Old Iranian *migda-* "fruit" cannot well be separated from the Aramaic and Hebrew *miḡdā* (etc.) "fruit", words which are often mistranslated because of etymological considerations ( $\sqrt{mḡd}$  in Arabic and Palmyrene).<sup>1</sup> Syriac *maydā* means nothing but "fruit", and so does Talm. *mygd'* (*mgd'*), for which Levy, iii, 12, gives *Kostbarkeit, köstliche Frucht*, while the passage he quotes has *b'sprmqy w-mgd'y*, evidently "with flowers (MPers. *išparhmag*) and fruit". Biblical Hebrew *māḡād*, in *Deut.*, 33<sup>13</sup> sqq., and unquestionably in *Cant.*, 4<sup>13</sup>, 16, 7<sup>14</sup>, means "fruit", both literally and metaphorically ("fruit of heaven", etc.); Brown-Driver-Briggs say "excellence: excellent or choice things; always of gifts of nature . . .".

(25) *prxyz-*, here translated as "occupy", could also be "protect", see *BSOAS.*, XI, 62, n. 2, where the connection with Av. *haēz-* (Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 33) was pointed out.

(28) *djrtbuhr* or *dštbuhr*? *-š-* and *-jā-* (*-jr-*) can be distinguished only with

<sup>1</sup> It is beyond my province to express an opinion on Hebr. *miḡdānōth* (from  $\sqrt{mḡd}$  or *miḡdā*?). The ultimate provenance of the word for "fruit" (Semitic? Iranian? or a third group?) is not clear to me.

difficulty wherever the writing is slightly faded; here the chances are equal. A point over *d*- (changing it to *r*-) may have disappeared. Much depends here on the proper reading. It seems possible that the town (or district) meant here was the *Jaṭāpura* of the Mahāmāyūri catalogue 77 (see above note on 22-5), which there stands between Kāsmīra and Cina. As, however, a town of that name is known to no other source, its presence would prove a very close relation between the Manichæan fragment and the Mahāmāyūri. It is somewhat unfortunate that the reading of the name in the Mahāmāyūri is not quite certain; the Chinese versions have *Jaṭāsura* (name of a people mentioned by Varāhamihira) and *Kaṭāpura*, but these two forms add up to *Jaṭāpura*, which the Skt. MSS. have in unanimity. S. Lévi (p. 101) thinks that *Jaṭāpura* could be the "town of the Jats" (*Jāt*, the *Zuff* of the Muslims), whose name Candragomin may have given as *Jarta* (*BEFEO.*, iii, 51). Beruni glosses Sindhu-Sauvīra by "Multān and جہراور *Jahrāwar* (?)" (*India*, 152<sup>s</sup>, 166<sup>16</sup> = transl., i, 300, 302; cf. 130<sup>s</sup> = i, 260), see Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, 51 sq., but Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 259, has made it likely that "*jahrāwar*" is the same as جندراور, according to Marquart, *Čandrāwar*. If Minorsky is right in deriving the name of the Persian *Zuff*, *Lōrī*, from that of *Rōr* (*Arōr*), *J.A.*, 1931, i, 281 sqq., the old capital of the Sauvīras, *Rauruka* (*Lolwa*), see Lüders, loc. cit., may lay some claim to the designation of *Jaṭāpura*; the name of the yakṣa of Rauruka, Prabhāṅkara, recurs in the line in which *Jaṭāpura* is mentioned, though not as the name of the genius of *Jaṭāpura*. Evidently it is impossible, with our present means, to determine the position of this town. The Parthian spelling *djrtbchr* (or *đštbrchr*) is easily explained. It must be remembered that the letter we transliterate as *j* has, in Parthian, the value of *ž* at the beginning of a word (in MPers. it is *ǰ*). If a foreign *f*- was to be reproduced accurately, a combination of two letters had to be used, either *đš-* or preferably *dj-* (= *dž-*). One can compare Parthian *tšy*, *tšy*, a fairly frequent variant of *cy* = *čē*, Avestan *tē* *đē* *đōj* (Bartholomæ, *GrIrPhil.*, i, 1, 158), and Mandæan *tš* (Nöldeke, *Mand.Gram.*, p. 2 n.). Unetymological *h* in the group vowel + *r* has been noticed before, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 239 sq., on Pers. *sipīhr* and Parth. *zyncyhr*, to which ManMPers. *nncyhr*<sup>1</sup> should perhaps be joined; in the case of *-bchr* the numerous Parthian names in *-buhr* "son" (early pronounced as *-būr*) added to the temptation. Thus *đštbrchr* could be *Jatabūr*, while *djrtbchr* = *Jartabūr* would remind one of Candragomin's *Jarta*; however, it is common knowledge that the Indian linguists were often represented by *r* + dentals (cf. also *byš p'rn* in our fragment), and so we should regard *djrtbchr* merely as an accurate rendering of *Jaṭāpura*.

<sup>1</sup> The etymology recently proposed for this word by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 774, n. 1, would require *-hr* in the MPers. form. The absence of *-h-* from all other spellings, even that in the inscription of Shapur, is against *\*naxti-šōra*. One would also hesitate to regard Sogdian *nyš'gr* as a loanword (the regular Sogdian form should end in *-iš*).

## Excursus

The Parthian ending *-ēndē(h)*.

In an article "Contribution a l'histoire de la flexion verbale en iranien" (*Le Monde Oriental*, xxxi, 1937 [publ. 1944], 63-86) Professor H. S. Nyberg has returned to a problem to which he had devoted several pages in the introduction to his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (i, 13-19; 1928): the problem of the two mysterious verb-endings ( $x^1$  resembling *BYN*;  $x^2$  resembling Av. *q*) that can be added to ideograms in Pahlavi. Professor Nyberg has considerably modified his earlier views, which had come in for a good deal of criticism; but he still maintains his analysis of both  $x^1$  and  $x^2$  as 𐭠𐭡 (with which I had—ill-advisedly<sup>1</sup>—concurred). He has abandoned his interpretation of the value of  $x^1$  as *-ēndēh* and admits that the arguments put forward against the importation into *Pahlavi* of an optative ending that can justly be described as a distinctive feature of the *Parthian* language are not without some force; but he declares that, as most Pahlavi books had been written in Northern Persia, in *Ray* and *Azerbaijan* (p. 83),<sup>2</sup> the Parthian *-ēndēh* might have intruded into Pahlavi occasionally, and he claims to be able to prove that it did so intrude into a page of the *Dinkerd*. As there is little profit in arguing for or against a thesis that a word, form, or ending might or might not have been borrowed by one language from another, I will confine myself to an examination of the single *Dinkerd* passage that in Nyberg's opinion is sufficient to prove his case.

The passage, from the beginning of the seventh book (*DkM.*, 593, 11 sqq.), is about the First Man and Woman. God sends a minor divinity to them to give them some instructions. The messenger does as he is told. His performance is described in the same terms as the order itself, except for the forms of the verbs, which are (according to Nyberg) third persons singular optative in the order, but past participles in the description of its execution. Thus we have two sets of forms, viz. :—

3rd sg. opt.	SGYTWN-DŠ	zḥkDŠ	āfrīnēnDŠ
p.p.p.	SGYTWN-t (= <i>raft</i> )	zast	āfrīnēnūt
=	<i>se rendre</i>	<i>faire naître</i>	<i>donner la bénédiction</i>

The group of letters that looks like *DŠ*<sup>3</sup> is to be analysed as *\*dyh* = *\*dēh*. All the three optatives, which are to prove the existence of the ending *-ēndēh* in Pahlavi, have to submit to some measure of emendation. *āfrīnēndēh* est une haplogie assez naturelle (ou simple haplographie ?) de *āfrīnēndēh* (p. 85), the verbal stem being *āfrīnēn-*; it may be censorious to point out that the

<sup>1</sup> For the arguments against his analysis are overwhelmingly strong. No such ending (𐭠𐭡) is known in any type of the more ancient Pahlavi material (inscriptions, Dura-Europos, coins, papyri, psalter), a large part of which antedates our oldest Pahlavi manuscripts by as much as a millennium. Indeed, the letter 𐭠 had fallen into disuse (except in the fossilized ideograms, i.e. word pictures) even before the third century. The *schrifgeschichtliche Analyse* seems to operate in *vacuo*.

<sup>2</sup> In my view they were written in Southern Persia, in Fars and Kerman.

<sup>3</sup> I am using capital letters here where I want to indicate the shape of the Pahlavi signs without expressing an opinion on their value, but small letters for their value. Thus, *DŠ* can



element *-ēn-* of *-ēndēh-* is thus not attested here. In the *combinaison absurde* *zhkDŠ, -k-* est une faute pour *-yn-*, et *-dš* pour *-dyh*; nous obtenons *zhynđyh* = *zahēndēh*, which together with its past *zast* should belong to Pers. *zihādan* *produire*, but is translated *faire naître* as if it were a causative verb; would it be carping to stress that the syllable *-ēn-* is here, too, not in the text? The third form, \**SGYTWN-dēh*, should, by all rules of Pahlavi grammar, represent \**raudēh*; for *SGYTWN* stands for *rau-* (before vowels) or *rau(-)* (in pause and presumably <sup>1</sup> before consonants). But in view of the other forms Nyberg commands us to read *rawēndēh* instead. It will be clear already now that the passage is incapable of proving *-ēndēh* for Pahlavi, simply because this ending does not occur in it; but Nyberg concludes *on ne peut donc nier que les formes en -ēndēh ne se trouvent dans les textes rédigés dans la langue officielle du sud-ouest*, etc. (p. 86).

The important parts of the Dinkerd text are transcribed by Nyberg in this way: *ēn-ic haē vēh-dēn patāk kū-s guft Ōhrmazd ō kas pat ahrādih apar-arzānik, ēvak haē yazdān, kū: kas i pat ahrādih apar-arzānik apar rawēndēh ō Masyē u Masyānē* <sup>2</sup> *u zahēndēh hān i avē yōrtāk nān haē Masyē u Masyānē; hān avēšān āfrīnēndēh kū . . . srāyīšn ahuvar 2 pat apāc-ēstīšnīh dēv u druž.* He translates: *ce qui signifie ceci: il est manifeste de par la bonne religion qu'Ōhrmazd dit à un tel qui était d'une noblesse supérieure en justice, à savoir un des dieux: "Un tel qui est d'une noblesse supérieure en justice se rendra chez Masyē et chez Masyānē; il fera naître de Masyē et de Masyānē le pain fait de blé; il leur donnera la bénédiction en disant . . . [we omit his words which are repeated <sup>3</sup> in the execution of the order] lire deux ahuvar afin de repousser les démons mâles et femelles.* In the repetition there is a brief additional sentence: *u raft kas etc. api-s zast etc. api-sān dāt api-s avēšān āfrīnēnūt kū etc. api-s srūt ahuvar 2 etc. = et un tel . . . se rendit . . . il fit naître . . . et il le leur donna; il leur donna la bénédiction en disant . . . et il lut deux ahuvar . . .* With regard to Ōhrmazd's messenger we learn that *l'être divin est appelé "un tel", kas, et évidemment Ōhrmazd s'adresse à lui à la 3<sup>me</sup> p.* (p. 84).

The assurance with which Professor Nyberg presents his theories should not blind us to the fact that his reading and interpretation are equally wrong in all important points. Even the first words are incorrectly translated; they mean "what follows, too, is an Avestan text". That indeed the passage is the Pahlavi version of a lost Avestan text, is manifest from its peculiar syntax and style and has to be kept before our eyes if we want to understand it properly.

The next point which attracts the reader's attention is the peculiar way of

stand for *dš, gš, yš*, in my view also for *dd', dy'*, etc. The drawback is that those who are not acquainted with the peculiarities of the Pahlavi script will be prevented from following the discussion. It is outweighed by the precision secured by this mode of writing; the printed Pahlavi type is inadequate for our purposes.

<sup>1</sup> The case does not occur.

<sup>2</sup> Recte: *Mašī ud Mašānī*.

<sup>3</sup> In this case there should be no change at all in the wording; but there is *rasūt* against *rasūt*. One of them must be wrong. Nyberg judges differently, p. 86.

referring to God's messenger as "somebody".<sup>1</sup> Any divinity, lesser or least, should be entitled to the courtesy of a name. It is hard to imagine an expression of this type "God said to somebody 'somebody shall go', etc.", especially when it is meant to convey "God said to . . . 'you shall go', etc." However, we need only glance at comparable Avesta passages to understand the construction here, e.g. Vd. ii, 22, *āq̄ axta ahurō mazdā yimāi: yima sr̄ira*, etc. = Pahl. tr. *u-š guft Ōhrmazd ō Yim ku Yim [i] nēvak* = and Ohrmazd said to Yima "oh Yima, beautiful one, etc." The name of the addressed person occurs twice, first as dative (Pahl. *ō . . .*), then as vocative, and so it is in our Dinkerd passage too. Verbal forms that occur in *oratio directā* and convey a command to the addressed, may confidently be expected to be 2nd persons, singular or plural, as the case may be. It is true, custom may sometimes admit the use of the 3rd person instead. Thus, in eighteenth century German one could (and did) say to an underling "*Scher' Er sich zum Teufel*"; but to the speakers of either Avestan or Pahlavi such a convention was unknown, and in any case Ahura Mazdāh would never have talked to anyone in so markedly impolite a fashion. So the verbal forms of the Dinkerd text are 2nd persons singular of the optative, or, as the existence in Pahlavi of a special form for the 2nd sing. opt. is doubtful, of the indicative with the sense of the optative, or of the imperative.

Who then was Ohrmazd's messenger? His name is spelt *HDŠ*, which Nyberg, interpreting it as 'yš, regards as the ideogram for *kas* "somebody". The correct reading is *hdš* = *Hadiš*, who is a minor divinity entrusted with the care of the homestead.<sup>2</sup> He is rarely mentioned in the Zoroastrian scriptures, so rarely indeed that in the Dinkerd passage a glossator found it advisable to warn the reader against the misreading *kas* by adding *ēvag az yazdān* "one of the divinities"; but his name should be familiar to all students of the Zoroastrian religion since the time when J. Darmesteter, in a brilliant little paper, introduced him to the learned world (*Études Iraniennes*, ii, 1883, pp. 201-3). Spelt as in the Dinkerd, *hdš* is found e.g. in the Pahl. version of *Vispered*, 9, 5 (= Sp., 10<sup>24</sup>), but *hdys* also occurs (*Visp.*, 1, 9 = Sp., 1, 31).

The epithet of Hadiš, *pad ahrāyih abar arzānīg*, represents a single Avestan word, but this does not occur in our Avesta. One should attempt its reconstitution. *arzānīg* mostly translates Av. *nas* and *han*, rarely also other words, e.g. *boraxda*: *abar arzānik* is found for Av. *pairiš.hanāna*. The closest parallel is perhaps *pad ahrāyih frāz āfrīd* = Av. *ašava.fraθvaršta*- Y., 71, 6 (= Sp. 70, 22). One might be tempted to suggest *\*ašava.pairiš.hanhanana* "who has been granted (the reward) by the Holy One", but it cannot be denied that in view of the variability of the Pahlavi versions there are several other possibilities, e.g. *\*ašō.upa.boraxda* "esteemed by *Rta*" (cf. *pad ahrāyih sardār*

<sup>1</sup> That, rather than "us tel", is the meaning of *kas*.

<sup>2</sup> This could have been found out easily enough by referring to West's translation (*SBE.*, 47, p. 7) or to Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 28 sq. One wonders why the work of earlier scholars should be so pointedly overlooked.

= Av. *aša.sar*). In any case Nyberg's translation *qui était d'une noblesse supérieure en justice* is inadequate. We can now reconstitute the beginning of the original Avestan text (with due reserve as regards the epithet): *āaṭ aoxta ahurō mazdā hadiše ašava.pairiš.hanhananāi: hadiš ašava.pairiš.hanhanana. . .*

Hadiš went to pay his visit to Adam and Eve and became involved in one<sup>1</sup> of those delightful bits of folklore that European scholars, from time to time, contribute to the treasures of Oriental thought: *il fit naître de Masyē et de Masyānē le pain fait de blé et il le leur donna*. The Zoroastrian books, it is true, tell us of the origin of plants (including species of grain) from the gigantic corpse of the Primordial Bull who died seventy years before Adam and Eve appeared in the world, cf. the Pahl. texts discussed by B. Geiger, *BSOS.*, VIII, 551 sqq.<sup>2</sup>; but that Adam and Eve bring forth finished loaves, with Hadiš apparently acting as midwife, is a novel feature. One is sorry to have to demolish this charming story. The Pahlavi verb *zastan*, common in the Pahl. versions of the Avesta, means not "faire naître" but "to ask"; it renders Av. *jad-* "to ask" to which it belongs by etymology, cf. further Man.MPers. *zast-*, *ZII.*, ix, 188. Its present is spelt in various ways, *z-* (instead of *zd-* = *zay-* before *-y-*) in *zyt*, *Vd.*, 3<sup>1</sup> (Sp., 19 *papu.*) = *ḡaiḡyq*, *FOim*, xv = *ḡaiḡyaṭ* [but both probably wrong for *zst*], or *zd-* = *zay-* in *zdynd*, *Vd.*, 19<sup>20</sup> (Sp., 217<sup>14</sup>) = *-ḡaiḡyenti*, or *zdy-* in *ZHYM* = *zdyym* 1st sing. *Y.*, 9<sup>12</sup>, etc. (Sp., p. 74<sup>17</sup>, 19, 20, 21, 75<sup>1</sup>, 3, etc.) = *ḡaiḡyemi*, as 1st pl. *Y.*, 68<sup>21</sup> (Sp., p. 234<sup>15</sup>) = *ḡaiḡyamnd*, and in *ZHYH* = *zdyyh* 2nd sing. *Y.*, 11<sup>2</sup> (Sp., p. 84<sup>8</sup>) = *ḡaiḡyehi*, or finally as *z'd-* in *z'dšnyh* *Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup> (Sp., p. 227<sup>15</sup>) = *-ḡastim*, *ZHHM* = *z'dym* as 1st sing. *Y.*, 65<sup>11</sup> (Sp., p. 227<sup>20</sup>, 23) = *ḡaiḡyāmi*, as 1st pl. *Višt. Yt.* 8 (p. 188<sup>5</sup>) = *ḡaiḡyata*, indirectly in *zāyēt* spelt *YLYDWN-yt* *Y.*, 9<sup>23</sup> (see *Air.Wb.* s.v. *gad* n. 5), and last not least *Z'SYH* *Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup>, in Spiegel's print, *Z'DDŠ* in *K*, fol. 293v. u. = *ḡaiḡyōiš*. The last mentioned form, which in the Yasna renders the 2nd sing. opt., is identical with the form in our Dinkerd passage, the sole difference being this that in the Dinkerd stem and ending are written as if they were two separate words, whereby *z'd-*, standing virtually *in pausa*, has automatically assumed the disguise of *ZK*; that final *d/g/y* frequently look like *-k*, is, one trusts, known to students of Pahlavi palaeography (cf. e.g. *BSOAS.*, XI, 732). It is appropriate to mention here that over thirty years ago Bartholomae discussed the verbal forms in this Dinkerd text and correctly read *zāyēh*, which he translated *rogas*; needless to say, he understood all

<sup>1</sup> Another we owe to J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb*, p. 44, "the spider . . . they prepare a net as a snare for flies, which form their food. The male spins the thread and becomes a female [my italics]." The Persian text has "the male spins the warp and the female the wool (*pūd*)".

<sup>2</sup> Forms derived from MPers. *rēnōē* occur in modern Iranian not only in Nāyini (as Geiger says, *ibid.*, p. 552). Cf. Tajiki *bunī* "lentil" (Mann, i, 53); Bakht. *giḡdī* "lentil" (*ibid.*, ii, 186); *Codex Cumanicus*, 110, 8, *bunu* = "Latin" *erbegia* (i.e. *ervilia*) = Turkish *brizac* (i.e. *بورجاق*). Differently Gronbech, *Koman. Wb.*, 72 s.v. *byrtaq*: *erbegia* is hardly = Ital. *erbaggio*, but rather = Ital. *rabiaglia*, Span. *arreja*, etc. [Persian dictionaries have compounds with *bunū*: *bunū-surx*, *bunū-siyāh*, *bunū-māš*, *bunū-naxle*, for various species of lentils and peas.]

the other forms properly too (*WZKM.*, xxix, 17). Nyberg does not mention Bartholomæ's article, which he quoted in his *Hilfsbuch*, ii, 18, 1.

Hadiš, therefore, "went to Adam and Eve and asked them for bread of that corn. They gave it (to him) and he blessed it for them." "That corn" is appropriate here; for in the lines preceding our passage we read that Ohrmazd had provided Adam and Eve with cattle and corn, and instructed them in the cultivation of corn, etc. (*DkM.*, 593<sup>8-11</sup>). They had bread even before Hadiš appeared on the scene. Hadiš asked them for some *and they gave it (to him)*: the corresponding Pahlavi words, *u-šan dād* (in N.'s transcription *api-šan dāt*), appear in Nyberg's translation as *et il le leur donna*. Professor Nyberg energetically demands that his critics should not confine themselves to briefly pointing out their divergent views, but should produce lengthy reasoned statements, quoting chapter and verse; would a classical philologist be expected to give reasons for rejecting the translation of *dabant* as "he gave"? The object of Hadiš' mission is to teach mankind to speak a blessing over their food before sitting down to it. The blessing should conclude with the formula known as *Ahunavar* to Zoroastrians (as *Ahuvar* to Nyberg): *u-š srūd ahunavar 2* "and he (Hadiš) recited two *Ahunavars*". Nyberg's version, *et il lit deux ahuvar*, instead of *il lut*, embodies an error that compares with the one he committed in his rendering of *u-šan dād*. In his order Ohrmazd said to Hadiš *srāyīšn ahunavar 2* = "you shall recite two *Ahunavars*". The form in *-īšn* has here (as often) the value of an imperative or optative; *srāyīšn/srūd* should join the three doubly attested verbs as a fourth.

We have now cleared the way for a consideration of the ending *DŠ*, which is here used for the 2nd person singular. Nyberg's article leaves one with the impression that the ending occurred solely in the Dinkerd passage; but in fact neither is it uncommon nor has it escaped the attention of scholars. We have already mentioned *z'd-DŠ* as the equivalent of Av. *šaidyōiš*, which is 2nd sing. optative, in *Yasna*, 65<sup>10</sup>. No deep study of the Pahlavi versions is required to discover that the ending *DŠ* is used, with fair regularity, to represent the Avestan 2nd sing. opt. In order to discover that, we have to be acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of both the manuscripts and the printed type that was (and still is) used in Europe. The only edition worth the name of the Pahl. *Yasna*, Vispered, and Vendidad, is that by Spiegel (1853-8). For the text of the *Yasna* he based himself, quite sensibly, on the MS. *K<sub>5</sub>*. We can now control his readings, thanks to the full-length facsimile of *K<sub>5</sub>* we owe to the enterprise of Dr. Munksgaard; it is well known that *K<sub>5</sub>*, written in A.D. 1323, is one of our oldest and most important Avesta MSS. (if not the most important). An exceptionally clear *DŠ* occurs in *K<sub>5</sub>*, e.g. in *YMLLWN-DŠ*, fol. 294r. 3 (= [*fra*] *mrū* of *Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup>, a corrupt form standing for either 2nd sing. imp. or opt.): in Spiegel's edition (p. 227<sup>19</sup>) we have *YMLLWN-ĤĤ* instead. And so it is everywhere. Throughout his work Spiegel printed *ĤĤ* for the *DŠ* of the MSS. He did that because he felt convinced that there was no real distinction between the two groups and because he knew that the MSS.

themselves frequently failed to maintain any such distinction. But he was not consequent and sometimes printed  $D\check{S}$  (which in his print is not different from  $DD\check{H}$ ) when he realized that the signs were meant to express  $\check{d}\check{s}$ ,  $y\check{s}$ , etc.; thus he gives  $B\check{D}\check{S}$  (or rather  $BDD\check{H}$ ) for  $b\check{e}\check{s}$  (e.g. p. 226<sup>9</sup>) while  $K_5$  292r. 1 has  $B\check{D}\check{S}$  with precisely the same group as in the verb ending. It should also be noted that the scribe of  $K_5$  made no distinction between  $D\check{S}$  and  $DD\check{H}$ ; cf. e.g.  $'LWND\check{S} = arvand\check{i}h$  295v. 1,  $GDH'wmd\check{S} = farrah-\check{o}mand\check{i}h$  295r. apu.,  $'HL'D\check{S} = ahr\check{a}y\check{i}h$  298r. apu. *et passim* (all of them  $D\check{S}$  as in  $YMLLWN-D\check{S}$ ), but also  $'m'wnDD\check{H} = am\check{a}wand\check{i}h$  295r. 11, etc. In common with the scribes of most old MSS., he thought very little of the difference between  $\check{s}$  and  $y\check{h}$  (etc.), and so wrote  $drwdstyh$  306r. 6 or  $'p'tyh$  323v. 2 with  $\check{S}$  or conversely  $'P-\check{s}$  248v. u.,  $'YK-\check{s}$  301r. 6,  $nyek\check{s}yt$  227v. 10 with clear  $D\check{H}$ . The "wrong" use of  $\check{s}$  and  $y\check{h}/d'$ , etc., is nearly as common as the "correct" one. This applies also to  $K_{20}$ .

It is less easy to decide whether the scribe of  $K_5$  intended to make any difference between  $D\check{S}/DD\check{H}$ , on the one hand, and  $H\check{H}$  on the other. It is a matter of some doubt. But it is quite certain that  $H\check{H}$  is conventionally written for  $DD\check{H}$  in many words in all Pahlavi MSS. Thus we have  $H\check{H}$  with the value of  $y\check{d}' = iy\check{a}$  in  $m\check{a}diy\check{a}n$ ,  $miy\check{a}n$ ,  $niy\check{a}g$ ,  $niy\check{a}z$ ,  $viy\check{a}ban$ ,  $siy\check{a}(h)$ ,  $friy\check{a}d$ ,  $p\check{a}diy\check{a}wand$ ,  $ziy\check{a}n$ ,  $pit(i)y\check{a}rag$ ,  $siy\check{a}wru\check{s}$  (e.g.  $K_{35}$  79r. 4 sqq.). This same mode of spelling is habitually applied to the ending  $D\check{S}$  in later MSS. where it appears as  $H\check{H}$ , i.e. precisely as in Spiegel's print. There is thus some justification for his mode of printing; for as he dealt with more than one MS. in editing his text, he could not very well be expected to produce as "variants" what are merely mannerisms of handwriting.

Examples for  $D\check{S}/H\check{H}$ :  $B'YHWN-H\check{H} = ayas\check{o}i\check{s}$ ,  $Vd.$ , 9<sup>14</sup> (Sp., 131<sup>13</sup>);  $'\check{s}ncH\check{H} = paiti.hin\check{o}i\check{s}$ ,  $Vd.$ , 9<sup>16</sup> (Sp., 132<sup>4</sup> sqq.);  $frak\check{a}ray\check{o}i\check{s}$ ,  $Vd.$ , 9<sup>11</sup>, appears as  $ZRYTWN-H\check{H}$  *ap.* Sp., 130<sup>10</sup> sqq., as  $-DD\check{H}$  once in Jamasp's edition and in  $FOim.$ , v. It alternates with  $-y\check{h}$  and the 2nd sing. impt. in  $Vd.$ , 17<sup>5</sup> (Sp., 193<sup>12-4</sup>),  $HPLWN-H\check{H} avakan\check{o}i\check{s}$  . . .  $YBLWN-y\check{h} abar\check{o}i\check{s}$  . . . *pr'c*  $YMLLWN framruy\check{a}$ . In  $K_5$  it has sometimes a semicircle each above and below, see *pr'c*  $YBLWN-D\check{S} = frabar\check{o}i\check{s}$  ( $Y.$ , 65<sup>10</sup>) fol. 293v. u. The same ending looks like a cross between  $D\check{S}$  and  $x^2$  in  $YBLWN$  in  $K_5$  251r. 5 =  $-bar\check{a}hi$ . Outside the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta the ending is used both for the 2nd sing. indic. and, in some MSS., also for the 3rd sing. opt. of the verb "to be". Thus AV. 3, 6,  $Y'TWNt HWH-H\check{H}$  "you have come" (twice) with variants  $-DD\check{H}$ ,  $-H$ ,  $-HY$ .  $PahlRiv.$ , 83<sup>3</sup>,  $purs\check{e}d ku kan\check{i}zag k\check{e} xw\check{e}\check{s} HWH-H\check{H} g\check{o}v\check{e}d ku$  . . .  $man$  . . .  $t\check{o} xw\check{e}\check{s} hom$  "he will ask 'my girl, whom do you belong to?'", and she will say ". . . to you". Ibid., 23<sup>1</sup>,  $z\check{i}vist HWH-H\check{H}$  "you have lived",  $Y'TWN-t HWH-H\check{H}$  "you have come". Ibid., 147 pu.  $t\check{o} k\check{e} mard HWH-H\check{H}$  "who are you?". These are all clear indicatives. As 3rd sing. opt.  $HWH-H\check{H}$  occurs, in conditional clauses, etc., nearly throughout as auxiliary verb, in  $Pahl. Riv.$ , 27<sup>5</sup>, 38<sup>4</sup> sqq., 46 papu., 52 pu., 53<sup>1</sup>, 82<sup>2</sup>, <sup>9</sup>, 86<sup>4</sup> (here variant  $HWH-HD\check{H}$ ), etc.; occasionally the ideogram  $HWH$  is then omitted so that

spellings such as 'MT . . . SGYTWN-tHH arise (*Dd.*, p. 45<sup>7</sup>, "as if . . . went," Pers. *raft-ē*), cf. the spelling YHWWN-tDB for YHWWN-t HWH-DB in "classical" Pahlavi (= Pers. *būd-ē*; cf. Spiegel, *Gramm. Huzv.*, § 117, n. 2).

The function of DŠ/HH in the texts translated from the Avesta as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.) was on the whole correctly understood by Spiegel in 1856 (*Gramm. Huzv.*, p. 110). In 1874 West gave DŠ or HH (mentioning both forms) as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt., and noticed the use of HWH-HH and its variants as 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*Glossary and Index*, p. 344). In the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1895-1901), i, 1, 312, Salemann discussed the endings again; he noted all possible spellings, including both DŠ and HH, but doubted whether we should assume a separate form for the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.). Nyberg, in 1944, does not know of the existence, outside his Dinkerd passage, of an ending whose function has been established for nearly a century.

How is the ending DŠ/HH to be read? It would be wrong to disregard the well-defined function it has in the oldest layer of Pahlavi texts. Spiegel was certainly right in maintaining that it should not be confused with the ending of the 2nd sing. indicative. The 2nd sing. opt. of the *aya*-class would end in *-ē* < *-ai* < *-ayaiš* in Middle Persian; this, therefore, is the appropriate reading of DŠ/HH. After the loss of final *-h*, the 2nd sing. opt. became indistinguishable from the 2nd sing. indic., which had been *-ēh* < *-aih* < *-ayah* < *-ayahi*; the 2nd sing. opt. disappeared and merged in the 2nd sing. indic. The ending DŠ/HH thus became redundant and served for final *-ē* or *-ī*,<sup>1</sup> at first only in the 2nd sing. indic., then also in the 3rd sing. opt., and even in nouns such as *gytHH* "world" = *gētē* or rather *gētū* (cf. the Old Syriac spelling *gtyh*, Nöldeke, *Festgruss Roth*, 35, n. 5), *MHHLLHH* = *Mahlī*, *MHHLLHHNH*<sup>2</sup> = *Mahliyānī*, *Pahl. Riv.*, 29<sup>11</sup> sqq.

As soon as the function and phonetic value of DŠ/HH are understood, it also becomes clear what letters are compounded into this ending. It will be remembered that in old MSS. the ligature is sometimes furnished with two semicircles (above, p. 63), of which the one above represents the upper half of the head of *D* and the one below indicates the tail of either *D* or *B*; both together prove that the group contained *D*. The whole group represents the old ending *-ydy*. If we apply to the ancient Pahlavi material, we find that from as early as the third century onwards *-ydy* is regularly employed for final *-ē*/*-ī*. It occurs often in the Pahlavi Psalter, see Schaefer, *Ung. Jbb.*, xv, 574 sq., but is found even in inscriptions by Šāpūr I, see provisionally *BSOS.*, IX, 829. In the Pahlavi Psalter a direct ancestor of our DŠ is attested in Ps., 129, 3 HT . . . NTLWN-ydy "if thou . . . shouldest mark"; *NTLWN-ydy* = *pāyē* is 2nd sing. opt. (not indic. as some authors say). It is

<sup>1</sup> The distinction of *-ē* and *-ī* in MPers. and early NPers. is a matter of some difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> This spelling exemplifies the three most common values of the group HH, viz. (1) ' + ' (*k + h*), (2) *yā'* = *iyā*, (3) in final position *i/ē*. One would like to know how Nyberg would propose to read the word; in view of his words *gētāh* "world" and *frāhāt* "help", one would expect *Mahrahānāh*.

possible that the ending  $x^2$  is, amongst other things, also a variant of "DŠ", cf. K. Barr, *BSOS.*, VIII, 402 sq.

We must not forget to mention that several years before he published the article here under discussion, Professor Nyberg happened on a passage in the *Pahl. Riv.*, a late text in which the ending *HH* is particularly frequent as 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*La légende de Keresāspa. Oriental Studies . . . C. E. Pavry*, 1934 [written 1929], 336-352). He then interpreted the ending as *-āh*, explained evident indicatives as subjunctives (although *-āh* is unknown to MPers. as ending of the 2nd sing. sbj.), and enriched the Pahlavi grammar by the 3rd sing. opt. *hāh*. There is no point in discussing the details of an explanation that results in so peculiar forms. What is noteworthy is that the ending that he then explained as *-āh*, and the ending that he now interprets as *-ēndēh*, are one and the same ending; their identity may be slightly—only very slightly—obscured by the accidents of handwriting and printing type, but is for that not any the less real. It is not as if Nyberg had abandoned the earlier reading *-āh* to substitute *-ēndēh* for it; on the contrary, he now quotes it with approval (p. 72, n. 1; p. 81, n. 2).

## INDEX

(Numbers preceded by i or ii refer to the texts, other numbers to the pages)

MPERS., PARTH.	' <i>spnōh</i> - 52; ii 13	<i>h'mkyān</i> 45
' <i>bd'g</i> 46	' <i>spyt(yn)</i> 46-7	<i>hbz'</i> 49 n. 1
' <i>bn's</i> - 52; ii 13	' <i>spyz</i> - 46-7; i 50	<i>hftwm</i> ii 21
' <i>bryl</i> ii 7	' <i>st'n</i> - i 48	<i>hndyāyān</i> 43-4; i 18
' <i>bncus</i> 41	' <i>st'w'dg</i> ii 3	<i>hwed</i> 45; i 33
' <i>bystn</i> 41 n. 2	' <i>stf</i> i 38, 40; ii 11	<i>hāt d</i> ii 23
' <i>bz'y</i> - i 51-2	' <i>ydr'</i> 41; i 4	<i>hātwn</i> ii 24
' <i>c</i> ii 11, 16	' <i>yl</i> i 19	<i>hz'r</i> ii 16 sqq.
' <i>daoryn</i> i 29	' <i>gyz</i> - 44-5; i 21	<i>j'm</i> 43
' <i>daorystr</i> i 10	<i>b'nycten</i> 45	<i>j'm'n</i> ii 16 sqq.
' <i>frydy</i> ii 4	<i>btgy</i> 43	<i>k'm</i> ii 1
' <i>h'r</i> ii 16 sqq.	<i>bnj</i> i 47	<i>ply</i> i 42-6
' <i>hr's</i> 52; ii 10	<i>brymas</i> 51; ii 6	<i>qfynna</i> 51; ii 6
' <i>hryndus</i> 51	<i>brbac</i> - 44; i 20	<i>krn</i> 50
' <i>ndxt</i> 45	<i>bwzgyd</i> i 17	<i>q'pyr</i> 55-6; ii 25
' <i>njyca</i> ii 2	<i>bcy</i> 43	<i>qo'tr</i> 55; ii 19
' <i>nyl</i> ii 7	<i>bys'p'rn</i> 52, 57; ii 17	<i>mh'spnd'n</i> i 1
' <i>pr</i> 46; i 45	<i>bzg</i> i 44; ii 9	<i>nc</i> 46
' <i>pr</i> - i 51	<i>cβat</i> i 25	<i>mrδclm</i> ii 12
' <i>pswn</i> i 3	<i>cy</i> 45; ii 3	<i>nrj</i> i 53
' <i>rdykr</i> 46	<i>cyl'n</i> i 33, 37	<i>mrn</i> 50
' <i>rn's</i> 45; i 33	<i>cynud'n</i> 55-6; ii 22	<i>mrwca</i> 51
' <i>ry'm'n</i> i 16	<i>d'</i> 52	<i>mrym'ny</i> ii 2
' <i>spāen</i> i 35	<i>d'r</i> - i 32; ii 12	<i>motgr</i> 43
' <i>šnyāyān</i> i 36	<i>d'lyl</i> ii 7	<i>motgrj</i> 43; i 7
' <i>w'hm'n</i> i 13	<i>d'jn</i> 55	<i>motgrj</i> 43
' <i>wb'y</i> - 45; i 34	<i>d'itbchr</i> 56-7; ii 28	<i>mōgh</i> ii 2
' <i>wadys</i> 52; ii 9	<i>drd</i> ii 10	<i>mwmgyān</i> 44; i 21
' <i>wzgh</i> - i 14	<i>d'waj (?)</i> ii 8	<i>myjdy</i> 56
' <i>xwca</i> - ii 16 sqq.	<i>d'at</i> i 31, 38	<i>myydyān</i> ii 23
' <i>ya'wn</i> i 11	<i>d'w</i> ii 11	<i>myw</i> 56
' <i>yp'y</i> - i 47	<i>d'wz</i> 46	<i>myz'yl (-h)</i> i 22; ii 5
' <i>zyh</i> - ii 13	<i>d'ya</i> ii 4, 8	<i>mzn</i> 46
' <i>štd</i> 52 n. 1	<i>frn</i> n. ii 1	<i>n'm</i> i 15; ii 1, 17
' <i>spkm</i> - 47 n. 4	<i>fygh</i> ii 3, 6	<i>whcykr</i> 57 n. 1
' <i>spkmyān</i> ii 26	<i>gbr'yl</i> i 23; ii 5	<i>nmjdyk</i> 55
	<i>gwyān</i> i 35	<i>nrj'n</i> 55; ii 22, 25

- nrh*, *nrhyg* 50  
*nrwes* 51  
*nslygus* 51  
*nsyd*- 43; i 7  
*nwen* 45  
*nzwstyn* i 10  
*nzwyn* 43, 45  
*nyr'm*- i 27  
*nyedyl* ii 7  
*nyepurd* 46; i 46  
*nyw* 51  
*p'd* 45  
*p'k* i 34  
*p'n'y* i 53  
*pd* . . . r: 45-6  
*pdmsy* 46  
*pdmszty* ii 12  
*pdzsh*- ii 17 sqq.  
*pdyyg* i 48  
*phyygrb* 41; i 5, 28  
*pnjwm* ii 16  
*pnjwyst* ii 20  
*pr* i 6  
*prm'ngyn* 44  
*prspyd* 45  
*prw'n* ii 11  
*prwdg* 43; i 29  
*prxyz*- 56; ii 17 sqq.  
*prydwn* i 27  
*pryg* ii 8  
*prys'g'n* i 36  
*prystr* 41 n. 1  
*pqgyc* 41-3; i 6  
*puhr* ii 16 sqq.  
*puh'wd* 45; i 38  
*puw* i 14  
*puwkur* 5.; ii 17  
*pyd* ("meat") 43  
*pydr* i 17  
*pyr'men* 45; i 34  
*r'z* 45-6; i 43  
*rānyn* 50  
*ryfl* ii 7  
*rp'g* 46  
*rwc* 45; ii 17 sqq.  
*ruf'yl* i 22; ii 5  
*rwe'n* i 49  
*rzks (f)* 51; ii 8  
*s'ryndes* 51  
*sr'yl* 47 n. 4; ii 5  
*sucyōn* 45  
*szwn* 52; ii 11  
*sy'rufi* 43  
*syf* 51  
*sh* 45  
*sh'nyg* ii 10  
*shyr* i 32  
*shwm* ii 19  
*shw'n* 51  
*shwryn* 55; ii 18  
*shyftg* 55  
*shyftyn* ii 29  
*shryg* ii 9  
*th* i 3, 8  
*th* i 30  
*thr* 55  
*tr* ii 10  
*tryfš* 55  
*tgy* 57  
  
*tw'n* ("your") 51; ii 3  
*tzl* 55  
*tyj* 45; i 31  
*tyōng* 43  
*tyz* 45  
*w'd* 41, 51; i 3, 44; ii 3, 9  
*w'n*- i 54  
*w'zš* i 17  
*wl* 55  
*wonusg* 52  
*wrioc'n* 49 n. 1  
*wryxx-* ii 12  
*wryxwor* i 24  
*wšwob'g* i 31  
*wy'g* ii 14  
*wyy'n*- ii 4  
*wyspzyxt* 47  
*wyst* ii 18  
*xwōd'wom* i 15  
*xwōd'y* ii 2  
*xwōnyh-* i 4, 8  
*xyōmyn* 45; i 45  
*y'gub* 51  
*yā* 52; ii 13  
*ywōhr* ii 10  
*ywōjdr* i 18, 20  
*yzš* ii 8, 17 sqq.  
*yyšw(')* i 16; ii 2  
*yzd'n* ii 2  
*z'dg* ii 9  
*z'wer* 52; ii 1, 4, 11  
*z'yh-* i 9  
*zmbwedyg* 50  
*zn-* i 46  
*zrw'n* ii 11  
*zwr* i 51-2  
*zyncyhr* 57  
*zynd'nyg* 46  
*zyyn* i 47  
  
**AVESTAN**  
*apastanashō* 41 n. 2  
*apudra* 41  
*zrafstra* 41 n. 1  
*Yāēkarata* 52  
*Yarana* 52-3  
*skaiti* 52 n. 1  
*Hadiš* 60  
  
**PARTH. INSCR.**  
*'Tnn* 54  
*'rr'n* 54  
*'trioptkn* 54  
*bl'skn* 54  
*HN (= yad)* 54  
*hndatn* 53  
*k's* 54  
*kpy* 54  
*pškbwr* 53-4  
*swgd* 54  
*sykn* 54  
*š's* 54  
*TR'* 54  
*TWR'* 54  
*weyršn* 49 n. 1, 54  
  
**PARLAVI**  
*arzāniq* 60  
*bākuw* 42  
*NTLWNydy* 64  
  
*šwr* 55  
*spc-* 47  
*spyk* 47  
*tā* 52  
*tnyn'* 42  
*wšwōk* 61 n. 2  
*wšwōc'n* 49 n. 1  
*zastan* 61  
*zāy-* 61  
  
**PERSIAN**  
*ābistan* 41  
*barāy-* 46 n. 2  
*bauz* 47 n. 3  
*bunū(-)* 61 n. 2  
*Čayāniyān* 55  
*dabz* 47 n. 3  
*gšf* 66  
*Gurf* 49 n. 1  
*humāi* 42 n. 1  
*Kāšyar* 54  
*Lōri* 57  
*mēce* 56  
*parniyān* 55  
*pālād* 45  
*sabz* 47  
*sah* 47  
*šwr* 55  
*tā* 52  
  
**SOGDIAN, ETC.**  
*'pstnā* 41 n. 2  
*'sk'* 52 n. 1  
*čšn-, č'nt* 43 n. 1  
*čz'p'* 51 n. 1  
*k's* 54  
*myš'kw* 56  
*pyš'r* 46 n. 2  
  
*Saka Kašpār-* 56  
*Khwar. šār* 46 n. 2  
*Oss. pakondzi* 43  
*Bal. rastar* 41 n. 1  
  
**SANSKRIT**  
*Kāsmīra* 55-6  
*Cīna* 56  
*Jaṭāpura* 57  
*Jarta* 57  
*Nārāgaṇa* 55  
*Pārata* 53 n. 2  
*Puruṣapura* 53  
*Rauruka* 57  
*Varṇa* 52-3  
*Vitvāpāni* 52  
  
**OTHERS**  
*Turk. brizac* 61 n. 2  
*Lat. erbegia* 61 n. 2  
*Tib. Kaspar* 56  
*Hebr. māgād* 56  
*Aram. migdā* 56  
*Arm. paskuč* 42  
*Georg. p'askunji* 42-3  
*Svan. p'ayqaj* 43  
*Talm. pušqanā* 42  
*Syr. rāzā, bōrāz-* 45-6  
*Drav. \*sucar* 55  
*Syr. \*zōndnyq'* 46



## A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony

AS a good missionary and teacher Mani knew the value of repetition. With endless pains he had elaborated a story of the world, which was to explain all phenomena, of nature and the mind, that came within reach of his knowledge. Its comprehensiveness made it so complicated that it required—and still requires—a strong effort to remember all its details. All the greater was the need to force it, by ceaseless repetition, into the minds of those who were ready to listen to the new prophet. No doubt every one of his books and longer epistles opened with this story, which may have been the sole subject of several of them. It is therefore useless to try to identify the various accounts before us either with each other or with one of the books of which we know merely the title.

The chief versions of the Manichaean story of the world are the *Epistula Fundamenti*, the Middle Persian fragments M98/9, the Middle Persian book T iii D 260 (= *Mir. Man.*, i), the Uigur fragments T ii D 173 (*Türk. Man.*, i, 7-17), the book excerpted by Theodor bar Qōnai, and the one used by Ibn an-Nadīm. To these should be added the Sogdian book whose one surviving fragment is published here. Apparently it was the most elaborate account of all. Each form of the story has points that are peculiar to it and absent from all others; the Sogdian is no exception to this rule.

This Sogdian fragment is interesting also for its history. It was the first Manichaean fragment studied by a European scholar in modern times. With its help F. W. K. Müller tried to decipher the Manichaean script, but failed because its language was unknown (*Sb.P.A.W.*, 1904, 349, n. 1; *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 96 sq.). In printing, after his successful decipherment, a few excerpts from it he published the first Sogdian text ever made known. When one views the development of Sogdian studies, founded as they are on this first publication, one is surprised at finding that the fragment has remained in limbo these many years. By placing it before the public now we make *amende honorable* for long neglect.

M 178, "the best preserved Manichaean fragment, a double folio, of white, thin leather, a masterpiece of calligraphy" (Müller, loc. cit.). No photograph is available; the text is published according to a copy I took (from the original) about twelve years ago (possibly without due care). The lines printed by Müller are 14-16 and 83-99. Between the first folio (paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but

are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last and in content amounted to a colophon; they are these:—

1st fol., recto	<i>β't prw mγwn δγγn</i>	... shall be in the whole
verso	<i>'rt'wspy'h</i>	Church (and) Righteousness...
2nd fol., recto	<i>γw'nw'cyy wny</i>	... remission of sins to
verso	<i>γmbnβryt</i>	the toil-weary...

#### First Folio: Paradise

(*Recto*) (1) wny mzyx 'xšywnyy zrw'βγγy (2) pyrnm's'r o 'ty 'štyk x'nd (3) 'frytyt 'wt'kt kyy 'tyšn s'k (4) 'ty ptšm'r nyyst kw 'ty wšyyδ (5) myn'nd x' rwxšnd'h βγγštt (6) fryštyt 'ty mrd'spndt 'ty (7) z'wrkynd pr mzyx wyšw 'tyy (8) š'twxy' o 'rtšn wy' nwwšc (9) jw'nyy xw 'ny'm nyyst o (10) 'rty ctf'rnyk 'wswγc bry'stc (11) wy' rwxšnw rwxšn'γrdmn'y (12) wyδ'snyq qršn'w wyn'mndyh (13) kyy 'tyšn wnyy šyr'kyy'stc ptm'k (14) nyyst o o 'rty βγγštyy krjy'wr (15) ptmwk 'ty nγwδn γ'δwq δydyw 'ty (16) βwδ'nde 'ps'k 'ty wyspzn'g'n (17) zywr 'ty py'tyy xwtty sfryn't (18) pr wrcxwndqy' o o 'ty pncnyk (19) x'n' rwxšn' z'y xwymnyy nwšc (20) qryj'wr kyy 'tyšyy wyy sk'wyh<sup>a</sup> (21) 'βy'p nyyst o 'rtyšyy xww (22) n'ywk'wyy ny 'p't βwt o 'rty (23) ny s'n 'tynny (')wyjtq'ryyh (24) prywyδδ z'y 'nšprt oo 'rtyh (25) βγ'nyq pršprn 'bjyr'ync'stc (26) kyy 'ty 'yqwn ny 'βawtyy o 'rty (27) xw wyspw šyrw 'yδc cywyδδyh (28) 'jyyt o 'rty yw pystyy 'xšakt' (29) γrt' o wysp'sprymyy o rwštyh (30) prw γrβ p'ryzy' o 'ty wnd' (31) βryyβrynyyt zrywnyyt kyy 'tyšn xw (32) βryy kδ'c ny 'wryzt ny pwst (33) 'ty ny kymnyy βwt o o 'rtyy (*Verso*) (34) x'xsryyt nwš'ft'kt kyy (35) 'ty 'mbyrtt w' 'nyttc (36) rwxšn'γrdmn mry r'γ pww (37) s'q 'spnctt š'ykn'd 'ty (38) γ'δwqt 'ty prt'wt kyy 'tyh (39) 'ykwn 'ykwn nwšyy 'skwnd o o (40) 'rty w'nw ptyc' xcyx x'' (41) rwxšn'γrdmn prymyδδ pnc (42) mzyxy<sup>b</sup> 'rty 'wrm wrmny'h (43) 'skwnd o 'ty pcywyr ny ptz'nd'stc (44) prw rwxšny'k 'skwnd kw 'tyšn (45) xw t'ryy nyyst o prw nwšc jw'n (46) kw 'tyšn mrc nyyst o pr jwky' (47) pw r'f o prw wyšyy kw 'tyyšn (48) 'ndwxc nyyst o prw fry'wyyh (49) pww jyšt'wc o prw fryy'nw'z (50) kw 'tyšn yw'r nyyst o prw kršn (51) kyy 'ty ny wyndyy'stc o prw βγ'nyyk (52) tmb'r kw 'ty wyg'n'stc nyyst o prw (53) nwšynny xwrt' pww psyyδ kww (54) 'tyšyy prw γmbn 'ty wtyy' ny (55) βr'nd o 'ty pr wyn'mndyyh (56) pystyt xnd o 'ty z'wrkynd prw (57) z'wr o 'ty prw t'wndqy' šyyr (58) t'wndyt xnd o 'ty δyšt'wc n'm (59) ny ptz'n'nd'stc o 'rtpyšt' pršt'tyt (60) qršn'wt' 'ty pystyt xnd o 'rtšn (61) jyk' nyyst prywyšn tmb'r o (62) 'rtšn xw wγšndyy ptmwk 'βt't (63) βrywr zng'n py'tyy xcyx rāynny (64) kyy 'ty qδ'c rymnyy ny βwt oo (65) 'rtšn x' 'wt'kt' ny wyqndyh'stc

<sup>a</sup> Or *wyysk'wyh*. <sup>b</sup> *mzyy'*, corr. *pr.m.* into *mzyxyy'*.

#### Translation

[The Realm of Light is divided into "Five Greatnesses" (lines 41-2), the 五大 of Chinese Manichæism.<sup>1</sup> No. 1 is missing, of No. 2 only the last

<sup>1</sup> *Traité Manichéen*, 56 [552], 3; *Hymn-scroll*, 122b, 336c. They were incorrectly explained by Chavannes-Pelliot, loc. cit., n. 1, and Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Manich. Dogm.*, 495.

words are preserved. Cf. Allberry, *Manichæan Psalm-Book*, 9, "The Kingdom of Light . . . consisted in five Greatnesses, and they are [1] the Father and [2] his twelve Aeons and [3] the Aeons of the Aeons, [4] the Living Air, [5] the Land of Light."

. . . [the twelve Aeons who stand] before the Great King God Zarwān.

The third, the Blessed Places (= Aeons) without count and number (= *beata et gloriosa saecula neque numero neque prolixitate aestimanda*, *Ep. fund.*) wherein dwell the Light Gods, Angels, Elements, and Powers in great bliss and joy.

The fourth, the Pure Air in the Light Paradise, wondrous, beautiful to behold, immeasurable its goodness for them (= the Light Gods, etc.). By supernatural power it shall, by itself, bring into being (create) the gods' marvel dress and garment, throne, diadem, and fragrant wreath, ornaments, and finery of all kinds.

The fifth, the Light Earth,<sup>1</sup> \*self-existent, eternal, miraculous; in \*height it is beyond \*reach (?), its \*depth cannot be perceived. No enemy and no \*injurer walk this Earth: its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond (*vajra*) that does not shake for ever.<sup>2</sup> All good things are born from it: adorned, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never \*drop, never rot, and never become wormed<sup>3</sup>; springs flowing with ambrosia<sup>4</sup> that fill the whole Paradise, its groves and plains; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and \*benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever.

Thus arranged is the Paradise, in these Five Greatnesses. They are calm in quietude and know no fear. They live in the light, where they have no darkness; in eternal life, where they have no death; in health without sickness; in joy, where they have no sorrow; in charity without hatred; in the company of friends, where they have no separation; in a shape that is not brought to naught, in a divine body where there is no destruction; on ambrosial food without restriction,<sup>5</sup> wherefore they bear no toil and hardship. In appearance they are ornate, in strength powerful, in wealth exceeding rich; of poverty they know not even the name. Nay, they are equipped, beautiful, and embellished; no damage occurs to their bodies. Their garment of joy is finery that never gets soiled, of seventy myriad kinds, set with jewels. Their places are never destroyed . . .

#### Notes

(3) *sāk* "number" (MPers., Parth. *sāg*) is from \**sāhak*, cf. Av. †*sāha* "number" (Pahl. *marak*).

(13) Cf. the construction of *BBB*, 43, b 6-8.

(19) *xwymnyy*, above translated as "self-existent", is one of four hapax

<sup>1</sup> With this section the reader should compare the poetic treatment of the subject by Mār Ammō, in the first canto of *Hwēdāgnwān* (= *Hymn-scroll*, 261-338, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 199-208, 216-19).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 271.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 304.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 296.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 281c-d.

legomena in as many lines; it may roughly correspond to (*terra*) *ingenita*. Perhaps \**xwēmane* from \**xwamēne* from an ancient compound \**xwamanyaka-* (or the like) with *xwa-* "self" as first part; the second half may belong to Av. *mainya-* "authoritative", which has derivatives in Sogdian, see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 513,<sup>1</sup> or Sogd. *mēn-* "to be, stay, dwell" (*BBB.*, 97), which is from OPers. *mānaya-*, Av. *maṇaya-* "remain, wait".

(20) *sk'wyh* almost certainly from 'sk- "high" (Chr. *sq.*).

(21) 'βy'p "reach" (or "limit") from *abi* + *ap-* "reach, obtain". The appertaining verb exists in Chr. Sogd. *by'pd'rm*, *S.T.*, ii, Lentz "ich habe erfahren" (cf. Pers. *dar-yāftan*), and possibly in β'y'p'y, *VJ.*, 743.

(22) *n'yuk'wy* is probably the antonym of *sk'wyh* (20), hence "depth". *nāyūk* occurs in unpublished fragments as both adjective ("deep") and substantive ("depression" ?). Cf. T ii D 93b (Sogd. script), *rt'y ZKwy n'yuk zryw . . .* "ph . . . c'δrs'r ptkwn šw'skien "he dived down into the deep ocean's water". In Manich. script M 247 V 6 *n'yucq* "pyy "deep water" (broken passage); M 502, l, V 4, *zrync' tyšn n'yuc[k gap ] zwf' pδδync'* "saves . . . and pulls them out of the jaws of the deep . . .", cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1946, 180; M 452 b 11 (very broken) *γr' zry[ ] wyy n'yukt c[ ] . . . x'xsryt* "mountains, seas, . . . depressions, . . . springs". Note *zry-* "sea" (Av. *zrayah-*), which was hitherto not known as a Sogdian word. Av. *nāwaya* "deep" ?

(23) 'wyjt'ryyh may render Parth. or MPers. *wzyndg'r*, hence from *wi-jati-* (as *wzynd* from *wi-janti-*, if the Parthian is loan-word from MPers.) ? The initial ' is difficult to explain.

(32) 'wryz- "to drop, be shed" was badly explained in *Sogdica*, 34, where the passage was quoted. The Sogdian verb cannot be separated from Persian *rīzīdan* "to drop, be shed (leaves, hair, etc.)", which was confused with *rīxtan* "to pour" owing to the identity of their present stems; we had recently occasion to point out a similar confusion in the case of Persian *fīz* (*BSOAS.*, XII, 45). Decisive is here the existence of *rīz-* in Parthian where OIr. *raič-* would appear as *ryc-*, cf. M 171, 35 'wš . . . *pnq ny rzyynd* "its leaves are not shed" (the text was given in full in *BSOAS.*, XI, 63, n. 6). Here also belongs Pashto *rēžēdāl, ražēdāl* "to cast off, shed, to fall-(as leaves)", cf. *Morgenstierne*, *EVP.*, 65.

(38) *prt'w-*, above translated as "bench", is evidently some kind of seat or bed, cf. M 521b 28/9 *.cšt prt'w' γ'[δwyt] 'tyy wδ*. One wonders whether this word can be connected with Persian *ردو*, var. *ردو* = \**pārdav* (vocalized *pārdū*), which translates Ar. *fīḍ'* " (the trunk of a palm-tree used as) a gallows " in the *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, 22, 10; the glossators may have had in mind another meaning of *fīḍ'*, viz. "roof-beam". Vullers has *ردو* merely from the *Farhang-i Šu'ūrī* whose author attributes to it the meaning "skylight" and quotes a verse which seems to admit "roof-beam". The *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* provides us with *ردو* "a pole to support the branches of a fruit-laden tree";

<sup>1</sup> With Chr. Sogd. *mya'br-*, cf. Oss. *mināvar, minināg*.

its *b-* is no doubt due to popular etymology (*bār* "fruit"); the author of the *Farhang-i Anjuman-ārāy-i Nāširī* throws doubt on this word and complains of its absence from other dictionaries; but it is given by Surūrī.<sup>1</sup> A popular form of *pārdū* or *pārdav* "beam, pole" is *درد* *parde*, also not in the dictionaries, cf. *Muqaddimatu' l-Adab*, 25, 6, *درد* "a small *parde*" = Ar. *'arīd* "joist (of a roof)"; *Gazophylacium linguae Persarum*, 448, *trave: travicella* = *درد*; cf. *Velatru pardī* "small sticks or pieces of wood laid in the ceiling at right angles to the larger beams" (Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 90); it must not be confused with *parde* "curtain". The word was neglected by the Persian lexicographers because it so happened that it was not used by poets.

(50) *yw'r* was discussed recently by M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 232, *Vessantara J.*, p. 97, and by myself, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 2; *BSOAS.*, XI, 487, n. 4. I now accept the meaning suggested by M. Benveniste ("separation") in preference to that proposed by myself ("mourning"); M. Benveniste's interpretation has the additional advantage of relieving us from the need of assuming two homographs *yw'r*.<sup>2</sup> "Separation" fits also Parth. *wō'r*. Cf. further Oss. *warjñ* (Dig. *īvarun*) "divide, distribute", Khwarezmian *y'wār-*, imperf. *yāwār-* "to understand" (<"distinguish" <"separate"); to the same stem belong also Khwarezmian *bawār-* "to separate" (differently Freiman, *Učenīe zapiski Leningradskogo Gosud. Univ.*, 1940, No. 60, p. 31) and MPers., Parth. *'zō'r-*, Pahl. *uzwār-* "distinguish, understand".

### Second Folio: The Firmaments

On whatever subject Mani was writing or talking, he was always lavish with details. Unfortunately he frequently failed to notice that the details he produced on the spur of the moment did not square with his teachings of the day before. His picture of the world is a case in point. Minute circumstances are absurdly elaborated, but the whole is utter confusion. One saving quality is Mani's consciousness of his shortcomings: to make his cosmologic views clear he published a volume of drawings and paintings, called the *Eikōn* in the Coptic Manichaica, *Ard(a)hang* in Parthian, *Ertēk* in Persian.<sup>3</sup> This volume, which in the Chinese "Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of the Buddha of Light Mani"<sup>4</sup> is defined as "the drawing of the two great principles",<sup>5</sup> and his seven books, taken together, formed the canon of Mani's works. The drawings, which are lost (a copy existed in Ghazna as late as the eleventh century), would no doubt have helped us to understand

<sup>1</sup> So at least in a MS. in my possession of the *Majma'u'l-Furs* (first edition).

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to tender my apologies to M. Benveniste for giving (in *BSOAS.*, XI, 723, note on 911) a wrong date (1939) to his article "Notes Sogdiennes (IV)", *BSOAS.*, IX, part 3, which in fact was published in the summer of 1938. I regret this error all the more as the later date was favourable to my argument, which I withdraw unreservedly.

<sup>3</sup> Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, 18; cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 71, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Taišō Tripitaka*, vol. 54, No. 214a.

<sup>5</sup> It also contained pictures of the final judgment. In *Kephalaia*, 234 sq., an *Auditor* complains that his ultimate fate was not depicted in the volume.

many puzzling points; nevertheless one cannot help wishing Mani had made himself a little wax model of the world and kept it by his side and looked at it from time to time when talking on such enthralling subjects as the Eight Earths, the Exterior Hells, the Three Wheels, the Seven Great Columns, the posture of Atlas, the Giant of the Sea, the Veins of Connection, the Column of Glory, etc., etc.

Our fragment deals with the Ten Firmaments; comparable passages are *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 330; *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, 188 sqq.; *Mir. Man.*, iii, 888-890 (= M 67). Each Firmament has twelve Gates, which appear to be not connected with the twelve constellations, and another four Gates at the cardinal points. Each of the twelve Gates has six Thresholds. I have endeavoured to explain before that the idea of the Thresholds reflects a very primitive view of the movement of the sun in the sky, akin to that known from the Ethiopic *Book of Henoch*,<sup>1</sup> and is primarily not linked to the observation of the movement of the sun in the ecliptic (*Mir. Man.*, i, 188, n. 3; *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 34). Nevertheless, as the stay of the sun in a Threshold coincides with his stay in a zodiacal sign, in this way:—

while the sun is in the 1. Threshold, he is also in either Gemini or Cancer	
2. Threshold	Taurus or Leo
3. Threshold	Aries or Virgo
4. Threshold	Pisces or Libra
5. Threshold	Aquarius or Scorpio
6. Threshold	Capricornus or Sagittarius,

one can say that in the matter of time or degrees of the ecliptic a Threshold amounts in effect to a zodiacal sign. A clear time value can be attributed to several of the subdivisions of the Threshold; they are these:—

How many of each group contained in one of preceding group.	Sogdian.	Arabic.	MPers.	Parth.	Time Value.	Degrees of Ecliptic.
—	δβr	bāb	dr	br	—	—
6	pδynd	'atabah	'st'ng	'st'ng	month	30°
30	w'crn	sikkah	r'st'u'n	r'stuzn	day	1°
12	'yzt	šaff	scyhrq	šcr, cmn ?	2 h.	5'
2	prs'	—	zm'n	'rg	1 h.	150''
180	qpyδ	—	—	—	20 sec.	50'''
2	—	—	wys'ng	m'nyst'n	10 sec.	25'''

The image underlying the Sogdian designations of the subdivisions is that of a bazaar; *w'crn* is the Sogdian form of the word *bazaar*; *'yzt* should be a "row" or "street" of the bazaar, *prs'* one of the two "sides" of a street; hence, if there is any consistency, *qpyδ* must mean "shop" or "stall".

(*Recto*) (66) 'ty qr'nd kwn' cn šmnkw'nc (67) j'ryy o 'ty pswc 'rtšn pts'r (68) kw rwxšn'yrδmn s'r syn o o (69) 'rty pts'r wyδp't xw'βtkyšpy (70) xwt'w δn

<sup>1</sup> The (180) "gates of the sun" are mentioned in *Kephalaia*, 87, 21-3; cf. also *BSOAS.*, XI, 65, n. 2.

'rd'w'n m't o ''y'znd (71) nβyr't c'nw 'ty pts'cym w' (72) m'n' 'fcmdbd o o (73) 'rtpts'r nwrk fr'y'znd ptsyty (74) 'rtyšw 'ftmyy kwn'nd pnc (75) fsp' o 'rty 'ww xšyšpt βyw (76) wdyδδ nyšyδ'nd o 'rtms (77) cywyδ c'δrstr ptys'cnd (78) δs' sm'nyy i wrcwnkre myj' (79) w'stnd xii rytyy o 'rty 'yw (80) βyp(š)yy wdyδ p'šyy nyšyδ'nd (81) w'nw 'ty pr mγwn δs' sm'nyy (82) x' dywt prδβn nyw kwn'nd o o (83) 'rtmstym xxxx fryštyy (84) syfryn<sup>stc</sup> ky 'ty 'ww δs' sm'nyh (85) 'skys'r p'trštwd'rnd o 'rty pr (86) wyspw sm'nyy xii xii xw<sup>stc</sup> δbrt<sup>stc</sup> (87) ptys'cnd o o 'rtms tym 'nyt (88) iv iv δβr' pr ctf'r qyr'n (89) s'r mns'c'nd o 'wrδ kw 'ty (90) x' fryštyt 'skwnd o 'rty wyny x (91) sm'nytyy xw δβ'nzq'wyw δs' (92) βryywr fswx xeyy o 'rtyšn ms (93) x' βry' βrywr fswx 'rtpr xii (94) xii δβrt' ky 'ty wy' sm'nyty (95) 'skwnd o pr 'yw 'yw δβrw vi vi (96) pdynd mns'cnd o 'rty pr 'yw 'yw (97) pdynd qwn'nd xxx xxx w'crnd (*Verso*) (98) 'ty wy' 'yw 'yw w'ernyy (99) xii xii 'yzt' pr 'yw 'yw prs' (100) clxxx qpyδ qwn'nd 'ty (101) prδβtyk prs' clxxx (102) 'ty wy' wyspy' qpyydyyh (103) ykšyšt' ty dywt βynd'nd 'ty (104) pryqš'nd 'rty 'ww nyrkt cn (105) stryštyy ptyyn pryqš'nd (106) 'rty pts'r xw wyšprkr 'ww (107) sm'nxyδ jygyr o 'rtyšw (108) wy' 'βtmyk sm'nyyh pr (109) γ'δwk nyšyδ'nd 'ty pr mγwn (110) δs' sm'n 'xšyδ 'ty xwt'w (111) qwn'nd o 'rtpts'r cn δs' (112) sm'nyy c'δrstr n'šnyh (113) exryy 'ty 'nxrwzn ptys'cnd (114) 'rten w'ndt tmykt dywtty ky (115) 'ty βjng'rystrt 'ty βyjttrt (116) 'ty stβtrt' wm'tnd o 'rtšn (117) wy' 'nxrwznny cndr βynd'nd oo (118) 'ty xii 'nxr' ty vii pxryyh pr (119) mγwn ptrysc' 'fcmdbd (120) 'xš'wnd'rt kwn'nd o 'rtyšn 'yw (121) wnyy δβty' pty'r w'stynd o o (122) 'ty cn wyspw dywtty ky 'ty wy' (123) 'nxrwznny βstyt xnd wyx r'k (124) 'ty ptβnd w'fnd 'ty ptyw'fnd (125) 'rty wy' c'δreyq sm'nyh (126) βwn swmbnd o 'rty 'ww 'nxrwzn (127) cywyδ m'qwc'nd 'tyyh ii (128) βypšyy p'šyynd w'stynd w'nw (129) 'ty 'skycyq cxrw r'mndyy

#### Translation

[The Father orders the *Spiritus vivens* and the Mother of Life to create<sup>1</sup> the world] “. . . and clean them [= the Elements of Light] of the poison of Ahriman and purify them; thereafter raise them to the Paradise”.

Thereupon at once the Lord of the Seven Climes and the Mother of the Righteous began to plan how to arrange this world. Then they began to fashion it. First they made Five \*Rugs; there they seated the Splenditenens. Thereunder they formed ten Firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced \*Lens. There they seated a Son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten Firmaments the demons could do no harm. Furthermore he (*sic*) evoked (created) forty angels, who hold the ten Firmaments upraised.

In each firmament they fashioned twelve Gates; another four Gates each they constructed in the four directions, there where those<sup>2</sup> angels stand.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, to conform to Manichæan parlance, “arrange” or “fashion”. The Manichæans, strictly speaking, used the word *create* only of the process by which a divinity produces another divine being, of lower rank, by emanating it out of its own substance.

<sup>2</sup> The forty angels mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph.

The thickness of the ten Firmaments is ten myriad parasangs; again, (the thickness of) their air is one myriad parasangs.<sup>1</sup>

To each of the twelve Gates that exist in each of the Firmaments they constructed six Thresholds, to each Threshold thirty Bazaars, in each Bazaar twelve \*Rows, [in each \*Row two \*Sides]<sup>2</sup>; to the one \*Side they made one hundred and eighty \*Stalls, to the other \*Side (another) one hundred and eighty. In every \*Stall they fettered and enclosed yakšas and demons, the males separately from the females.<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon the All-maker (*Wišparkar*)<sup>4</sup> called the Lord of the Firmaments. They<sup>5</sup> seated him on a throne in the seventh<sup>6</sup> heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten Firmaments.

Then, below the ten Firmaments, they fashioned a rolling wheel and (*sic*) zodiac. Within the zodiac they fettered those of the demons of Darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious. The twelve constellations (signs) and the seven planets they made rulers over the whole Mixed World, and set them in opposition to each other.<sup>7</sup>

From all the demons that had been imprisoned in the zodiac they wove to and fro the roots, veins, and links.<sup>8</sup> In the lowest Firmament they bored a hole<sup>9</sup> and suspended the zodiac from it. Two Sons of God were placed by them (there) as watchers, so as to . . . the Superior Wheel continually.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The passage is badly worded. Probably it means that the thickness of each Firmament is 10,000 parasangs, and the thickness of each layer of air between any two Firmaments is another 10,000 parasangs, so that the distance from the bottom of the lowest to the top of the highest of the Firmaments would be 190,000 parasangs.

<sup>2</sup> A whole line may have been omitted by the scribe (xii xii 'yzt pr 'yw 'yw ('yzt ii ii prs' pr 'ytc' prs' clxxx qpyδ, etc. 1).

<sup>3</sup> That the demiurge took steps to prevent further procreation of the Powers of Darkness is commonly stated. Mani here made use of the astrologers' assertion that the planets and constellations are either male or female, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, book I, chs. 6 and 12.

<sup>4</sup> = *Spiritus vivens*, see below, note on line 106.

<sup>5</sup> = *Spiritus vivens* and Mother of Life.

<sup>6</sup> See *Psalm-book*, 2, 10; *Kephalaia*, 80, 6; 83, 2; 87, 34, etc. The seventh Firmament is the seventh counting from below, cf. *Keph.*, 170, 23 sqq., where the *Rex honoris* = Sogd. *Smān-zšēδ* is said to be the ruler of merely the lower seven firmaments, the upper three being within the realm of the *Splenditenens*. Occasionally his throne is located in the *third* firmament (as in *Keph.*, 92, 25), evidently the third counting from the top. Mani here made a little mistake, by confusing cardinal and ordinal numbers (10 - 7 = 3, but the seventh from below is the fourth from above). As this mistake is of a kind of which modern scholars dealing with problems of chronology are not rarely found guilty, we must not be too hard on Mani; however, we can say that Cosmas Indicopleustes displayed little judgment when he talked of him as of a *μυχαϊκοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ λογίου καὶ ἐπὲρ πολλοῦς ἐμπείρου* (cf. Beausobre, *Hist. de Maniché*, II, 374).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Kephalaia*, 167, 14-15.

<sup>8</sup> On these roots, veins, links, tethers, *liħme*, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 232, n. 6; *BSOAS.*, XI, 71. In the *Kephalaia* the chief passages are 88; 118, 3; 119, 8-20; 120 sqq.; 125; 213-16. The new material serves to elucidate the previously misunderstood references to *ρίζαι/radices* in the *Acta Archelai*, 14 sq.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the North Pole. The roots, etc., of the zodiac are passed through this "hole" and attached to the Superior Wheel, which lies before the *Rex honoris* in the seventh firmament, see below, note on line 78.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M 98 R 3-6, "and they (= *Spir. viv.* and Mother of Life) suspended it (= zodiac) from the lowest firmament and, to make it turn ceaselessly at will, they set over it two angels,



## Notes

(69-70) *'βtkyšpy xw'w* "Lord of the Seven Climes" = "Lord of the World", see *BSOAS.*, XI, 721, on *aβd-kīšp* = Pers. *haft kišvar*. In Sogdian he is more often known by his original name, *Spiritus vivens*, which generally appears in its Parthian form, *w'd jyvndg* or (in phonetic transcription) *w'd jyvndyy* = *wād-žiwande*. Both names together are used in the little fragment T ii D 66, 2, of which we give here the whole *recto* page. (1) . . . vi (2) *'xšynwyt βγyštyy oo cn* (3) *s'rst' 'xšy[wnyh] myš(')* (4) *xw'w o cn 'βtkšpyh* (5) *xw'w w'dδjyvndyy 'tyh* (6) *'rd'w'n m'tyy o cn wnwonyy* (7) *y'xyy ptryy<sup>1c</sup> xwp xwrnz'* (8) *βγ o cn 'nj'wnyy xw'w* (9) *yysw δyn'n 'xšyδ oo cn* (10) *rwzšn' βγpwryc wrzkrc* "[From] six kings (and) gods, from (1) the magnificent king, Lord *Miši*, from (2) the Lord of the Seven Climes, the Living Spirit, and (3) the Mother of the Righteous, from (4) the victorious and brave Father, skilful God *Xurmazda*, from (5) the redeemer Lord Jesus, the Prince of the Churches, from (6) the shining Daughter of God, the wondrous . . .". These six are the *Tertius Legatus*, *Spiritus vivens*, Mother of Life, *Primus Homo*, Jesus, and the Maiden of Light.

(75) *fsp'*, above translated as "rug". The word has not been noticed elsewhere. The five *faspā* are beyond the ten firmaments; they intervene between the Paradise and the Mixed World. There is an abundance of "walls" and "moats" in this world, in the Manichæan view, but five walls exist in sun and moon only; in Sogdian the words are *δ't* "wall" and *prkn* "moat" = MPers. *pārgīn* (e.g. in M 128; M 664; T ii D 116); the Universe is bounded by a single wall, see M 98 V 13, M 99 V 2; *Kephalaia* 91, 5; *Fihrist*, 330, 21 (but cf. *Psalm-book*, 139, 13-14). The world has a "roof", *Kephalaia*, 170, 25 (cf. 80, 2, of the New World), there are "watch-towers" in the realm of the *Splenditenens*, *Psalm-book*, 138, 26, which is further described as a "camp", *Kephalaia*, 92, 13. All this does not help us to define the meaning of *faspā*. There are, as far as I know, only two passages in the Manichæan literature that give any information on the "roof of the world", *Kephalaia*, 90, 24, and 170, 2; in both macrocosm and microcosm are confronted. *Keph.*, 90, 22 sqq., "the head of the cosmos is the ἀρχή of the Garments; its throat is the neck of the Garments; its stomach is the five ἀπλώματα, which are the . . . of the Garments"; the items next mentioned are the firmaments and the sphere. *Keph.*, 170, 1 sqq., "his head corresponds to the ἀπαρχή of the five Garments", followed by the ten firmaments and the "wheel of the sphere". These Garments are undoubtedly the Three<sup>1</sup> Garments or Wheels of wind, fire, and water, in which the late F. Cumont recognized the elemental spheres

a male and a female." With these words concludes the description of the creation of the firmaments in that fragment; they agree closely with the last words of our fragment. We can thus confidently say that the description of the firmaments is complete in our text, except for two or three words.

<sup>1</sup> Despite the unpleasant fact that their number is said to be five in *Keph.*, 170, 2. Perhaps "five garments" there is ellipsis of "five spreads of the three garments". Different are the five "great garments" of *Keph.*, 177, 2-3, which came into existence only after the third creation.

(water, air, fire) of the Stoics, which surround the earth. According to the Manichaeans the Garments, although they have their proper place under our earth, also encompass the universe and so have their ἀπαρχή on the roof of the world. They had to be protected against the Powers of Darkness and therefore were enveloped in the five ἀπλώματα. These "spreads" obviously accompanied the Garments from their emplacement in the "third earth" to the top of the world; it is thus appropriate that they should be mentioned as the first thing created in the Mixed World. With the ἀπλώματα we would identify also the *maškbē*,<sup>1</sup> "mattresses" or "beds", named by Theodor bar Qonai in connection with the Garments, in a troublesome passage (Pognon, 129, 6; cf. Cumont, i, 31 sq.; Schæder, *Studien*, 345; Jackson, 240). At any rate, Sogdian *faspā* = Syr. *maškbā* = ἀπλωμα. Hence, from Av. *fraspāt*, Yt. 15, 2, between *gātu* "throne, couch" and *upastorana* "spread, rug", cf. Pers. *farasp* "tapestry".<sup>2</sup>

(78) *mjj*, above translated as "lens". Not found elsewhere in Sogdian. The passage can be interpreted in three ways. Firstly, it is commonly said that the *Spiritus vivens* created "ten firmaments and one wheel (of the sphere)"; hence, "magic *mjj*" = the zodiac? This must be discarded, because the zodiac is dealt with later on (111 sqq.) and ought not to have been mentioned here. Secondly, the second half of the sentence, "they set up one magic *mjj*", could be meant merely to define the shape of the ten firmaments in their totality ("they formed ten firmaments and set them up as a, or in the shape of a, magic twelve-faced *mjj*"). It seems to me that this, too, must be rejected, because the wording scarcely admits this sense; the numeral "one" would not have been used; there would have been *'tjšn c'nuw* (or some such words) after *sm'nyj*. The third possibility, the only one that seems to meet the case, is that the "magic *mjj*" is an object that is distinct from the firmaments, not forming part of them, but situated within the area occupied by them. Only one such object is known from other sources: the "wheel that lies in front of the *Rez honoris*", to which a whole chapter of the *Kephalaia* (xxxvi, pp. 87 sq.) is devoted. This "wheel", which must not be confused with the "wheel of the sphere" (as was done by A. Böhlig in his summary of the contents, *Keph.*, p. xxii), fully deserves the epithet "magical". The invisible "roots" of the firmaments, Archons, and Elements are tied to it. All that happens in the firmaments can be seen in it by the *Rez honoris*, seated on a throne in the

<sup>1</sup> Thus to be read as plural (with Pognon).

<sup>2</sup> Regrettably this meaning is anything but assured. The *Burhān* has it from Surūri, who declines responsibility for it and attributes it to the *Nuṣṣe-i Mirzā Ibrāhīm*, a book (No. 56 in Blochmann's list) used also by the author of the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*, who, however, refrains from giving this meaning, perhaps wisely. Ordinarily *farasp/farasb* is a "roof-beam", see e.g. *Ibn Isfandiyyār's Hist. of Tabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, p. 39, n. 1 = ed. Tehran, i, 87, 7 [the unknown بلور there is a local word for "rafter", cf. *Velatru palvar*, Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 90; in the *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, 25, 5, بلواز = Ar. 'arīṣ could be \*بلواره]; Asadi ed. Iqbal; *Shahname* (once); ŠF. (three times); etc. "Roof-beam" is also the meaning of Pahl. *frasp* in AV., ii, 11, 12.

seventh heaven; it is his magic mirror (cf. *Keph.*, 88, 31, "the wheel is like unto a great mirror"); there are twelve "forms" or "figures" (τύποι) in it, cf. the Sogdian *xii-rytyy*, lit. "twelve-faced" (cf. 'yw-ryt'k "μονοπρόσωπος", P 8, 107, of a *pd'k* = *palā*, elsewhere *pr*, *pr'kh* = banner). A "Light-faced wheel" is mentioned in the *Psalm-book*, 138, 32, though as belonging to the *Splenditenens* (cf. *ibid.*, 138, 38, "the *Rex honoris* . . . who looks after the root of Light"); it is doubtful whether 'skycyq cxxr- "superior wheel" (lit. "high-lying wheel") in our fragment, line 129, refers to the King of Honour's television set (the parallel passage quoted above, p. 313, n. 10, can be said to militate against it). Now, if it is conceded that the "magic *myj*" is this "magic mirror", we can more confidently hope to discover the meaning of the Sogdian word. I had considered "wheel", "mirror", "orb", "prism", ending up with "disk", when it occurred to me that *myj* could well be the Sogdian word for "lentil". Persian *mīzū*, *mīfū*, also مژو = *mīzū* "lentil" (e.g. *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, 14, 15; 60, 14 = Ar. 'adas) is *mīzūk* in Pahlavi; it is spelled *myčok* and *myšuk*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Geiger, *BSOS.*, VIII, 552; wavering between *č* and *š* in Pahlavi invariably indicates the rare sound *ž*. The Old Iranian form was \**mīzū-* or \**maižu-* (\**mīžu-* or \**maižu-*). Since old *u*-stems often appear in Sogdian with the ending *-ā*, as e.g. Man. Sogd. β'z', Buddh. Sogd. β'z'kh, OIr. *bāzu-*, Pers. *bāzū* (*BSOAS.*, XI, 732), or Man. Sogd. *prs'*, Buddh. Sogd. *prs'kh*, OIr. *parsu-* (Av. *parosu-*, *parosu-*), Pers. *pahlū*, the postulated OIr. word for "lentil", if it existed in Sogdian, should be \**mīzā* (Man. \**myj*', Buddh. \**myz'kh*) in that language, precisely the form found in our text. Accordingly, I have ventured to translate as "lens", in the sense of "any object resembling a lentil or the double-convex optical lens in form" (second meaning in Webster's *Internat. Dict.*; the optical lens was invented about a millennium after Mani's time). Words for "lentil" were used for lenticular objects in antiquity, chiefly, it seems, for hot-water bottles, also for various kinds of flasks, etc.; so Lat. *lenticula*, Gr. φακός, Late Hebrew 'dāsāh, cf. I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 182. As early as the time of Trajan the crystalline lens was so described, as φακοειδής, by Rufus of Ephesus, cf. G. Sarton, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, i, 282. [On magic mirrors, cups, etc., see B. Laufer, "The Prehistory of Television", *The Scientific Monthly*, xxvii (1928), 455 sqq.]

(99-100) 'yzt, *prs'*, *qpyδ*. The *-t* of 'yzt "row" or "street" forms part of the word, see the passages below; wrongly *BBB.*, 122; *BSOAS.*, XI, 727. Chr. Sogd. 'yzt, too, is singular = "street" (Lentz translated as "Plätze"). On *prs'* "side" see the preceding note; *prs'kh*, as "rib", in P 7, 57. The word for "shop, stall", *qpyδ* = \**kəpīl* (?), recalls Pers. *kulbe* (Man. MPers. *kurbag*, Arm. *krpak*, etc.).—Cf. M 108, 10 (very broken passage) s]m'nyt 'nrxuzn βystyt [ ] 'yzt 'tyy qpyδtt [ ] 'rt'y δs'h. Of greater importance is the fragment M 548, a miserable scrap, which once contained a different recension, but one very close to the one published here, of the "story of the world".

<sup>1</sup> In the same passage in different recensions and MSS.; there is thus no need to consider other words such as Pers. *mušang* "green pea" (Kabuli *mušunk*).

Its *recto* page corresponds to lines 97-105, its *verso* page to 122-4:—

M 548, *recto*

- |                                      |                                 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) šys xxx w'crndt' skw[            | [in every threshold] are thirty |
| (2) wyspw w'c(r)[n]yy xii xii 'yz[   | bazaars each, in each bazaar 12 |
| (3) 'styy oo wy[spy'] 'yzdtty cyndr[ | rows, in each row [3]60 stalls. |
| (4) [xxxx]xx kpyδ 'styy o 'rty myš[  | Those bazaars, stalls, rows     |
| (5) . . .] kpyδt' yzdt' ty w'cr[     | . . . [therein] are [fettered]  |
| (6) . . .] s't δywt' xnd o kyy r[    | all demons that . . .           |
| (7) ]tsk[                            |                                 |

M 548, *verso*

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| (8) ]tδ'rt' tyh sm'nyytt             | . . . he did . . . and the heavens . . . |
| (9) p]δync'nd o 'rty s[m][n]yyt' tyh | they pulled up, and the heavens . . .    |
| (10) ]cn xyδδ δyw[ty p]rm (wyxth ?)  | from those demons roots                  |
| (11) ]sn'wt' [']tyy δ . . .          | . . . sinews and . . .                   |

(106) *wyšprkr* need not be a proper name (as assumed in *BBB.*, 60), but can be an appellative and hence refer to the *Spiritus vivens*; thus it may have the force of "demiurge". According to M. Benveniste (see *Textes Sogdiens*, p. 215) *wyšprkr* should be the Indian *Viśvakarman* in disguise. This is ingenious and possibly even true. Except for the *š*, apparently the sole reminder of its Indian origin, *wyšp-rkr* would be correct Sogdian for *Viśva-karman*; Sogd. *arkar-*, preserved only in the compound *'rkr-un(')y = saṃskṛta-*, is no doubt identical with *'rk-* "work, job, deed" (presumably an ancient *r/n*-stem); even the *š* can perhaps be excused, with the help of *wyšpšy* "prince". It is possible that *wyšprkr* is a genuine Sogdian word that merely coincided with the Indian name. At any rate, my identification of *wyšprkr* with the *Myzdyt'c'wd'zdygr yzd* of *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, was ill-considered. After the creation of the world the *Spiritus vivens* and the Mother of Life place that "divine messenger", whose nature and position in the Manichaean pantheon remain unexplained, before another god, whom I proposed, in the edition of the text, to identify with either the *Rex honoris* or the *Splenditenens* (with some measure of preference for the former). Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Man. Dogm.*, 510, declared that the second alternative was not worth considering. However, if one translates the passage *mot à mot*, it is easily seen that the *Splenditenens* and no other is meant there. "(That god) who stands above that firmament and holds the head(s) of those gods"—"those gods" nearly throughout refers to the Elements. Properly understood, the sentence at once recalls the words used by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xv, 5, *Ostende nobis moechos tuos, Splenditenentem ponderatorem et Atlantem laturarium: Illum enim dicis capita elementorum tenere mundumque substinere, istum autem genu fixo, scapulis validis subajulare tantam molem utique ne ille deficiat.*

[Additional Note.—The meaning "shop, stall" conjectured above, pp. 311, 316, for *qpyδ*, is confirmed by a series of words in Turkish languages, which

were probably borrowed from Sogdian; in the Eastern dialects of Sogdian the pronunciation of *qpyδ* approached \**kepid*, cf. *BSOAS.*, X, 97. Kāšyārī, i, 298<sup>s</sup>, کبت *kebit* = *hānūt* "shop, tavern"; *Hua-yi-yi-yü*, ed. Klaproth, 20<sup>b</sup>, *k'pyt* = *kebit* "Bude", with reference to Tatar کیت; *Codex Cumanicus*, 78<sup>28</sup>, *chebit* = *apotecha* = *duchan* (*dukkān*); Radlov, ii, 1400, 1416 *kibit* "lavka, Laden" for Tobol and Kazan dialects. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 112, whose tentative comparison with Mongol (etc.) *kābis* "carpet" can scarcely be maintained, ascribed the word to Mongol; it occurs, according to him, in the Mongol *Hua-yi-yi-yü*; it is not found in the Mongol material generally accessible.]

## ADDENDUM

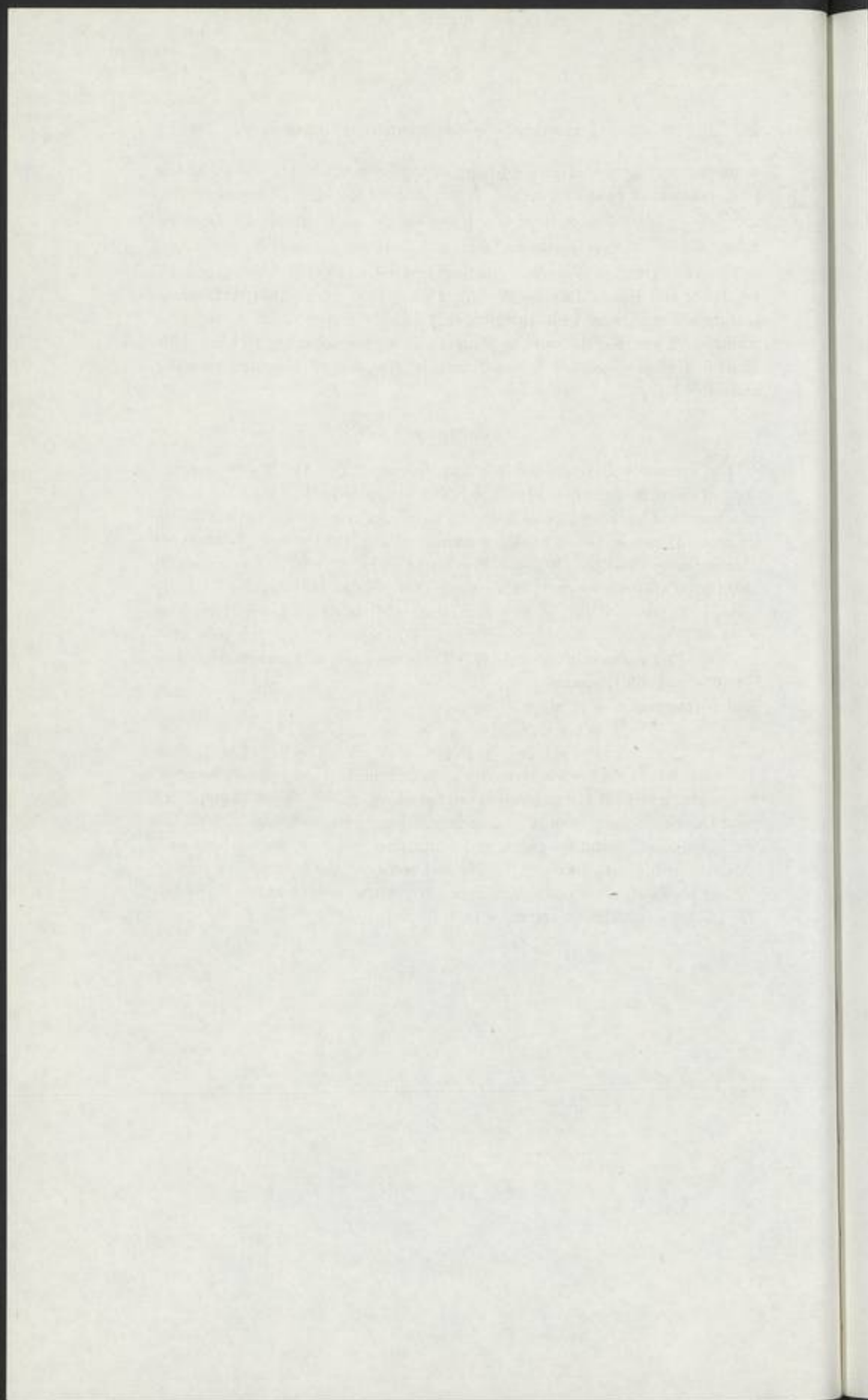
Unfortunately I overlooked the tiny fragment T ii D 139, 3<sup>a</sup>, another copy of the text of the first folio of M 178 (above, p. 307). It is from the middle of a page and has no complete lines. Its *recto* page corresponds to lines 32-46, its *verso* to lines 54-65; it has a few additional words at the end. Variants:— (33) *qyrmyy* (35) 'lyy (36) + o 'lyy before *mr[γ]* (37) [s]k 'lyy 'spyn(c)[t] (40) [']rlyy w'n[w] p'sylyy<sup>sc</sup> [ (42) *wrmy'h* (43) *ptz'n'nd* (45) *nyyst* (46) [']t[y]y instead of 'lyšn (54) [wty]h *nwy* β[ mistake (56) ]styyt xn[d (56/7) ]pr z'wr o 'ty pr [t'wn]dky' (58) 'rlyy δ(y)[s]twcc (59) [p]z'n'nt<sup>sc</sup> o 'rlyh py[st] (60) *pyy's[tyt]* (61) apparently (*pr*) *wyšn* (62) 'β't is expressed by numbers, p[pp]h = lxx (63) *xcyh* o (64) *rymnyh*.

End of fragment:—[t]qt n(yy) (?) *wgyndy* (= 65)

]y'k t'rc ny[y] β[

]s[. ]nd xw[.] βw[

The variants are, on the whole, purely orthographical. They suggest, however, two improvements in the translation printed above, p. 308:—lines 34 sqq. "All good things are born from it . . . springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole Paradise; countless groves and plains, and mansions, etc."; lines 45/6 "in eternal life without death". The last words of the text probably mean "Their places are never destroyed, [their ? bright]ness never becomes darkened. The . . . s [emit] delicious fragrance (*xw[c]* βw[δ] ?)."



## The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters

'R βγνε xwt'w p'rnyt  
'LP βrywr ŠLM nm'cyrw

THE Sogdian "Ancient Letters", no doubt one of the most important of Sir Aurel Stein's many finds, have been attributed to the middle of the second century of our era, on the strength of archaeological evidence (*Serindia*, ii, 671 sqq.). Their editor, H. Reichelt, expressed a mild doubt (*Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, ii, p. 6), and so did Pelliot in his review of Reichelt's edition (*T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 457-463). If the date originally proposed by Sir Aurel Stein (between A.D. 105 and 137, or in 153) could be substantiated, the Letters, which are on paper, would have to be regarded as the oldest paper documents in existence.<sup>1</sup>

For some time now I have held the view that the Letters were in fact written at the beginning of the fourth century, to be precise in 312 and 313. I owe thanks to Professor Haloun for explaining the nature of the archaeological evidence, which apparently conflicts with this opinion. The Sogdian Letters were found together with a large number (about seven hundred) of Chinese documents, of which a seventh part can be dated (see E. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*). Those that are written on slips of wood are distributed in this way:—

<i>period</i>	<i>number of documents dated</i>		
	<i>with certainty</i>	<i>doubtfully</i>	<i>total</i>
98 B.C.—39 B.C.	67	11	78
A.D. 1—A.D. 94	27	3	30
A.D. 137	1	—	1
A.D. 153	—	1	1
	—	—	—
	95	15	110

The majority of these wooden slips, those that belong to the time before the alleged invention of paper in A.D. 105, are irrelevant for the purpose of dating the Sogdian paper documents. Only two are later than A.D. 105, and of those two one only is satisfactorily dated, the one of A.D. 137. To argue that the Sogdian Letters must belong to a year in which occupation of the site is attested by the presence of a Chinese document, or to a year *earlier* than that, is perilous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Their claim to such eminence has already been widely admitted.

<sup>2</sup> It is not as if the document of A.D. 137 were one of a series; it is isolated by a long gap (forty-three years—nearly a life-time) from the last preceding.

Moreover, this argument is deprived of whatever force one may like to accord it by the fact that Chinese paper documents, too, some (three) from the second (?) century, but most of them (eleven) from T'ang times, probably the *eighth century*, were found in the same area. As in these circumstances archaeology cannot help us to reach a conclusion, we shall have to rely on the internal evidence derivable from the Letters themselves.

From palaeography we can learn scarcely more than that the Letters are "pretty old". The cursive ("Uigur") type of Sogdian script, familiar from the inscriptions, documents, and Manichæan books of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, must have reached its final form by A.D. 600; the calligraphic handwriting used in Buddhist books perpetuated the stage attained by the cursive script in about A.D. 500. Somewhat earlier is the writing employed for the legends of the coins ascribed to the "Bukhâr-khudâhs"; these legends, which were continued almost unchanged down to the end of the eighth century, were introduced probably in the middle of the fifth. The cursive script of the Letters is older again. In the absence of comparable material we have to confine ourselves to saying that the Letters, to judge by the handwriting, may belong to any period between A.D. 105 and A.D. 400.

The contents of the Letters, on the whole, do little to help us narrow down these limits. We do not know when Sogdians began to establish colonies along the caravan routes leading to China and within China itself, but it is likely that they did so long before the invention of paper; these colonies continued to exist until the tenth century at least. No doubt the agents of the "merchant-princes" of Sogdiana<sup>1</sup> and the other colonists of Tunhuang or Ku-tsang sent letters home to Samarkand and Bukhara throughout the ages, letters in which they complained of postal difficulties (almost the chief content of the Letters) and the troubled times, listed the latest commodity prices and the current exchange value of silver, gave news of their families, and gossiped about their friends. The antiquated language, in comparison with the other Sogdian material; the preservation of several ideograms lost to later Sogdian<sup>2</sup>; the absence of references to Buddhism and Manichæism, and on the other hand the belief in the Old Iranian religion<sup>3</sup> and in particular the reverence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Reichelt's list (p. 2) can be added to: 'MYA' "mother", iii, 12; 'YMTw' "when", several times in Letter No. ii, regarded as an Iranian word by Reichelt (e.g. 21/2 ['s] iiii srδ 'YMTw MN cns[ compared with 6/7 'st iiii srδ 'YKZY MN cntry s'r; in spite of the complementary -w it should correspond to kδ, which does not occur in the long Letter ii; were it not for this notable absence of kδ, one would of course think of c's'kw; kaδ > kai is = 'YMT also in Pahlavi); KL "all" in iv, 3 (Reichelt kδ), 8 (Reichelt mδ), distinct from kδ (in KL the tails of the letters are crossed); on MR'Y see below, p. 611.

<sup>3</sup> Proved by the personal names and the *synpt.*, i, 10 (cf. *BSOS.*, VIII, 583 sq.), who may well have been a priest at a local Nanai temple (Letter No. i was written in Tun-huang). Heathenish personal names, however, were only slowly abandoned by the Sogdians when they became Buddhists or Manichæans; the monks only of either Church had to take religious names. See e.g. the colophon of P 8 (Buddhists); the *Mahrnāmag* and *Sogdica*, 6-7 (Manichæans).



for the goddess Nanai<sup>1</sup>; the absence as yet of Chinese family names<sup>2</sup>; the apparent existence of cultural relations with the Indians of Shan-shan<sup>3</sup>—all these points go to confirm the estimate (second to fourth centuries) arrived at by the study of the handwriting, but are utterly useless for the purpose of determining the precise date.

It is a piece of great good luck that Nanai-vandak, the author of Letter No. ii, went beyond the narrow limits to which the other writers confined themselves and provided his correspondent, Nanai-*δvār*—one of the "merchant-princes" of Samarkand, a Sogdian Maēs—with a brief account of contemporaneous events in China as viewed by a foreigner living in an outlying province of the Empire. In spite of Reichelt's here imperfect translation Pelliot at once recognized the gist of the passage and its importance: a great catastrophe had occurred which compelled the *βγπρ* = Chinese Emperor to abandon *Sry* = Lo-yang, his capital, which was burnt down. "Il s'agirait d'une de ces destructions comme Lo-yang en subit par exemple en 190; cette année-là, Tong Teho brûla Lo-yang, et transféra l'Empereur à Singanfou." However, he concluded, "il serait toutefois prématuré de vouloir préciser qu'il s'agit bien de cet événement" (loc. cit., p. 459).

The statement that Saray/Lo-yang was burnt down is of the greatest importance. By itself it is sufficient to invalidate all arguments proffered in favour of dating the Letters in the first half of the second century; for although Lo-yang may have been destroyed more than once, it did not suffer in the period A.D. 105 to 153. As a matter of fact Lo-yang suffered such a fate three times only (between A.D. 105 and T'ang), and each time its destruction presaged the fall of a dynasty: in 190 (Later Han), in 311 (Western Chin), in 530–532–534–535 (Northern Wei). These therefore are the only dates to which the Letters can be referred. We can unhesitatingly exclude the events of the sixth century from consideration, on the general grounds given above. This leaves us with 190 and 311. The choice is made easy: in 311 Lo-yang, and with it the power

<sup>1</sup> *Sogdica*, 7; *JRAS.*, 1944, 137; *BSOAS.*, XI, 737. *Bānāk* is said of Anahita, not only in Paikuli, but also in the inscription translated by Sprengling, *AJSL.*, lvii (1940), 219 (in both instances the ideogram). Cf. further Horn-Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, plate vi, No. 1621, "Altindische Gemme," inscribed *b'nyky*; the figure (a lady in a somewhat extravagant posture) may represent Anahita/Nanai.

<sup>2</sup> Two such are known so far, "n = *An* and γ'n = *Xān*, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 736. They clearly correspond to 安 and 康 respectively. Cf. Boodberg, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, i, 1936, 291, n. 32. Professor Haloun points out that in Tang times the Chinese names must be understood to mean "man from Lukhara (*An*)" and "man from Samarkand (*K'ang*)".

<sup>3</sup> "The Indians and Sogdians" are mentioned in one breath in ii, 37 (in Lo-yang). Lou-lan occurs once. The woman's name *Ču(')yšk*, i, 1, is found also in the Niya documents, *Catisa* (-ga, -gae). Indian loan-words in the Letters were probably borrowed from the Indians of Lou-lan. So e.g. *šykh* = *lekha*, which was not used in Sogdiana (see the Mugh documents, 24, 25, 38, where *n'mk* instead). In *prst(k)* Reichelt recognized *prastha*, cf. Niya 721, 6 *mepoša prasta* i. Here *mepoša* (left untranslated by Burrow) is prob. Pers. *maipuzte* (Syr. *maipuztā*, Ar. *maifuztaf*, -*buztaf*), and *masu poša* (see Burrow's note on 225) is the same, half-translated; *maipuzte* is a sickly-sweet decoction of grape-juice or must with spices added. Cf. Athenæus, 31d-e (i, 57); Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, i, 84, 153, and notes; Kempfer, *Amoen. Exot.*, 380.

of Chin, is destroyed by the Hsiung-nu: in the Sogdian Letter the Hüns are mentioned as the adversaries of the Chinese. As there can thus hardly be a doubt that the Letters were written in or shortly after 311, reference is made in what follows to events pertaining to that period only.<sup>1</sup>

It may be convenient to reproduce here the relevant lines of Nanai-vandak's report (5-23, 29-38, and the date 61-3), even though Reichelt's text is on the whole satisfactory:—

- (5) .... 'ḤRZY xwt'ynβ<sup>2</sup> 'rm'ts[. δ]rw'ny δrw'k 'yncy 'ḤRZY 'rs'c  
 (6) kc'ny δrw'k 'yncy '[ḤR]ZY xwt'ynβ 'st (ii) srδ 'YKZY MN entry  
 (7) s'r swγδyk ''yt 'ḤRZYm pršt γwtms'c 'ḤRZY δrw'k 'yncy  
 (8) 'ḤRZY 't kwr'ynk s'r wyt'rt 'ḤRZYcn nwkry nyδk ''yst 'PZYβn  
 (9) np'ys'w MN-ZKyḤMw<sup>3</sup> swγδyk'nw ZK[Zy c]nry s'r wyt'rt kwyt'dtn  
 (10) krt'y'nt kt'mw ZYn n'pw p(r)[']'yt 'y'nt 'ḤRZY xwt'ynβ ZNH  
 (11) prβtm βγpwr m'δ w'β'nt M(N) δβz' 'pr'st MN sry 'ḤRZYš  
 (12) rδnk š'yknw 'PZY rδnk knδh ''[t]rwh wγt 'ḤRZY swγt 'xw  
 (13) š'ykn 'PZY 'xh knδh w(y)[knt ']'ḤRZY ms L' sry L' 'nkp'  
 (14) 'ḤRZY ms (ZNH) [ xw]n'nw<sup>4</sup> 'ḤRZYšn  
 (15) 'xwmt[n . . . . .]m[. . .] 'PZYš[n ? w]'r'nt kr[t 't] n'y'n'y(m)h<sup>5</sup> prmw  
 (16) 'PZY 't 'nkp' prmw my x[w]n [ZK]ZY 'zyy myδ βγpwr xypδ wm't'nt  
 (17) 'ḤRZY xwt'ynβ L' z'n'ymn k[t'rw] ZYn ZNH wy'p'rt'kw cyn  
 cynn cynstn  
 (18) ZNH xwn šk'rtw<sup>6</sup> wn'y'nt [MN 'x](w)mt'n 'WZYn-n ZNH p'r'kw n'pw  
 (19) ny's'y'nt 'ḤRZY [ ].. δrw'ny (s)t<sup>7</sup> c ''ztpyδrk  
 (20) sm'rknδc (')[. . .]mh kn'x.s.<sup>8</sup>[. . . . .]y [']st (xxxx)[.] mrtyy  
 (21) 'ḤRZYβn xw(t)[y]n[β] (M)N . . ''rx[. . . . .] 'ḤRZY 's]t iii srδ  
 (22) 'YMTw MN cnt(r)[y s'r ]t<sup>9</sup> (δβ)[n]p[n]wh<sup>10</sup> 'ḤRZY MN  
 (23) δrw''n 't kmzy(n)<sup>11</sup> pr(mw) pr[']γ[t

(29) 'ḤRZYβn xwt'ynβ 'YMTw wyspw

(30) sxwn np'ys'w 'YKZY ZNH cynstn krt 'ḤRZY p'r zyrmh 'ḤRZYβn

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Haloun, who was ever ready to give of his time to help with the problems presented by the Sogdian Letters, for supplying precise dates and data for the years before and after 311.

<sup>2</sup> [Restored], (incomplete) or (uncertain) letters.—Reading and precise meaning of *xwt'ynβ*/*xwt'yzβ* are unknown. Reichelt's translation is no doubt approximately correct; the derivation proposed by him is unacceptable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ZDMG.*, 90, 1936, 197 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The only other restoration to be considered here is [cy]n'nw.

<sup>5</sup> Or z'yz'y(c)h. The third and seventh letters (possibly -') are doubtful. The word may be incomplete at the beginning.

<sup>6</sup> A scrap of paper which belongs somewhere else is stuck over the first half of the -t- and the lower part of L' in line 17.

<sup>7</sup> The lines must be slightly rearranged.

<sup>8</sup> kn'x(n)s. ? kn'x(w)s. ?

<sup>9</sup> Or ]n. Perhaps ['δn].

<sup>10</sup> Cf. [δβ]n'p'nw vi, 4 (so to be restored).

<sup>11</sup> Reichelt has km'yδ instead. The third letter is certainly n/z, the fifth probably -n.

- (31) en pry'w nyst 'HRZY xwt'ynβ 'st iii iii srδ 'YKZYm pryšt  
 (32) enry s'r s'γ'r'k 'PZY prn"[. . .] 'HRZYšy<sup>sto</sup> 'st iii srδ 'YKZYmnc  
 (33) peβnt 'βy'rt 'HRZY šyr'wδβ[. . .]wm't-nt 'HR[Z]Y 'YK ZNH prβtm  
 (34) βyz krt 'HRZYne nwkry peβn(t) [L'] βyr'm kwyδ'wtn krt'y'nt  
 'st iii srδ  
 (35) 'HRZYm ms pryšt 'ny mrty 'rtyxw-βntk [n]m 'YKZY MN ko'n  
 (36) s'rth wyt'rt 'HRZY wr wxwš'[(k)[w m]'xw m' [. . .] (w)m't 'HRZY 'YK  
 (37) 't sry pr'yt-nt 'HRZY wr '(P)[ZY . . .](t) 'PZY 'yntkwt 'PZY swγdykt  
 (38) 'HRZY MN δβz wysp mrt-nt (')[HRZYm] (p)ryšt Z(K) nsy>(')n 't δrw'n

(61-3) 'HRZY ZNH δykwk krt 'YKZY cyrδsw'n MR'Y xiii srδ wm'tw pr  
 tγm'yow m'xw

- (5) . . . . . And, Sir, Armāts[āč]<sup>1</sup> in Th<sup>u</sup>rwān is<sup>2</sup> well. And Arsāč  
 (6) in Kačān is well. And, Sir, it is three years since a Sogdian  
 (7) came from "inside". Then I fitted out Ghōtamsāč. He is well.  
 (8) He went to Kwr'ynk. No one comes from there<sup>3</sup> now. I will (now) write  
 (9) (and tell) you of those Sogdians that went "inside", how they fared,  
 (10) what land(s) they reached. And, Sir, the last  
 (11) Emperor—so they say—fled from Saray because of the famine. And his  
 (12) fortified<sup>4</sup> residence (palace) and fortified town were set on fire<sup>5</sup>. The  
 (13) residence burnt down and the town was [destroyed]<sup>6</sup>. So Saray (is) no  
 more, °Ngap<sup>a</sup> no more!  
 (14) Moreover then the [ ] by the [Hū]ns.<sup>7</sup> And they

<sup>1</sup> So probably, cf. 'r-s'c, γictm-s'c (and Av. *daēno, sōē*).

<sup>2</sup> In 'yacy(y) we can now recognize an older form of Man.Sogd. 'yey (*BBB.*, 96, b 78; the etymology there proposed must be withdrawn). Reichelt's translation ("woman") not merely makes strange sense, but involves a grammatical error (*δrō'k* in the place of *δrō'ch*).

<sup>3</sup> Or "from him". The correct translation is in Reichelt's glossary, not however in his text. Instead of *en* one can also say *-nc* (in enclisis), see line 34. This *-n* is an enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. and pl.; it is often devoid of meaning (as *dativus ethicus*). Cf. here *en* "from it" 31; *-mnc* "by me from them or him" 32; *kwyδ't-n* 9, *kwyδ'wt-n* 34, *kt'mw* ZYn 10, *kt'rw* ZYn 17 in sentences in all of which the self-interest is involved, from the point of view of the subject. When it is doubled, the first is an ethical dative, while the second has the force of a full pronoun; cf. here 'WZYn-n . . . ny's'y'nt "or . . . took (for themselves) their . . ." 18.

<sup>4</sup> With some hesitation I have accepted Reichelt's explanation of *rōnk* as from *drang-*. One could refer to Skt. *draṅga* "frontier-watch station" (acc. to Stein), Niya *draṅga* which, however, is "office" acc. to Burrow, *BSOS.*, vii, 509 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Parthian 'trwšt in the inser. of Shapur, lines 5 and 12 (in Greek *καλα*, in Pahlavi 'trawšt, *BSOS.*, IX, 836). Sogd. *w'c*-, *wy't*- "emit, let"; cf. P 13, 23.

<sup>6</sup> The second letter of the word I have restored as *wy[kw]* "destroyed" is not quite certain. Should one read *w'* and restore a finite form of the stem occurring in line 15? Hence, "pillaged"?

<sup>7</sup> "Moreover then the [Emperor was taken prisoner and led into captivity] by the [Hū]ns" or some such words may well have stood in this line.

- (15) [            ] \*Khumdān, and pillaged<sup>1</sup> (the land) up to N'yn'yimh<sup>2</sup>  
 (16) and up to \*Ngap<sup>3</sup>—these<sup>3</sup> H[ū]ns who. yesterday<sup>4</sup> had been the  
       Emperor's property!<sup>5</sup>  
 (17) Then, Sir, we do not know whether the remnant<sup>6</sup> Chinese were able to  
 (18) drive those Hūns [out of] \*Khumdān (above the line: out of Činastan<sup>7</sup>)  
       or occupied their  
 (19) other land<sup>8</sup>. And . . . . in Th<sup>u</sup>rwān are one hundred noblemen<sup>9</sup>  
 (20) from Samarkand . . . . . Kanāḫ.s. . . . . in [Kačān ?] are 40 . . . men.  
 (21) And, Sir, your . . . from . . . . . It is three years  
 (22) since from "inside" . . . . . wife. Then from  
 (23) Th<sup>u</sup>rwān . . . went and reached Kemžin.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The restoration of ]r'nt kr[ as [w]r'nt kr[ is merely in the nature of a trial balloon. Unfortunately [w]r'nt does not occur elsewhere. It might belong to the stem of Av. *varsta-*, *varaiθya* (and poss. *paiti-*, *pairi-vāraya-*, Sogd. *ptw'(y)rt'k*, *BBB.*, 78, *Sogdica* 33 sq. ?). One could compare *w'r'nt kr-* with Pahl. *wly'c krt'y* "pillaged" in the inscr. of Shapur, line 14 (the explanation given in *BSOS.*, IX, 836, has now been fully confirmed by the Parthian and Greek translations discovered since). The meaning of these words is "to appropriate and take away movable goods as well as prisoners from enemy territory"; they take the name of the ravaged country as direct object; they cannot mean "to occupy an enemy country". "Pillage" and "despoil" are fairly adequate equivalents (on the understanding that human beings are included in the spoils). Contrary to the views put forward by Sprengling, *AJSL.*, lvii, 1940, 368 sq., countries are not, as a rule, "carried into captivity."

<sup>2</sup> A place-name. The reading is very uncertain. See above, p. 604, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *my* = *mē* from Old Iran. *imai*. Not to be confused with later Sogdian *my*, 'my', *BSOAS.*, XI, 476, line 19, 736.

<sup>4</sup> *'zyy myδ* (Reichelt 'nyy) = *zyyi mēδ* (as Pers. *dī-rūz*). A classic example of Sogdian -i from OIr. -ah.

<sup>5</sup> Sogdian *χεπαθ*, originally = "own, belonging", presumably conveys the idea of vassalage here.

<sup>6</sup> *wy'p'ryt-* (*vi* + *apa* + *rič-*) scarcely differed much in meaning from *p'ryt-* (*apa* + *rič-*) "left behind, remaining".

<sup>7</sup> *Činastan* here seems to mean the region around Khumdān, or at least chiefly that region, but not "China". That the original sense of that term ("the lands of 秦 Ch'in") should have been preserved till so late a date is surprising.—The remark added above the line is in the nature of a self-correction, ". . . could drive the Huns out of Khumdān—nay, even out of Činastan".

<sup>8</sup> My first translation was ". . . or the other nations possessed themselves of it (= \*Khumdān)". It may, however, be better to keep "the remnant Chinese" as the subject also of the second half of the clause, and to give full value to the ending of *n'pw* which is probably meant to indicate the accusative case. The chief difficulty lies in the meaning of *n'p-* which ordinarily is "tribe, nation, people". For instance, the *Nāf-nāmak* "list of *nāfs*" (*Sogdica*, 8) enumerates names of nations (e.g. *pārsik* "Persian"), not countries (*pārs* "Persia"). Still, it must be admitted that by translating *n'p-* as "country" (as was suggested by Reichelt) the sense is considerably improved here (as well as in line 10).

<sup>9</sup> Or "freemen", lit. "son(s) of a noble or freeman", *āzāt-piθrak* reflecting OIr. *\*āzāta-puθraka-*. Another hitherto unrecognized compound with *āzāta-* is *'zlk'r* "noble(s)" *Fragm. iia*, 25 (Reichelt, i, 59).—The passage indicates unexpectedly great strength in the Sogdian colonies in China. If there were one hundred freemen alone in Tun-huang—to whose number one has to add that of their families and slaves—the total Sogdian population of that town can have been scarcely below one thousand souls.

<sup>10</sup> It cannot be made out whether Nannai-vandak himself returned with his wife or one of his agents. In the passage not translated here there are several verbal forms in the first person

- (29) And, Sir, if I wrote (and told) you  
 (30) all the details of how China fared,<sup>1</sup> it would be (a story of) debts<sup>2</sup> and  
 woe<sup>3</sup>; you have  
 (31) no wealth from it.<sup>4</sup> And, Sir, it is eight years since I sent  
 (32) Sāyarak and Farnā . . . "inside", and three years since I  
 (33) received a reply from them—then they were well. . . . But now, since  
 (34) the last débacle occurred, I receive no reply from them (to my question)  
 how they fared.  
 (35) Furthermore, four years ago, I sent another man, Artixw-vandak<sup>5</sup> by  
 name. When the caravan (*sārtha*)  
 (36) left Kačān, he was . . . there for six months<sup>6</sup>. Then when they<sup>7</sup>  
 (37) reached Saray, the . . . s, Indians, and Sogdians there—all had  
 (38) died from hunger. Then I sent Nasyān to Th<sup>u</sup>r-wān.

(61-3) This letter was completed when it was the year thirteen of the Lord of  
 Čir-šwān, in the month of Taγmīč.

Before discussing the substance of Nanai-vandak's report, we must try to  
 identify the place-names mentioned by him. Nothing much need be said

plural; their existence could be adduced as arguing for the assumption that Nanai-vandak  
 undertook those journeys. Those sentences, however, seem to contain a general complaint of  
 the bad times—of the windy and rainy weather in Reichelt's translation—and do not necessarily  
 refer to the travels mentioned in lines 21-3. On balance it is more likely that the traveller of  
 these lines is the one referred to in lines 6/7. Nanai-vandak would hardly have said "it is three  
 years since a Sogdian came from inside", if he had been that Sogdian himself. The question  
 is important for determining the place where N. wrote the letter.—Lines 23, 2nd half, to 29,  
 1st half, have been omitted here chiefly because I do not understand them; also, they do not  
 seem to contribute to the solving of our problem.

<sup>1</sup> The implication is: "what happened to the China trade".

<sup>2</sup> *pār* = Av. *pāra* "guilt", Pashto *pār* "debt". It occurs also as *p'rh*. So in iii, 35, where  
 Reichelt read *w'rh*: "through the guilt of Farnxund, or through his debts, we have become the  
 servants of Chinamen, I as well as my mother." Further in i, 9, "I live in the deepest distress,  
 without clothes, without food. I try to obtain a loan (*xps'm p'rh*, R. *xw'n'm p'nh*), but every one  
 refuses to give me one" (*nm*, R. "Fīz", is finite verb, from *nm-* "to agree, engage to do  
 something, submit (lit. bend)", with *L'* "to refuse", cf. *L' nm'w* i, 6, "I shall refuse,"  
 R. "Prügel"; *nm't š'rt* iii, 8; *nm[š]* iii, 11; further *nm'*, *BSOAS.*, XI, 472, line 8).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly = Buddh. *zrmā*, *VJ.*, 399; *zrm'w'nt*, *ibid.*, 213.

<sup>4</sup> Probably = "the China branch of your business is completely ruined; your (former)  
 wealth from it = the China trade is no more". Scarcely = "you would have no profit from  
 my giving you a fuller account of recent Chinese history".

<sup>5</sup> The name means "slave of (Av.) *Ašiš-vayuhī*". The name of the goddess is spelt *'rtuy*,  
*'rtuy* in the later Sogdian, see *Orientalia*, viii (1939), 92.

<sup>6</sup> A gap makes it impossible to decide which of the following two meanings should be attributed  
 to the sentence. (1) "A. travelled with a caravan up to Kačān, but when the caravan  
 went on, he had to stay there = in Kačān for six months, because he was ill or imprisoned."  
 (2) "A. was on the road there = with the caravan for six months—an abnormally long time for  
 the distance from K. to Saray; it demonstrates the state China was in four years ago."

<sup>7</sup> A. and his party, or the caravan of line 35 with which A. travelled?

nowadays about *Sary* = *Saray* = *Lo-yang* (near mod. Ho-nan-fu) and *'xwmi'n* = \**Khumdān* (with a Sogdian prothetic vowel), otherwise *Khumdān*<sup>1</sup> = *Ch'ang-an* (mod. Hsi-an-fu). Neither name has so far been explained satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup> I am all the better pleased at being able to quote Professor Haloun's views on the origin of one of them:—

"*Khumdān*, I suspect, represents 咸陽 *Hsien-yang*, the name of the capital of the Ch'in empire since 350 B.C., which lay immediately to the north of *Ch'ang-an* across the Wei river. *Hsien-yang*, Middle Chinese *ɣəm-iañ*, was \**g'em-diañ* in Ancient Chinese, which appears to correspond sufficiently closely with *ɣum-dān* (as to the final -ñ [ŋ], cf. *δw'n*—*Θρωα*—*Tun-huañ* and the names discussed below under *Kc'n* and *Kmzyn*). One would have to assume that this appellation was continued in use and applied to *Ch'ang-an* when that town supplanted *Hsien-yang* as the capital (of the Han Empire) in 200 B.C.—but was not the name of *Ch'in* (*Čynstn*) also so retained, as the name of the whole country, after the fall of the Ch'in dynasty? Did these names, probably both together, reach the Sogdians through intermediaries or result from direct intercourse? The latter, and with it perhaps not inconsiderable trade, is strongly suggested on the one hand by the influx into China of Indo-Iranian concepts in the course of the fourth and third centuries before our era (see Conrady, *ZDMG.*, 1906; Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 607 sqq.), on the other by the use of Chinese nickel alloys in the Greco-Bactrian coinage of the early second century (Tarn, p. 87)."

Together with *Saray* a place *'nkp'* is named, line 13. It is evident from the context that this must have been a town comparable in importance to *Lo-yang* (the capital of the Former Chin dynasty) itself. From lines 15/6 we learn that *'nkp'* and another locality whose name cannot be deciphered (*n'yn'ymlh*?) were considerable places reached by the Hsiung-nu in their campaign of devastation. The passage seems to imply that *'nkp'* was destroyed on that occasion, but it is not explicitly said. At any rate, *'nkp'*, like *Lo-yang*, "is no more" (line 13). So far the name has not been identified, chiefly, I suppose, because of the misleading spelling which inevitably suggests \**Ank-pa*, \**Ang-pa* or the like. Pelliot, loc. cit., 458, operated with \**Angpa* and could not explain it. I asked several eminent Sinologists what *Angpa* could be: it is natural that they could not give an answer to a question that had been put so utterly wrongly! To find the corresponding Chinese name one has to remember the Sogdian transliteration *ɣ'y 'nkweyn* (Reichelt, ii, 70, 34) of 開元

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 726.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Schäder, *Iranica*, 48 sq. The spelling *ɣwmδ'n*, quoted by him from the Sogdian inscr. of Karabalgasun (p. 45) does not in fact exist. In his edition of that inscription Hansen gave *mwmδk* (p. 21, fragm. 7, line 6), but being at a loss to account for such a word suggested timidly (pp. 36 sq.) that one could perhaps read *ɣwmδ'n* instead, *was sehr fraglich ist*. It is out of the question by reason of the apparently assured -δ.—Schäder quotes neither the *Kumudana* of the *Fan-yü-tai-ming*, fol. 39b (Bagchi, *Deux lex.*, i, 1929, 78, 295) nor, of course, the *'xwmi'n* of our Letter.

K'ai-yüan, Middle Chinese *k'ai-ngi<sup>2</sup>vm*, which shows that the Sogdians inconveniently transliterated a foreign initial guttural nasal by 'nk'; no doubt they were unable or too lazy to produce such a sound and so said *ny* or *nyg* or even *nyg* instead. As soon as one realizes that 'nkp' represents *yapa*, or rather, as the final *-a* is likely to be a Sogdian ending, *yap-*, one sees that 鄯 *Yeh* is meant. *Yeh* (near mod. Chang-tê-fu, in Ho-nan, to the north of the Huang-ho) was one of the chief towns of Northern China; several dynasties used it as their capital city (so the Wei, 220-264, as one of several capitals; the Later Chao, a Hsiung-nu dynasty, from 330; the Eastern Wei, a remnant of the T'o-pa, 534-549). The Middle Chinese pronunciation of 鄯 was 魚怯 (*ngi<sup>2</sup>o + k'ip*) = *ngi<sup>2</sup>ip* [*y(i)ip*].

China itself not only appears as *cynstn* = *Čīnastan* (see p. 606, n. 7), but is also referred to as "inside", cf. Reichelt, p. 13, n. 9; whether the whole of China or merely a certain part of it is included in this term is not clear. Professor Haloun kindly suggests that it may perhaps imitate the Chinese 內 *nei* "inside", an elliptic designation of the Chinese home-country current in contemporaneous sources.

Turning now to the West, we have a firm point in *šrw'n* = *Th<sup>2</sup>ruān* = Ptolemy's *Θροάνα* = Tun-huang. The town next in importance to Tun-huang, from the point of view of the Sogdian merchants—judging merely by the numbers of times the various towns are mentioned in the Letters—was *Kc'n*, *Kc''n*. Reichelt thought it might be Kao-ch'ang in the Turfan oasis; to Pelliot this identification seemed *plus douteux, sans être impossible* (loc. cit., 460, cf. also *T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 140); in my view it cannot be maintained. All the passages in the Sogdian Letters point to its situation to the east of Tun-huang, somewhere on the great trade route leading from that town to the Chinese capitals. Letter No. v shows clearly that *Kc'n* was a great trading centre where the Sogdians disposed of the wares they had carried through the desert from the West and bought the silks and other articles they wished to take to Samarkand; Kao-ch'ang can scarcely be so described! The Sogdian Letters were found together a little to the west of Tun-huang, on the road to Lou-lan. Some were written in Tun-huang, one at least (v) in *Kc'n*. Evidently the letters the Sogdians in Western China wrote to their home country were gradually brought to the westernmost town, i.e. Tun-huang, where they accumulated until a caravan left for Samarkand. It is unlikely in the extreme that a man sitting in Kao-ch'ang would send a letter to Tun-huang to catch the post to Samarkand—five degrees of longitude to the east.

For all these reasons I have long suspected that *Kc'n* is 姑臧 *Ku-tsang* = Liang-chou-fu; the Sogdian letter *-c-* stands for *-č-* and *-c-* ("ts"); as to the finals, cf. *šrw]'n*: *Tun-hu]ang*, or *γ'n*: *k'ang* (above, p. 603, n. 2). At the beginning of the fourth century *Ku-tsang* was the leading Chinese town to the west of the Huang-ho. It was the residence of Chang Kuei, the governor of the province of Liang (301-314), which at that time included Tun-huang (as well as the oasis of Turfan). Presently it was to become the capital of several

Liang dynasties (Former Liang, 317-376, founded by Chang Kuei's son Shih; Later Liang, 386-403; etc.). Every Sogdian entering China had to pass through it. Moreover it is known from Chinese sources that it was a town frequented by Sogdians. In a passage of the *Pei-shih*, recently treated by O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Byzantion*, xvii, 1944-5, 226 sqq., we read "Merchants of Su-tê (= Sogd) used to go in great numbers to the region of Liang, but on the capture of Ku-tsang (439) all of them were taken prisoners. At the beginning of the period Wên-ch'êng (452-465) the king of Su-tê sent an envoy to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order."

This identification is confirmed by the itinerary Činānčkath (Kao-ch'ang)-Khumdān which was contained in Jāihānī's lost work and is known to us from Gardezi and—though not in the form of an itinerary—the *Hudūdū 'l'Ālam* (tr. Minorsky, 84-5, 229-230). Here the stage named immediately after Kan-chou is كَان (Gard.), كَان (Hud.)—the second spelling, which is the only correct one, is identical with the Sogdian spelling. As the first important town reached after leaving Kan-chou is Ku-tsang, its identity with كَان cannot seriously be doubted.

Reichelt found not only Kao-ch'ang, but the neighbouring oasis of Ha-mi/Qomul as well mentioned in our Letter, in the guise of *km'yδ*, line 23. This was approved by Pelliot, loc. cit., 460. One asks oneself in vain why these Sogdian merchants, supposedly engaged in the China trade, should have gone to such outlying starved desert places where nothing worth mentioning was ever produced. Here, however, Reichelt's reading was wrong: it is clearly *kmny./kmzy.*, see above, p. 604, n. 11; the presumed resemblance to Qomul therewith disappears.

There is little doubt that, as in the case of *Kc'n*, this place, too, should be looked for on the caravan route linking Tun-huang with the interior of China. I put the problem to Professor Haloun, who was able to identify the name without a moment's hesitation: it represents 金城 *Chin-ch'êng*, Middle Chin. *kīəm-čīāŋ*. *Chin-ch'êng* was the great fortress town that covered the crossing of the Huang-ho. Situated on the right bank of the river (near mod. Lan-chou-fu), it was the first important town of China proper that the traveller from the West reached. A foreign merchant could scarcely find a place better suited to his requirements. A re-examination of the photograph shows that the last, somewhat shadowy letter is in fact *-n*. Hence, we read *Kmzy(n)*, which a Sogdian may have pronounced *Kemžin* (note that here again the final Chinese *ŋ* ["ng"] appears as *-n*).

The place mentioned in line 8, *Kwr'yŋk*, was probably another town on the road to China, presumably to the east of *Kemžin*. Nanai-vandak throughout complains of being cut off from "inside"; he states that he cannot get into touch with his agent in *Kwr'yŋk*; hence, one might argue, *Kwr'yŋk* lay "inside" or even beyond. Reichelt, on the contrary, identified the name with that of *Krorayina/Lou-lan*. Yet it is unlikely that traffic to *Lou-lan* was



subjected to more than ordinary difficulties at that time; indeed, from iii, 7, one learns that during the three years preceding the dispatch of the Letters the road to the West (on which Lou-lan was the first considerable stage) was open not less than five times. Moreover, Lou-lan is spelt *kr'wr'n* = *Krōrān* in vi, 5. Surely the Sogdians must have adopted a standard spelling for the names of the more important places? Had they allowed themselves such vagaries as writing *kw'ynk* and *kr'wr'n* indiscriminately, the unfortunate addressees of these Letters—to say nothing of us—would have had no chance of understanding what their correspondents were talking about. As a vehicle of communicating foreign, above all Chinese, names the Sogdian script may well claim to be the worst imaginable, even without the complication of vacillating orthography.

Another place-name, probably, is *čyrδsw'n* in the date. *MR'Y*, the ideogram for "master, overlord, prince" (presumably representing *xwt'w'*<sup>1</sup>), is elsewhere preceded by a place-name (or an adjective derived from a place-name). So in the Mugh letters the official style of King Dēwāštīč is *šγwδdyk MLK' sm'rkndc MR'Y dyw'štyc* "Sogdian King, Prince of Samarkand, D." If we may rely on analogy and so regard *čyrδsw'n* as the name of a town, one lying in the region from which Nanai-vandak sent his letter (between Tun-huang and the Huang-ho), can we help thinking of the old name of Su-chou, 酒泉 Chiu-ch'üan, Middle Chin. *Tsišū-dz'i'wān*? This over-vowelled monster may have been heard as \**Ci-δswan* by the Sogdians who then may have yielded to temptation and inserted an unetymological *-r-* (as they did frequently, see *BSOS.*, IX, 570); the resulting \**ci'-δswan* seems to be adequately expressed by the Sogdian letters *čyrδsw'n* (the letter *-c-* = the sound *-c-* ["*ts*"] as in *Kc'n*).

Who then was this "Prince" or "Overlord" of Su-chou by whose years Nanai-vandak dated his letter? Only one answer seems possible: the above-mentioned governor-general of the province of Liang, Chang Kuei. He had been appointed in 301 and died in 314 (on the 8th July); his 13th year thus coincides with 313. While this date appears to agree well with the other data derivable from our Letter, it cannot be denied that the view presented here is scarcely more than a *pis aller*. No objection can be raised to the assumption that foreigners living in Su-chou or Tun-huang dated by the years of Chang Kuei; on 6th June, 313, even a Chinese may have been excused for not knowing who the legal Emperor was; in the eyes of foreigners coming from the West Chang Kuei, though a loyal servant of the Chin, must have seemed a ruler of great authority—he certainly was the leading representative of Chinese might to the west of the Huang-ho. What, however, is strange is that he should be called "the Overlord of Su-chou"—why Su-chou<sup>2</sup> and not, e.g., Ku-tsang?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schäder, *Ung. Jahrb.*, xv, 575, n. 5. Schäder thinks *čyrδsw'n* is a personal name, but gives no reason for this view.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Haloun (who disapproves of my explanation) points out that a prefect of Chiu-ch'üan, 張鎮 Chang Chên by name, is mentioned as having been involved in intrigues against Chang Kuei in 308. He was probably removed from his office at that time, and so whoever was prefect of Su-chou in 311 or a year or so later cannot have been in his 13th year of office.

Presumably because Nanai-vandak resided in Su-chou; he lived certainly to the west of the Huang-ho, but neither in Tun-huang nor in Ku-tsang. The Mugh letters show that the Sogdians were in the habit of calling their ruler the *MR'Y* of a town (in addition, it is true, to giving them a wider title); may not the Sogdians of Su-chou have done the same? <sup>1</sup>

Having dealt with the place-names we can now briefly review the relevant events of Chinese history to which the Sogdian Letter appears to refer. At the beginning of the fourth century we find the southern branch of the Hsiung-nu, admitted into Chinese territory *comme fédérés, comme troupes au service de l'empereur* <sup>2</sup>, in occupation chiefly of mod. Shan-si, with their centre first in T'ai-yüan, then in P'ing-yang. Taking advantage of the conditions of chronic famine and revolt that characterized the rule of the Chin emperor Huai-ti (beg. 307), the Hsiung-nu *shang-yü* Liu Yüan proclaimed himself Chinese Emperor in 308. His son 劉聰 Liu Ts'ung, who succeeded him in 310, *fut l'Attila de la Chine* <sup>3</sup>.

A minor effect of the troubled conditions, one that was not primarily connected with the activities of the Hsiung-nu, was the destruction of Yeh in 307. In the 5th month of that year (= 17th June-16th July) insurgents led by one 汲桑 Chi Sang captured the town, burnt its famous palaces—they burned for over a week—killed more than ten thousand people, and, after plundering the city, withdrew to the south-east. Even at that moment it could well be said that "Yeh is no more".

The famine was, even for China, abnormally severe. <sup>4</sup> *La saison ayant été très mauvaise dans le territoire de Loh-yáng, les denrées devinrent si rares que le peuple, pendant cette affreuse disette, en vint jusqu'à manger de la chair humaine, et que les mandarins, ne pouvant plus y subsister, en sortirent presque tous pour aller ailleurs. L'Empereur fut lui-même sur le point d'abandonner la ville.* <sup>5</sup>

The final catastrophe took place in 311. The capital (Lo-yang), which had been deserted by the army, was invested by the Hsiung-nu. The Emperor had wanted to leave it, but had missed the opportunity. On the 13th July Lo-yang was stormed; the Emperor, Huai-ti, hoping to establish himself in Ch'ang-an, tries to flee, but is immediately captured and carried off to P'ing-yang. The

<sup>1</sup> No good alternative explanation is at hand. *Mr'y* is conceivably an Iranian word for "number" (it does not occur), and *cyrδs-* could be the (unattested) Sogdian word for "14" (this would leave *-w'n* unaccounted for). However, to operate with "the 13th year of the 14th number = period (?)" is useless. The nearest 13th year of the sexagesimal cycle is 316, but the number of the cycle in the most widely used system of chronology is fifty (and in none fourteen). *Cyrδw'n* fits no known name of a ruler or *sien-kao*.

<sup>2</sup> R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 96. Cf. Sogdian Letter, line 16.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sogdian Letter, lines 37-8.

<sup>5</sup> A. des Michels, *Hist. Géogr. des Seize Royaumes*, notes du comm., p. iv. Cf. Sogd. Lett., line 11. The verb, *'gr'št*, means "fled", not "*weggegangen*", cf. iii, 33, "Farnxund absconded: the Chinese sought him (*xyzy'nt*), but did not find him (*βyr'gnt*)."  
Chr. Sogd. *pršty* [read *pršty*?], S.T., ii; *pršy*, George, 284; Yaghobi *apirēš*, *apiraiš*, *GrIrPhil.*, i, 2, 335, all = "flee". From *apa-raz-* (Skt. *raḥ-*, OPers. *rad-*, MPers. *raštan*, NPers. *rastan*).

palaces are burnt, the town is sacked and completely destroyed. It remained deserted until the Yüan Wei (T'o-pa) decided to make it their capital again (city walls built in 493, rebuilding of the palaces completed in 502).

Yeh, or what remained of that town (which was an important fortress), was at that time commanded by Liu Yin, a Chin general. The Hsiung-nu, under Shih Leh, attacked him in the 6th month (beg. 20th July) of 312, but failed to take the town. It was captured and sacked only in the 4th month (12th May-9th June) of the next year, by Shih Hu, who by his cruelty and blood-thirstiness evoked the disgust of even Hsiung-nu generals.

Immediately after the destruction of Lo-yang the Hsiung-nu initiated a great attack on Ch'ang-an (311, 8th month = 31st August-28th September), which was in the hands of Prince Mu, the Governor and C.-in-C. of all N.W. provinces. Having taken T'ung-kuan, the main fortress guarding the entry into the Wei valley, and defeated Mu's troops there, they advance to Hsia-kua. The general commanding the garrison troops of Ch'ang-an, Pei-kung Ch'un, who leads the auxiliaries sent by Chang Kuei from Liang-chou, leaves the town and surrenders. Prince Mu, thus abandoned by his soldiers, follows his example, and Ch'ang-an falls into Hsiung-nu hands.

In the 10th month (29th October-26th November) the prefects of three adjoining prefectures collect an army and defeat the Hsiung-nu before the gates of Ch'ang-an, but they succeed in holding the city. In 312, 3rd month (23rd April-21st May), Chang Kuei rushes troops to the East for its recapture. In the 4th month (22nd May-19th June) the allied Chinese relief troops at last force the Hsiung-nu, under Liu Yau, to abandon Ch'ang-an. They retire to their dominions to the east of the Huang-ho, not without removing 80,000 people from the city.

Prince Yeh (a nephew of Huai-ti), who had been proclaimed Regent after the fall of Lo-yang, now enters Ch'ang-an. He assumes the title of "Heir Presumptive" in the 9th month (17th October-15th November), 312. After the death of Huai-ti, which occurred in the 2nd month (14th March-11th April) of 313, Prince Yeh, the future Min-ti, ascends the throne in Ch'ang-an (4th month = 12th May-9th June). That month is marked by a minor attack on the city by Liu Yau, who again appears before it in the 10th month (5th November-3rd December), enters and burns the suburbs, but is defeated in the following month and withdraws. There is no point in pursuing this sad history any further here.

Nanai-vandak's report agrees with these events in all important details: the enemies are the Hün; the war is concerned chiefly with the three cities of Saray, \*Khumdān, and \*Ngap\*; Saray is completely ruined; the terrible famine; the Emperor's flight, and possibly his capture (line 14?). Taken one by one, these details are recurring features of Chinese history; but in their totality the points of agreement are too numerous to allow of any doubt: the report refers to 311. We may, however, go a little further and try to determine the precise date.

The Sogdian month *Tym'yc* (= Persian *Dai*)<sup>1</sup> corresponds to 7th June–6th July in 311, to 6th June–5th July in 312, 313, 314. The year 311 is too early; for Lo-yang was taken only on 13th July. The year 314 is too late; for at that time Min-ti had occupied the throne for over a year, so that Nanai-vandak could not well talk of Huai-ti as the “last Emperor”; Min-ti was strongly supported by Chang Kuei in whose territory Nanai-vandak lived. We are thus left with either 312 or 313.

Here the choice is far more difficult. It depends above all on the assessment of the sources on which Nanai-vandak relied and the speed with which news reached his ears. On the assumption that he lived in Su-chou, there were eight hundred miles of war-torn and completely disorganized territory between himself and Lo-yang. From his own agents he had heard nothing for three years. Even though Chang Kuei, the mainstay of the Chin, was doubtless well informed of the latest events, accurate knowledge was scarcely accessible to a foreigner in Su-chou who had been deprived of his normal news supply. Even taking into account the influx of numberless refugees, the time-lag between any event and the moment it became known to Nanai-vandak (who presumably endeavoured to check rumours) was in all likelihood scarcely less than a full year.

His information corresponds fairly exactly to the true position existing in June, 312, when the fate of Ch'ang-an was in the balance. Allowing for the time-lag, we obtain June, 313, as the date of the letter. In that month Nanai-vandak can hardly have known yet of Min-ti's accession; he should perhaps have heard that Ch'ang-an had been recaptured: the fight for that city, however, went on (with interruptions) until it was again taken by the Hsiung-nu in 316. It cannot be made out whether he had heard of the death of Huai-ti. His information on the fate of \*Ngap<sup>a</sup> provides no conclusive date—there seems to be a reminiscence of the events of 307— but apparently he knew that the city was attacked by the Hsiung-nu; that attack took place after the end of the *Tym'yc* of 312. Of its final capture, which occurred in a month that overlapped—by four days—with the *Tym'yc* of 313, he can scarcely have been aware; unless one were to assume that his sources of information were extraordinarily accurate and speedy, which assumption would not square with his hesitation in the case of Ch'ang-an.

On all counts June, 313, seems the best date. It agrees well also with the repeated statement that all traffic with the heart of China was interrupted “three years ago”, hardly long before the capture of Lo-yang. Three and a half years ago the famine had reached its height in the capital (lines 35–8); the wealthy foreign merchants, who no doubt knew their way about the “black market”, are not likely to have been the first victims. Is it then an accident that the June of 313 falls within the *thirteenth* year of Chang Kuei, the ruler of all Chinese lands to the west of the Huang-ho where Nanai-vandak

<sup>1</sup> The first day of *Tym'yc* is the 271st day of the Sogdian year; the first day of the Sogdian year fell on 10th September in 310 and 311, on 9th September in 312–15.

lived, and that a *thirteenth* year is mentioned in the date affixed to his letter?

As all the Letters no doubt belong to the same year, or to two successive years—the one dated in the 10th month probably belongs to the Chinese year preceding 313—we can tentatively assign the following dates to them:<sup>1</sup>—

Letter iv	15.10.	30th November, 312
Letter iii	10.3.	21st April, 313
Letter v	30.3.	11th May, 313
Letter ii	<i>Tym'yeh</i>	6th June–5th July, 313

It remains to say a few words on the names used in the Sogdian Letter for the Chinese and Hsiung-nu. It is obvious that as *cynstn* = *Čīnastan* is “the land of 秦 Ch'in”, so *cyn* = *Čīn* is “the people of Ch'in” = “the Chinese”; it occurs five times in Letter No. iii<sup>2</sup>, but was not recognized by Reichelt. Of far greater interest is *xwn* = Hsiung-nu; the first letter, by origin the Aramaic *hēth*, serves in Sogdian, a language devoid of the sound *h*, to represent not merely the indigenous *x* (*χ*)—voiceless guttural continuant—but also any kind of foreign *h*-sound (occasionally also the Chinese *k'*). Thus *xwn* can be read as *Hun* or *Hūn* or *Xun* or *Xūn*. In recent years there has been some considerable reaction, led by O. Maenchen-Helfen<sup>3</sup>, against the firmly established but possibly naïve belief in the identity—in whatever terms conceived—of the *Hsiung-nu* of the Far East with the *Hunni* of Europe (with the Indian *Hūna* coming in as a weak third); much doubt has been thrown on the identity of even the names. Yet here we find a name that is indistinguishable from that of the *Hūna*, *Oḡvvoī*, *Hunni*, Arm. *Hon-k'*, Saka *Huna*, Khwarezmian *هون Hūn*<sup>4</sup>, employed not of nomads of vague definition, but actually of the genuine Far-Eastern Hsiung-nu. And, what is more remarkable still, this name, unlike that found in the Saka *Lehrgedicht*<sup>5</sup>, was in use well before the time when either the European *Huns* or the tribes that became known as *Hūna* to the Indians made their first appearance in history.

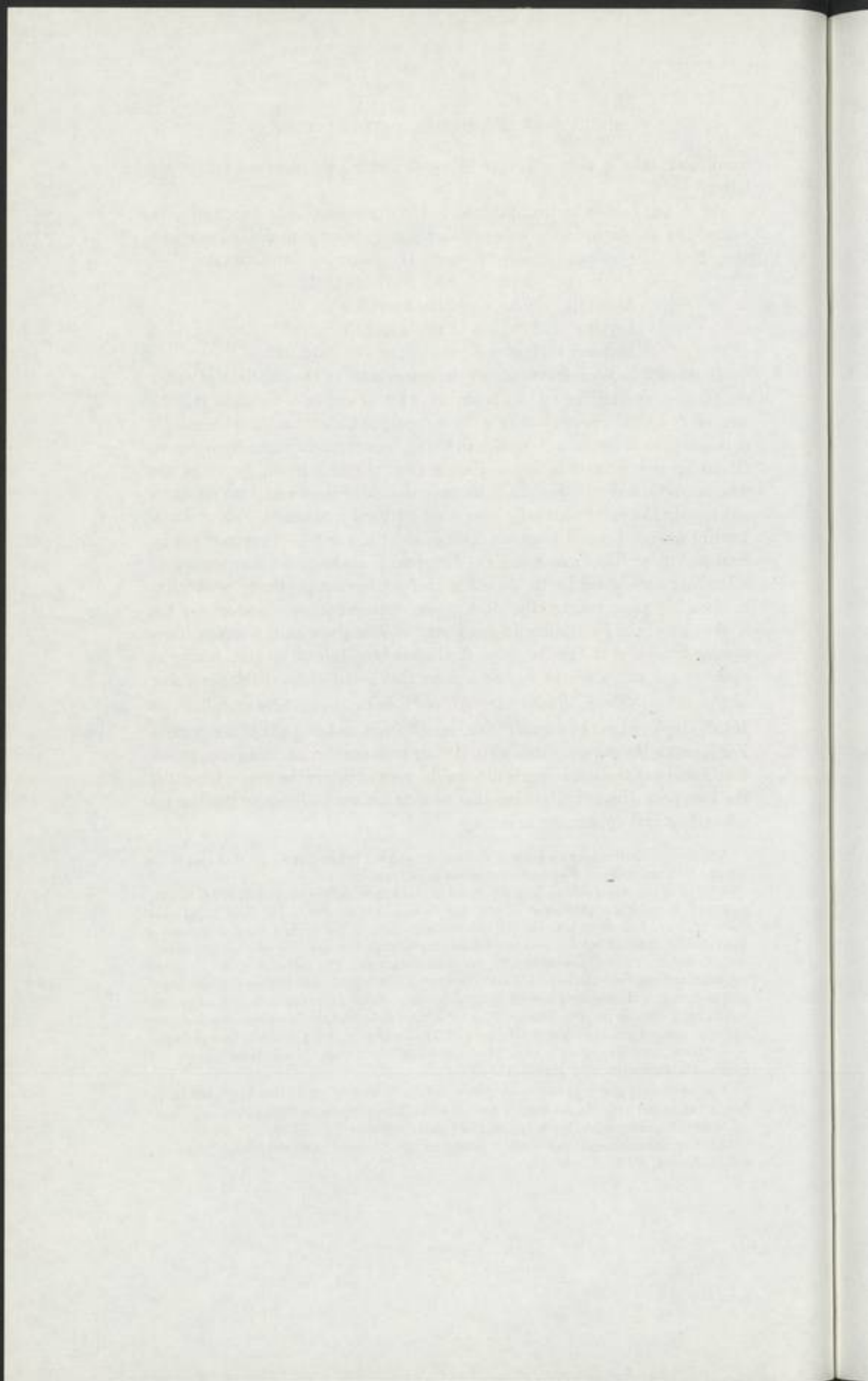
<sup>1</sup> The other Letters bear no dates or no complete dates. It is taken for granted that those months that are designated by ordinal numbers are Chinese months.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the passages have been translated in this article, so line 34, p. 612, n. 5; line 35, p. 607, n. 2. *cy[n]y δ[yh]* also in iii, 16; *cyn* in line 17 is not yet clear. Line 20 “I shall (have to) learn how to be polite to the Chinese”—plainly, to the writer's mind, a fate worse than death. Reichelt has not well understood this letter, which must be read in conjunction with Letter No. i; both are written by the same woman (No. i to her mother, No. iii to her husband) and deal with the same matters. Her husband, Nanai-šāt, had left her without money in Tun-huang, and now she has been reduced to the ultimate ignominy of having to go into service with Chinese people. While writing (or rather, dictating) the letter she becomes more and more enraged, and ends up with the words “I'd rather be a dog's or a pig's wife than yours!”

<sup>3</sup> “Huns and Hsiung-nu” and “The Legend of the Origin of the Huns” (with full references), *Byzantion*, xvii, 1944–5, 222–251.

<sup>4</sup> Found only in *هونزادک hūn-zādek* “slave” (lit. “a Hun's son” or “a Hun-boy”) and *هونان hūnān* “slave-girl” (lit. “a she-Hun”; formed with a Khwar. femin. suffix *-ān*), the equivalents of Arabic *'abd* and *šāriyah*, Persian *bande* and *kanīzak* respectively.

<sup>5</sup> xvi, 9, *Huna Cingga* may mean “Hsiung-nu and Chinese”, but this cannot be proved (cf. St. Konow, *NTS.*, xi, 1938, 35).



## The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka

(PLATES 1 & 2)

SEVERAL years before the war a photograph of a stone inscription in Aramaic letters was published in the Persian language periodical *Kabul* (vol. ii, 1932, p. 413). The following note (in Persian), printed below the photograph, constitutes the whole of our information on the material, history, and provenance of the inscription:—

“A historical inscribed stone: A few years ago a broken stone tablet (*lauhe*) with ancient Sanskrit writing was procured in the neighbourhood of Pul-i Darunta, Laghmān, and entrusted to Kabul Museum. So far its contents have not been read and understood. The original of the above (depicted) stone is in Kabul Museum.”

Laghmān, older *Lamγān* (from *Lambayān* < \**Lampakāna*),<sup>1</sup> is the name of a district on the left (northern) bank of the Kabul river, a little above Jalalabad; it comprises the valleys of the Lower Alingār and Ališang.<sup>2</sup> This district, whose name is familiar to Sanskritists as *Lampāka* (also *Lambāka*), was traditionally regarded as part of the Indian borderlands, the ultima Thule of *Jambudvīpa*. Cf. *Mémoires de Hiouen-thsang*, i, 55, “*en partant de ce royaume (= Kāpiśī), il . . . franchit les montagnes noires, entra dans les frontières de l'Inde du nord, et arriva au royaume de Lan-po*”. Cf. also *Lampāka* in the Yakṣa catalogue of the Mahāmāyūrī, and further H. Lüders, *SbPAW.*, 1930, 43, 48, 51, 63. One may presume that the traditional view reflects the conditions prevailing under the Maurya dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription was made known in Europe by Professor Morgenstierne, who, on finding that the alphabet was Aramaic, asked H. Birkeland to publish it. He, in his turn, recognized a number of words as Aramaic, but saw that others belonged to an unknown language (*Acta Orientalia*, xvi, 1938, 222–233). These he suspected to be Iranian. One of them, that appears not less than five times in the very short inscription, שִׁיטִי *shyty*, was tentatively explained by Morgenstierne as Oīran. \**sahayati* or early Middle Iranian \**sahēti*, to

<sup>1</sup> Suffix -akān(a) as in many Iranian place-names. \**Lampa* or *Lamba* may have been a tribal name. Cf. also the form used by al-Biruni, [كَلْبَك] or [كَلْبَا] = *Lambakā/Lambagā*, *India*, 130, 206 (= transl. i, 259; ii, 9); *Qānān Mas'ūdi*, ed. Zeki Validi, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> The hamlet of *Darunta* itself, however, as M. Raoul Curiel, of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, assures me, is on the right bank of the Kabul river. The precise finding-place is apparently unknown.

<sup>3</sup> If the inscription under discussion must indeed be ascribed to Asoka, there can be no doubt any longer that *Lampāka* (and, with it, *Nagarāhāra*) belonged to his empire. Dr. Tarn assumed that *Lampāka* had remained in Greek hands since Alexander's time (*Greeks in Bactria*, 96 sq.), and put the frontier between the Greeks and Candragupta along the Kunār river (*ibid.*, 100).

correspond to Old Persian *θātiy* (from \**sahati*) "he says" (p. 233, n. 1). Birkeland recalled the only other Aramaic inscription known from India, that discovered by Sir John Marshall at Taxila, which most scholars now attribute to Asoka's reign, but thought that for reasons of palaeography the new inscription belonged to an earlier date, probably late Achaemenian times. Several improvements on Birkeland's readings were suggested by F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaisische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, 33 sq.<sup>1</sup>

The study of the inscription was then taken up by F. Altheim, who recently devoted a long chapter to it in his *Weltgeschichte Asiens im Griechischen Zeitalter*, vol. i (Halle, 1947), 25-43.<sup>2</sup> He unhesitatingly ascribed it to Asoka himself and regarded it as one of the *dhamma-thambhāni* "pillars of morality" mentioned in the Delhi-Topra Edict, vii, 23 (p. 132, ed. Hultsch). The unknown words he explained as Iranian, as belonging to the local Iranian dialect, which he thought was identical with or closely related to the language of the Avesta. "*Beide Sprachen, iranisch und aramäisch, verteilen sich derart auf der Inschrift, dass die erste für den einleitenden Satz, die zweite für das königliche Reskript verwandt war*" (p. 30).

In the one essential point, the attribution to Asoka, I am entirely in agreement with Professor Altheim. It is only proper that I should pay tribute to the ingenuity displayed by him in putting the inscription into its true historical context, all the more so as I find myself disagreeing with him on nearly all the other points. First and foremost, I cannot admit that there is a single Iranian word in the inscription. The readings on which Professor Altheim based his Iranian interpretation are, in my view, incorrect throughout. The far-reaching conclusions he has drawn, from the "*aramaisch-avestischen Inschrift*", for the history of the Avesta cannot stand.

The reading given by Birkeland and Rosenthal is substantially correct. The one point to be criticized in Birkeland's transliteration is his confusion of *d/r*, *w*, and *n*. The last word in the inscription, *hwd'n* (Rosenthal), shows how these letters were in fact distinguished: *w* is a simple right angle,  $\gamma$ , *d/r* is a double right angle,  $\uparrow$  (sometimes notched at the top,  $\uparrow$ ), while *n* has a narrower top than *d/r* and a longer down-stroke than either *w* or *d/r*,  $\uparrow$ . Noteworthy is the tendency to distinguish final letters from their peers by making them a little larger than the others (chiefly by prolonging the down-strokes); thus final *-s* in lines 4 and 6 (note *'bhysyts shyty*), final *-b* in line 7 (*lmktb* as against *b'm*), final *-n* twice in line 8 (as against e.g. *l'nš* in line 2), and possibly final *-'* in lines 1 and 3. All lines are incomplete at both sides, except the last, of which the end is preserved.

<sup>1</sup> This book has not been accessible to me. However, I have been acquainted with some of his readings through a talk I had with Dr. Rosenthal a year or so before the war. He then very kindly left with me a copy of the photograph that had previously been before Professor Birkeland and himself, and thus enabled me to take an interest in the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The first three paragraphs of this chapter (pp. 25-40) have been reprinted in *Festschrift Otto Eissfeldt . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1947, pp. 29-46, under the title of "Eine neue Aśoka-Inschrift".



		Text <sup>1</sup>		
	אתא פטא	1		]t' p[
	(ר)דה לאנשו	2		](h)wh l'ns[
	טו(ת)וי סדותי לא טו	3		](t)wy shyty l' t[
	מסאתהם סדותי הו(ת)	4		]ms'rths shyty hw(t)[
	יחזה דיחדותי סדותי	5		]hzh dyhhytwy shyty[
	(ו)נפרים אנדוסיסם סדותי	6		](w)nprys 'bhysyts shyty [
	רישו סדותי שימו למכתב בעמלודא	7		]ryšw shyty symw lmkth b'm[wd'
	blank	8		]hryn hwd'n blank
	blank			blank

It will be advisable to deal with the reading and the Aramaic words first, before discussing the words in the unknown language:—

(line 1) *t'pt* Birkeland, *t'pt* Altheim. The nature of the second letter, a misshapen, oversized Alef, is not seriously in doubt; there is clear word-division. ]t' is presumably the end of a feminine noun, p[ may be the remainder of an attributive adjective. As the number of Aramaic words that begin with *pt-* is small, there is a chance of hitting on the correct restoration. A reasonable one would be [חיו]תא פט[מ]תא "living being(s) fattened . . ." (sing. or pl.) cf. פטימתא תינגולתא quoted by J. Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wb.*, iv, 27 s.v. *patim*.

(line 2) That the first word is *hwh* was already assumed by Birkeland. It may be incomplete at the beginning. One could restore [ידיע] ירהו לאנשו "let it be known to men . . .", cf. the Biblical . . . ל ידיע ליהוה. There are countless other possibilities.

(line 3) Instead of ]*twy* Birkeland read ]*twy* (with a question-mark), Altheim ]*twy* or ]*zwy*. The characteristic long down-stroke of *t* is unmistakable; there is even a trace of the shorter right-hand down-stroke. ]*twy* is the final of one of the "unknown" words; the same ending occurs in line 5 before *shyty*. At the end of the line, *t'*, with a slightly enlarged (final) Alef, is separated from *t*[. Presumably לא טוב "it is not good . . .".

(line 4) ]*mh'rths* (or -'dt- or -'kt-) Birkeland; *ms'rthnw* Altheim. The final -s, although marred by a fault in the stone, is nevertheless quite clear; cf. the final -s in line 6. That the second letter cannot be *h*,<sup>2</sup> is shown by reference to line 5 where *h* is found twice. At the end of the line, הוית (-*t* dubious) = "there was (fem.)".

(line 5) ]*hzh*, for which Altheim wrongly gives ]*hwh* as alternative, is incomplete at the beginning. Before *h* one can still see the lower end of a down-stroke, which is too short for *t* or *n*, but exactly right for *m*. Hence, [מ]חזה, or [למ]חזה. At any rate, ]*hzh* is a form of the Aramaic verb *h<sup>a</sup>zā(h)* "to see", preferably the infinitive. The second word was misread *nyhhytw'* by Birkeland,

<sup>1</sup> [Restored], (incomplete) or (uncertain) letters.

<sup>2</sup> Birkeland may have been misled by the form of *b* found in documents of much earlier date (e.g. in the papyrus published by H. Bauer and B. Meissner, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1936, 414 sqq.).

*wyshytwy* by Altheim. That the third letter is the same as in  $\text{Jhz}$  is as clear as one could wish. The confusion of  $d/r$ ,  $n$ , and  $w$  has been pointed out above; here the letter is too small for  $n$  ( $w$  is altogether out of the question). The only alternative reading that can be admitted is *ryhhytwy*.

(line 6) This line was correctly read by Birkeland, except for his overlooking the word-division (by spacing and the use of a large  $s$ ) before *'bhysyts*; there is a fault in the stone after the final  $s$  of *'bhysyts*, which must not be mistaken for a destroyed letter. Only the letter before *nprys* is doubtful; it seems to be  $w$  (hence *wnprys*), but it cannot be regarded as certain. The reading offered by Professor Altheim, *npryd'rhysyts shyty*, is unacceptable. By arbitrarily substituting  $d$  and  $r$  for  $s$  and  $b$  (perhaps the clearest letters in the whole inscription) he has discovered the name of Piyadasi-Asoka here, in the strange guise of *pyd'rhysy* = *Priyadārhisī*. Readers are requested to refer to the accompanying photograph to convince themselves of the incorrectness of the proposed changes. Professor Altheim gives us a whole page of reasons why the letter  $s$  should be read as  $d$  here (p. 27)<sup>1</sup>; but no amount of argument can change the clear facts.

(line 7) Instead of *Jryšw* Birkeland read *Jnyšw* (questioning  $n$ ), and Altheim gave *Jkyšw*, admitting *Jryšw* (or *Jdyšw*) as alternative. It is true that  $d/r$  and  $k$  are not well distinguished here; the only certain  $k$  (in *lmkbt* line 7) is somewhat larger than  $d/r$ , while the first letter in this line is rather small. Further on, after *shyty*, Birkeland read *.ml mktb b'm[wd']*, while Altheim has *šymllmktb*. The first two letters, *šy*, are clearly visible in the photograph provided by Professor Altheim, but smudged in the one on which Professor Birkeland based his reading. Dr. Rosenthal pointed out to me that the first  $l$  was misread and the second belonged to *mktb*<sup>2</sup>; he was certainly right. I do not know how he read the word before *lmkbt*, which seems to be *šymw* =  $\text{שׁוּמַו}$  3rd pers. pl. perf. pass. or 2nd pl. impv. act., "they were set to write on pillar(s)" or "set ye to write on pillar(s) . . .". The object of *šām* (or, if the form is passive, the grammatical subject) must have stood in the gap after "on pillar(s) . . ."; probably "these injunctions" (or the like). The construction of plain *šām* with an infinitive with  $l$ , apparently in the sense of  $\text{שׁוּמַו לְעֵם}$ , is perhaps slightly unusual. At least, in the admittedly very limited amount of Aramaic material known to me, it occurs in only one other passage (in an unpublished document of about 445 B.C.), which is so precisely parallel to the line under review that I cannot resist the temptation to quote it:—

וַיֵּאָתֶר עִם גִּנְוֹא זֵי מִנִּי שִׁים לְהִתִּיה בְּבֹאֵל

"and he shall come together with the treasure which was set by me to bring

<sup>1</sup> Among them is a novel explanation of the Sogdian letter  $\delta$  from Aramaic  $d$ , contrary to the well-founded opinion unanimously adopted by all those who have occupied themselves with the study of Sogdian.

<sup>2</sup> According to Altheim, p. 29, n. 31, Rosenthal threw doubt on the second  $l$  (in his book p. 34, n. 1). As the second  $l$  is in fact clearly visible, it seems possible that his remarks have been misinterpreted.

to Babylon = which I ordered to be brought to B." Hence, "[these injunctions] were set to write = ordered to be written on pillar(s) . . .".

(line 8) *hw'd'n* was found by Dr. Rosenthal. Instead of *'hryn* (which seems to be perfectly clear) both Birkeland and Altheim gave *'hryn*. It is unlikely that *'hryn* is a word for "other" (Levy, i, 58; Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wb.*, 136; Schulthess, *Lex. Syropalaestinum*, 56), which in *Reichsaramaeisch* is *'hrn* (a plural \**'hryn* "others" is possible, cf. Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, p. 50 on 15<sup>30</sup>), or that it is the adverb (?) found in *Daniel* 4, 5. Probably *'hryn* is simply 𐤆𐤍𐤏𐤍 "after us", as in *Ahikar* 63 according to some scholars. The inscription, therefore, may have ended with the words "we have made known [these injunctions for the benefit of those that will come] after us". If the lines were not too long, *'hryn hw'd'n* may have formed the end of the sentence that began with *šimū* in line 7, whence "There were ordered to be written on pillar[s of stone these injunctions which] we have made known [for the benefit of those that will come] after us".

There are thus Aramaic words in seven lines out of eight (in all except the sixth). The unknown words are restricted to groups ending with *shyty*. Parts of five such groups have been preserved in the fragment; they were separated from each other by sentences in Aramaic. The number of the unknown words before *shyty* varied; there was one only in line 5, two at least in line 6. The groups are these:—

i.	]twy	}	<i>shyty</i>
ii.	]ms'rths		
iii.	dyhhytwy		
iv.	]wnprys 'bhysyts		
v.	]ryšw		

Let us consider the endings of these strange words (leaving *shyty* aside for the present). We have *-s* three <sup>1</sup> times, *-twy* twice, *-yšw* once. As it has been claimed that the unknown words are Iranian, it should be pointed out that while *-yšw* is a common ending in Iranian (*-aišw*) and *-twy* a not so common one (*-tawai*, *-θwai*), *-s* is an altogether impossible one. No one acquainted with Iranian will ever mistake *'bhysyts* for an Iranian word. But was there not a language in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, in which all three endings were extremely common? Indeed, the endings, taken by themselves, are sufficient to prove that the "unknown" words are *Middle Indian*.

That that is so was clear to me ever since I saw the word *'bhysyts*, which is evidently Prakrit *abhisitasa* "of the anointed" (= Skt. *abhisiktasya*). This is not an artificially made-up form, but one that occurs not less than three times in the inscriptions of Asoka, in which *abhisita-* is constantly used in the dating formulas. With this in mind it is easy to complete *]wnprys* to *[dy]wnprys = Devāna-priyasa*, which in the inscriptions of Asoka serves very

<sup>1</sup> In fact, four times (as will be shown further on).

nearly as the king's name. The spelling ]w<sup>n</sup>p<sup>r</sup>ys has the additional value of determining the Prakrit dialect to which the words in the inscription belong: it is the North-Western Prakrit, for which Professor Bailey recently introduced the name of Gāndhāri (*BSOAS.*, xi, 764 sqq.). *Devanapriya-* is the spelling characteristic of the Mānsehrā Inscr., in which the genitive *Devanapriyasa* occurs thirteen times; in the Shahbazgarhi Inscr. *Devanapriya-* is more common than *Devanapria-*.

As the words of the fourth group can be traced to the inscriptions of Asoka, there is some likelihood that that will be so also in the case of the other groups. The first and fifth groups are too incomplete to be identified; ]w<sup>y</sup> is the ending of a Future Passive Participle in *-taviya* (*-taviye*), ]ryšw is a Locative Plural *-r]ešu* (e.g. *bahirešu ca nagarešu* in the Fifth Rock Edict in the Kharoṣṭhi versions); both endings are very common. The second group, ]ms'rths, can be recognized as *imasa arthasa* (*aṭhasa*) and should therefore be completed as [y]ms'rths. The words *imasa aṭhasa*, so combined, occur once (and once only) in the inscriptions, in two successive sentences at the end of the Fourth Rock Edict, immediately before the dating formula (Shahbazgarhi *imisa athrasa* and *imisa aṭhasa*, Mansehra *imasa athrasa* and e[ta]sa (?) [*athra*]sa, Girnar *imasa atha[sa]*, Dhauli *imasa aṭhasa*). They are written as a single word in the Aramaic inscription, but spelled as separate words ([y]ms = *imasa*, 'rths = *aṭhasa*). The reproduction of the Indian aspirates by consonants + h (cf. 'bhysyts) and of the Indian linguals by r + dentals conforms to later usage; whether 'rth- represents *aṭha-* or the older form *artha-* cannot of course be seen from the Aramaic spelling.

The purpose of a formula such as *Imasa-arthasa-shyty*, embedded in an Aramaic text, can be one only: it constitutes a reference to the Edict from which the preceding (or the following) Aramaic sentence was extracted. That one should have identified the various Edicts by a couple of words or so apparently chosen at random from the middle of a sentence may strike us as a little strange. The procedure commonly adopted for Papal Bulls would have been unsuitable for Asoka's Edicts; their opening words are far too stereotyped. No doubt the words that were to constitute such a reference were selected with great care: in fact, *Imasa-arthasa* is characteristic enough and excludes all doubt which Edict is the one meant.

The choice of *Devanapriyasa-abhisitasa* is decidedly a less happy one; the words that in the inscriptions immediately precede *abhisita-* (which give the regnal years) would clearly have been more characteristic! Yet even here the Edict referred to can be identified with certainty. The genitive *abhisitasa* occurs in three places. Firstly, at the end of the Fourth Rock Edict, but only in the Dhauli Inscr.; the others, including the Kharoṣṭhi versions, have *abhisitena*; moreover, that particular Edict is the one for which we have the name of *Imasa-arthasa*. Secondly, in the Fifth Pillar Edict, at the beginning and close to the end; in both cases *abhisitena* is in the majority of copies; in neither is the word coupled with *Devanapriya-*. Thirdly, in the Thirteenth

Rock Edict, in its first sentence; here all copies have the genitive *abhisitasa* (*abhiṣitaṣā*) coupled with *Devanapriyasa* (etc.). It is thus clear that the Aramaic inscription refers to the Thirteenth Rock Edict, in spite of fact that the words are given in the wrong order (*Devanapriyasa abhisitasa* instead of *-abhisitasa D.*).

The last group to be considered is the third, *dyhhytwy* (*shyty*). Here there are some difficulties. The two letters *hh* are no doubt meant to represent one of the Indian aspirates; we have met *b + h* and *t + h* for *bh* and *th* above. The only suitable aspirate is *kh*, for which, however, one would have expected *k + h* in Aramaic. On the other hand, it has been assumed before that the original aspirate *kh* was in fact pronounced as a fricative in the North-Western Prakrit (see e.g. Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. xcix); this assumption can be said to find support in the Aramaic spelling, which indicates *h'* or *χ'*. Thus *dyhhytwy* is *dekhitaviya* or *-taviye*. Here the objection can be raised that the *kh* of Prakrit *dekh-* "to see", as it is the outcome of an original *kṣ*, should not be treated in the same way as an original *kh*; it can be met by referring to *aveha* = Skt. *apekṣā* in the Kharoṣṭhi Dharmapada, C v 31, with *h* from *kkh* from *kṣ*, cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 496, 778. It is, of course, possible that a distinction was made in Aramaic script, so that the ordinary *kh* may have been expressed by the simple *h*, but a *kh* or *kkh* that corresponded to *kṣ* by *hh*. It is well known that Skt. *kṣ* does not ordinarily become (*k*)*kh* in "Gandhari", cf. Bailey, loc. cit., 770 sqq.; yet the form with *kh* is the only one found of this verb even in the Kharoṣṭhi versions of Asoka's inscriptions. The one doubtful point is whether *dekh-* or *dakh-* is the appropriate form. As a matter of fact the verb occurs only once, at the beginning of the First Rock Edict: in both Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra the first akṣara is illegible. Hultzsch gave [*da*]khati; the Aramaic spelling favours [*de*]khati.

*Dekhitaviye* does not occur in the material hitherto made known, but *dakhitaviye* does, in the Maski Rock Inscription, section F. As not fewer than seven more or less incomplete copies of this inscription are known, there can be no objection to the assumption that a Kharoṣṭhi version of it existed as well, in which the word may have been spelled *dekhitaviye*. Alternatively one may suppose that a lost Kharoṣṭhi version of the Third Pillar Edict had *dekhitaviye* in the place of *dekhiye* in the existing copies; in that short Edict *dekh-* is met with four times, and so could suitably be chosen as the characteristic word.

We have seen above (p. 82) that the Aramaic word preceding *dekhitaviye* is a form, perhaps the infinitive, of *h'zā(h)* "to see". It is scarcely accidental that two successive words, one in Aramaic, the other in Middle Indian, are found to have the same meaning. If e.g. the edict referred to is the Third Pillar Edict, any extract or abridgment will necessarily contain a form of "to see". We may infer that the *shyty*-groups referred to the preceding, not the following, Aramaic sentences.

It becomes clear now that *shyty* must mean "the preceding Aramaic sentence is extracted from, or an abridgment of, the Edict known by the name of so-and-so". There is no need to have recourse to an Iranian explanation.

The Aramaic spelling *shyty* admits many readings; there is a sufficiency of Indian words that can be represented by these five letters. A likely (possibly the most likely) reading is *sahite* = Skt. *sahitam* or *samhitam*; *-e* as ending of the neuter nominative is common in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, and regular in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions found in the districts to the west of the Indus (see Konow, loc. cit., cxii sq.); cf. *ṣahida* in the Kharoṣṭhi Dharmapada C r 9, 10. Among the meanings of the Sanskrit word one finds "composed of, connected with, accompanied by, agreeing with, conformable to, in accordance with, relating to, concerning"; most of them will do.

All the "unknown" words having been dealt with now, it remains to say a few words about the hitherto unidentified passages. Should the restoration of the first line, "living being(s) fattened . . .", happen to be the correct one, the reference could be only to the Fifth Pillar Edict, sect. G, *jīvena jīve no pūṣitaviye* "living beings must not be fed with (other) living beings". The second line, ". . . be . . . to men", is too indeterminate; one could think of e.g. the Ninth Rock Edict (*\*nāś = jana-*). The sentence concluding the inscription is not a citation from an existing inscription; in tenor it resembles the end of the Seventh Pillar Edict, "now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine), and in order that (men) may conform to it . . . this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me . . . this rescript on morality-must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration". Abridgment of his inscriptions was expressly authorized by King Asoka in the Fourteenth Rock Edict.

The words that in the original are in Middle Indian are printed in italics in the following—

#### Translation

.....living beings fattened [? with other living beings].....  
 (5th P.E.) ..... be ..... to men ..... In accordance with "to be . . ." (9th R.E. ?). It is not good ..... In accordance with "of this purpose" (4th R.E.). There was ..... to see. In accordance with "to be seen" (3rd P.E. ?) ..... In accordance with "of Devānāmpriya anointed" (13th R.E.).....  
 ..... In accordance with "[in many towns]" (5th R.E. ?). There were ordered to be written on pillar[s of stone] ..... these injunctions which] we have made known [for the benefit of those that will come] after us.

#### ADDENDUM

Since this article went to press, I have received (1) from Professor H. Birkeland a photograph (here reproduced, plate 1), which he had obtained through the good offices of M. Aimé-Giron (Cairo); (2) from M. Raoul Curiel a fresh photograph and a squeeze (see here, plate 2) taken by him from the

original in Kabul and now in possession of Professor Dupont-Sommer. My sincere thanks are due to all these scholars for their kind and generous help. I am further indebted to Professors A. Guillaume, G. Morgenstierne, and R. L. Turner, who kindly looked through my manuscript and gave me valuable advice.

Except in line 8, the new material confirms the reading given above, in particular that of the Middle Indian words; even the *w* of *ḥwṇprys* can now be regarded as assured. There are traces of one additional letter each at the ends of lines 5 and 6; in line 5 probably (*b*)[, in line 6 perhaps (')]. Line 8 must be revised; a half-destroyed letter, probably *m*, can now be seen in front of *'hryn*; the last letter of the second word is not *-n* but an enlarged (final) *-w* (the squeeze leaves no doubt on that score). The correct reading is thus:—

מֵאַחֲרֵינוּ דִרְעָ (מ) [ 8 ] (*m*)'hryn hwd'w

The first word is either "(from) after us" (מֵאַחֲרֵינוּ) with here unexpected assimilation, cf. *Jer.* x, 11, as against e.g. מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ *Ahikar* 210), or "the tardy ones" (Pa. Ptcple. Pl.). The second word can be 2nd Pl. Imp. Ha., 3rd Pl. Perf. Ha. or Ho. ("make ye known" or "they made known" or "they were made known"); as שִׁמּוֹ and דִרְעָ are probably in the same form, we can exclude the second possibility from serious consideration.

As the squeeze shows, the greatest height of the stone fragment is 10 in.; the greatest width 8 in.; the average distance from the top of a line to the top of the next  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. approximately.

[The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a single paragraph of text, possibly a page from a book or a document. The content is not discernible.]



## THE NAME OF THE "TOKHARIAN" LANGUAGE

Two words have been regarded as names of the old language of Qarašahr ("I A"), which is almost universally called "Tokharian" now. One, *ārśi*, found in documents written in that language, has been claimed as the indigenous name, used by the speakers of I A themselves; several scholars, however, foremost among them Professor H. W. Bailey, deny that *ārśi* refers to I A at all and insist that it is a foreign word, a Prakrit of Skt. *ārya-*, so that "*ārśi* language" should mean *āryabhāṣā* = Sanskrit. The other, *twryy*, known from Uigur Turkish colophons to Buddhist books, is responsible for the introduction of the name of "Tokharian"; the late Professor Sten Konow, supported by Professor Bailey and others, rejected the opinion that the language designated as *twryy* by the Uigurs was the language now named "Tokharian"; in his view, *twryy* meant an Iranian dialect, probably Khotanese Saka. It is proposed here to re-examine the colophons in which *twryy* is mentioned, without entering into the problem of *ārśi* for the present.

In an article published ten years ago<sup>1</sup> I endeavoured to settle the limits of the area in which the *twryy* language was spoken by having recourse to a geographical or political term, the "Four-*Twryy*-Land", occurring in Sogdian, Uigur, and Middle Persian sources contemporary with the Uigur colophons. It became clear that this "Four-*Twryy*-Land", presumably the home-land of the *twryy* language, lay in Chinese Turkestan, and probable that it lay "near or between Bišbaliq and Kučā" (p. 550), *i.e.*, precisely in the area where the speakers of I A lived; but the evidence remained inconclusive, chiefly because the one passage that in the nature of things could furnish proof, a paragraph in the inscription of Karabalgasun, could not be treated satisfactorily owing to the absence of a competent study on its Chinese version—may I once again appeal to Sinologists to turn their attention to that monument?

Two facts that emerged from that article may conveniently be recalled here: (1) the name of the country that has a right to the name of *Tokhar* in history, *i.e.*, the region of Balkh, was, at the time to which the Uigur colophons belong, sufficiently distinct from the name of *Twryy* to admit of

<sup>1</sup> Argi and the "Tokharians", *BSOS.*, ix, 545-71.

no confusion, (2) the second consonant in *Twγry*, which was probably pronounced *Tuγre*, was voiced ( $\gamma$ ). The tendency to confuse different names on the strength of mere surface resemblance and with little or no regard to time and space is as prominent in recent contributions to the "Tokharian" problem as it was in the earlier ones; in face of it it becomes ever more important to stress diversity rather than likeness, confine ourselves to facts, and resign speculations. That the *Tuγre* language was misnamed *Tokharian* was due to such confusion; the identification, across seven or eight hundred years and five hundred miles or more, of *Tuγre* with the name of the *Θάγουροι*<sup>1</sup> noticed by Maës (probably end of 1st century A.D.) is equally purely speculative<sup>2</sup>.

As neither the colophons nor the passages in which the "Four-*Twγry*-Land" is mentioned seemed to provide any decisive argument either way (even though the weight of evidence favoured the view that *Twγry* = I A), the problem remained undecided and the flood of ingenious hypotheses unabated<sup>3</sup>. It was with a start of surprise that a little while ago I noticed that the chief colophon, a text that has been studied and re-studied by dozens of scholars these last thirty years, did in fact contain proof beyond reasonable doubt<sup>4</sup>. This was overlooked because F. W. K. Müller, in his reading of the Uigur passage, committed a small error and all other scholars, feeling justified in taking his reading on trust, apparently omitted to check it; for the mistake is plain enough. I hasten to say that no disrespect is intended to the memory of this truly eminent scholar whose learning few, if any, can emulate. Indeed, he excelled in reading the Sogdian-Uigur cursive script, that invention of Ahriman's. Unfortunately, as all who have tried their hand at it can testify, it is impossible to transcribe a few pages in that script without going astray in some point or other. In truth, it was in a minute point that F. W. K. Müller was in error; the effect, however, on later research was considerable.

<sup>1</sup> A hypothesis to account for the resemblance was put forward in *BSOS.*, ix, 563 sq. The view now held by Professor Bailey (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 152 sq.) approximates to it.—As *Θροάνα* = Sogdian *θρωάν* (*δρωάν*), the initial of *Θάγουροι*, *Θάγουρον ὄρος*, *Θογάρα πόλις* should appear as *δ* in Sogdian; for all four names belong to one and the same report. The resemblance is thus only partial.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be feared that adventurous spirits will soon discover the hitherto happily overlooked colony which the untiring Yüe-chi/*Θάγουροι* would appear to have founded in Eastern Balochistan: Parthian *Twγrn* i.e. *Tuγrān* in the inscription of Shapur I. (line 2), beside *Twrstn* i.e. *Tuγrastān* (instead of *Tuγrastān*?) = *Τουρήνη* = MPers. *Twrstn* i.e. *Tūrastān* (line 19 = MPers. line 24; also in Pers. I 3 where *twrst* instead of *Twrstn*; Man. Parth. *Tūrān-šāh*, Armenian *Turan*, Arabic *Tūrān*). MPers. *Tūr-* is regularly developed from *Tuγr-* (by \**Tuwr-*, cf. *murw* from *muγr*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> For a list of relevant works see Bailey, *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 138 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The point was made in a paper I read to the American Oriental Society at the meeting in New York in April 1946.

We can leave aside the colophon to the Uigur *Daša-karmapatha-avadāna-mālā* (*Sb. P.A.W.*, 1918, 583; 1931, 678), which tells that that book was translated from the language of <sup>2</sup>*wkw Kwys<sup>2</sup>n* (Ökü Kūsān) into the *Twγry* language, and from that into Turkish. In view of the geographical position of the regions in which those languages were spoken (Kučā<sup>1</sup> : Qarašahr ? : Turfan) it may seem likely that the chain of translations was from Kucheans into I A, and from I A into Turkish, but it cannot be called impossible that the first translation was from Kucheans into some Iranian dialect<sup>2</sup>.

The chief text, of course, is the most elaborate among the colophons to the Uigur *Maitrisimit*, *Sb. P.A.W.*, 1916, 414, No. 48, and plate opposite p. 416. Müller read:—

*Nakridiš ulušta toymiš Aryačintri bodisvt kši ačari*  
*Āntkāk tilint(in) Toχrī tilinčā yaratmīš*  
*Il-baliqda toymīš Prtanyarakšit kši ačari*  
*Toχrī tilintin Türk tilinčā ävirmiš*  
*Maitri(s)imit nom bitig*

“The sacred book Maitreya-samiti, which the Bodhisattva guru ācārya Āryacandra, who was born in the country of *Nagaradeśa*, had composed in the *Twγry* language out of the Indian language, and which the guru ācārya Prajñārakṣita, who was born in Ilbaliq, translated from the *Twγry* language into the Turkish language.”

The mistake is in the first word, *N<sup>2</sup>kryδyš*. The letters <sup>2</sup> (Alef) and *n* are rarely distinguishable in the middle of a word, but always different from each other in initial position: here the first letter is <sup>2</sup>. Further, while *kn*, *k<sup>2</sup>*, *kr* can often be confused, the three groups are neatly distinct in this manuscript (cf. *kr* in *ykrmy* line 2; *k<sup>2</sup>* in *synk<sup>2</sup>r* lines 1 and 2, *ntk<sup>2</sup>k* line 5): here the group is *kn*. The correct reading of the name of Āryacandra's birth-place, therefore, is *kn<sup>2</sup>ryδyš*.

<sup>1</sup> Provided that <sup>2</sup>*wkw Kwys<sup>2</sup>n* had the same value as the simple *Kwys<sup>2</sup>n*. Identity of <sup>2</sup>*wkw* with the Tibetan <sup>2</sup>*O-sku* was suggested long ago (cf. *BSOS.*, ix, 560). I should hesitate to follow Professor Bailey in his proposal to compare <sup>2</sup>*wkw* further with Chinese 𠵹 and 𠵹 = *b<sup>2</sup>vk* (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 147). The only sound that is common to <sup>2</sup>*wkw* and *b<sup>2</sup>vk* is the *k*. For a Kucheans word underlying *b<sup>2</sup>vk* we should expect *\*p<sup>2</sup>q* or *\*β<sup>2</sup>q* in Uigur. Chin. *b<sup>2</sup>vk* is a monosyllable with consonantic initial: Uigur. <sup>2</sup>*wkw* is a disyllable with vocalic initial.

<sup>2</sup> We know now that translations were made from Kucheans into Sogdian, see my *Sogdica*, 59 sqq. Moreover, a fragment of the Sogdian version of this particular book could recently be identified. Its title in Sogdian was δ<sup>2</sup> šyr<sup>2</sup>krtyh “The ten good deeds”. The fragment (“T i a”), which is from the *pncmyk prwrt* “fifth *chūan*”, contains part of the story of King Kāñcanasāra (*knēns<sup>2</sup>r* in Sogdian). See Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 27 sqq.; I. J. Schmidt, *hDžais-bLun oder Der Weise und der Thor*, ch. 1, transl. 4-7.

It is obvious that <sup>22</sup>*knydyš* is *Agnideša* "the land of Agni" = Qarašahr; the form *Agnideša* was not hitherto attested, but the equivalent *Agnivišaya* occurs, see Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, *Sb. P.A.W.* 1930, 29 line 5. *Agni* is the sanskritized form of the name which originally was *Argi*, later shortened to *Arg*<sup>1</sup>. Thus Āryacandra, who composed the Maitrisimit in the *Twryy* language, was a native of Qarašahr, where I A was the current language.

This clinches the argument: according to the colophons to the I A version of the Maitrisimit Āryacandra composed that work: according to the Uigur colophons Āryacandra composed that work in the *Twryy* language: Āryacandra's mother tongue was I A: hence I A is *Twryy*. There is no need to recapitulate here the reasons that led Sieg and Müller to the same result: they were weighty enough, and after forty years' discussion they stand almost untouched by the laborious arguments proffered by those who wished to attach the name of *Twryy* to some other language; their mainstay was the *argumentum e silentio* that there *might* have been in existence a third version of the Maitrisimit.

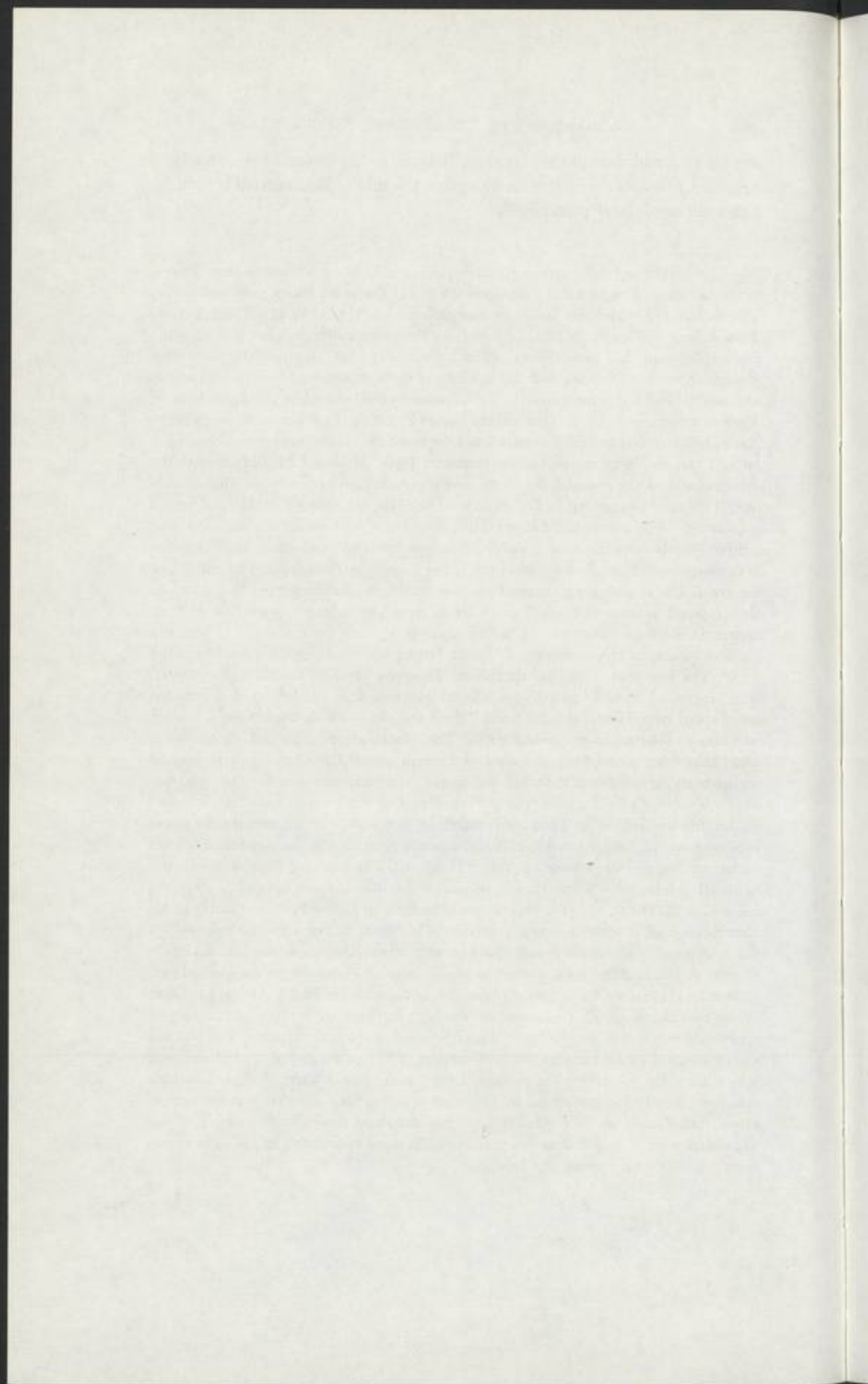
At the same time we can now finally dispose of the name "Tokharian". This misnomer has been supported by three reasons, all of them now discredited. Firstly: the vague resemblance of *Twryy* to the name of *Tokhāristān*; it would be waste of time to discuss this any further. Secondly: the proximity, in the colophons, of *Kwys'n* to *Twryy*, *Kwys'n* having been identified with *Kušān*; since Haneda's much-cited article we know that *Kwys'n* was the Turkish name of Kučā. Thirdly: the presumed fact that Āryacandra was a native of Nagara = Jalalabad on the Kabul river, a place which, though very far from lying in Tokharistan, was at least within reasonable distance from it; now we see that he was a native of Agni.

The discovery of Āryacandra's true country of origin throws light on other hitherto obscure points. Why, for example, is this bearer of the grandiloquent title of *Bodhisattva* unknown to the history of Buddhism? If he lived in an outlying province of India or in Tokharistān, why is his Maitreyasamiti, a unicum in the history of Buddhist literature, not so much as mentioned in the Chinese Tripiṭaka and the great Tibetan collections, although it was read and studied in such out-of-the-way places as Agni and Turfan? The answer to either question is clear now: Āryacandra was a highly respected teacher in an insignificant little town away from the main

<sup>1</sup> The *-r-* in the name is attested in sources of so different a character as the Niya documents, Khotanese Saka, Manichaean Middle Persian and Sogdian, Persian geographers, and let us add, Chinese historians; for that *Yen-ch'i* transcribes *Argi* (or \**Ārgi*) is plain (see *BSOS.*, ix, 571). As far as I know, there is no warrant for \**Angi* (Bailey *loc. cit.* 127). All other spellings derive from the sanskritized *Agni*; so also Kuchean *akeñe* in which I now see an adaptation of *agne*, *a(g)ñye* in the Murtuq document.

stream of Buddhist culture; his fame did not go far beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Agni; that he was given the title of Bodhisattva is nothing but a piece of local patriotism<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I regret to say that I cannot attach importance, for the study of the term *Ἐπιφάνης*, to the names of *Ttaugara* and *Ttauḍāgar-* on which Professor Bailey puts such value. The former, Staël Holstein scroll 29, was explained as the name of a Turkish tribe, *Ttau(ḿ)gara = Tongra*, in *BSOS.*, ix, 553-9. Professor Bailey, who at first accepted this explanation, has now (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 148) returned to his earlier identification with *Θογάρα* and thinks that my opinion was based on two fallacious arguments: that tribes mentioned in the Khotanese scroll should be presumed to be of Turkish origin, and that all forms of the names extant in the 8th to 10th centuries in Kansu had already been documented. I did not make the second assumption, which, as far as I can see, forms no part of the argument I put forward; I am fully alive to the defectiveness of our material. As to the first assumption, it seems to me a reasonable one. If the date I suggested for the scroll (middle of the 9th century, *BSOS.*, ix, 559n.) is accepted—I do not think Professor Bailey disputes it—it means that the scroll was written shortly after the great invasion of Kan-su by Uigur and other Turkish tribes in consequence of the destruction of the Uigur empire by the Qırqız. The authors of the scroll aim at giving a picture of the conditions that resulted from this invasion; their interest centres on these Turkish tribes whose mere names were new to their master in Khotan. However, while this assumption may be a reasonable one, my opinion was based not, or not chiefly, on it, but on the wording of the passage in the scroll. The text there says that the *Sikari*, *Ttaugara*, *Ayabiri*, *Caraih:i*, *Yabüttikari*, etc., "are called Tarduš" (*BSOS.*, ix, 554; cf. Konow, *AO.*, xx, 138, 154). A previous list of tribal names ends with the words "these are Tölis". Both Tarduš and Tölis are well-known federations of Turkish tribes. The *Sikari*, *Ayabiri*, *Caraih:i*, and *Yabüttikari* have been successfully identified as Turkish tribes (*BSOS.*, ix, 556-7). Should we not trust the authors of the scroll and accept their statement that the *Ttaugara*, too were a Tarduš, i.e., a Turkish, tribe? No explanation can be accepted which accounts neither for the final *-a* in *Ttaugara* (a stable *-a*, not a pl. ending), nor for the intervocalic *-g-* which here invariably indicates a palatal *g*, never a *γ*; unemended, *Ttaugara* represents \**tögere* (\**toyar* would be spelt \**Ttau:h:ari*). The emended form, *Ttau(ḿ)gara* fulfils all conditions.—As to *Ttauḍāgar-* (attested is *ttauḍāgarām*, gen. pl., P 2741, 78, see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xii, 321, 323), I should hesitate to follow Professor Bailey in his identification of it with *Ttaugara*, from which it differs in two important points: 1. the insertion of *ḍä*, which is not found in any other Khotanese word so far made known, 2. the ending (*-gara* should have *-garatām* or *-garavām* in the gen. pl., cf. *ṣacūpatām* P 2741, 33, 64, *augavām* ibidem 66, and similar spellings). At first I thought to find here the 多覽葛 *To-lan-ko* (*Tā-lām-kāt*), an Uigur tribe, that could suitably be mentioned in a text as crowded with Turkish names as P 2741 undoubtedly is; but this would demand a minor concession (mis-spelling of \**Ttauḍamgarām*—the difference is very slight). On re-reading the passage, I see (taking into account Professor Bailey's discovery, kindly communicated by him, that *vī hā* = Skt. *ādi*) that it is not certain as yet that *Ttauḍāgar-* is a tribal name ("two thousand troops came in front of the *Ttauḍāgar-s* etc.", *pyamtsä* as postposition as in lines 17 and 129 in the same document); it may be the name of a locality.



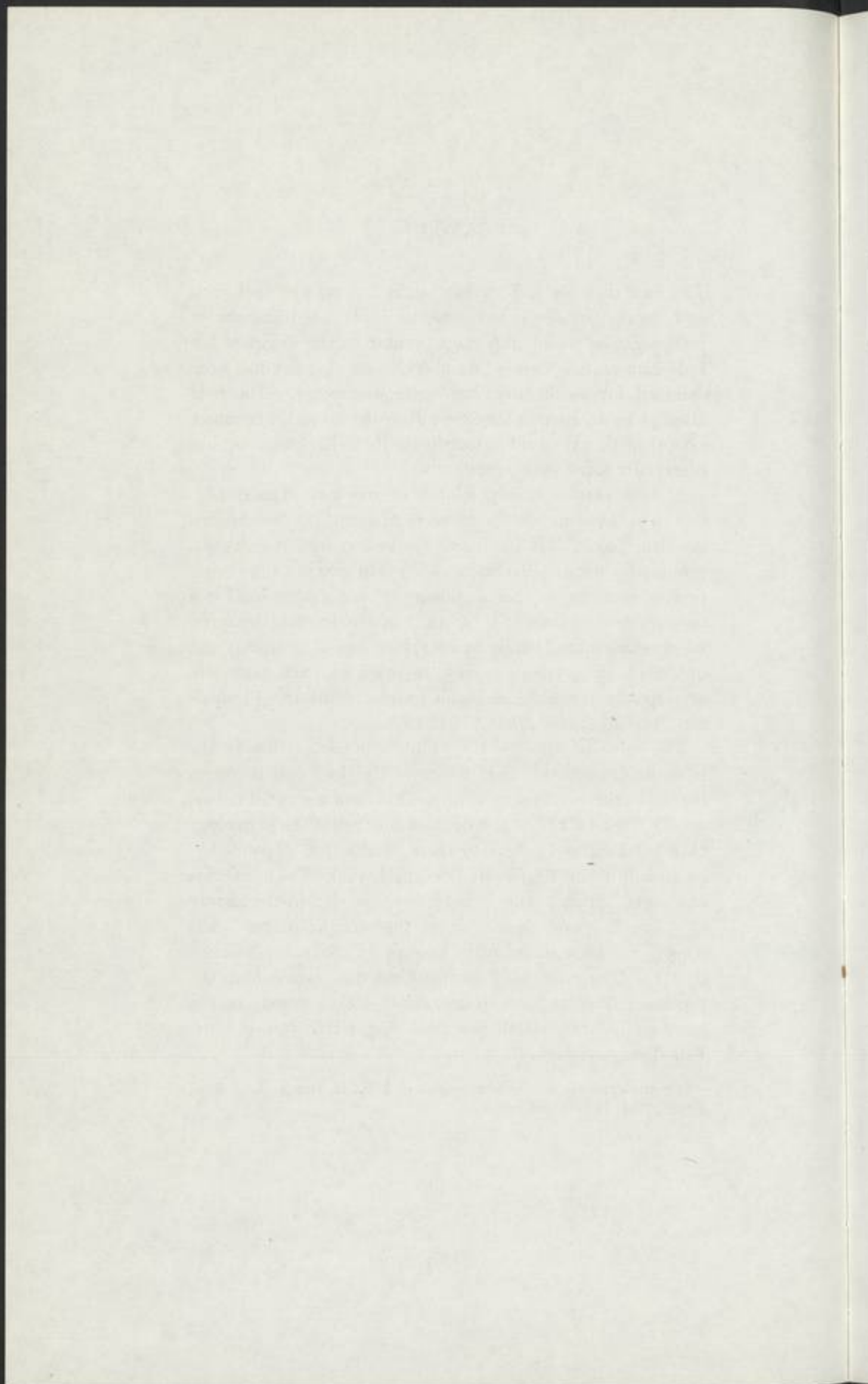
## OKTŌ(U)

THE fact that the I.-E. word "eight" is an old dual (Skt. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭāvī*, Gr. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octo*, Av. *ašta*, etc.) has always been regarded as an important pointer to the origin of the Indo-European system of numbers.<sup>1</sup> Its singular has been searched for assiduously, but never discovered. The bold attempt by O. Bremer (*Streitberg Festgabe*, 20 sq.), to connect *oktō(u)* with the word "four" itself, I.-E. *kʷetyōres*, has deservedly found little credit.

A form that is closely related to the lost singular (Av. *\*ašta-*) is Avestan *ašti-*, a measure of length, "four fingers' breadth, palm." It has been overlooked by etymologists, presumably because Bartholomæ failed to give it a sufficiently precise meaning in his dictionary ("ein Längenmass von unbekannter . . . Grösse"). A study of the Iranian measures, which was inspired purely by considerations of metrology and untainted by etymologic bias, revealed at once that *ašti-* corresponded to *παλαιστή*, and its elative *uz-ašti-* ("super-*ašti*") to *διχάς*, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 235.

The value of *ašti-* for the problem of *oktō(u)* lies in the inherent quaternity. That the word "eight" had its origin in the primitive reckoning on fingers has been suspected before, see e.g. Fick <sup>4</sup> i, 15: it is confirmed now; but the etymology that led Fick and others to their opinion (*ak-* "pointed") remains in doubt (cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 173). The derivation of "eight" from "palm" has a close parallel in the history of "five", whose descent from the words "finger" and "fist" has been stated often enough (cf. Schrader-Nehring, ii, 671). The suffix that distinguished *ašti-* (*okti-*) from the presumed singular *\*ašta-* (*okto-*) is not clear; it may be the same as in "fist" (Osl. *pešti*, AS. *fýst*, OHG. *füst*, etc., cf. Falk-Torp, s.v. *funhsti*).

<sup>1</sup> On the existence of a quartal system in I.-E., cf. also A. S. C. Ross, *TP&S.*, 1941, 12 (with references).





## A Pahlavi Poem

THE study of the Pahlavi poetry, so spiritedly initiated by M. Benveniste<sup>1</sup> twenty years ago, seems to have come to a dead end. That certain Pahlavi texts, as the *Ayādgar-ī Zarērān* or the *Draxt-ī Asūrīg*<sup>2</sup> (the Dispute of the date-palm with the goat), are poems, is conceded on all sides; but the formal problems, the problems of rhythm, metre, and rhyme, remain in the dark. It seems doubtful whether the material at hand is capable of leading us to definite conclusions. There are two main obstacles. Firstly, the notorious sloppiness of the copyists leaves too much room for conjecture; the mere addition or omission, at the editors' discretion, of the word for "and" and the *ḥarf-ī iḏāfet* is sufficient to disturb the rhythmical balance. Secondly, as a rule we do not know the dates of composition, and therefore cannot tell how the words were pronounced by the authors; it makes a considerable difference to the metre (whatever it was) whether we put down *paḏak* or *paig*, *mazdayasn* or *mazdēsn*, *rōšn* or *rōšan*, *aḏak* or *aig*, *šikan* or *škan*, *giyān*<sup>3</sup> or *gyān*, *yazat* or *yazd*, *awiš* or *ōš*,<sup>4</sup> *druyist* or *drīst* or *drust* or *durust*, *ḥačādar* or *azēr*.

One thing is clear: a biased approach will not lead to convincing results. On the strength of the preconceived notion, carried forward from the study of the Avesta (where matters are equally dubious), that the metre is a purely syllabic one, the Pahlavi poems were made to suffer a great deal of emendation; where the usual procedure of omitting inconvenient words produced lines too short to fit into the scheme, either words were added or their pronunciation distorted.<sup>5</sup> The alternative theory, namely that the metre is accentual, seems to offer better prospects. It relieves us of the necessity of changing the texts overmuch; the number of syllables to a line can be left as variable as it is; and the precise pronunciation, *rōšn* or *rōšan*, becomes a matter almost of indifference.

Clear evidence in favour of the accentual verse can be found in the very text that formed the starting-point of M. Benveniste's investigations, the *Draxt-ī Asūrīg*. The whole of this poem, which is less encumbered with glosses than most other Pahlavi texts, is written in fairly long lines, of twelve syllables on an average, with a caesura in the middle. There is a recurring formula, which fills the first half of lines, *x. aš man karēnd* "they make *x.* out of me". The first word can be one of one, two, or three syllables, so that the first half of a line can have five, six, or seven syllables. Does this not indicate that the metrical

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.*, 1930, ii, 193 sqq.; 1932, i, 245 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The *Babylonian* (not *Assyrian*) tree.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to me a wrong form altogether.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.*, 1932, i, 276 line 7, 278 u.

<sup>5</sup> As *asp* and *aspe*, *J.A.*, 1932, i, 280; *zyōnān* and *ziyōnān*, 286; *aste*, 286; *daste*, 287; *pošē*, 278; even *i-mə*, 274, and *ōvəš*, 270 (for *uš*); *mazdēnān*, 274, but *mazdayasnān*, *J.A.*, 1930, ii, 194 sq.

value of a word is wholly independent of its number of syllables? The second halves of the lines are not in any way affected by the greater or lesser length of the first halves:—

12	<i>čōb aš man karēnd</i>	<i>kē tō grīw<sup>1</sup> māzēnd<sup>2</sup></i>	5 + 5 = 10
11	<i>rasan aš man karēnd</i>	<i>kē tō pāy bandend</i>	6 + 5 = 11
42	<i>ambān aš man karēnd</i>	<i>wāžārgānān wasnād<sup>3</sup></i>	6 + 6 = 12
34	<i>kamar aš man karēnd</i>	<i>kē āznāyēnd<sup>4</sup> pad murwārīd<sup>5</sup></i>	6 + 8 = 14
6	<i>gyāgrōb aš man karēnd</i>	<i>kē wirāzēnd mēhan ud mān</i>	6 + 8 = 14
16	<i>tabāngōk aš man karēnd</i>	<i>dārūgdān wasnād</i>	7 + 5 = 12
37	<i>maškūzag<sup>6</sup> aš man karēnd</i>	<i>kē sūr abar wirāzēnd</i>	7 + 7 = 14

It is not intended to give a full transcription of the *Draxt-ī Asūrīg* here, a text that bristles with difficulties. A few connected passages, selected at random, will be sufficient to show that the impression produced by the few lines quoted above out of context is not misleading.

1	<i>draxt-ē rust est</i>	<i>tar ō šahr asūrīg</i>	4 + 6 = 10
	<i>bun-aš hušk est</i>	<i>sar-aš est tarr</i>	4 + 4 = 8
	<i>warg-aš nay mānēd</i>	<i>bar-aš mānēd angūr</i>	5 + 5 = 10
	<i>šīrēn bār āwarēd</i>	<i>mardōhmān wasnād<sup>7</sup></i>	6 + 5 = 11

---

15	<i>tābistān sāyag hēm</i>	<i>pad sar šahrdārān</i>	6 + 5 = 11
16	<i>šīr<sup>8</sup> hēm varzīgārān</i>	<i>angubēn āzādmardān.</i>	6 + 7 = 13

<sup>1</sup> The old word for "neck" still persists in modern dialects, e.g. that of Sangisar (Zhukovskiy ii, 314). One does not see why it should be changed to *gardan* (Unvala, *BSOS.*, ii, 645, followed by Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1930, ii, 194).

<sup>2</sup> *māz-* is apparently a dialect word, from *mārz-*, in the sense of Persian *mālīdan*, to which it belongs by etymology; another example of the loss of *-r-* in this position is Persian *māze*, *māzū* "spine", from \**mārz-* "the place of the vertebrae" (derived from Av. *mārszu-* "vertebra", cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 242). I do not think that there is any talk of "kissing" in this line (as Mr. Unvala suspected, loc. cit.).

<sup>3</sup> This Parthian word is common throughout the text (= MPers. *rāy*). Failure to recognize it has produced some interesting misunderstandings, cf. Benveniste, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Probably belongs to Persian *āsīdan/āzādan* (the forms are not clear); cf. *šu dībā ba-zarr āzāde* (*dāzāde*) in the *Shahname*.

<sup>5</sup> Although many forms and words are Parthian (or Median), many others belong to the Southern dialect. The confusion reminds one of that familiar from the later *Fahlawiyyāt*; how much of it belonged already to the original text is not by any means clear. It would be easy enough to harmonize.

<sup>6</sup> "A leather cloth (a *sufre*) on which they serve the dinner."

<sup>7</sup> This is cast in the form of a riddle. The reader or listener is left to guess, from the description, that the date-palm is meant. "Its leaves resemble the (leaves of) reeds"—in shape, of course, not in taste (as Bartholomae said, *Mir. Mund.*, iv, 24). That the last two words belong to this paragraph is shown by para. 28 (see below).

<sup>8</sup> Junker has two ideograms for *šakar* "sugar" in the *Frahang*, both of them due to misunderstanding. "*HLY*" is sometimes = *HLB* = *šīr* "milk" vii 4 (*LBN* also occurs, see p. 67, n. 20), sometimes = *HL* (i.e. *hallā*) = *sik* "vinegar" v 2 where the correct word is relegated to the variants (*sik* and *sirke*); in *Pahl. Texts* 30, 6 = *Husrav ud Rōdak* 31, "*HLY*" i *truš* is "astringent vinegar" = Arab. *zall ḥiqqif* (Tha'alibi). The other series, v 2 = xxxi 2-3, contains the Semitic word for "beer" (or date-wine), Aram. *šikrā*, etc. The Persian words are *šur* and another that I cannot read (it occurs in the *Kārnāmag* vii 8 "As they had no wine, they offered him beer").

17	<i>tabangōg aš man karēnd</i> <i>šahr ō šahr barēnd</i>	<i>dārōgdān wasnād</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>bišišk ō bišišk.</i>	7 + 5 = 12 5 + 5 = 10
18	<i>āšyān hēm murwīzagān</i>	<i>sāyag kārđāgān.</i> <sup>2</sup>	7 + 5 = 12
19	<i>astag<sup>3</sup> bē abganēm</i> <i>kad hīrzēnd mardumag</i>	<i>pad nōg būm rōyēd</i> <i>kum bē nē wināsēnd</i>	6 + 5 = 11 6 + 6 = 12
20	<i>bašn-um<sup>4</sup> est(?) zargōn</i> <i>hawīž mardumag</i> <i>aš man bār x<sup>5</sup>arēnd</i>	<i>yad ō rōž yāwēd.</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>kēš nēst may ud nān</i> <i>yad amburd ōštēnd</i> <sup>6</sup>	5 + 5 = 10 5 + 5 = 10 5 + 5 = 10
<hr/>			
27	<i>wāžēnd-um pad afsān</i> <i>ku wāš a'i ud wad-xrad</i>	<i>pārsīg mardōhm</i> <i>abē-sūd draxtān</i>	6 + 4 = 10 7 + 5 = 12
28	<i>yad<sup>7</sup> tū bār āwarē</i> <i>gušn-at abar hīrzēnd<sup>8</sup></i>	<i>mardōhmān wasnād</i> <i>pad ēwēn ēē gōwān</i>	6 + 5 = 11 6 + 6 = 12
29	<i>x<sup>9</sup>ad gumānīg ahēm<sup>9</sup></i>	<i>ku rūspīg-zādag a'i<sup>10</sup></i>	6 + 7 = 13
<hr/>			
30	<i>abēzag Dēn Māzdēsān</i>	<i>čē<sup>11</sup> čāšt x<sup>12</sup>ābar Ōhrmazd</i>	7 + 6 = 13
31	<i>yud aš man kē buz hēm</i>	<i>yaštan nē šahēd keč<sup>12</sup></i>	6 + 6 = 12
32	<i>čē fīw aš man karēnd ;</i> <i>Gōš-urwa, yad</i> <i>hawīž Hōm tagīg—</i>	<i>andar yazišn yazdān—</i> <i>harwīn čahārpāyān,</i> <i>nērōg aš man est.</i>	6 + 6 = 12 4 + 6 = 10 5 + 5 = 10

<sup>1</sup> *dārōgān wasnād* would make better sense.

<sup>2</sup> "Migrants" or "tramps".

<sup>3</sup> "Date-stones."

<sup>4</sup> "If the people leave (the young shoot) alone, so that they refrain from hurting me, my crown will be green till the end of the days."

<sup>5</sup> The identical, wholly Parthian, phrase recurs in the *Ayādgar-i Zarērān* para. 93 (p. 13, line 5). Parth. *yad* is found several times in the text under review. The explanation given in *BSOAS.*, xii, 52, cannot be fully maintained in view of the ideogram *HN = yad* in the Parthian inscriptions, see *ibid.* 54, 66. The ideogram is  $\overline{H}N$  = "if", which corresponds best to OIr. *yadi*; several interrelated forms may have coalesced in *yad*. [Cf. even in the colophon to the Book of Zarēr, *P.T.*, 16<sup>14</sup>, *yad ō rōž fraškerd.*]

<sup>6</sup> "Until they have had their fill." Instead of *ōšt-* one could also read *awīšt-*, more closely conforming to Man. Parthian *'wyšt-*.

<sup>7</sup> "HT," if not simply a mistake for *yt*, is presumably the ideogram for that same word. If the Pahlavi HT (already in inscriptions) is an ancient mistake for *HN = hēn*, it may have been used in this text to represent the Parthian ideogram *HN = hēn = yad*. Cf. above. At any rate, it does not correspond to *ag* "if", to judge by para. 25, HT 'L' YK = *yad ō kū*.

<sup>8</sup> The Parthian form is preferable on account of para. 19 (see above), where *hīrz-* seems better than *arš-*. Perhaps one should replace all ideograms by strictly Parthian or Median forms; I fear I have not been sufficiently consistent.

<sup>9</sup> Here the full Parthian form is spelled out, not too correctly. In the same line the apparent 'yš represents *ayī* or *a'i* "you are", Parthian 'yy. So also in para. 53, *tū kust a'i ēdar* "you are affixed here" (you are stuck here).

<sup>10</sup> "Until you can bear fruit for men, they have to lead a male to you, as they do with cattle. I would even go so far as to suspect that you were born out of wedlock."

<sup>11</sup> = which.

<sup>12</sup> Uncertain. *Kyč* may be = Parthian *kyč*, which equals Persian *kas*. On the other hand, the rhythm (cf. *kardān nē šahēd* at the end of lines) may favour the explanation proposed by Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*, 26, line 5.

33	<i>hawiz<sup>1</sup> bār-yāmag<sup>2</sup></i> <i>yud aš man ke buz hēm</i>	<i>ēē<sup>3</sup> pad pušt dārēm</i> <i>kardan nē šahēd.</i>	5 + 5 = 10 6 + 5 = 11
35	<i>mōzag hēm saztag<sup>4</sup></i> <i>angustbān husrōgān</i>	<i>āzādān wasnād</i> <i>šāh hāmhirzān.<sup>5</sup></i>	5 + 5 = 10 6 + 4 = 10
36	<i>mašk-um karēnd ābdān</i> <i>pad garm rōž ud rabih<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>pad dašt ud viyābān</i> <i>sard āb aš man est.</i>	6 + 6 = 12 6 + 5 = 11
39	<i>nāmag aš man karēnd</i> <i>daftar ud pādaxšīr</i>	<i>frawardag dibūwān<sup>7</sup></i> <i>abar man nibēšēnd</i>	6 + 6 = 12 6 + 6 = 12
42	<i>ambān aš man karēnd</i> <i>kē nān ud pušt<sup>8</sup> ud panīr</i> <i>kāpūr ud mušk syā(w)</i> <i>was yāmag šāhuwār</i> <i>pad ambān āwarēnd</i>	<i>wāzārgānān wasnād</i> <i>harwīn<sup>9</sup> (?) rōyn-x<sup>w</sup>ardīg<sup>10</sup></i> <i>ud xaz<sup>11</sup> tuzārīg</i> <i>padmōžan kanīgān</i> <i>frāž<sup>12</sup> šahr ēē Ērān</i>	6 + 6 = 12 7 + 5 = 12 5 + 5 = 10 5 + 6 = 11 6 + 6 = 12
49	<i>kad buz ō wāzār barēnd</i> <i>harwē kē dah drahm nē dārēd</i>	<i>ud pad wahāg dārēnd</i> <i>frāž ō buz nē āsēd<sup>13</sup> ;</i>	7 + 6 = 13 7 + 6 = 13

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful. MSS. 'Lc.

<sup>2</sup> "Satchel", = Persian *bār fāme*.

<sup>3</sup> = which.

<sup>4</sup> "Of morocco leather". *saztag* belongs to Pers. *saztiyān*; cf. also the Sogdian form mentioned in *BSOAS.*, xi, 714, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> "The archer's thumb-stall [not 'gloves'] for the illustrious companions of the king."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 33, n. 4 (Man. MPers. *rbyh*).

<sup>7</sup> Or *dibūwān* (not, of course, to be read *dabīrān*), the ancestor of Persian *dīwān*. Originally *dīpi* + *pāna*, hence "where one keeps and looks after the documents, writings, etc.". The word was early shortened to *dāwān* (by *dīwēwān*). In this form it is attested (apart from Arm. *divan*) as the name of one of Mani's books, his Epistles. Each epistle was called a *dyb* = *dīb* in Middle Persian, e.g. *Muhr Dīb* "the Epistle of the Seal"; the whole collection was a *dīpi-pāna*. Surely the oldest example of the use of this word for the collection of a man's writings.

<sup>8</sup> Var. *pist*. Both pronunciations existed also in Persian.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. *HRWNN* = ? Scarcely = *mēs* (*Fr.P.*, vii 3) or *ālū(y)* (*ibid.*, iv 6 note 32). Cf. *P.T.*, 1614.

<sup>10</sup> *Rōyn-x<sup>w</sup>ardīg*, literally "butter-food", means "sweetmeats" in Pahlavi. The "Southern" form *rōwn-x<sup>w</sup>ardīg* in the *Husrav ud Rēdag*, para. 37, corresponds to *halūf* in the Arabic version. In spite of the help afforded by Tha'alibi, Mr. Unvala misunderstood the word as "side-dish".—The Man. MPers. form is *rūyyn*, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 57, n. 56.—Possibly the line ran originally *rōyn ud rōyn-x<sup>w</sup>ardīg*.

<sup>11</sup> "Tokharian marten-furs" ? *Hz* = *xaz* occurs in the list of fur-animals in *GrBd.*, 96<sup>12</sup>.—Or should one read *mušk syā(w)* [ēē] *buz tuzārīg* "black musk [of] the 'Tokharian' goat" (= Musk deer ?)—Neither *xaz* nor *mušk* are articles usually associated with the name of Tokhāristān/Balkh.

<sup>12</sup> *Fr'č* is used in Man. Parthian, but in the Parthian inscriptions there is *pršš* instead, e.g. *HN pršš* 'L = *yad frāžš ō*. This curious form represents the ancient nominative, i.e. *frānzš* = Av. *frāš* = Skt. *prāś*, with loss of the nasal; it shows that Bartholomae's rule, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.*, i, 1, p. 11, § 24, is not correctly formulated.

<sup>13</sup> Thus rather than *āyēd*.

<i>amrāw<sup>1</sup> pad dō pašēz</i>	<i>kōdakān xrīnēnd</i>	6 + 5 = 11
<i>dān ud astag tō šowē</i>	<i>frāz ō kōy murdān.<sup>2</sup></i>	7 + 5 = 12

It is not claimed that the mere statement that this is accentual poetry relieves us of the need for further investigation. On the contrary, a great deal of work will be required in order to discover the accented syllables, their place within the lines, and other questions of detail. For example, it seems that the limits of variation in the number of syllables are precisely set. The differences between the maximum and the average, and between the minimum and the average are apparently equal. Thus, in the *Draxt-ī Asūrīg* the average number of syllables to a line is 12; the maximum is 14, the minimum 10 (with a single exception, in para. 1, which is sufficient to render the text suspect); the variation therefore is 2. In the Manichæan Middle Persian hymn analysed in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 56, the average number is also 12, but the variation is 3 (max. 15, min. 9). There are thus subtle differences in the structure of the verses which should be further explored. In the fragment published by Schaefer, *Studien*, 290 sq. (alphabetic hymn, end of 'Ain to Tau with tailpiece) the average is 11, the variation 2:—

[	] <sup>3</sup>	<i>wād anōšag<sup>4</sup> "zašböy<sup>4</sup></i>	$x + 6$
<i>parwarzēd au bagān</i>		<i>ad zamīg ud draxtān.</i>	6 + 6 = 12
<i>čašmag rōšnīn</i>		<i>dālūgān āfrīdagān.</i>	4 + 7 = 11
<i>kōfān nīsāg</i>		<i>wyāwarāg ud bagōhr.</i>	4 + 6 = 10
<i>radnīn ārām</i>		<i>ōsparhmāwend<sup>5</sup> wyāg.</i>	4 + 5 = 9
<i>šahrān anūsāg</i>		<i>mān mān ud gāh gāh.</i>	5 + 5 = 10
<i>Tau sažēd argāwīft</i>		<i>šahrārān masišť</i>	6 + 5 = 11
<i>namāz ud oštāwišn</i>		<i>au Mār-Mānī "zašnām.</i>	6 + 6 = 12
<i>āfrīd āfrīd</i>		<i>pad nawāg<sup>6</sup> rōž wuzarg</i>	4 + 6 = 10
<i>au Mār-Zaqō amōžag</i>		<i>ad hamag ram<sup>7</sup> rōšnīn.</i>	7 + 6 = 13
		Average	5.1 + 5.8 = 10.9

The following verses seem to confirm the rule; here the average number of syllables is 9.5, the variation 2.5 (max. 12, min. 7). They belong to a Parthian "alphabetic" hymn, of which the strophes B—Z and T—N are preserved in

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that all students of this text, even Bartholomae (loc. cit., 27), have stumbled over the perfectly ordinary ideogram for "date".—*Amrāw* is the appropriate Parthian form (Man. 'mr'w, against Arm. *armav*); however, at the end of the text, para. 54, *zurmā* is written in clear (*hwl'm'y*, "hwl'm'k").

<sup>2</sup> The goat predicts that the hopes which the date-palm put on its seeds (in para. 19, see above) will come to nought. Hence, "may your pips and stones end up in (lit. go forward to) the alley of the dead"? I feel rather uncertain of the reading of the last two words, *kōy murdān*; may one compare the Persian phrase *kūče-yi zāmūšān* "cemetery"? At any rate, Mr. Unvala's version has little to commend itself, "Wounded to the life thou wilt be destroyed exterminated by the spiritual leaders"!

<sup>3</sup> The first word remains uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> "The rest-house of the Jewels is a flowery place."

<sup>5</sup> "On the great New Year's day."

<sup>6</sup> So, of course.

<sup>7</sup> So to be read.

full. Each strophe has two long lines; the subdivisions are not marked in the MS., but there is scarcely any uncertainty on that account. From M 763, hitherto unpublished:—

			Whole strophe.
1	<i>Brādarān amwastān</i> <i>wiždagān wēxtagān</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ud wahigarān</i> <i>ud āzād puhrān</i>	6 + 5 = 11 7 + 5 = 12 23
2	<i>Gyānān rōšnān</i> <i>frēhīft aštūnān</i>	<i>wiždagīft argāw</i> <i>ud bām frazendān</i>	4 + 6 = 10 5 + 5 = 10 20
3	<i>Dārēd abrang</i> <i>ku bawēd aspurr</i>	<i>pad bag abdēs</i> <i>kalān abēnang</i>	4 + 4 = 8 5 + 5 = 10 18
4	<i>Harwīn handām</i> <i>pad aštāwišn</i>	<i>padrāst dārēd</i> <i>au anšaman rāmišn</i>	4 + 4 = 8 4 + 6 = 10 18
5	<i>Wēxt ud wižid hēd</i> <i>ēw aš hazārān</i>	<i>aš madyān wasān</i> <i>ud dō aš bēwarān</i>	5 + 5 = 10 5 + 6 = 11 21
6	<i>Zādag hēd</i> <i>ud nozzādān</i>	<i>čē žirīft abarēn</i> <i>čē rōž aspurrīg</i>	3 + 6 = 9 4 + 5 = 9 18
7	<i>Tābēd rōšnīft</i> <i>dahēd bāwag</i>	<i>frēhīft anōšag</i> <i>au warzīgar "xēbē</i>	4 + 5 = 9 4 + 6 = 10 19
8	<i>Yudēd pad abrang</i> <i>rōž āfrīdag</i>	<i>pad im dōšambat</i> <i>čē abē-āstārīft</i>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 6 = 10 20
9	<i>Kiē kiē aš ašmāh</i> <i>padwahēd wandēd</i>	<i>pad "xāstuwānīft</i> <i>ud āfrīnēd</i>	5 + 4 = 9 5 + 4 = 9 18
10	<i>Lāb ud nimastīg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hirzēd āstār</i>	<i>barēd ewbidān</i> <i>andāsēd gowindag</i> <sup>3</sup>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 6 = 10 20
11	<i>Mēhmān rōšn</i> <i>pad rāmišn</i>	<i>mardōhm paštāg</i> <i>au angūn žāmēd</i>	3 + 4 = 7 3 + 5 = 8 15
12	<i>Niwarēd</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>aškīft</i> <i>ud andēsēd</i>	<i>pad trixt čaxšābed</i> <i>pad žafr žirīft</i>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 4 = 8 18
		Average	4.5 + 5 = 9.5 19

To turn now to the thorny question of the rhyme, I will say straightway that in the whole of the Western Middle Iranian material so far recognized as poetical<sup>5</sup> there is not a single rhyme in the strict sense. There are accidental

<sup>1</sup> "Selected by sifting", Pers. *bixtan*. Cf. below str. 5. In MPers. *niwastān* occurs (same meaning).

<sup>2</sup> This transcription of *nmstīg* is indicated by Parth. inscr. *nymstyk* (Inscr. of Shapur, line 4, cf. also Sprengling, *AJSL*, lviii, 169 sq.), which is rendered by *παράκλησις* in the Greek version, i.e. "appeal, request". This meaning fits the Manichaean texts far better than "adoration". Both spelling and meaning are at variance with the derivation from OIr. *namaš-*, which has to be abandoned.

<sup>3</sup> Here spelled *gwendg*, but elsewhere *gwyndg*. "Failings, offences."

<sup>4</sup> *nywryd* (ni + var-).

<sup>5</sup> I do not regard as a poem the passage from the Great Bundahishn (p. 10) to which M. Nyberg has given such prominence (*ZDMG.*, lxxxii, 222 sqq.). The wording indicates clearly that the passage is merely a Pahlavi version of an Avestan text (quite possibly of an Avestan poem).

rhymes and assonances ; but the principle of the rhyme as such, the deliberate rhyme, seems to have been unknown. The passages quoted above, from Pahlavi and Parthian,<sup>1</sup> show that sufficiently. Especially as the answer to the question has some importance for the history of Persian literature, we should be careful to confine the use of the word to cases in which rhyme was consciously applied as a poetic embellishment.

Yet even the most cautious will not be able to deny the presence of conscious rhyme in a Pahlavi poem that to the present has remained unnoticed. It forms part of one of the *Andarz* texts in Jamasp-Asana's *Pahlavi Texts*, the so-called Pahlavi Shahname, to which the other poetical Pahlavi books belong. The passage (p. 54) is conspicuous by its curious, plainly poetic, diction. Its text is in a sad condition : words have been left out, there are a few glosses, some lines may be missing altogether ; nevertheless, its poetic character is beyond doubt. The rhyme goes through the whole poem, in the manner of a *Qasīde* ; indeed, there is interior rhyme in the *maṣṭa'*. It seems that, apart from the opening line, two lines always made up a strophe ; the first line of each strophe ended in *andar gēhān* (to gain such regularity one has to assume that a whole line has been allowed to drop out). There are several uncertain points in the text printed here<sup>2</sup> :—

0	<i>Dārom andarz-ē az dānāgān</i>	<i>az guft-ī pēšēnīgān</i>
1	<i>Ō šmāh bē wizārom</i> <i>agar [ēn az man] padirēd</i>	<i>pad rāstih andar gēhān</i> <i>bavēd sūd-ī dō-gēhān</i>
2	<i>Pad gēti vistāx<sup>w</sup> ma bēd</i> <i>čē gēti pad kas bē nē hišt-hēnd</i>	<i>was-ārzōg andar gēhān</i> <i>nē kūšk ud [nē] xān-u-mān</i>
3		[one line missing ?]
	<i>sādih-ī pad dil čē xandēd</i>	<i>ud čē nāzēd gētiyān</i>
4	<i>Čand mardomān dīd-hom</i> <i>Čand x<sup>w</sup>adāyān<sup>3</sup> dīd-hom</i>	<i>was[-ārzōg ?] andar gēhān</i> <i>mih-sardārih abar mardomān</i>
5	<i>Awēsān mih wēs-mēnidār</i> <i>awēsān abērāh<sup>5</sup> sūd-hēnd</i>	<i>bē raft-hēnd andar gēhān<sup>4</sup></i> <i>abāg dard bē raft-hēnd asāmān<sup>6</sup></i>
6	<i>Harw kē čūn ēn dīd—čē rāy</i> <i>ka nē dāvēd gēti pad spanj<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>ka wastār andar gēhān</i> <i>ud [nē] tan pad āsān</i>

<sup>1</sup> M. Benveniste quoted two passages to prove the existence of rhyme in Man. Parthian (*J.A.*, 1930, ii, 223). In the first, the words at the end of the lines should be read (a) *framanyōg*, (b) *abēstāft*, (c) *wilāstāft*, (d) *mānag*. In the second, we have (a) *wasnād*, (b) *astād*, (c) *mardōhmān*, (d) *paidōg* ; 'st[d]', in the place of 'st[d]', is wrongly restored (the next word is [māy]n). There are no strophes in the second passage, which is an "alphabetical" hymn. Far better accidental rhymes can be found in most Parthian poems.

<sup>2</sup> The words I have added are in square brackets.

<sup>3</sup> A gloss : *spāhbedān* "generals".

<sup>4</sup> Another gloss : *ku amāh mihtar hēm andar gēhān* "thinking 'we are the greatest in the world'". Presumably to explain *wēs-mēnidār*.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. 'p's (= *āfrāh*) instead of 'pyl's.

<sup>6</sup> A variant : *āsāmān* (which also would make sense of a sort). I prefer the rarer word, *a-sāmān*, which here, in conjunction with *abē-nāh*, probably had the meaning of Pers. *bī-sāmān*.

<sup>7</sup> Not *spōz* here. Cf. *P.T.*, 56<sup>1a</sup>-57<sup>1</sup> *gēti pad spanj dār ud tan pad āsān*.

- 0 I have a counsel from the Wise, from the sayings of the Ancient.  
 1 To you I will explain it, truthfully, in the world ; if you accept [it from me], you will have profit for both worlds :—  
 2 Do not put your trust in earthly goods, desiring much, in the world ; for earthly goods have never been left in anyone's hands, neither a palace, [nor] house and hearth.  
 3 . . . . . Joy in the heart ? Why laugh and be proud, worldlings ?  
 4 How many men have I seen, [desiring] much, in the world ! How many princes have I seen, lording it over mankind !  
 5 Grandly, in overweening pride, they strode in the world—they have gone where there is no way, in pain they went, poor and homeless.  
 6 Anyone, when he has seen that—what use if he remains pledged<sup>1</sup> to the world ? if he fails to consider the earthly existence an inn, the body a facile thing ?

The poem raises a number of important problems ; their discussion has to be held over to another occasion. Is this an ancient poem, or merely an imitation of Persian models ? Can its date be determined ?<sup>2</sup> The sentiment, the distrust of the world, seems appropriate to all periods of Persian and Middle Persian literature ; it would have been appropriate to the time of Burzōi. The rhythm would perhaps improve, if one put more modern forms into the text, in the place of the conventional heavy-vowelled Middle Persian forms (e.g. in 2b *čē gēlī pa kās be-n'-hišand*).

<sup>1</sup> Or "self-abandoned". The word had both meanings. Cf. the passages collected by M. F. Kanga, *The Testament of Khusrav I*, p. 3, n. 4 (add *Pahl. Texts*, 143, 5).

<sup>2</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is A.D. 956 (if the figure—324—in the first colophon, *P.T.*, 83, deserves to be trusted).

#### ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- P. 643, line 13 : for "*rūspīg-zādak*" read "*rūspīg-zādag*".  
 P. 643, line 14 : for "*čē čāšt*<sup>11</sup>" read "*čē*<sup>11</sup> *čāšt*".  
 P. 645, line 1 : for "*kōdagān*" read "*kōdakān*".  
 P. 646, line 11 (= 4b) : for "*ō*" read "*au*".  
 P. 647, note 6, line 2 : for "*Pers. bisā mān*" read "*Pers. bi-sāmān*".  
 P. 647, note 7 : for "*aspranj*" read "*aspanj*".



## GABAE

### *Additional Note*

There is no reasonable doubt that Γάβαι (sometimes misspelt Τάβαι, as in Polybius xxxi, 11) is identical with *Gay*, the name of the capital of Isfahan in Pahlavi (Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, § 53) and, as *Jay*, in Muslim authors, see F. C. Andreas *apud* G. Hoffmann, *Märtyrerakten*, n. 1130. The ruins of the ancient town, with its citadel (close to the left bank of the Zāyande Rūd) dominating the surrounding countryside, lie two or three miles to the east of the present town (which is built on the site of the Sassanian sister town of *Gay*, Yahūdiyyeh); they are known by the name of *Šahristān* "the citadel", which is also borne by the village situated nearby.

The theory that Γάβαι represented an Iranian form \**gawā* was scarcely favoured by the Greek spelling with -β-; it cannot be maintained in the face of Parthian *G'b*, which occurs in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I. at the Ka'be-i Zardušt (line 27); there the Pahlavi version has *Gdy* = *Gay* (line 33), reproduced in Greek as Γη (line 63). Thus the Old Iranian form was \**Gaba-* (which may have meant "valley", cf. Av. *ǰafnu-* etc., and Persian *gav* "a hollow", which is spelt *gwb* in Pahlavi). It cannot be identified with Avestan *Gava*, except on the assumption that *Gava* is written in the place of \**Gawa* (*gaom* = *gawm* in the place of \**gawom* = \**gabam*); Marquart (*Erānšahr* 29 n. 2 and elsewhere) claimed not identity, but parallelism in phonologic history.

Elamite *kam-ba-ti-ia* may also render Old Persian \**gaubathya* "speaker" (cf. *xšāyathya* "ruler"). His office may have resembled that of the Sassanian *yātak-gōv* (Arm. *ǰatagov*). A seal-impression from Qašr-i Abū Našr bears the inscription *Sthly dīgwaš'n y'tkgwby W d'twby* "the Spokesman of the Poor and Judge of Istakhr".

<sup>1</sup> The relation between the *q[a-ap-nu]-iš-ki-ip* "treasurers" paying out wages in No. 30, and the 1348 *kur-taš qa-ap-nu-iš-ki-ip* (acc. to C. "Treasury workmen") consisting of men, women, boys, and girls, who draw their meagre wages in No. 39 (cf. also Nos. 40.45.64.65.66.67), is not clear to me.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs and is too light to transcribe accurately.

## THE MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF TANG-I SARVAK

When Baron C. A. de Bode, then First Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Tehran, passed through Behbehān<sup>1</sup> on his tour through Fārs and Khūzistān, in January 1841, the local *de facto* governor, Mirza Kúmo,<sup>2</sup> drew his attention to the existence of sculptured stones with inscriptions in a mountain gorge a few dozen miles to the north of Behbehān. Realising that no news of these antiquities had as yet reached the learned world, de Bode duly visited (on January 29) the beautiful but desolate valley, whose name he spelt *Tengi-Saulek*, described the remains, made drawings of some of the reliefs, and copied the inscriptions he noticed, all in the course of an afternoon; see his *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, Vol. i, 351 sqq.

De Bode's report attracted little attention. It is true, the reliefs were briefly mentioned in handbooks; thus by Spiegel in his *Eránische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. iii (1878), p. 820 (the name misspelt as *Teng-i-Salek*); or by Justi in an annotation in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol. ii (1896-1904), p. 486, n. 5, where the astonishing assertion<sup>3</sup> is made that *Tenk-i Saulek* (*sic*) is *ohne Zweifel* identical with the Seleucia/Soloke of Strabo, xvi, 1, 18, p. 744; but the inscriptions fell altogether into oblivion. Although the reliefs obviously belong to Parthian times, indeed constitute the principal series of Parthian rock-sculptures, even so well-informed a scholar as E. Herzfeld could write "there are no other Arsacid sculptures [than those at Mount Bisutūn] of any importance known in Iran" (*Archaeological History of Iran*, 1935, p. 57); similarly K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Berlin 1943, p. 46. R. Ghirshman, in his discussion

<sup>1</sup> The district of Behbehān (the successor of the ancient town of Arragān) was counted sometimes to Persis (Fārs), sometimes to Elymais (Khūzistān). In Muslim times it mostly belonged to Fārs, the frontier being formed by the river *Tāb/Mārān/Kurdistān/Jarrāhi*, but now it is part of Khūzistān. The valley of Tang-i Sarvak belongs naturally to Khūzistān, but sometimes even *Rām-hurmux* was included in Fārs (see Muqaddasi, 421, 16-7; so also at the time of de Bode's visit).

<sup>2</sup> Properly *Mīrzā Qavāmā* (short for *Qavām-ed-dīn*), the uncle of the *de jure* governor, *Mīrzā Sultān Muḥammad Khān* (whose father's name was *Mīrzā Manšūr Khān*, cf. de Bode, i, 338). See *Fārs-nāme*, i, 297; ii, 268 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Following a modest suggestion by de Bode, i, 365, footnote.

of the stele of Khwāsak (found at Susa), does not refer to the reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak, in spite of their affinity in style and their proximity in place and time; see *Monuments Piot*, xlv (1950), 97-107.

The official name of the valley is *Tang-i Sarvak*, i.e. "the gorge of the little cypresses" (*saulek* is merely the local dialect form). Under this name, which is evidently of recent origin, the valley is mentioned several times in the invaluable Persian geographical handbook, the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāširi*, which was completed in 1886-7 and printed in Tehran in 1895. The second volume, p. 263, carries the following description:—

"In the county of *Ĥūme-yi Behbehān*<sup>1</sup> at a distance of nine leagues to the north of the town of Behbehān there is a mountain gorge, a quarter of a league long, known as Tang-i Sarvak. Passing through the gorge one enters a stretch of hills and hollows, extending for half a league by three-quarters of a league; they are covered with many wild-growing 'noble cypresses' (*sarv-i āzād*), which almost form forests; they subsist on rain water; their size ranges from half a cubit to fifteen cubits. The people of Behbehān use these cypresses for pillars and roof coverings. There one finds three monoliths, each seven or eight cubits long and five or six broad and high, on which pictures of many persons, in various postures, are sculptured. In beauty, these pictures compare with the reliefs of Persepolis; each is accompanied by a few lines written in an antique script. Together with His Highness Prince *Iḥtishām-ed-daule Sulṭān Uwais*, I, the author of this *Fārs-nāme*, have visited Tang-i Sarvak several times. Drawings of the pictures and inscriptions, by the hand of His Highness, are reproduced on the next page."

The drawings by *Iḥtishām-ed-daule*, which are dated November 1864, are remarkable for their impressionism rather than for accuracy; yet, the first word of the most important inscription (No. 1), which was not even noticed by de Bode, is correctly represented. The name of *Iḥtishām-ed-daule*<sup>2</sup> (appointed governor of Fārs in 1888), the son of Farhād Mīrzā (an uncle of Nāšir-ed-dīn Shāh, twice governor of Fārs between 1840 and 1880), will be familiar to those who enjoyed the privilege of acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> The sub-province of *Kūh-Gilūye* was divided into halves, *Pušt-i Kūh* and *Zīr-i Kūh*. At the time of the *Fārs-nāme*, the latter comprised three counties, *Ĥūme-yi Behbehān*, *Zaidūn*, and *Lirāwī-yi Dašt*; in earlier days there had been five counties, *Ĥūme-yi Arrajān* in place of the first. The author of the *Fārs-nāme* prescribes *ḥūme* as pronunciation, not *ḥaume* (*Haīm ḥaume*=suburbs, environs; Arabic *ḥaumah*=quarter of a town, see Dozy; cf. G. Le Strange, *Description of the Province of Fars* (1912), p. 13, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> His full name (*Sulṭān Uwais Mīrzā*) is so given in an inscription *Iḥtishām-ed-daule* caused to be engraved at Persepolis (in the *taḥara* of Darius) in 1879, to commemorate excavations ordered by Farhād Mīrzā on his visit to Persepolis in 1878; the name of Andreas is mentioned in it (موسیو اندراس).

with F. C. Andreas, whom the prince befriended; he is mentioned more than once also in E. G. Browne's *A Year amongst the Persians*.

It will be seen from the description that the name of Tang-i Sarvak properly appertains only to the defile by which one enters on the western side of the plateau where the monuments are situated. The mountains that enclose the gorge are known as *Kūh-i Sarvak* "the mountain of the little cypresses"; at their (western) foot lies the track that leads from Behbehān northwards to the plain of Māl-Amīr, via Tāshān and Bābā-Aḥmad, see *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 263, last line. In the early part of the last century Tang-i Sarvak had belonged to the Yūsufī, one of the four divisions of the Līrāwī-yī Kūh, which belong to the Lurs of Kūh-Gilūye (the other three divisions are the Bahme'ī, the Shīr-'Alī, and the Ṭayyibī, see *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 270, and cf. O. Mann, *Mundarten der Lur-stämme*, xx-xxi). The Yūsufī had their winter-quarters in "the regions of Tang-i Sarvak and Tang-i Māyar"<sup>1</sup>, while for the summer they retired to the much higher-lying mountains to the east of Tang-i Sarvak and had their *yailaq* in the neighbourhood of the *Barm-i Almān* "the lake of (the ruined village of) Almān"<sup>2</sup>. By the time of de Bode's visit the power of the Yūsufī had declined and the valley was in the territory of the Bahme'ī, who were apt to render a visit a dangerous adventure; it was still in the hands of this tribe in 1936.

A book worth consulting in a matter of this kind is the Persian manual of archaeology entitled *Āthār-i 'Aḡam* and composed in 1892-3 by Furṣat-ed-daule (Furṣat-i Šīrāzī), a minor poet, whose tomb-stone can be seen in the Ḥāfiẓiyye, where he rests by the side of his great countryman. It has merely a brief notice:—

"Tang-i Sarvak is among the places worth seeing near Behbehān. It lies to the north of that town at a distance of nine leagues approximately. In the gorge there are springs, many trees, and countless cypresses. At its mountains several figures of kings and others are engraved on the stone. Close to the gorge one finds a natural mountain fortress, called Qal'e-yī Nādirī; there are remains of ancient buildings on its summit"<sup>3</sup> (Bombay, a.H. 1354, p. 411).

It is due solely to the tireless energy of the late Sir Aurel Stein that interest in the monuments at Tang-i Sarvak has been revived. In the course of his fourth and last Persian journey he spent three days at Tang-i Sarvak

<sup>1</sup> Twelve leagues to the north-west of Behbehān, according to the *Fārs-nāme*. "The river Mogher, coming from Tengī-Mogher" is crossed by the traveller on his way northwards from Bābā-Aḥmad, de Bode, i, 376. This defile must not be confused with the Tang-i Mughāra which, coming from the north, joins the Tang-i Sarvak near its western end (see Stein, p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> Four leagues to the east of Tang-i Sarvak, according to the *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 276. The lake is mentioned by Stein, p. 98, and shown on his map.

<sup>3</sup> Stein was told that there were no ruined structures on this peak (p. 114).

(January 7-9, 1936) and examined the site with his wonted care. His description of the remains is easily accessible now (*Old Routes in Western Irān*, pp. 103-13); little can be added to it. Unfortunately, the wintry weather was unfavourable; snow, sleet, and rain made photography and even observation difficult, and the taking of paper squeezes almost impossible. Thus it came about that the photographs published in Stein's book were not uniformly satisfactory, and that the material so laboriously collected on the inscriptions did not lead to the hoped-for decipherment. Here I can speak from experience; for I was one of the two Iranists whom Sir Aurel Stein consulted. After some hesitation I provided a statement (printed in Stein's book, p. 110); but it belonged to the type of *expertise* that is almost devoid of meaning, and could not hide the plain fact that its author was unable to read the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

When I was at Persepolis in the spring of 1950, I thought that, as I was comparatively near to Tang-i Sarvak — the distance is a mere two hundred miles —, I ought to make an effort to secure more adequate material on the inscriptions in order to repair my earlier failure. However, the work on the Sassanian inscriptions of Fārs, the object of my journey to Persia (which had been undertaken on the invitation of the Iranian Government), was not completed until the middle of June, a time of year that is not propitious for a visit to Behbehān ("in summer Arrajān is a hell" said al-Muqaddasi, 425, 10), which illness forbade in any case. But in spite of the difficulties the plan was not to be lightly abandoned; it seemed that what was needed was not so much another visit as rather a fresh set of photographs.

At the time I was allowed the services of the young, able, and energetic photographer of the Archaeological Museum (Musée Irān-i bāstān), Mr. Rustamī, who had accompanied me to Sar-Mašhad and Fīrūzābād and had worked for me at and near Persepolis. I now proposed to the Iranian authorities that Mr. Rustamī, who happily was willing to undertake the task, should be sent to Tang-i Sarvak by himself, and this proposal was accepted in that spirit of generous helpfulness with which all my requests were met during the whole of my stay in Persia. So when I left for Isfahān, Mr. Rustamī set out on the road to Tang-i Sarvak, provided with a set of precise instructions which my friend Mr. Muṣṭafawī, the Director-General of the Archaeological Service, and I had composed, on the basis of Stein's description; Mr. Sāmī, the hospitable Director of Antiquities at Persepolis, fortunately possessed a copy of his book.

About two months later I received in London copies of the photographs Mr. Rustamī had taken. I hasten to make them public, for the benefit of those who are interested in archaeology (a field in which I can claim no

<sup>1</sup> De Bode had obtained a somewhat similar statement from a French scholar, M. Eugène Boré (i, 359-60).

competence), although the study of the inscriptions is as yet not far advanced. The excellent quality of the photographs is due partly to Mr. Rustami's skill, partly to weather conditions. The perfect dryness of the stone surfaces in high summer makes it possible to see many details that remained invisible in January, the time of year when de Bode and Sir Aurel Stein visited Tang-i Sarvak. Thus the person standing to the right of the couch in ANa, of which Stein wrote "there survive the feet of an attendant figure", is now visible in full; or of the inscription No. 1, on which Stein reported that "only very few characters . . . are recognizable with any clearness from below", scarcely a letter remains in doubt now.

In order to facilitate reference, a list of the monuments and inscriptions is given here, with fresh numbering. It was felt unnecessary to give again a full description of the remains; but remarks are made on points which the new photographs clarify. The relief throughout is fairly low; what Herzfeld said of the Arsacid rock sculptures at Bisutūn holds good also for Tang-i Sarvak — "the ground is chiselled out, but the outlines thus produced, instead of being modelled, are simply engraved" (*Arch. Hist.* 56); it is also true of the stele of Khwāsak, and of the earliest<sup>1</sup> Sassanian rock-reliefs (the battle with Ardavān, at Firuzabad; the investiture of Ardashir, at Naqš-i Rājab; and Salmas). The engraving was rich, in some cases excessively so (see Monument D); most of it has fallen off, so that mere outlines remain now. Another general feature of Tang-i Sarvak is the preference for representation full-face, which contrasts with both Achaemenian and Sassanian practice, but is characteristic also of the stele of Khwāsak.<sup>2</sup>

**Monument A**, large detached rock with sculptures on three sides, north, west, and north-west. De Bode, i, 353-6; Stein, 105-9. General view: **plate i**, showing the western and (in part) north-western faces.

**AN(orth)**. Reliefs in two registers, a above and b below. A drawing: de Bode, i, opposite p. 355.

**ANa**. King on throne-couch, etc.: de Bode, i, 355-6; Stein, 105-6 and Fig. 30. De Bode's drawing, although inaccurate in details, seems more useful than Stein's photograph. Our **plates ii** and **iii**. Stein drew attention to the feet of the couch, which are represented as birds (this had been seen also by Iḥtishām-ed-daule), now clearly recognizable as eagles. There are only three, not four. The two outside

<sup>1</sup> The transition from low relief without modelling to the very high relief which characterizes early Sassanian art seems to me as good an argument as any that can be used to determine the sequence of the rock-sculptures attributable to the time of Ardashir.

<sup>2</sup> And generally of the Iranian art of the Parthian period ("strict frontality of the human figures", Rostovtzeff, *CAH*, xi, 129); excluding, however, the majority of Parthian coins. See further, H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 37 sqq.

eagles look towards each other. The one in the middle is smaller; it bears an ornament on its head (?); it is not correctly centred for lack of space (the lower panel interfered). Compare the throne of Ardvān on the stele of Khwāsak (which is carried by winged griffins according to Ghirshman), and the statue published by H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xx (1939), 182 sq.

The helmet worn by the three warriors resembles a *czapka*; that of the first warrior (counting from the observer's left) has six spikes, three on each side, in addition to the square guard over the crown of the head. The two seated warriors are diademed. The king, who wears neither crown nor diadem, is distinguished by his conical helmet (with a knob at its apex) and the enormous bunches of hair (reminiscent of the Sassanian kings) that rest on his shoulders; he is holding a fillet or diadem (without ribbons) in his right hand, as if he had just received it.

The deep, rounded depressions above the knees of the king and the seated warriors are intended to indicate the edge of the tunic or the robe (*cf.* stele of Khwāsak, Ardvān seated). The robe is very long at the back; it trails on the ground behind the warriors' feet, which owing to the excessive length of the trousers appear ridiculously small. The fold of fabric that hangs between the warriors' legs, seemingly part of their robes, may constitute the end of the roll of cloth (?) sometimes carried over the shoulder, *cf.* AWa, ANW, BS, and the small bronze statue found at Shami (Stein, Fig. 48; A. Godard, *Āthār-é Irān*, ii, 1937, 300-1, 305). The warrior who stands behind the king wears, in addition to the loose, belted tunic (which reaches down to the calves), a mantle which hangs down the back from his shoulders and upper arms (similarly in ANW, and BS, lower figure). In his left hand he holds a curious object<sup>1</sup> with undulating edges, nine (eight?) holes set in a square, and a curved handle; his right hand is stretched forward and seems to touch the back of the king's head. All four persons wear necklaces.

**Inscription No. 1** above ANa. **Plates iv** (whole), **v** (right half), and **vi** (left half). Its presence was noticed by Stein, and by Ihtishām-ed-daule before him. Stein thought it had three lines, but there are four.

**Inscription No. 4** to the left of ANa (Stein inadvertently said "to the right", p. 106). Five lines, but only the first two or three letters of each line are preserved. Quite a good drawing by de Bode, folder at the end of Vol. i, No. 3. Our **plate vii**, see also **plate ii**, left-hand edge.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a banner? The Sassanian banner appears carried behind the king (*cf.* below p. 161); *cf.* also the banner shown on the reverses of the coins of the Fratarakas of Persis.



**ANb.** Three walking figures. Stein, 106 (in his description "right" and "left" must be interchanged). The two taller figures wear, on their left sides, a broad sheath, holding perhaps a club, *cf.* CN. To the left of this panel a "crude representation of a tree" (Stein 107, see his Fig. 30, bottom left-hand corner); a similar drawing is visible in the middle of ANb, over the eroded surface of the central figure; these drawings are clearly of later date, probably quite recent. **Plate viii.**

**ANW** (north-west). King worshipping before altar. De Bode, i, 353-4, with drawing opposite p. 353; Stein, 108-9 and Fig. 36. Our plates ix (king) and x (altar). The figure has been described as that of a "mobed" (de Bode) or "magus" (Stein), but almost certainly represents the king who is resting on his throne-couch in ANa and is killing a lion in AWb; his distinguishing marks (conical helmet and size of hair-bunches) have been pointed out before. Here the king apparently carries his diadem in his left hand in front of his chest; his attitude conveys that the diadem has been given him by the divinity in whose worship he is raising his right hand. The broad and ornate collar that encircles his neck and is held together by a large round cameo(?) brooch is part of the mantle or cloak mentioned above (end of ANa)<sup>1</sup>; it is shorter than the loose tunic, which has long sleeves and is girdled with a sash, the ends of which hang down in front. On the cult symbol, see below, BN.

**Inscription No. 3**, of five lines, on the lowest stone of the altar. Drawing by de Bode, folder at the end of Vol. i, No. 1 (the first two lines quite successful). Photograph of a squeeze (Stein, Fig. 36A). Our plate xi, supported by ix, x, and ii (bottom right-hand corner).

**AW(est)**. Relievs in three registers, a above, b middle, c lowest. The middle register consists of two independent parts, ba to the left side, bβ to the right. De Bode, i, 354-5, drawing opposite p. 353; Stein, 107-8.

**AWa.** Court assembly in the throne room. Stein, Fig. 33. Our plate xii. All nine figures (except possibly No. 9, counting from the observer's left) are bare-headed; their hairdress resembles that of the satrap on the stele of Khwāsak (except for No. 8 whose hair falls down to the shoulders). The two principal figures, Nos. 1 and 8, are seated on elaborate throne-chairs, with steps, foot-stools, arm-rests, and high backs with elliptic projections (which may be responsible for Stein's suggestion that No. 1 was diademed); they wear long, transparent (silken?) robes. Figures Nos. 1, 8, and 9 hold staves in their right hands.

<sup>1</sup> For a mantle fastened in precisely the same way see the representation of Gennaïos on the stele published by H. Seyrig in *Syria*, xxvi (1949), 230 sqq. and plate xi (*cf.* p. 231, n. 1). The function of the long thin roll (*cf.* ANa above), to which a shoulder-piece (a replica of the collar in its pattern) seems to be attached, is not clear.

The dress of figure No. 9 (a long skirt touching the ground) is perhaps of the same kind as that worn by the occupants of the thrones; it differs from the common Parthian dress which we see on figures 2 to 6 and probably 7 (tunic as in ANW, wide trousers tucked into boots, plus the roll of cloth(?) carried over the shoulder). Figure No. 1 is best seen in **plate ix**.

**AWba.** Four tall and two small persons. Stein, Fig. 42. Our **plates xii** and **xiii**. The four tall persons are turned towards the left (heads in profile, the bodies in front view); their right hands are lifted in supplication (the first person from the left seems to hold a ring); their left arms, which look as if they had been cut off, are perhaps tied(?) on their backs. As to the two small persons, the first (from the left) holds in his right hand, which is awkwardly turned to the observer's left, an indeterminate object (a ball to which a wedge is attached by its thin side — a chisel?), but his face is turned to the right, towards the other five persons. The second, even smaller person, who is shown full-face, wears a head-dress that resembles that of the king's consort at Sar-Mašhad, and probably represents a woman (or goddess).

**AWbβ.** King on horseback slaying a lion(?). Stein, Figs. 35 and 42. Our **plates xii** and **xiii**. The weapon used by the king is not a lance (Stein) but a sword. What Stein (and de Bode before him) regarded as a curved bow (to the right of the king's head) is merely the irregularly cut edge of the deepened rock surface (see **plate xv**). The rider is too large in relation to the size of his horse; his feet touch the ground; the ends of the bands with which the boots are tied at the ankle are clearly visible. His quiver is attached by a ring to the saddle; a strap fastens an object on his thigh, probably a dagger (*cf.* below D).

**AWc.** Man strangling a lion. *Cf.* Stein, Fig. 42. **Plate xiv**. The man wears a high tiara. Under his coat (so it seems) he carries a sword; only the tip of its scabbard emerges.<sup>1</sup> The lion sits dispiritedly on its hind legs (the posture of the animal in **AWbβ** is not clear; de Bode hesitated between lion, bear, and wild boar).

**Inscription No. 2**, under figure No. 9 in **AWa**, above the "lion" in **AWbβ**. It has five lines. Drawing by de Bode, folder at end of Vol. i, No. 2. Photograph of a squeeze, Stein, Fig. 36B. Both are fairly satisfactory for the last three lines. Our **plate xv** (supported by **plates xii** and **xiii**).

**Inscription No. 5**, under the hind legs of the horse in **AWbβ** continuing in a single line towards the head of the man in **AWc**. As it is almost

<sup>1</sup> As the sword was normally worn on a hip-belt over the tunic, the coat, when added to the costume, necessarily covered it in part. On this coat or vest, a garment seldom worn (this is the only example in Tang-i Sarvak), see H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 22-4; his plate iv shows a beautiful specimen of such a coat covering a sword (lower panel, centre figure; only the handle emerges).

entirely destroyed (perhaps it was erased by the stone-masons), it has not been noticed previously. Unmistakable letters are visible under the interstice between the fifth and the sixth figures (counting from the left) in AWb<sub>a</sub>. No special photograph available. See plates xii and xiii.

**Monument B:** small detached rock a mile to the west of A. Not noticed by de Bode. Stein, 111-2. Sculptures on three sides, south, west, and north (according to Stein: north, east, and south; his directions do not accord with our photographs). All the surfaces are badly weathered. The monument bears some general resemblance to the sculptured monolith near the rock of Bīsūtūn (*cf.* L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The sculptures and inscriptions of Darius the Great*, pp. xxv-xxvi and plates x and xi).

**BS.** Two worshippers. Stein, Fig. 32. Our plate xvi (the two photographs supplement each other). The first worshipper stands on a platform before a small fire altar resting on a stepped base. His raised right hand holds a bowl or round box; the irregular lines below the hand, a little to its left, suggested to Stein incense in the process of being dropped into the fire. The object held in the left hand is indistinct; the bulge in front of the right leg is not easily accounted for (a water jar?). The second worshipper stands behind the first, on a lower level; he is much taller (the relation of his size to that of the first worshipper is as 10 to 7). He wears a tiara and holds a ball-like object in his raised right hand. His tunic is a little lower at the sides than in the middle and the edges appear to be slightly pointed (so also the king's tunic in ANW and BN). Such pointed edges appear in Palmyra (where the pointing is often exaggerated) chiefly in the 3rd century; they belong to the tunic introduced in the middle of the 2nd century; see H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 15 sq. — The description given by Stein, who probably wrote from memory, is not quite accurate here. He stated that the figure on the lower level (which he described as smaller) stood "before an altar resting on a ziggurat-shaped base"; but there is no altar, and the base belongs to the fire altar in front of the first worshipper.

**Inscription No. 6** in front of the tiara of the second worshipper. Two lines, possibly more. Only a few letters are recognizable. Not previously noticed. No separate photograph available. See plate xvi. The presence of this inscription (all the others are at Monument A) proves that the Monuments A and B are approximately contemporaneous.

**BW.** Man in front view with outstretched arms, on the edge of the rock. **Plate xvii.** The relief is higher than elsewhere in Tang-i Sarvak. Hair in a halo around the head, *cf.* AWa. The right hand (palm upwards, and fingers splayed, perhaps holding a round object, *cf.* AWb<sub>a</sub> and BS, second worshipper) can be best seen in plate xviii (right-hand side).

**BN.** This sculpture, only briefly mentioned by Stein ("two relieve figures very badly decayed"), is of great interest. **Plate xviii.** The right figure wears a crown, perhaps a mural crown; it is taller than the person on the left, who wears a tiara. Between their heads one sees the sacred stone or *maššēbā*, shaped like a sugar loaf, which stands also on the altar in ANW; here as there it is tied with a double band, the two ends of which float downwards on the left side (one end in front of the tiara, the other above it). Stein correctly described it as a βασιλευς; the diadem, the symbol of royalty that encircles it, signifies that the divinity residing in this *bēt-Ēl* or "house of god" is the king of gods, the god who confers the kingship upon mortals.<sup>1</sup>

The hands of the two figures seem to touch; perhaps the taller hands an object (a diadem?) to the other. Two children stand below their arms, facing each other, closely together; that on the right, whose back touches the crowned figure, is clearly visible; of the other only feeble traces remain. The scene immediately recalls the Sassanian representations of the divine investiture: Ahuramazdāh,<sup>2</sup> the king of the gods, wearing a mural crown, gives a diadem to the king; a symbol of worship between god and king (a fire altar at Firuzabad); childlike figures in between (two: investiture of Ardashir at Naqš-i Rājab, the earliest sculpture of this kind; one: investiture of Narseh at Naqš-i Rostam). We are thus entitled to the assumption that the crowned figure represents the local Ahuramazdāh; the child leaning to him may be his daughter, the local Anāhit. As, however, the cult symbol is distinctly non-Iranian and in fact points straight to Syria, the homeland of the baetyls, we should use Semitic rather than Iranian names. Now the recognized Semitic "equivalent" of Ahuramazdāh was Bēl. And it so happens that Bēl is the only male divinity mentioned for Elymais during the whole of Parthian times (on the occasion of the end of Antiochus Magnus). Therefore, we may plausibly call the crowned figure *Bēl*, and, though with less assurance, the child *Nanai*, who may perhaps be recognized also in the female figure of AWba.

**Monument C.** Detached boulder 650 yards to the east of A. Not noticed by de Bode. Stein, 104-5. Sculptures on two sides, north and east.

**CN.** Stein, Fig. 31. Our **plate xix.** The two soldiers (plain tunic, trousers, and sandals) carry a broad sheath on their left sides, which seems to contain a club or mace with a curved top, *cf.* also ANb. A similar implement can be seen in the investiture of Ardashir at Naqš-i Rājab;

<sup>1</sup> I owe thanks to Professor Sidney Smith for helping me with the explanation of the stone on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptionally Anāhit acts in his place (in the case of Narseh).

the attendant who holds the fly-whisk carries it there, but on his right side. Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 249, "Keule, am Gürtel befestigt".

CE. According to Stein, a badly damaged figure reclining on a couch (cf. ANa). No photograph available.

**Monument D.** Limestone block, connected with other rocks, to the north of A. Single relievo on its southern face. De Bode, i, 356-7, and drawing opposite p. 356. Stein, 110-1, and Fig. 37. Our plate xx. The two photographs are neatly complementary, having been taken with the light from almost opposite directions. The fight on horseback seems to have been a favourite subject for rock-sculptures in Iran in both Parthian and Sassanian times. Before Tang-i Sarvak: the victory of Goterzes at Bisutün; after Tang-i Sarvak: the fight with Ardashir at Firüzābād, and four similar battle scenes at Naqš-i Rostam attributable to (1) Bahrām ii, (2) his son, Bahrām iii, before his accession (recognizable by the eagle that forms the front of his helmet), (3) Hormizd ii (uncertain, only the back of the crown having been preserved), and (4) Shapur ii. Certain features are common to all of them: both parties are on horseback, the only weapon used is the long lance, the victor is on the left side. All except one (Bahrām iii) show an additional figure or group on the left side, whose introduction was designed to bring the victor into the best place in the centre: a horseman at Bisutün, three foot soldiers at Tang-i Sarvak, a young prince<sup>1</sup> with a prisoner at Firüzābād (where the chief scene is duplicated), a horseman with the royal banner at Naqš-i Rostam (Hormizd ii and Shapur ii; whether the rider at the back of Bahrām ii carries a banner, is doubtful). Consideration of the general history of this tableau causes one to expect a second rider, in the process of being overthrown, to the right of the *clibanarius*, where the rock has broken away. Indeed, there are ample traces of the defeated enemy, but these traces can scarcely be interpreted as those of a horseman; they rather appear to indicate a walking figure in full armour (both his feet in side view, walking towards the victor; that on the left side is touched by the horse's forefeet; the right arm hanging down in front of the horse's head; the apparent fifth leg of the horse may, in fact, be the curved end of a mace dropping from the enemy's hand), but there are many doubtful points.

The "cataphract" or *clibanarius* has been described by Stein. The helmet is broad, rectangular, flat on top, projecting at the sides; under it two fairly large hair-bunches emerge, which render it possible that the person here depicted is identical with the king of Monument A, in

<sup>1</sup> The same prince (identifiable by the crest on his helmet) appears in the investiture of Ardashir at Naqš-i Rostam immediately behind the king.

spite of the difference in headgear (the small conical helmet would not afford sufficient protection in war.)<sup>1</sup> The typically Parthian dagger is clearly visible on the rider's right thigh, *cf.* the large statue found at Shami and A. Godard's remarks, *Āthār-é Irān*, ii, 297 sq. (see also H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xx (1939), 177-81). The large object behind the rider's leg was recognized by Stein as a quiver; it is very broad and probably was bowcase and quiver combined<sup>2</sup> (*cf.* Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 249); it is divided lengthwise into three compartments (*cf.* the equally broad quiver of Ardavān at Firūzābād, which is bisected vertically). Portions of the rich surface ornamentation on the quiver and on the middle of the cuirass can still be seen. The rider wears a leather cuirass over a coat of scale armour with brassarts of annulate plate armour (*cf.* the Parthian warriors at Firūzābād). The horse, too, is protected by plate (scale) armour; its suit has a projection before the chest, which gives it the appearance of a funnel (or oven) and may be responsible for the origin of the term *clibanarius* (differently Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 164, n. 5); the projection was open in front to allow some movement to the forelegs; the whole suit bore no resemblance to the Sassanian *bargustuvān* represented at Tāq-i Bustān.

Of the three soldiers sketched in the top left-hand corner of the panel, one is shown throwing a stone (correctly seen by de Bode), the second shooting an arrow, the third falling down backwards; their style of dress differs from that of the other figures in Tang-i Sarvak. The bowman and the stone-thrower carry long swords, attached to shoulder belts in Roman fashion. Behind the stone-thrower's legs, a little above the butt of the lance, one sees an implement, which de Bode regarded as a hammer, while Stein took it for a ring and chain; perhaps it is a battle-axe, a *tabarzīn*, with a ring for attachment to the belt.

**A-D.** The total number of persons represented in Tang-i Sarvak is forty; of animals: seven (two horses, two lions, three ornamental birds). The following weapons, etc., are shown: long lance, light spear, bow, arrow, quiver, quiver and bowcase combined, sword, dagger, mace, battle-axe, staff, and banner.

---

The theme of the rock-sculptures at Tang-i Sarvak is the investiture of a king or of several kings. We see a king receiving his diadem from the hands of a divine being, probably Bēl (BN), to whom he offers a sacrifice (BS). The same king, or perhaps his predecessor or successor, is shown holding the diadem in front of the altar of the same divinity, which is

---

<sup>1</sup> The rider wore also a diadem; one of its free ends is floating behind his head.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* the stele of Castor-Abgal (*Syria*, xxvi, 1949, p. 236).

represented by a cult symbol reminiscent of Syria (ANW). He then seats himself on the royal throne, holding aloft the symbol of his majesty before the eyes of the leaders of his state (ANa). At a public reception the king and another person, perhaps the high priest, are seen seated on throne chairs (AWa). The sacred enclosure where the investiture takes place is guarded by the royal troops (ANb and CN). A great victory over an alien enemy has laid the foundation of the royal power (D); and the new king's prowess in hunting has been shown on more than one occasion (AWb $\beta$  and AWc).<sup>1</sup>

Such a reconstruction may well seem a little too fanciful; indeed, there are more doubtful than certain points in it; yet it is desirable that we should try to understand the meaning of the site before tackling the inscriptions, which owing to their brevity promise little information. As specimens of the stone-mason's art the inscriptions rank very low; not even the surfaces were always properly smoothed before the work began; the engraving is of the poorest, and the letters are straggling.

Reputedly, these inscriptions are written in an unknown script, but this reputation is undeserved and due chiefly to the growing departmentalization of learning. Looking back now, one sees that the drawings by de Bode or those made by İhtishâm-ed-daule were perfectly sufficient for the purpose of determining the nature of the script. The key is unsufferably obvious; one is ashamed not to have found it at once. The writing is simply the same as that found on the coins which the kings of Elymais issued in Parthian times.

The writing on these coins, which are allocated to the first and second centuries of our era, was in part deciphered already by A. D. Mordtmann, who recognized the word for "king" (*MLK'*) and the name of Orodes (*WRWD*). The decipherment was completed by the late Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe, the father of Elymaean numismatics; see especially his paper "*Les Monnaies de l'Élymaïde*", *Revue Numismatique*, 4<sup>me</sup> sér. t. xxii, 1919, 45-84. We owe a final and comprehensive treatment of the coins to G. F. Hill, *Cat. of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*.

A curious and almost unaccountable feature is the appearance on the coins of two varieties of writing, which, although alike in a general way, differ from each other in the shape of quite a few letters; most striking is the employment of one and the same figure for different values (*D* in the one variety = *B* in the other). The distribution of the two varieties of writing is not by any means due to differences in date; queerly enough it seems to be

<sup>1</sup> I hesitate to make any use here of the relievio AWb $\alpha$ . Its style seems to differ from that of the other sculptures; but this impression may be due to its ruined state (or to its having been left uncompleted?). Its purport is not clear. A possible interpretation (namely, four prisoners approaching a priest to offer themselves as victims to Nanai, in order to celebrate the inauguration) is not very attractive; but the presence of prisoners in this relievio is suggested by the inscriptions (see below).

governed chiefly by the *size* of the coins. The one variety is reserved to *les monnaies de petit module* (small coppers), the other to *les monnaies de grand module* (copper "tetradrachms" – there is no silver); but this rule is not without exceptions; thus the writing of the larger coins is used also on the small coppers of Orodes iii (middle of the 2nd century). Allotte de la Fuÿe attributed the variation to local influence or conditions, see *Rev. Num.*, 1919, 69. However that may be, the point important for us at the moment is that the writing of Tang-i Sarvak is that of the tetradrachms. Thus, for the purpose of reading the inscriptions we should rely on the tetradrachms alone, disregarding the small coppers<sup>1</sup> which might mislead us.

It so happens that a single legend, that of the tetradrachm of Kamnaskires Orodes, contains all the letters that can be read with certitude; see Allotte, *loc. cit.*, p. 68 and plate i, No. 10; cf. Hill, plate xl, Nos. 20–23, liii, No. 15. The legend runs as follows:—

צן חזי'י רנון א (ע'ס'ז' ו'ו'ן א'ו'ע'ו

= כבנשכיר ורוד מלכא בר ורוד מלכא

*i.e.*, *KBNŠKYR WRWD MLK' BR WRWD MLK'* "King Kamnaskires Orodes, son of King Orodes". This gives us eleven letters (ʿ, b, d, w, y, k, l, m, n, r, š), precisely half the Aramaic alphabet. A twelfth letter, 𐤌 appears on the unique tetradrachm of the British Museum which G. F. Hill attributed to Phraates, the son of Orodes (Hill, plate xli, No. 16); it is believed to represent the last letter of the king's name (which, on his coins with Greek legends, appears as Πραατης), namely 𐤌 *t* (the preceding letter is clearly Aleph; before that traces of *RD*(?), hence [*p*]r*d't*; the *P* is unfortunately lost); this reading is convincing, but not certain. Other letters that have been read on Elymaean coins (such as the *P* in "Queen Ulfān") are too doubtful to be taken into account.

A few words are necessary to defend the new reading I have introduced into the legend of the tetradrachm, *KBNŠKYR*. Only the fourth letter is in dispute. Allotte de la Fuÿe gave his reading in the form of *KaBNa-HZKIR*, *i.e.*, he divided the letter I regard as 𐤌 into two and attributed to the halves the values which they would have had in ancient Aramaic (𐤌). Hill, no doubt sensing the inappropriateness of such a spelling, wrote כבנהכיר in Hebrew letters, but *KABNAH(Z)KIR* in Roman (as if *Z* and *H* were alternatives). We will show presently that the letter 𐤌 *H* had a different shape in the Elymaean script. Apart from that, between *N* and the second *K* of this name one would scarcely expect any letter other than either 𐤌 *S* or 𐤌 *Š*. On the coins with Greek inscriptions we find the

<sup>1</sup> Their script differs from Parthian script, if at all, only slightly.



following forms: KAMNIZKIPOY (about 160 B.C.), KAMNAΣKIPOY (normal form, 1st century B.C.), and once KABNAΣ[KIPOY] (Allotte, *loc. cit.*, p. 62 = pl. i, No. 4). The small coppers are said to have כּוּמְשִׁכִּיר = *KWMŠKYR*, see Allotte, *ibid.*, 52-3; while this reading may seem uncertain, there is no doubt about its  $\Psi$  Š, which resembles the Parthian Š. The small coppers compel us to read *KBNŠKYR* in preference to *KBNSKYR* (which the Greek spelling would equally admit), and this is in best accord with palaeographic considerations. The truth is that  $\Psi$  was one of the letters that possessed different forms in the two varieties of Elymaean script.

Another point worth making (although it should not be allowed to intrude into the process of reading the letters) concerns the origin of this curious name, *Kamnaskires*. It has always been regarded as a personal name, and indeed it is often used as if it were a proper name, but nevertheless, it seems possible that it was an old dynastic title. The strange legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ,<sup>1</sup> and, to a higher degree, the collocation of *KBNŠKYR* with *WRWD*, which alone can reasonably be said to have been the king's name, may seem to support this suggestion. The pronunciation of the word was, approximately, *kabneškir*. It strikingly resembles the Elamite title *qa-ap-nu-iš-ki-ra* "treasurer", which occurs often in the treasury tablets discovered at Persepolis and published by G. G. Cameron (*cf.* Gershevitch, *Asia Major*, ii, 144); since the sign "nu" has the phonetic value *ni* and tenues and mediae are not distinguished, the spelling represents *kapniškir-* or *kabniškir-*. In Achaemenian times it was no doubt the chief duty of the satraps of Susiana to protect the royal treasures stored at Susa; thus they may have been called *kabniškir* in the local Elamite language, and this title may have clung to those who governed that province even in later times.

There are thus altogether twelve letters (including  $\eta$ ) on which we may rely for the reading of the inscriptions. But before we can proceed, we must ask ourselves the question: in what language are the inscriptions written? Or, since the language of the inscriptions is likely to be the same as the language of the coin legends, we should ask: what is the language of the coin legends? In the present state of our knowledge, this question cannot be answered with assurance. On the face of it, of course, the language is Aramaic. Thus the legend of the tetradrachm produced above (p. 164) is in faultless Aramaic. Other coins, notably those with the legend וּרּוּד מְלִכָּא בְּרִי וּרּוּד *WRWD MLK' BRY WRWD* (*e.g.*, Hill, plate xl,

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1902, plate v, No. 3 = Hill, plate liii, No. 8; and Hill, plate xxxviii, Nos. 5 and 6. So on an unpublished coin in my possession, a silver tetradrachm, which, while resembling the Paris tetradrachm, has the characteristic bust of an old man on the obverse; the date is almost entirely rubbed off (perhaps it was BIT = 1 B.C./1 A.D.). The letters ΤΟΥ ΕΓ are quite clear on this coin (as they are also on the late coin, Hill, plate liii, No. 10); thus they cannot well be regarded as a mistake.

Nos. 10, 11, 12; xli, No. 2), show faulty Aramaic; for *BRY* ("my son") in this place is an absurdity in Aramaic — evidently it is used ideographically here (as the same form is used in Parthian and Sogdian). The presence of ideograms proves that the language that underlay these legends is not Aramaic; it may have been an Iranian dialect or it may have been a surviving form of Elamite. This seemingly negligible difference, here *BR* and there *BRY*, is in fact a point of considerable importance: it proves (nothing less) that the coins were issued with legends in two different languages, in Aramaic and in a language which was written with the help of Aramaic ideograms. Now, as the tetradrachm shows pure Aramaic, while the cited coins with legends in faulty Aramaic belong to the "small copper" class,<sup>1</sup> it is tempting to assume that the difference in language goes parallel with the difference in script; in view of the bad execution and worse preservation of the majority of these coins it cannot as yet be said whether such an assumption is in accord with the facts. If it could be proved, it would afford support to Allotte de la Fuÿe's hypothesis that the employment of two varieties of writing was due to local conditions. Perhaps the lowlands of Khūzistān were peopled by speakers of Aramaic while in the highlands to the north an Iranian (or Elamite?) language was spoken; and the mints of the Kamnaskires dynasty, to accommodate both national groups, issued coins with legends in both languages for local circulation.

We have seen before that the writing of Tang-i Sarvak is identical with the writing of the tetradrachms; we see now that the language of the tetradrachms, or at least of the tetradrachm of Kamnaskires Orodes (one of the few entirely satisfactory specimens of the Elymaean coinage), was pure Aramaic; therefore, we are entitled to the assumption that the language of Tang-i Sarvak will be Aramaic. As far as I know it has not been suggested before that Aramaic infiltrated also into Khūzistān, but there is every likelihood that that is precisely what happened — that as in the neighbouring lands of Babylonia and Mesene so also in Khūzistān, at least in its lowlands, the ancient indigenous language became submerged and gradually replaced by the all-powerful Aramaic language.

The first line of Inscription No. 1 appears in this form (there is no word division):

אֵלֶּאסְמִינְוּמִיכְנִכְזִטְסִינְזְנִמִּי

If we substitute Hebrew letters for those which we know from the coins, and Roman letters for those which we do not, we obtain:—

אֵלֶּמֶאסְמִינְוּמִכְנִכְזִטְסִינְזְנִמִּי

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing, either in point of script or in point of language, that conflicts with the description of these legends as Parthian.

This is probably the only line in the inscriptions that offers hope of substantial progress in the decipherment; thanks to the recurrence of parts of the phrase in other lines, the shapes of the letters are throughout assured (my drawing here is a slight improvement on nature).

Suitable as the first word in an inscription of this kind, which can reasonably be expected to describe the rock-sculpture it attends, is a word for "picture" or the like; hence, we put A=𐎎 and read 𐎎𐎠𐎡𐎢 *šalmā* "the picture"; in any case, the first letter strongly resembles *šāde* (as in Palmyrene, Manichaean, or Parthian). Now we call to mind comparable inscriptions, such as one of Naqš-i Rostam: *ptkr ZNH 'hwrnzd 'LH* "This is the picture of Ahuramazdāh, the god", lit. picture-this-Ahuramazdāh-god, and cannot fail to see that the self-same second word, ZNH "this", fits the letters of our inscription; hence, B=𐎠 and C=𐎡 (both again fairly close to Parthian forms). Next comes D; after some time one recognizes that it has to be dissolved into two components, *viz.*, 𐎠, the relative particle. It is not used in the Iranian inscriptions (as at Naqš-i Rostam) in this place, but it is used in properly Aramaic inscriptions such as those of Palmyra, many of which open with the words 𐤓𐤌𐤎𐤏 𐤍𐤏𐤔𐤌 "this is the picture of . . .". Having once found the reading 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢, we know that we are on the right way and can set doubt and hesitation aside.

The opening formula is followed by WRWD=Orodes, necessarily the name of the man whose investiture was to be kept fresh in memory by the monuments of Tang-i Sarvak. It is well known that Orodes was the favourite name of the later kings of Elymais; the personage depicted is thus one of these kings. Turning now to the remaining group of letters, a group which recurs in four or five places, we cannot at first make progress. It consists of eleven letters, all known except one, which occurs in two places; this unknown letter resembles the Pahlavi *T*, but experimenting with *T* yields no good sense, and if we gave the value of *T* to the unknown letter, we should depart from our basis of twelve letters, which included *T* (although admittedly that was the only uncertain one among them).

It may be better to approach the problem from the meaning which may be attributed to the words after the king's name. One would expect his title. But the title of the kings of Elymais called Orodes (and our Orodes is necessarily one of them) was *king* and nothing else — on that score the coins leave no doubt; yet the word "king", מלכא, occurs neither here nor anywhere else in the inscriptions. Why then does our King Orodes not call himself "king", as he should? I can think of only one answer: Orodes is not king as yet, he is only at the point of *becoming king*. The reliefs show him being invested with the insignia of kingship, and the inscriptions conformingly speak of him not as a king but as one being installed as a king: the words at the end of the line should convey some such meaning.

ARABIC	PARTHIAN	COINS OF ELYMAIS		TANG-I SARVAK					
		SMALL COPPERS (PARTH)	TETRADRACHMS (ARAB)	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6
𐎠	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	
𐎢	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣		
𐎤	𐎥								
𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦			
𐎧	𐎧								
𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨			
𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩			
𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪			
𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫			
𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬			
𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭			
𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮			
𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯			
𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰			
𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱			
𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲			
𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳			
𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴			
𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵			
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶			
𐎷	𐎷	𐎷	𐎷	𐎷	𐎷	𐎷			
𐎸	𐎸	𐎸	𐎸	𐎸	𐎸	𐎸			

The Elymaean Alphabet

The most striking object depicted in the relief ANa (above which Inscription No. 1 is engraved) is undoubtedly the throne-couch on which Orodes has seated himself. The correct word for it in Aramaic is כורסיא and this fits as the last word of the line. Hence we put E=ס.<sup>1</sup> The preceding letter, כ, might be the preposition, but it is better to take the remaining five letters as a single word, נאסיב = *nāsib* (*nāseβ*) "taking". Then the whole line reads:

צלמא זנה זי ורוד נאסיב כורסיא

=this is the image of Orodes assuming the throne.

The language of this line is pure Aramaic; nothing in it hints at ideographic writing covering a different language. There is no significant<sup>2</sup> deviation from *Reichsaramäisch*, except in the "Mandaean" orthography of N<sup>3</sup>SYB, which may count as a pointer to the use of Aramaic as a living language, as against a scribal convenience; the imperfect prefix is still Y-, see Inscription No. 3, last line. However, recognition of their language removes the inscriptions out of my competence; for my occupation with Tang-i Sarvak arose from the hope of finding a new Iranian language; as this hope has been disappointed, it is proper that we should hand over to the Semitists. Accordingly, I shall refrain from too much speculation and confine myself to a transcription of the inscriptions with a minimum of explanatory remarks; for there is much that I do not understand.

To deal briefly with the remaining letters first: ש S and ת T occur several times, in forms resembling those found on coins; in Inscription No. 1 the crescent-shaped end of the latter has become a full circle (as in Syriac and sometimes in Nabataean) and its second shaft has acquired a brief horizontal line at its top, which is found also in the letter N in that inscription (merely an attempt at stylization, which has affected also the shape of S). 'Ain is assured in the last line of Inscription No. 3, where the reading עכד imposes itself; but whether the preceding word should be read as עליה is a matter of considerable doubt.<sup>3</sup> In the same line there is one example each of ח H and ג G; as these letters are found nowhere else, their identification is uncertain. In the first line of Inscription No. 3 there is a clear פ P in the last word, the third letter of which I have put down as ק Q, partly because its shape (a longish vertical with a brief horizontal line on top) is not too much removed from the normal Aramaic type, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the forms which this letter assumed in Nabataean, Mandaean, and square Hebrew; the right side is completely closed also in Syrian and Manichaean scripts.

<sup>2</sup> A minor deviation in the spelling כורסיא (=normal Aramaic form) against כרסיא (Ahikar), cf. st. cstr. כרסיא Zenjirli *Bauinschrift* and Daniel, with suffix כרסיא (Pap.) beside כרסיא (Daniel). The once occurring spelling כורסיא (Inscription No. 1, line 4) is probably due to error.

<sup>3</sup> Another instance in Inscription No. 1, line 3.

No. 1  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

No. 2  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

No. 4  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

No. 5  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

No. 6  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

No. 3  
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת  
 י א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

The Elymaean Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak

partly because there is little left to choose from; another example of *Q*, *ibid.*, line 3; two other examples of *P*, *ibid.*, line 2 and Inscription No. 4 line 1(?). Now we have found all the letters of the Aramaic alphabet except one:  $\text{ܛ}$  *T*; a suitable shape does appear in the third line of Inscription No. 1 where, to judge by the parallel copy, no letter is called for. Hence, its identification with *T* is very doubtful. In view of the shortness of the inscriptions, to find instances of every single letter would be an extraordinary piece of luck.

The extent of the material is even less than it appears to be at first sight. The Inscriptions Nos. 4, 5, and 6 scarcely count. The text of Inscription No. 2 is embodied in No. 1. Thus we have, in effect, only two inscriptions, No. 1-2 and No. 3; between them they contain under 150 letters. Moreover, Inscription No. 3 is so badly engraved on an uneven surface that the forms of the letters cannot always be determined with assurance. We will begin with Inscription No. 1 (minus its first line) and No. 2:—

No. 1	No. 2
בר בלדושא זי רבאני (2)	בלדושא זי רבאני (1)
ואסיריא ואתיטכא זי בתרעאבר (3)	ואסיריא ואתיכא (2)
באסי נאסיב כורסא (4)	זי בתרא בר (3)
	באסי נאסיב (4)
	כורסיא (5)

As in the two copies the text is broken into lines in different ways, the division into words is in part assured. The first word in No. 2, *BLDWŠ*<sup>1</sup>, is presumably a proper name; its final Alef is not certain, nor is the following *ZY*. The next word is clear except for its ending; No. 1 favours *RB'NY*, in No. 2 it may be *RB'NY* or *RB'N'*. Since the latter is impossible in No. 1, we should give preference to *RB'NY*—a title? *Rab*-+x? *Rabbānē*, an east-Aramaic plural det. (with final *Yōd*?), would mean "teachers" and scarcely be suitable; another personal name (*Rabbānai*) is hardly appropriate.

The next line opens with the words "and the prisoners (captives) and . . .". They are followed by *'tyk'* in No. 2, but *'tyk'(?)* in No. 1, which I do not understand; even *'tyk'* is not easily accounted for. Dalman gives *attihā* "hart" (Germ.), which is listed neither by Buxtorf nor by J. Levy; assumption of confusion between *k* and *q* (*'attiqā* "ancient") is not inviting.<sup>1</sup> The tendency to prolong a final ascending stroke into a succeeding *Yōd*, which can be observed on the coins (*KY* in *KBNŠKYR*, Hill,

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew *attiq* (said to mean "gallery, porch") need scarcely be considered here.

plate xl, Nos. 20, 23, perhaps 22), is neatly exemplified by *TY* here in No. 2.

The remainder is comparatively easy. If one trusts to the word-division recommended by the spacing in No. 2, one has "who (are) at the gate (court); Bar-Bāsi assuming the throne"; if one does not, "who (are) at the gate (court) of Abar-Bāsi assuming the throne". The second alternative seems preferable; the variant *TR<sup>c</sup> 'BR* (*TR<sup>o</sup> BR*) is valuable; the third possibility ("who (are) behind, or after, 'Ābar-bāsi" etc.) can be discounted.<sup>1</sup> The one difficult point is the position of *BR<sup>2</sup>* (or *'BR*) at the end of a line in No. 1; for if, in fact, it constituted a name together with *B'SY*,<sup>3</sup> it should have been placed at the beginning of the next line (there was ample space).

The fact that the full meaning of such an inscription does not become clear immediately should not be allowed to discourage us. We know as good as nothing of the conditions of life in Khūzistān in the first centuries of our era; there are no sources of any description except the coins, which provide the bare names of a few kings (the latest of the Greek inscriptions of Susa is from A.D. 21); and the possibility that we have gone wrong in determining the value of the letters must not be lost sight of entirely (there is very little that can be changed). Even so, however little we understand, that little is almost enough to destroy our whole case. The word that precedes *N'SYB KWRSY*, whatever its precise form, is certainly a proper name (henceforward as Abar-Bāsi); the first line of No. 1 contains another proper name, Orodes, also in front of *N'SYB KWRSY*. Thus we should find two persons mentioned as being invested in one and the same inscription; that is extremely unlikely.

To meet this difficulty with a convincing explanation is not easy. It is not as if Inscription No. 1, although it does consist of two distinct parts, could be regarded as constituting two separate inscriptions, engraved below each other at different times; on the contrary, its distinctive style of writing ensures that the whole of it was incised by one craftsman at one and the same time. Perhaps the answer to the problem lies in the word *BR* (line 2, first word) which connects the two halves of the inscription. As *BLDWS<sup>3</sup>* is probably a proper name (a compound of *Ba'l/Bēl* with another word<sup>4</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> Because *bātar* would almost certainly be spelt *b'tr*.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing can be done with *bar-* "outside" here, it seems.

<sup>3</sup> If it is *bar* "son of", the separation is to some extent justified; less so if the name is a compound name (e.g. with חביר?).

<sup>4</sup> We are entitled to assume that, as in the neighbouring Mandaean dialect, so also in Elymaean (if that name be acceptable for the language of our inscriptions) there was some neglect of the laryngals; here, as there, it may be credited to the influence of Babylonian; as regards 'Ain, cf. *tr* (*tr'*) in the place of *tr'* (*tr''*).— Such transcriptions as *Abar-Bāsi*, *Bēl-dūšā* are intended to spare the reader the annoyance caused by the apostrophes; they are mere symbols.



*BR* will be *bar* "son of"; thus we learn from Inscription No. 1 that Orodes was the son of *Bēl-dūšā*. We may now put forward the following theory:—

Monument A belongs to two successive kings, Abar-Bāsī and Orodes. The reliefs and inscriptions on the western face (the best side of the rock, which would be used first) are due to Abar-Bāsī. The court assembly of *AWa* shows the installation of Abar-Bāsī; the figures seated on the thrones are Abar-Bāsī and the most powerful man in his kingdom, *Bēl-dūšā*, perhaps the high priest and grand vizier (*RB'NY?*); his name may indicate that he was a priest of *Bēl*. Inscription No. 2 describes *AWa* and the horseman in *AWbβ* is Abar-Bāsī.

After Abar-Bāsī had died or been killed, the high priest installed his own son, Orodes. To him belong the northern and north-western faces of Monument A and the whole of Monument B. The cult of *Bēl* (and perhaps *Nanai*) became more firmly established and more closely associated with the kingship; it was claimed that Orodes, the usurper, had been invested by *Bēl* himself. To his inscription, which ended with the words "son of *Bēl-dūšā* the high priest", the remainder of the earlier inscription, which began with "*Bēl-dūšā* the high priest", was added, half mechanically.<sup>1</sup> There was no particular objection to the addition (which merely stated truthfully that a part of the monument was due to Abar-Bāsī), perhaps because there had been no open enmity between Orodes and his predecessor; on the contrary their association in one inscription may have been intended to convey their equality of status.

In presenting this purely tentative hypothesis account has been taken of the remaining inscriptions. No. 5, it will be remembered, is under the horseman (*AWbβ*) whom we now regard as Abar-Bāsī.

## No. 5

צלמא זנה זי . . . . . נא[סי]ב כו[רסיא]

"This is the image of . . . assuming the throne." The name is destroyed. The length of the gap is too great for *WRWD*; *BRB'SY* or *'BRB'SY* would fill it (when I made the drawing I believed I could see the letter *B* after *ZY*; its existence seems to me very doubtful now). The only inscription on Monument B is No. 6:—

## No. 6

צלמא זנה זי ור (1)

ו[ר] נא[סי]ב [כו]רסיא (2)

"This is the image of Orodes assuming the throne" (and weak traces of

<sup>1</sup> The outward appearance of the inscription supports the suggestion that its text was originally confined to the first two lines.

further lines). Here the name of Orodes is almost certain. It is certain in Inscription No. 3, which is on the altar in ANW:—

No. 3

צלמא זנה פסקו (1)

מדאנאמופא (2)

בר בדאק מן באן כז[י] (3)

ורוד נאסיב כורטא שיסא<sup>א</sup> (4)

זון גחן עליה יעבד (5)

The miserable engraving is perhaps chiefly responsible for our lack of progress with this inscription; many letters are doubtful. The first line is clear, "they cut this image"; *pasaq* "cut, split, divide" is not quite the right verb; we need *pasa*; but it would be foolhardy to emend the inscription. The next two lines may give the names of the artisans (we should have two at least — *MD'N'M* and *P'* the son of *BD'Q*, very unlikely), but the subject of *psqw* need not have been expressed. The reading becomes uncertain after *bd'q*<sup>1</sup> (*mnb'n?* *mzb'n*<sup>2</sup>? one word or two?). At the end of the line I have restored *KZ* (reasonably clear) into *KZY*. This conjunction helps to bring some sense into the remaining words, which apparently describe the relief above the inscription:—"as Orodes, assuming the throne, feeds the . . . (and) does obeisance unto it". The word that presumably defines the object of worship depicted on the altar is unfortunately illegible; the traces suggest *šys'*, with a superscript Alef between *š* and *y*; may one think of a dissimilated form of *šaišā* (*šišā*) "marble, alabaster"? It is no use objecting that Orodes, in fact, does not feed anyone or anything; for *γρωσν* is the only reading possible and it does mean "he feeds, nourishes" (at the most "sustains"). As to *ghn*, it is true that nouns are rarely formed from this root ("to bow or prostrate oneself"), although several occur in Syriac (*ghn-*); here a noun is clearly required (the verb is often construed with *'al*). However, it is better to leave the explanation of the details to the Semitists; the important point at the moment is that the inscription confirms that the person worshipping before the altar is Orodes.

It remains to give the text of Inscription No. 4 which is almost wholly destroyed. The style of writing differs slightly from that of the other inscriptions; the letter *M* has an older form; the engraving is more carefully done.

<sup>1</sup> *Br bd'q* conceivably—"outside the fissure".

<sup>2</sup> This could be a proper name, cf. MAZABBANAS, *Syria*, xxvi (1949), plate xii and p. 236, n. 1 (a stele of A.D. 196).

- No. 4  
 ]שפ? (1)  
 ]א מא (2)  
 ]ובר (3)  
 ]אשנ? (4)  
 ]זי בכ? (5)

The date of the monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak can be determined only approximately. The earlier coins of the kings of Elymais (all named Kamnaskires), which bear Greek inscriptions and sometimes dates, run to the middle of the first century of our era; the latest dates found are A.Sel. 368 and 370+ (A.D. 56-7 and 58-9+, both uncertain, *Rev. Num.* 1919, pl. i, Nos. 1 and 2). The first coins with Aramaic inscriptions belong to Orodes (i); this later series is throughout undated. Allotte de la Fuÿe put forward the following scheme:—

- (1) Kamnaskires vi (time of Attambelus ii of Mesene).
- (2) Orodes i.
- (3) Kamnaskires Orodes=Orodes ii, son of Orodes i.
- (4) Phraates, son of Orodes i.
- (5) Chosroes.
- (6) Orodes iii.
- (7) X.
- (8) Orodes iv.
- (9) Y.
- (10) Z.

Of these, 1-5 should have ruled between A.Sel. 370 and 440 (A.D. 58-9 to 128-9), and 6-10 between A.Sel. 440 and the destruction of the kingdom of Elymais by Ardashir, which we may tentatively put in A.D. 220. G. F. Hill doubted of the validity of this scheme and admitted only the following:

Orodes i	Second half of first century A.D.
Kamnaskires Orodes	Late first century
Phraates son of Orodes	Early second century
Orodes iii } Orodes iv }	Second century.

The type of writing employed at Tang-i Sarvak does not admit a date earlier than Kamnaskires Orodes. That king, the son of Orodes, cannot be identical with our Orodes, the son of *BLDWŠ*<sup>2</sup>, who does not call himself Kamnaskires. Therefore, our Orodes is either Orodes iii or Orodes iv. The choice is difficult; for the existence of Chosroes, the predecessor of Orodes iii, is doubtful (the coins in question may have been issued by the contemporaneous Arsacid king of that name). If we relied on the scheme suggested by Allotte de la Fuÿe, we should have to identify our Orodes with Orodes iv and Abar-Bāsī with X. Then the dates of the Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 5

would be about A.D. 150 (accession of Abar-Bāsi), of the Inscriptions Nos. 1, 3, and 6 about A.D. 165-170 (accession of Orodes iv).

A date close to the end of the Parthian period is recommended also by the style of the relievos,<sup>1</sup> which resembles that of the stele of Khwāsak. It may not come amiss to indicate briefly why I refer to that monument, which was discovered by Dr. R. Ghirshman at Susa in 1947 (*Monuments Piot*, xlv (1950), 97-107), as the stele of *Khwāsak*; M. Ghirshman reads the name of its owner as *Narge Hufar*. Its date, I submit, should be read in this way:—

ŠNT iii c | xx xx xx ii | YRḤ |  
spndrmtY YWM mtry

“year 462, month of Spandārmāt, day of Mihr”; the era, as I pointed out on an earlier occasion,<sup>2</sup> is the Arsacid era; accordingly, the date is September 14, A.D. 215. The central inscription<sup>3</sup> reads as follows (the reading given by M. Ghirshman differs considerably):—

- |                             |                                    |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) 'rtbnw MLKYN            | Artabānu the king of kings,        |
| (2) MLK' BRY wlgšy          | son of Walagaši                    |
| (3) MLKYN MLK' BNYt         | the king of kings, built           |
| (4) ḥnsk ZK ZY <sup>4</sup> | this “erection” which (is that) of |
| (5) ḥwsk šwš                | Khwāsak, <sup>5</sup> the satrap   |
| (6) ḥštrp                   | of Susa.                           |

The word that designated the monument is unfortunately not quite clear; it may have been *ḥnsk* = *hansāk* “erection” = “stele” (cf. Sogd. 'ns'c-, 'ns'γt-, 'ns''k-, etc., MPers. *hs'c-*); but it may have been *ḥnsr*. The monument in question was presumably a tomb stele, and the date was the date of the death of Khwāsak.

Tang-i Sarvak was a sanctuary of Bēl (and perhaps Nanai), a sacred grove where the kings of Elymais were crowned in the second century. de Bode (“I was standing perhaps on the very ground once sacred to the Goddess *Anāitis*”, etc.) came closer to the truth than Sir Aurel Stein, who thought the place might have been used as a royal “hill station” or summer residence—a suggestion defeated by the climatic conditions; for, as we have seen (p. 153), Tang-i Sarvak serves as a *qīšlaq* and is abandoned at the beginning of the hot season. The identification with Seleucia/Soloke

<sup>1</sup> Whether the archaeologists will be able to give a more precise date is doubtful; the story of the attempts at determining the date of the remains at near-by Shami is not encouraging. Comparison with Palmyra may suggest a slightly later date, perhaps A.D. 180-200. Cf. below p. 178, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroaster - politician or witchdoctor?* (1951), p. 37, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A treatment of the inscriptions on the margins of the stone (apart from the date) must be left to another occasion. The interpretation offered by M. Ghirshman, who reads such non-Parthian forms as 'BYDWNWT (recte 'BDt), YḤBWT (recte YNTNt), PWN (recte pty), YWM (recte YWM'), is subject to correction.

<sup>4</sup> ZY seems to be the only possible reading here; scarcely LY.

<sup>5</sup> Vocalization uncertain; *Husāk/sak* or *Khusāk/sak* would be equally possible.

(above, p. 151), which rested merely on the apparent resemblance of the names, has to be rejected. Soloke was a μεγάλη πόλις: there was no room for it in Tang-i Sarvak and there are no considerable ruins either in the valley or near it. That town lay on a river, the Hedyphon=Jarrāhī: the springs that rise in the Tang-i Sarvak cannot be called a river, and the nearest point on the Jarrāhī is about twenty miles away.

Tang-i Sarvak lay in the centre of the small kingdom of Elymais, which arose in the second century B.C. and continued in existence until the end of the Arsacid period. The districts on the left (eastern) bank of the Karun may have belonged to it; but it principally consisted of the valleys of the Jarrāhī and its headwaters and the mountainous regions adjoining to the east and north-east. At times, when its kings were strong, they dominated the neighbouring lands as far as Massabatice and Gabiane; but even if they occasionally exercised sovereignty over Susiana, that is no reason for confusing that country with Elymais. However, by the second century of our era such aspirations were a matter of the past, and the kingdom was confined to the south-eastern corner of Khūzistān; the sorry state of its coinage testifies to its insignificance at that time.

In the second century B.C., a Parthian king, believed to have been Mithradates i, invaded the kingdom of Elymais, which had just freed itself from Seleucid suzerainty, despoiled the temple of Athena and the sanctuary of Artemis Nanai, which was called τὰ Ἄζαρα, and took the "great town" of Seleucia, previously called Soloke, clearly the capital of Elymais. It would be wrong to identify Tang-i Sarvak with Azara; for the remains at Tang-i Sarvak are later by three hundred years than that ancient Nanai temple; but we may regard Tang-i Sarvak as the successor to the destroyed Azara, which no doubt lay nearby.<sup>1</sup> The true position of the centre of Elymais is clearly shown by the route taken by Ardashir, when he set out to punish the king of Ahwāz=Elymais for his presumption. He went first to Arragān, then by way of Sambīl (?) and Tāšān (both places in the immediate neighbourhood of Tang-i Sarvak) to *Surak*, arabicized as *Surraq*, and there the campaign ended; evidently, Surak was the capital, the ancient Soloke (in early Muslim times the name was applied to the district around the town, the later Dauraq). He went nowhere near Susa, which, as the stele of Khwāsak shows with sufficient clarity, was governed by a *satrap* (not a *king*) appointed by the Parthians.<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that, as Mithradates before taking the capital, Soloke, had destroyed

<sup>1</sup> So correctly G. Hoffmann, *Martyreracten*, 131-3. Differently W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 463 sqq., who identifies the chief sanctuary of Elymais (around which "barbarians" lived, acc. to Polybius) with the city-temple of the Greek polis of Susa.

<sup>2</sup> M. Ghirshman, after first quoting with approval the views of F. Cumont, who stressed the distinctness of Susiana from Elymais, surprisingly identifies the king of Ahwāz whom Ardashir attacked with the satrap of Susa (*loc. cit.*, 105 sqq.).

the temple of Azara, so Ardashir before taking the capital, Surak, destroyed the shrine which symbolized the kingship of Elymais, Tang-i Sarvak.<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Tāsān a mere three hours' ride would have brought Ardašir to Tang-i Sarvak (time taken by de Bode). That village, which lies halfway between Arragān and Tang-i Sarvak, appears sometimes as *Tāsān*; thus in the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāširi* (ii, 277 with *t*-; on the map ii, 18 with *t*- as in the text of Tabari). Sambil (first stage on one of the two roads from Arragān to Rārnhurmuz) is merely conjecture in the Tabari passage. The MSS. have *سشار*, *سان*, *ساسان*, and *سپسان* (i, 818, 9). Marquart, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. dxc, proposed *بنيان* *Bunyān* instead, without giving any reasons. Several villages of that name (properly *Banyān*) exist in Fārs (the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāširi* lists three), but none of them is in the neighbourhood of Behbehān. Presumably the place Marquart had in view is the one mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*. This was a district lying between Fārs, Isfahān, and Khūzistān, but counted as part of the last; it adjoined Sardan. The position of the region called Sardan or Sardān is comfortably fixed; its capital was Lūrdagān/Lūrfān (Istākhrī 103, 3-4) and this town exists even now (lat. 31°30', long. 50°49'). As Yāqūt's Banyān can have lain only to the north (or north-east) of Sardan, it cannot be considered as a place touched on by Ardašir in his campaign. A possible alternative to Nöldeke's conjecture is to read *بستان* = *Bustān* (with MS. C) and identify it with the first stage on the second road from Arragān to Rārnhurmuz, which otherwise was called *Bustānak* (thus to be read Muqaddasi 453, 3 and note c; see *Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb*, transl. 129, 179; the reading is guaranteed by the spelling in the *Fārs-nāme-yi Ibnī-l-Balkhī*, 162, 19).

<sup>2</sup> It remains to say a few words about the name of the last king of Elymais acc. to Tabari (i, 818, 9=Nöldeke, *Tab.*, 13). Nöldeke edited it as *Nyrwfr*=Nirōfarr with a question mark; such a name does not exist. It seems to me that we should put *Nyrwuy* into Tabari's text; a variant reading begins with *nyrw-*, another ends with *-yrwuy*. If now one transcribes *Nyrwuy* back into the script in which Tabari's source was written (as naturally one should do in such a case) and then contemplates the resulting Pahlavi word, one can scarcely fail to read it as *Wyrwuy/Wyrwōd* (in Pahlavi the letters *N* and *W* are identical in shape). It so happens that *Wyrwōd*=*Wērōd*, later *Wyrwuy*=*Wērōy*, is the Pahlavi form of the name "Orodes". Thus the last king of Elymais, too, bore the name which his predecessors had preferred to all others. It may be difficult to say why Orodes appears in Pahlavi as *Wyrwōd*, but that it does is a fact: in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I at the Ka'be-i Zardušt, one and the same man is called *Wrwōd* in Parthian (line 28), *Οὐροωδης* in Greek (line 67), but *Wyrwōd* in Pahlavi (line 35); and the appearance of *Ἡρωδης* as variant of *Ὀρωδης*, *Ἰρωδης*, and *Ὀουρωδης* is perhaps significant (see the instances collected by Justi s.v.; this may affect a much-discussed point in the history of Palmyra, cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii, 3, n.1). Possibly the name was *Wērōd* originally, shortened to *Werōd* in some parts of Iran, where this form finally was pronounced *Worōd* (by assimilation); but the original form persisted locally and alone was used in Pahlavi. The ancient and oft-repeated but wrong derivation of *Orodes* from *hurauda* should have been abandoned when the Aramaic spelling *Wrwōd* (Palmyra and Elymais) became known.—The name *Wērōd/Worōd* is a typically Parthian name. It became fashionable in the 1st century B.C. and continued in common use until the middle of the 3rd century of our era, when it suddenly disappeared (with insignificant exceptions). The prominence given to it (in its Pahlavi form, *Wērōy*) in *Vis u Rāmīn* constitutes a powerful argument in favour of the attribution of Parthian origin to that romance, which was lately so ably advocated by V. Minorsky.—It will be seen that, if indeed the name of the last king of Elymais was also Orodes (=Orodes v), a different dating of the inscriptions will become possible: "Abar-Bāst"=Allotte de la Fuÿe's "Y" (accession in about A.D. 180), Orodes="Z"=Orodes v (accession in about A.D. 200); I see no way of deciding between the alternatives. [Irregular shortening of initial *wē-* (*wai-*) has previously been noticed in Sogdian and Pashto, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 717.]

## A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān

Ḥ'k'n ZY ḥwlsn YD'YTNn  
Mynrskydy ŠM ZNH p'dlky  
PWN krpkyḥy 'yw MKBLWNt

i

PERHAPS the most exotic among the many strange kings and rulers mentioned in the inscription of Paikuli is the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān or 'White Khazars'. This is the meaning which the late E. Herzfeld, in his edition of that inscription, attributed to a group of words in the Middle Persian version which he read as ḥ'k'n ZY 'kkl'n. As the inscription dates from the last decade of the 3rd century (probably from A.D. 293), his interpretation seems to involve a double anachronism: in the title, and in the national name.

The title of Khagan (properly *Qaγan* or *Xaγan*)<sup>1</sup> became known in the West first in the middle of the 6th century; it was then borne by the rulers of the Avars<sup>2</sup> and their enemies, the Turks. Whether it was known in Persia at an earlier date is doubtful; for the mention of a 'Xāqān, king of the Turks' under Bahrām Gōr (A.D. 420-438) in the Pahlavi *Xudāy-nāmag*<sup>3</sup> is probably proleptic,<sup>4</sup> even though among the Žuan-žuan (Avars)<sup>5</sup> of Central Asia Khagan was the imperial title from the beginning of the 5th century. It is certain that the Žuan-žuan were responsible for giving to the title the wider currency which it enjoyed for many centuries; but, as the late Professor G. Haloun assured

<sup>1</sup> Central Asian forms: Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1939, 90. The list of 'Oriental variants' given by G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 280, under *χαγάνος*, is strangely incomplete; not even Arabic and Persian *xāqān* is mentioned; while one and the same Armenian form (*xak'an*) is quoted in two different transliterations.

<sup>2</sup> So-called Pseudo-Avars.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 99; *Tafāriḥ al-Umam*, I, 153 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The collocation with 'Turks' suffices to discredit the *Xāqān*; Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 52 sqq., judged differently.

<sup>5</sup> D. Sinor, in his paper *Autour d'une migration de peuples au 6<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *J.A.*, 1946-7, 34 sqq., has thrown doubt upon the identity of the Žuan-žuan with the (true) Avars, which I continue to regard as firmly established. The determining factor, it seems to me, is the story of the defeat suffered by the true Avars at the hands of the Turks, Theophylactus Simocatta, vii, 7. According to it, the remnants of the Avars flee to *Tavyáor* and the *Mouκpl*: we know now that these are the names of (Northern) China and Korea. This fits well with the history of the Žuan-žuan, but excludes the possibility of placing the Avars in the neighbourhood of the Ural.—On *Mouκpl* = Skt. *Mukuri* = Tibetan *Muglig* see Pelliot *apud* Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, II, 348, cf. my *Sogdica*, p. 7. It has not so far been recognized that this name is found also in the Orkhon inscriptions, in the form *Bökli* or rather *Bükli*: the list of the nations that came to mourn the passing of Bumīn qaγan and Istāmi qaγan (I E 4 = II E 5) opens with *Bükli čölig il* (Thomsen 'das ferne Bökli Volk') and continues with *Tabγač*; the list began in the east (*šārā kūn toγusigda*); the *Bükli qaγan* (I E 8 = II E 8) had been the easternmost of the enemies with whom the Turks had had to fight, in former times, at the behest of the Chinese (on this passage see Schaeder, *Iranica*, 39, n. 6). Thus when the Turkish report reproduced by Theophylactus declared that the Avars fled to *Tavyáor/Tabγač* and *Mouκpl/Bükli*, we should understand 'to our eastern (mainly hostile) neighbours'.

me, it was unquestionably in use even before the rise of the Žuan-žuan, among the Sien-pi and the T'u-yü-hun (a branch of the Sien-pi).<sup>1</sup> The dominion of the Sien-pi (about A.D. 155–402) was confined to Mongolia and never extended to the area of Chinese Turkestan, which, however, was subjected to raids by the T'u-yü-hun, who on one occasion sacked Khotan; whether the Persians, by the end of the 3rd century, had ever heard of either may well be doubted. Nevertheless, as we know now that Sassanian rule, under Shapur I, reached 'to the limits of Kāš = Kashghar',<sup>2</sup> and that news of political developments was constantly transmitted from China to Samarkand at that very time,<sup>3</sup> we cannot rule out the possibility that some bearer of that title might have come to the notice of the Persians even as early as A.D. 293.

The problem posed by 'KKTL'N, the presumed national name, is more complicated; Herzfeld hesitated between *Aq-Aqatārān* and *Aq-Katirān*, between 'Ακάτιροι and White Khazars. The 'Ακάτιροι or 'Ακάτζιροι, a nation known only through Priscus (Panites) and a single reference in Jordanes, are a favourite subject for scholarly comment. According to Priscus, who mentions them six times (four times in frg. 8, once each in frgg. 30 and 37, ed. C. Müller, *F.H.G.*, iv, 82<sup>b</sup>19, 83<sup>a</sup>10, 86<sup>b</sup>18, 89<sup>a</sup>17, 105<sup>a</sup>2, 107<sup>b</sup>16), they inhabited, together with other nations, τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πόντον Σκυθικήν, and were compelled (except for a small portion) to submit to Attila's rule in about A.D. 448 (he deputed his eldest son); they were a Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, but are once referred to as οἱ 'Ακάτιροι Οὐννοὶ (frg. 30).<sup>4</sup> Some ten years after Attila's death, in about A.D. 463, they were subdued, after a bitter fight, by the Σαράγουροι, who had been driven out from their country by the Σάβιροι,<sup>5</sup> who in their turn had been expelled by the Avars (frg. 30).<sup>6</sup> Even before Attila had forced the 'Ακάτιροι to join his state, they had been in negotiation with Byzantium; there the Σαράγουροι, their new masters, at once sent ambassadors, who met with a friendly reception. A few years later, in about A.D. 466, the Σαράγουροι 'Ακατίροις καὶ ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἐπιθέμενοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσον;

<sup>1</sup> See Parker, *Thousand years*, 139, 153, 161; *China Review*, 24 (1899), p. 34 (可 汗 about A.D. 265). Cf. Marquart, *Brännsahr*, 53, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xii, 54.

<sup>3</sup> *ibidem*, 601 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The obvious but often challenged inference: that they were Huns, has rightly been defended by E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, 10 sq. J. Harmatta, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, i, 1951, 137 sq., again attributes a loose use of the name 'Huns' to Priscus, on the ground that those writing 'immediately after Priscus', Malalas, Procopius, Agathias, etc., used the term as vaguely as he used 'Scythian'. He misses the point of Thompson's argument; which is precisely that these authors, in fact, wrote a long time, two and three generations, after Priscus.

<sup>5</sup> Re-examination of the photograph of the Sogdian *Nāfnāmak* (see my *Sogdica*, p. 8) has shown that the name in line 17 ends in *-ry* and that the preceding letter is *-p-* rather than *-k-*. The resulting *(s)[.]pyry* can hardly be restored otherwise than as *s[']pyry = Sabir-ē* (*-ē* is Sogdian ending). There were thus remnants of the Sabirs in the neighbourhood of Turfan long after the migration of the 5th century; it is scarcely accidental that it is precisely near Turfan that many scholars of rank have placed their home-country (cf. D. Sinor, loc. cit., 15 sqq., who disagrees).

<sup>6</sup> This migration has recently been discussed at length by D. Sinor in the article quoted above, p. 501, n. 5.



finding the Caspian Gates (at Derbend) too well defended, they crossed the Caucasus by the Alan Gates<sup>1</sup> and devastated Iberia and Armenia (frg. 37). This last passage indicates that the Ἀκάτιροι lived to the north of the Caucasus and, as they are also placed in the Scythian lands on the Black Sea, one would naturally localize them in the steppes between Kuban, Don, and Volga.

This conclusion, which necessarily results from the study of Priscus, is flatly contradicted by the single reference to the *Acatziri* in Jordanes. He enumerated, *Getica*, 5, 37; a number of nations, beginning with the *Vidivari*, who occupied the mouth of the Vistula; east of them, on the coast of the Baltic, lived the *Aesti*, a peaceful people famous as the collectors and exporters of amber. *Quibus in austrum adsidet gens Acatziorum fortissima, frugum ignara, quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat; ultra quos distendunt supra Mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes . . . hinc iam Hunni . . . bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt; nam alii Altiagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur . . .* If the *Acatziri* thus adjoined the people of the amber coast on the south,<sup>2</sup> they must have lived in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. The difficulties to which attempts at harmonizing the data of Priscus and Jordanes lead are best illustrated by the remarks Marquart made on the problem in the preface to his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*: on page xxii the *Acatziri* are placed around Korosten (100 miles WNW of Kiev), which is not south, but south east of Samland, and a long way off (about 400 miles); on page xxiii we find their home in the land of the Mordwins—1,000 miles directly to the east of the starting point; and on page xxiv they have moved back *viel näher* to the 'middle Dnepr'. Such perplexity is common to all authors who are not bold enough to reject Jordanes' statement altogether.<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that whenever in a matter touching the Huns Priscus, a first-rate historian who wrote of the events of his own lifetime from first-hand knowledge, is in conflict with Jordanes, a compiler writing about 100 years after Attila, it is the latter that must be rejected. The paragraph under review, with its enumeration of various nations prominent in different periods, bears all the marks of hasty compilation. One could say that if in Jordanes' authority it began with *quibus*, the relative pronoun no doubt referred to some nation other than the *Aesti*; but one may retain the description of the *Acatziri* and, though with less assurance, their proximity to the Bulgars<sup>4</sup> (first mentioned for A.D. 482), which would date the information in the last years of the 5th century (or the first of the 6th). There is no reliance on this author of whom it has been said that 'even in the passages which are based on Priscus Jordanes displays his

<sup>1</sup> The names of the crossing-places are confused, here as almost always. See Marquart, *Eränasahr*, 99 sqq., who reversed the sequence of the 'Gates'.

<sup>2</sup> D. Sinor, loc. cit., p. 2, boldly asserts that *Jordanès . . . les [= Acatziros] situe à l'est des Estoniens*.

<sup>3</sup> Outright rejection has at least been envisaged by E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Where precisely one is to imagine their seats is not by any means clear.

genius for misunderstanding the most straightforward narrative his source could supply to him'.<sup>1</sup>

If then the *'Ακάτζιροι*, a *gens fortissima*, occupied the area that shortly after was dominated by the *Χάζαροι*, the suspicion arises that these two nations were one and the same. The Khazars appear suddenly, in great power, in A.D. 626, when they support the Emperor Heraclius in his second campaign against Persia. As their organization at that time resembled that of the (Western) Turks, they have sometimes been regarded as an offshoot of the latter; but the coincidence in their titles (*qagan*, *yabγu*, *šad*<sup>2</sup>) may equally be due to imitation of their powerful eastern neighbours. That they were not recent arrivals in the lands on the northern side of the Caucasus is suggested by the story of their origin<sup>3</sup> (Theophanes and Nicephorus) which let them come from *Βερζιλία*<sup>4</sup>: Marquart has fully proved<sup>5</sup> that this was a name of Daghestan; it is confirmed by a few passages that may indicate their presence in that area even before the rise to power of the Turks. The Pahlavi *Xudāy-nāmag* mentioned the Khazars not only under Hormizd iv (A.D. 578-590),<sup>6</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> This title is also mentioned by Kirakos Ganjakeci, Venice, 1865, p. 98; the translation of the passage quoted (from Brosset) by Chavannes, *Documents*, 253, n. 7, is somewhat inaccurate. '[List of the bishops of Albania] Tēr Viroy, 33 years. He had spent many years imprisoned at the court of Xosrov the king of Persia, but after his death was freed and returned to his country. He redeemed the Armenians, Iberians, and Albanians made captives by Šat' the Xazir, the son of Ĵabu-xak'ani, who had enslaved our land; he founded five [sic] towns in the name of Šat': Šat'ar, Šamk'or, Šak'i, Širuan, Šamaxi, Šaporan.' That Viroy returned only after the death of Khosrau ii is stated also *ibidem*, p. 30, where the last Sassanian kings are enumerated in these terms: 'After Xosrov, the king of Persia, Kawat took the kingship; he released from captivity Viroy, the Catholicus of Albania, whom his father had imprisoned. After Kawat, Artašir; then Xoēam by decree of Heraclius; then Xosrov, and after him Born and Zarmanduxt—all these were short-lived; and then Yazkert.'

<sup>3</sup> The contrary passage in Sebōs has been made to refer to the Khazars only by arbitrary emendation: by changing *i caṛayut'iwon* 'into the servitude (of the great Xak'an, etc.)' into *i caṛayut'enē* 'out of the servitude' (Marquart, *WZKM.*, xii, 1898, p. 191).

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding national name in pseudo-Zachariah (see presently), *B<sup>2</sup>GRSYQ*, has been restored as *B<sup>2</sup>RSYLQ* by Marquart. An even easier correction would be *B<sup>2</sup>RSYQQ*, directly = the Armenian Nom. *Barsilk'* (*Barselk'*), which occurs beside *Ba(r)silik'*; Syriac *G = γ* perfectly answers to Armenian *l*. If this correction is accepted, Armenian intermission will have to be assumed; this is in any case recommended by the final *-Q*, which is best explained as the ending of the Armenian nominative.—In view of the remarks made by D. Sinor, loc. cit., p. 63, it must be stressed that the *-k'* of such Armenian names as *Barsilk'*, *Sawirk'*, belongs solely to the nominative; the form in which *Barsilk'* (*Barselk'*) appears most frequently in texts is in fact *Barslac'*.—The Syriac form *BRS'LY*<sup>2</sup> (Michael and from him Barhebraeus) does not go back to John of Ephesus, as K. H. Menges, *Byzantion*, xvii, 276 claims; see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Streifzüge*, 489 sq., cf. p. 485.

<sup>6</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 270 = *Tafārīb al-Umam*, i, 219<sup>7</sup>. Marquart's attempt to prove that Hormizd's mother had been the daughter of a Khagan of the Khazars (*WZKM.*, xii, 199 sq.) carries little conviction.—It may not be superfluous to warn students against accepting at its face value Marquart's phrase *die Chazaren welche in den gleichzeitigen Urkunden zuerst in der Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus a. 585/86 genannt werden* (*Streifzüge*, 46). In this form this assertion was never correct (it should have read *wurden* in the place of *werden*); it has been disproved by none other than Marquart himself. The matter stands thus: Barhebraeus, in a passage about the Avars, mentions the Khazars twice, firstly in an allusion to a 'Khāqān, king of the Khazars', secondly as having been named 'Khazars' after the eldest of three brothers

even under Khosrau I (A.D. 531-578)<sup>1</sup>; yet all its undisputed references<sup>2</sup> are so vague that they may well be proleptic. Of far greater, indeed decisive, importance is the list of Hunnic nations in the appendix to the Syriac Chronicle ascribed to Zachariah of Mitylene<sup>3</sup>; the relevant part of this appendix, which was written in A.D. 555,<sup>4</sup> i.e. at the beginning of the Turkish expansion, well before it had any effect on the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, is based on reports of returned prisoners of war in contact with Albanian missionaries who had laboured to the north of the Caucasus 20 to 30 years earlier.<sup>5</sup> One of the names in this list is *KSR* = *Xasar* (or *Xasir*),<sup>6</sup> evidently an early form of *Xazar*; yet Marquart,<sup>7</sup> not without justification, identified the name (which he transcribed *Kas(ē)r*) with *Ἀκάρζιροι*, no doubt on account of the company by which *KSR* is surrounded: *Σαράγουροι*, *Ἐνόγουροι*, *Ἰτίμαροι*, etc. The truth of the matter is that here, where the historical context leads us to expect the *Ἀκάρζιροι*, we find them under a new name, *Xasar* (*Xasir*); the list thus provides the sought-for link between the two national names.

(in an eponymic story). The importance of this text was recognized by Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1898, 82 sqq. On reading his book, Nöldeke informed Marquart that Barhebræus' story probably derived from the *lost chapters* of the Ecclesiastical History by John of Ephesus, who wrote in A.D. 585-6; the headings of the lost chapters in question (3rd part, book 6, chaps. 45 sqq.) are preserved and give some indication of their contents; the name *Khazar* is not mentioned in them. Barhebræus, however, used John not directly, but at second hand through Michael the Syrian (end of 12th century); the latter was not then accessible to Marquart (see *WZKM.*, xii, 1898, 198 sq.). Later Marquart secured the relevant text of Michael and discussed it fully (*Streifzüge*, 1903, *Addenda*, 479 sqq.). It now emerged that in the first passage, which he in fact had copied from John, Michael had *Khāgān* the king of the Abāris (*Ἀβάρης*), as was to be expected; and that the second passage (about the three brothers, two of whom came to Alān = *BRS'LY*, the eldest being named *Xazarīg*) was not derived from John at all, but from a much later source (not earlier than A.D. 678 in Marquart's judgement).

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 156, 166, 167; *Tafārīb al-Umam*, i, 181<sup>12</sup>, 182<sup>8</sup>, 183<sup>2</sup>, 192<sup>16</sup>, 198<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Disputable are all passages that contain interesting details (Tabari, i 895<sup>14</sup>, 896<sup>4</sup> = Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 157, 159); here Marquart imported the name into the text by an emendation (*WZKM.*, xii (1898), 169, n. 6 = *Chronologie der Altürkischen Inschriften*, 96, n. 2), which, since *Tafārīb al-Umam*, i, 179<sup>9</sup> (بنجر وبنجر) agrees with the MSS. of Tabari, is only acceptable if it is referred back to the Pahlavi text, in which \*PGL and \*HČYL (= *Xazir* as in Arm.) were indistinguishable.—There is no certain occurrence of the name *Xazar* in an existing Pahlavi text; the curious *TWL* in *Bahman Yašt*, iv, 58, ed. Anklesaria, was emended by H. W. Bailey first into *HPTL* = Hephthalites (*BSOS.*, vi, 1932, 946), later into *HČL* = Khazars (*BSOAS.*, xi, 1943, 1 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Translated by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *ibidem*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> *ibidem*, p. 329. The story is extraordinarily confused, but nevertheless there is no reason to doubt the author's truthfulness; on the Albanian mission see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 489. That the list was not derived from Greek sources is assured by the forms of the names (names transliterated from Greek into Syriac are invariably recognizable as such); to describe it as *eine aus griechischer Ueberlieferung . . . zusammengestellte syrische Völkerliste* (Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 40) does it no justice. Attention should be paid also to the names in the lines immediately preceding the list, *Gurzān*, *Arrān*, *Sisagān*, etc., none of which admits Greek transmission. Incidentally, Marquart was so thoroughly convinced of the independence of the passage from Greek influence that he used forms found in it to argue for Syriac transmission of a report on Turkish affairs preserved by Theophylactus Simocatta (see *WZKM.*, xii, 189 sq.).

<sup>6</sup> cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, 312.

<sup>7</sup> *Streifzüge*, 356, n. 1.

The identity of the *'Ακάτζιροι* with the Khazars was taken for granted by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (end of 7th century?), who wrote *quos Chazaros . . . Jordanis Agaziros vocat* (168<sup>13-14</sup>). In modern times it has been rejected as often as asserted. The case for rejection has been built chiefly on the differences between the forms of the two names<sup>1</sup>; it has been grossly overstated by Marquart.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is no sound objection to the explanation (originally put forward by H. H. Howorth) that *'Ακάτζιροι* is a compound name consisting of *aq* 'white' and the name that later appeared as *Xazar*. One naturally has to assume that *Xazar* is Khazarian<sup>3</sup> development of an earlier *Xacir* (with *c = η*), via *Xasir*, the stages being marked by *Χότζιροι*,<sup>4</sup> Syriac *Xasir* (*Xasar*), and Armenian *Xazir*<sup>5</sup>; as virtually nothing is known of the language of the Khazars (presumably a Hun dialect), he would be a bold man who asserted that a sound change of intervocalic *-c-* to *-s-* (and further to *-z-*) was impossible in their language, or that it had not possessed the sound *-c-*. That, further, the compound name *Aq-xacir* might be pronounced as *Aqacir* (or sound like that to a foreigner) and therefore be rendered *'Ακάτζιροι*,<sup>6</sup> can hardly be denied. Since history points to the Khazars' being the heirs of the *'Ακάτζιροι*, and since the Khazars (as is well known) consisted of two distinct racial groups, White Khazars and Black Khazars,<sup>7</sup> this explanation is much to be preferred to the Turcologists' favourite derivation, *αγαό-αρι* 'wood-men',<sup>8</sup> which is scarcely better than a popular etymology.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. by Kaspar Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (1837), 714 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Streifzüge*, 41, n. 2, 43.

<sup>3</sup> To meet Marquart's principal objection.

<sup>4</sup> On this form see Moravcsik, op. cit., ii, 289 sq. (with references).—No weight, perhaps, should be attached to the fact that in the fragments of Priscus the name appears as *Κάτζιροι* in one place (*Κατζίρων* frg. 8 Müller, p. 83\*10 = *Excerpta de legationibus* 130<sup>24</sup> de Boor).

<sup>5</sup> Full value should be given to the Armenian form; of the nations whose historical records we possess none was so close to the Khazars as the Armenians. *Xazir* suffices to exclude \**Qasar* (so, e.g. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 98, n. 1) from serious consideration as the original form.

<sup>6</sup> τζ is used for *c* as often as for *ç*, cf. Moravcsik, op. cit., ii, 44. Marquart's assumption that Syriac *s* may have been used to reproduce foreign *ç* (*Ērānšahr*, 253, n. 5) is unacceptable.

<sup>7</sup> In the heat of arguing against Howorth's theory, Marquart, who otherwise admitted no connexion between *Acatziri* and Khazars, went so far as to say that, on the contrary, *die 'Ακάτζιροι entsprechen vielmehr den Schwarz-Chazaren* (op. cit., 41, n. 2, at the end).

<sup>8</sup> Notwithstanding the existence of such a word, both as appellative and as tribal name, 800 years and more after the time of Attila: in Houtsma's *Glossar*, p. 30<sup>2</sup>, and apparently in Rašid ad-Dīn, see Marquart, loc. cit. (I have not found the passage). As a tribal name it exists even nowadays, in Khūzistān, where a conglomeration of Turkish, Tājik, and Lur tribes is called *اناجری = Ayağ-eri, Fārsnāme-yi Nāqirī*, ii, 270; O. Mann, *Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, p. xvii; the oilfield situated within the tribal area has recently often been mentioned in the newspapers, in the guise of Aghā Jarī (this is the spelling one finds also on maps). As I notice belatedly, the scholar to whom these pages are dedicated has already drawn attention to this name (*The Tribes of Western Iran. Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, lxxv, 1945, 77).

<sup>9</sup> Jordanes' description of the *Acatziri*, *gens . . . frugum ignara quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat*, lets one envisage them as typical nomads of the steppe, certainly not as 'woodmen'. Strangely enough, Marquart found support in it for his suggestion that they were *ein echtfinnisches Fischer- und Jägervolk* (op. cit., p. 40).

Whether the Khazars (White or Black) descended from the *Acatziri*<sup>1</sup> or not, it is at any rate clear that neither figured in the records of history before the middle of the 5th century; and therefore it would be surprising to find either in the inscription of Paikuli. None the less, we are so badly informed on the northern borderlands of Iran in those centuries that we dare not talk of impossibility; but the odds become even longer when we find that we are to credit the same passage of that inscription also with the otherwise unheard-of title of *Khagan*. Yet it must be admitted that Herzfeld was right to insist that, if in fact an inscription of certain date and indubitable authenticity (such as the inscription of Paikuli is) mentioned that title and that nation, all objections, however weighty or numerous, would have to be relinquished without demur.<sup>2</sup>

## ii

Few scholars (if indeed any) have examined the inscription of Paikuli in proper style after it was published by the late E. Herzfeld. The reasons for this neglect of the most considerable Sassanian monument then known are not far to seek. Smallness of edition and unnecessarily lavish production led to scarcity and a high price and made the work a collector's item, generally inaccessible to scholars except in a few public libraries. Even in such a library a proper study of the inscription is barely possible; for as the inscription is broken into numerous small blocks, each of them represented on two folio plates, one has to handle a large number of these plates at one and the same time and thus needs more table space than one may reasonably demand. Moreover, from the beginning one's work is overshadowed by the knowledge that it will be profitless, because a large section of the needed material is not available: on his last visit to Paikuli in 1923 E. Herzfeld excavated the site and found 30 additional blocks, which raise the total number of surviving blocks to 133; these 30 blocks, which came into Herzfeld's hands even before *Paikuli* was published (1924), have never been made accessible to the learned world. It is, then, not surprising that attention has been confined to a more or less casual use of the printed text and particularly the glossary,<sup>3</sup> both in vol. i; few of those who use the printed text may realize to what liberal extent the text has been restored, without sufficient distinction of the existing, uncertain, and restored letters.

When, shortly before the war, I had for the first time an opportunity to

<sup>1</sup> For reasons that will become clear presently, no attempt is made here to discuss the form of the Pahlavi name, 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to note that not one of the many scholars who have discussed the problem of the *Acatziri* since the publication of *Paikuli* (1924) ever so much as adverted to the form in the Pahlavi inscription; the times of a Marquart are indeed past.

<sup>3</sup> The glossary unfortunately refers only to the block numbers, not to the lines of the printed text, in which the blocks are not marked.

read the inscription from the photographs, I copied the passage under review (last line of blocks C 2 + C 3, = line 18) in this way<sup>1</sup> :—

C 2 ](n) 'L h'd'n ZY. C 3 dkl'. L[. ] p(t)[

This I read innocently, without realizing that I was in the presence of so exalted a personage. Herzfeld's reading appears in the printed text in this form :—

(18) . . . . . n 'L h'k'n ZY (°kk)t[n] . L . . ph[

The principal difference is that Herzfeld read *K* in two places where I read *D*, and on these letters hangs the fate of both the *Khagan* and the *Aq-Aqatārān*. Now,<sup>2</sup> the letters *K* and *D* resemble each other in a general way : both consist of two crescents (open to the left), a smaller one on top of a larger, but *K* has in addition a short horizontal stroke at the bottom. Whenever there is doubt about the presence or absence of the horizontal stroke (as is apt to happen particularly often in the last lines of blocks where the letters reach down to the edge of the stone), it becomes difficult to distinguish them ; there are other points of difference (e.g. the lower crescent of *D* is more rounded and its lower horn is continued further to the left ; the axis of *K* is vertical with a slight inclination to the left, while that of *D* is inclined to the right), but there is less reliance on them.

In the first word, h'k'n/h'd'n, the horizontal bottom stroke cannot be seen in either the direct photograph (plate 49) or the photograph of the squeeze (plate 48) ; if it had been present originally, it would have come to stand exactly on the edge of the stone. At any rate, it is not there ; and as the letter exhibits all the other characteristic marks of *D*, there is no good reason for adding it. The reason why Herzfeld silently added the bottom stroke, thereby changing *D* into *K*, was probably that he was not acquainted with a word h'd'n (which in fact was nowhere attested), while the change into h'k'n produced a word of familiar appearance. It is better to allow oneself to be guided by the facts and therefore to read h'd'n, whether such a word is known or not.

In the second word, ]kkl'[ or ]dkl'[, the difference between the first two letters is well marked, especially in the photograph of the squeeze (plate 50), so clearly indeed that one can assert that ]dkl'[ is without doubt the correct reading. Herzfeld himself, in his drawing of the block (plate 51 ; also plates 203-5), drew ]dkl'(y),<sup>3</sup> but changed this in the printed text to ]kkl'[n]. The change is an arbitrary one ; there is no allusion to it in Herzfeld's long

<sup>1</sup> Here, as always, I am using square brackets for [restored letters], round for (uncertain or damaged letters), a dot within square brackets for a missing letter, an unbracketed dot for a letter of which a small part is visible, but too little to determine its nature with reasonable certainty. Where Herzfeld's readings are quoted, his over-dotted letters are replaced by letters in round brackets.

<sup>2</sup> The observations made here are valid for the style of Pahlavi writing employed in the inscription of Paikuli, but not necessarily for the script of other inscriptions, even those from the same period.

<sup>3</sup> Or ]dkl'(p).

note on 'kkl'n in the *Glossary*, p. 133 sq.; its reason appears to be again the difficulty of explaining the form which the inscription offers. As regards the first letter or letters of the word, which stood at the end of the preceding block (C 2), only a small fragment of a letter is visible; in restoring Herzfeld chose between several possible restorations ('ny, nw, etc.), each of which has equal claim to consideration.

There is thus no Khagan in the inscription, and there are no Aq-Aqatārān.

## iii

The Khagan is not the only one among the kings and rulers of the Paikuli inscription who will have to be deposed. There are the persons, chiefly at the end of the inscription, whom Herzfeld regarded as 'Saka kṣatrapas' from the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Outstanding among them is the *Lord of Avanti* (the country around Ujjain). I discussed him and a few of his colleagues in an article on the inscription of Shapur I at the Ka'be-yi Zardušt which I contributed to the *Volume in Memory of A. V. W. Jackson*. That article, which was sent to Bombay in March, 1939, at a time when of the inscription of Shapur the defective Pahlavi version alone was known to exist, has never been published<sup>1</sup>; it may not come amiss to quote the relevant paragraph here in full (with annotations), in the form in which it was written thirteen years ago:—

'We had seen that in the second and third lists an *Avandikān Xwatāy* ('wandykn MRWHY) is enumerated between the Sūrēn and the Kāren. This title is already known from the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 22' (p. 106): 'wandykn hwtwy. Probably it is to be restored also in the Pahlavi version of Paikuli, line 8, B 2: ['wnd]ykn MRWHY.<sup>a</sup> Herzfeld's explanation of the title as "Lord of Avanti" cannot be maintained any longer. It was perhaps never very likely that a king of Avanti, in the heart of India, should have acknowledged the Sassanian king as his suzerain; that he should have appeared as one of the highest officers of state under Ardašīr it is impossible to credit. At the end of the Paikuli inscription a great number of MRWHY's is mentioned, most of whom Professor Herzfeld has attempted to identify with Indian or Saka rulers. For instance, he takes the *zwl'dcym MRWHY* (line 46 = H 7) as King of Surāṣṭra, assuming *zwl'd-* to be an imperfect rendering of a Prakrit form of Surāṣṭra; but according to the rules of Pahlavi orthography, *zwl'd-* indicates the ending -āy, not ā + dental.<sup>b</sup> We may perhaps get a clue to the right direction where we should look for rulers such as the *zwl'dcym MRWHY* from the legend of a seal which, as far as I know, has not been utilized for the solution of the

<sup>a</sup> Herzfeld's restoration of the passage (*Warhrānikān Xwatāy*) has not convinced me.

<sup>b</sup> cf. also Herzfeld, *AMI.*, vii, p. 61. The equation Pahlavi *zwl'dcym* = Parthian *zwdtān* is rather doubtful.—For *zwl'd-* one might consider Armenian *Jor(ay)*, the region around Bitlis, see Hübschmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, vol. xvi, p. 447.

<sup>1</sup> I have been assured by friends that it has been set up in print; efforts to obtain a proof or a specimen copy have proved unavailing.

problem: Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, xviii, pp. 15 sq., nr. 25, plate ii: *gwšky ZY moks'dēym MRWHY* = "Gōšak,<sup>c</sup> the Lord (*išzan*) of Moksāy", i.e. obviously Syriac (*Bēθ*) *Moksāyē*, Armenian *Mokk'*, to the south of the Van lake.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Scythian *Gōsakos* (Justi, p. 118; W. Miller, *Ossetic*, p. 6); Arm. *gušak* 'informer', etc. (cf. also Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 5).

<sup>d</sup> *Lšwmē'n MRWHY* (Paikuli, line 46 = H 11) is probably 'the Lord of Lāšom' in Garamæa. I should much prefer to identify *mok'n* (*MRWHY*, *ibid.*, H 6) with Mūqān, Armenian Mukan (cf. Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 125).

The lists referred to at the beginning of this paragraph are those of the inscription of Shapur I, the end of which enumerates those who served meritoriously under Pāpak (first list), Ardašīr (second), and Shapur himself (third). Under both Ardašīr and Shapur the heads of the 'Great Families' (who dominated Sassanian history much as they had dominated Arsacid times) are listed, naturally in strict order of precedence, immediately after the members of the royal house. The order is this:—

*Warāz*<sup>1</sup>—*Sūrēn*—*'wandykn MRWHY*—*Kāren*.

By the time of the Paikuli inscription it had changed, and the *Sūrēn* occupied the first place, the *Warāz* the second<sup>2</sup>; the place of the *'wandykn MRWHY* is uncertain, and there is no *Kāren*.<sup>3</sup> A member of the family *Spāhpet* is mentioned under Ardašīr, in the second place after *Kāren*, and again under Narseh (placing uncertain), but not under Shapur. Of great interest is the absence of the family *Mihrān*, allegedly of Arsacid origin, but actually never mentioned before Sassanid times<sup>4</sup>; its first representative occurs under Shapur I, not among the 'Great Families' but in a modest position close to the end of the long list: *A(r)šūt*,<sup>5</sup> the secretary, the *Mihrān* from *Ray*.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek and Parthian versions of the inscription of Shapur, which came to light in 1939, indicate that the tentative transcription of *'wandykn, Awandīkān*, has to be modified. Pahlavi has *'wandykn* and *'wandyk'n*, Parthian *'ndykn* (Shapur) and *'wandykn* (Paikuli), Greek *Avδγγαν* and *Ivδγγαν*. Hence, *Undīkān* developing to *Andīkān* (in accord with a general rule) and further *Andīgān*. No doubt *Andīkān' Xwatāy* was originally a territorial title<sup>7</sup>; but it was often abbreviated to *Andīkān* and then misunderstood as a personal name: Armenian *Andīkan*, Greek *'Avδγγαν* (Menander Protector frg. 60, *FHG.*, iv, 260–2, C. Müller), Persian *Andīyān* (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 286; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 18).

<sup>1</sup> It is essential for the understanding of the lists to realize that *Warāz* is a family name, and that all persons preceding the *Warāz* are members of the royal house.

<sup>2</sup> Ohrmizd the *Warāz*: line 7' = A'2 *jad wr'z*; cf. line 16 = C 11. Herzfeld had a different explanation.

<sup>3</sup> His absence may well be due to a gap in our material.

<sup>4</sup> The name itself is old enough (see Justi *s.v.*), but the 'Great Family' of that name came to prominence only under the Sassanians; cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 139 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Known as a name in use among the *Mihrān*, cf. Justi *s.v.*

<sup>6</sup> *ZY MN ldy*, only in the Pahlavi version (line 34). *Ray* is often mentioned as the seat of this family.

<sup>7</sup> The seat of the family is not known; perhaps *Hindiyān/Hindījān* (and *Hinduwān* by popular etymology) at the head of the Persian Gulf.



To come now to the other *Saka kṣatrapas*, the explanation of *zwl'đčyn MRWHY* as 'the Lord (*išzan*) of Jor(ay)', cf. P<sup>a</sup>awstos, iii, 12 (p. 29, Venice, 1832) *z-Gorut' išzan-n Joroc' ašzarhi-n*, iv, 50 (p. 159) *Joray gawari-n tēr-n*, although recommended by the strikingly similar form *mukš'đčyn* (above, p. 510), remains doubtful on account of the Parthian transcription,<sup>1</sup> which suggests interior *-l-*. That Parthian *zwrđtšn*, as Herzfeld demanded, corresponds to *zwl'đčyn*<sup>2</sup> is made certain by the preceding personal names: Parthian *b'ty* = Pahlavi *bgdt*; *Bāt* from *Ba'āt* is simply a *Schnellsprechform* of *Bagdāt*<sup>3</sup>: I failed to realize it when I discussed Coptic *Baατ*, Manichæan Parthian *Bāt* (*BSOS.*, x, 944 sq.); in Armenian both forms exist side by side, *Bat* and *Bagarat* (*Bagrat*).<sup>4</sup>

There is scarcely any doubt that the *Lšwmč'n MRWHY* is the 'Lord of Lāšom' (above, p. 510, n. d). Close by (H 8 = line 46) we find the *Bwrspčy[n MRWHY]*, whom I now regard as the 'Lord of Borsippa'; that ancient town, which lay a little to the south of Babylon, is still mentioned several times in the Babylonian Talmud (spelt *בִּרְסִיפָא*).<sup>5</sup> His name, incidentally, was misread by Herzfeld; it is *Mtrhwst* = *Mihrxwst*. Herzfeld himself (*AMI.*, vii, 60) recognized the king of Hīrah in Parth. *'mrw lḥmyšn MLK'* = Pahl. *'mrw lḥmyčyn MLK'* 'Amru, the Laḥmid king'; his name occurs in the unpublished part of the inscription. As there is a small gap (with some feeble traces) in front of the first letter of *tywččyn MRWHY* (Herzfeld: *Térakhčín*), one wonders whether one may read (?)*[n]tywččyn* 'the Lord of Antiochia', in spite of the unusual spelling (normally with *k* for *χ*); which of the towns of that name may have been meant (Antioch in Sittakene? Antioch = Spasinu Charax?), is a matter of conjecture. A name hitherto overlooked is in G'3 = line 43', where Herzfeld read *s'trp gwnk gwn[k]* and translated 'satraps of all kind[s]'; the correct reading is *s'trp đwnb'wntš* 'Satarap of Dunbāwant (Demawend)', cf. now in the inscription of Shapur, Parthian version, *s'trp* line 23, *đwnb'wntš*, lines 24 and 26.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless it is to be dismissed as mechanical transposition of a name whose true pronunciation was unknown to the translator (*-rd-* = *-l-*, but why *-l* for *-d*?).

<sup>2</sup> The ending *-āy-* may be due to an intervening Syriac form (\**Bēš Zōrāyē*), as it clearly was in the case of *mukš'đčyn*.

<sup>3</sup> *-gd-* has disappeared, though not without trace, also in MPers. *mādiyān* (Arm. *matean*) from *mātagdān* (originally *mātak-dān*).

<sup>4</sup> cf. also Inscr. of Shapur Greek 67 *Βαδov* = Parth. (28) and Pahl. (35) *bgdt*. An interesting case of an inverse spelling is found in the inscr. of Kartir at the Ka'be, line 7, *čL bgd'n g'sy čZLWNt* against lines 3/4 and 5 *čL čRHYY'n g'sy čZLWN'* to depart to the throne of the Gods' = 'to die'; here *bgd'n* = actual *bayān* or *ba'ān* (< *baqān*). The forms have been misread and misunderstood.

<sup>5</sup> A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, 327, 346 sq.

<sup>6</sup> There are quite a few names and titles in the final list of Paikuli that require further consideration. Instead of *štkwyn* G'11 (line 43') I read *štb(wy)n*; in *Altpers. Inscr.*, 77, Herzfeld quoted *ššbrn*, which appears to be intended as a new reading of this name. In G'1 (line 43'), Herzfeld's *yppst* may have to be replaced by *npp[šy]* = *nāfapati* (arm. *nahapēt*). In H 5 (line 45), *šw'nyk* is probably 'of Holwān', but the reading of the title is uncertain; the name ends in *šesdy*, which calls to mind such names as *Pāšai* ([*p*] *šesdy*? one would expect [*p*] *šesdy*).

The reading *Mwk'n MRWHY* (H 6/7 = line 46), which I previously accepted (above, p. 510, n. d), is very doubtful indeed; the supposed Parthian equivalent in G'6 (line 43'), Herzfeld's *mukn*, does not exist: all that can be seen on that block is ](w)š(n), the -š- being actually the only clearly visible letter.<sup>1</sup> Instead of *Mwk'n*, I should like to read *Syk'n*<sup>2</sup> now: this was in fact Herzfeld's original reading (in his drawing, plate 108). *Syk'n* equals Parthian *Sykn*, so the *Syk'n MRWHY* was the 'Lord of Siwnik' (arm. *išzan Siueneac'*). Parthian *Sykn* occurs only in a single passage, Inscription of Shapur, beginning of line 2, but that passage, the standard list of the north-western provinces of Sassanid Persia, suffices to prove that *Sykn* equals *Sisakan* in the Armenian Geography and *Sisagān* in the appendix to Zachariah of Mitylene; and these names in their turn indubitably<sup>3</sup> mean *Siuēnik'* (*Siunik'*), the country on the left bank of the lower Araxes. This was briefly pointed out in *BSOAS.*, xii (1947), 54<sup>4</sup>; the new form, *Sikān* from *Sī* + Iranian endings *-k-ān*, also formally agrees with the Armenian name *Si-uni-k'*.<sup>5</sup>

This identification was recently challenged by A. Maricq, who asserted that the country referred to was Mingrelia.<sup>6</sup> This is both right and wrong. The proposal was no doubt made in order to accommodate the Greek version of the inscription of Shapur, which offers *Μαχελονία* as translation of *Sykn*, evidently the country of the *Μαχέλωνες* (also *Μαχέλωνες*). This nation, whose

<sup>1</sup> That was recognized by Herzfeld, who at first copied *muk* (plate 198).

<sup>2</sup> This is admittedly uncertain. The first letter is awkward: all the requisite traces for both *S* and *M* appear to be present; here, as often, it is difficult to distinguish cracks from incisions.

<sup>3</sup> See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 120 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Albania in Parthian is spelt not *ʾrr'n* (as I thought), but in fact *ʾrd'n*, with *-rd-* as inverse spelling of *-l-*. It thus accords with the Pahlavi forms, *ʾld'n* and *ʾl'ny*, which latter was liable to confusion with the name of the *Alans*. Cf. inscr. of Kartir at the Ka'be, line 12, *ʾlmny štry W wlc'n W ʾl'ny W ʾsk'n 'D pl'ē 'L ʾn'n BB'*; in the corresponding passage in Sar-Mašhad we have *ʾld'n*.—I cannot let this opportunity go by without drawing attention to the Pahlavi name of Peshawar, which I have now found in the inscr. of Sar-Mašhad: it is *Pškpoly*; cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 53 sq.

<sup>5</sup> The correct explanation of *Siuēnik'*, which is now confirmed, was found by de Lagarde. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 120, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire Orientales et Slaves*, xi (1951), *Mélanges Grégoire*, 253 n. The author has made two further interesting points in that annotation. (1) That *pryštur TWR* = τὸ Πρεσσοῦρ ὄρος *n'est pas le Paryadres, mais bien l'Elburz*. This is correct, and was already indicated by me in *BSOAS.*, xii, 54, n. 2, perhaps in too obscure a fashion. 'The whole *Παρίγειον* mountain' introduces and sums up the provinces of Media, Hyrcania, Margiane, and Areia, in the same way in which 'the whole upper countries' (a phrase that is heir to the 'upper satrapies' of Seleucid times) introduces and sums up the next following group (Kermān, Sakastān, etc.). Accordingly it would be more adequate to say that *pryštur* equalled the Strabonian *Παραγοάθρος*, which it was believed stretched from Armenia and the Zagros to the Tajand. Incidentally, the inscription spells *Πρεσσοῦρ*, not *Πρεσοῦρ*.—(2) That the town renamed (by Shapur) *Prghuz-Šhyrišt* = *Πηρσοῦσσοῦρ* is the well-known *Pērōz-Šābūr* = *Anbār* on the Euphrates. This I have always assumed; one can only share the author's surprise at finding so often explained a term as *Asūristān* misunderstood even now. However, the final proof of the identity of the town (and district) with *Anbār* has not been mentioned by Maricq: it lies in its ancient name, which *Pērōz-Šābūr* was to replace, Parthian *Mšyk* (twice), Greek *MHCIXCH* and *MICIXH*; this corresponds to *Βεσὴχαρα πόλις, ἐν τῷ ἱερὸν Ἀτάργασι*, Isidorus Characenus, *G.G.M.*, i, 249, 6.

name is always coupled with that of the 'Ηνίοχοι, inhabited a district near Colchis. Dio Cassius, lxxviii, 19, mentioned 'Αγχίαλον τὸν 'Ηνιόχων καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλέα under Trajan, and Arrian placed his capital 40 *stadia* to the east of 'Αθήναι, which is probably the modern *Antina* (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 8 = *G.G.M.*, i, 374<sup>9</sup>). According to the same authority, the *Μαχέλωνες καὶ 'Ηνίοχοι* bordered on the *Ζυδρεῖται*, whose eastern neighbours were the *Λαζοί* (*ibidem*, 15 = p. 378<sup>25</sup> sq.). The *Anonymi Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 42, confirms Arrian: ἀπὸ οὖν 'Αρχάβεως ποταμοῦ εἰς 'Οφιοῦντα ποταμὸν πρῶτον ὄκουν ἔθνος οἱ λεγόμενοι 'Εκχειριεῖς, νῦν δὲ οἰκοῦσι Μαχέλωνες καὶ 'Ηνίοχοι (*G.G.M.*, i, 412<sup>9-11</sup> = § 1, *F.H.G.*, v, 174); that is precisely the coastal district of which Antina is the centre. However, the anonymous author, whose work is mainly a compilation of Arrian and Menippus, also stated that these twin nations, together with many others, had originally inhabited the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea, on either side of Tuapse, where νῦν δὲ οἰκοῦσι Ζιχοί (§ 18, *F.H.G.*, v, 180). In any case, at the only time when the Machelones appeared in history,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the second century of our era, they lived roughly half-way between the Acampsis (*Ḷorux*) and Trebizond; which region can scarcely be described as 'Mingrelia', although it was reasonably close to it.

Even though we readily concede that the Greek translator of the inscription saw in *Sykn* some insignificant little district on the Black Sea coast, we are far from submitting to his judgement. To interpret this Persian inscription, an official document of the first rank, from the Greek version that accompanies it is a capital mistake. In claiming that *Sykn* is *la Mingrélie, que le nom iranien désigne comme un pays de Scythes (Saka)* the gifted young scholar runs into difficulties; for neither the Mingrelians nor the Machelones have ever been, or could ever have been, described as 'Sakas', which name, needless to say, is never spelt otherwise than as *Sk-n* in Parthian and, in any case, was used exclusively for the people of *Sakastān* in Sassanid times. Most of what has been written on the trilingual inscription of Shapur i, by Orientalists and classical scholars alike, suffers from insufficient consideration of the relationship that exists between the three versions; several authors appear to have given no thought at all to the question. Yet, the work on any document should begin with the problem of its genesis.

As a working hypothesis I should like to put forward the following: the original version of the inscription is that written in the official language of the Sassanid state, in Pahlavi (Middle Persian). A written copy<sup>2</sup> of the Pahlavi

<sup>1</sup> viz. under this name; whether certain other names (*Μαχλωνή, Μάκρωνες*, etc.) appertain to this nation is a question that does not concern us here.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown, e.g., by the case of *Anazarbos*. In *BSOS.*, ix (1938), 840, having only a small photograph of the defective Pahlavi version at my disposal, I rejected Sprengling's reading *ʾEs . . sy* and substituted *ʾn . l . . sy*, which I then restored as *ʾn[z][bw]sy = Anazarbos*, because in the region indicated by the context that is the only town whose name fits the legible letters, *ʾn . l . . sy*. Now, having inspected the original inscription, I can confidently say that the stone actually shows *ʾnzl(pw)sy*. It is thus certain that *Anazarbos* was meant; the fact that the other

text was translated, by Ōhrmizd the son of Šylk, into Parthian, the *lingua franca* of Northern Persia. The Greek version, too, was made from the Pahlavi,<sup>1</sup> from the *same* written copy, by a Greek who was reasonably well acquainted with Syria<sup>2</sup> but deficient in his knowledge of Asia Minor and the more distant provinces of the Roman empire; he may have been a native of Seleucia on the Tigris.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, whenever the versions fail to agree, one should rely on the Pahlavi text; where it is defective the Parthian and the Greek rank equally and serve to reconstruct the original text. This is not the place to go into details; but I will cite one case to demonstrate the dubious quality of the Greek version in matters concerning Asia Minor and its neighbourhood.

The description of the battle of Edessa is introduced by a list of the Roman provinces from which Valerian drew his armies. Its nature, now confirmed by the Parthian and Greek texts, was recognized in *BSOS.*, ix (1938), 833. If one studies the Greek text alone, one will receive the impression which M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Berytus*, viii (1943), 28, put into these words: 'the list . . . is carelessly put together, . . . no geographical order is observed except at the beginning . . . there are repetitions . . . and among the larger sub-divisions of the Roman Empire appear Campania and one city of the Pontus, Amastris (spelled Amastris)'. A different view is gained when one takes into account the other versions. The provinces of Asia Minor and Syria appear in the Greek in this form:—

- (1) Βιθυνία; (2) Ἀσία; (3) Καμπανία; (4) Συρία; (5) Λυκαονία; (6) Γαλατία; (7) Λυκία; (8) [Κιλικία]; (9) Καππαδοκία; (10) Φρυγία; (11) Συρία; (12) Φοινίκη; (13) Ἰουδαία.

No doubt this may seem confused. The Parthian version offers:—

- (1) Bithynia; (2) Asia; (3) Pamphylia (*pm̄p'y*); (4) Isauria (*'swry*); (5) Lycaonia; (6) Galatia; (7) Lycia; (8) Cilicia; (9) Cappadocia; (10) Pharnacia (*prnk'y*); (11) Syria (*swry*); (12) Phœnice; (13) Judæa.

versions have something else makes no difference. The Parthian text offers *'nglrvs*: the corruption can only be understood on the assumption that the translator had a written copy before his eyes and misread *'nzlrvsy* as *'nglrvsy*; in the Pahlavi script of the 3rd century *Z* and *G* are almost indistinguishable, and frequently have been confused with each other. They were confused in this case also by the Greek translator, who, unable to account for *'nglrv*., invented his Ἀγριππιάς (*ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΝ* corrected into *ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΔΑ*). W. Ensslin, *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur i.* (*Sb. Bayer. Ak. Wiss.*, 1947, 5), 1949, 110 sq., came close to appreciating the precedence of the Pahlavi text, at least in this case.—Every line of the Parthian version shows its dependence on the Pahlavi, e.g. in the constant confusion of *R* and *L*, the mistranscription of Pahlavi *W* by *R* (e.g. in *kr̄m'n'dy* for Pahl. *kw̄m'n'dy* = Comana), the occasional reproduction of inverse Pahlavi spellings (as of *-d-* in *kr̄m'n'dy* or *sp̄tyd'y*), etc.

<sup>1</sup> That it was not made from the Parthian is evident by several passages where the Parthian is wrong but the Greek right. For example, Pahl. *kw̄m'n'dy*, Κομανα, but Parth. *kr̄m'n'dy* (see preceding annotation); *'Pefávear* correctly, but Parth. *rnyrvs* (from *\*rnyrvs*); *'Aleξάνδρειαν τῆν κατ' Ἰσορ* correctly, but Parth. *'lyhndry* *W klysway*; *'Eπιφάνειαν* correctly, but Parth. *'yrgyn'y* (for *\*'yrgyn'y*); *Φλαυάδα* correctly, but Parth. *pr'ny's* (confusion of Pahl. *W* and *N*; mistaking Pahl. *L* for *R* where it stood for actual *L*; the Pahlavi text had *\*pl'wy's*); etc.

<sup>2</sup> He was learned enough to replace *Mnduk* by *'Ierápolis*, *Knd'y* by *Χαλκίς*.

<sup>3</sup> His acquaintance with Persia and Persian affairs was very good; in his renderings of Persian names he gave their actual pronunciation (no mean achievement).

This list is as well arranged as one may reasonably demand. The absurd *Campania* reveals itself as a foolish mistake; to have put *Συρία* both for *Isauria* and for *Syria* is even worse.<sup>1</sup> In the Pahlavi text the following only are preserved:—

(6) Galatia; (7) Lycia; (8) Cilicia; (9) Cappadocia; (10) *Plnkydy*; (11 and 12 lost); (13) Judæa.

These names were read and correctly understood in *BSOS.*, ix, 830 sq., except for *Plnkydy* which I then regarded as a corruption of *Φοινίκη*; now we know that the latter province was mentioned two places further on, and with better material at hand one can still read (12) (*pwinky'y*). It would be unmethodical to set aside Pahl. *Plnkydy* (and its offshoot, Parth. *Prnk'y*)<sup>2</sup> in order to give preference to *Φρυγία*, a facile replacement of a name not understood by the translator; *Φαρνακία* was probably intended, as the representative of *Pontus Cappadocicus*, which has as good a claim to being mentioned in the list as *Lycaonia* (or *Isauria*).

To return now to the list of 'Saka *kšatrapas*' at the end of the inscription of Paikuli, we have seen that the princes named in it belong mostly to the western fringes of Persia<sup>3</sup>; as it contains also some rulers from the North (such as the prince of Dunbāwand and the king of Khwārezm) and the East (such as the king of Makurān and the two kings recognized by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 31), it may be said to have covered the whole of the frontier regions of Iran. We cannot well leave the list without adverting to a figure that is hardly less strange than the Khagan or the 'Lord of Avanti', I mean the king of *Žand-Afrīk* = 'Zand in Africa', i.e. Zanzibar. In introducing him, Herzfeld wrote<sup>4</sup> 'astonishing as the following interpretation may sound, it seems to be almost certain'; one would agree with the first rather than the second half of the sentence. The explanation is based on Parthian *šndplyk* G'9 (line 42'), but the reading is doubtful. The traces rather suggest *lyndplnk*, which is easily restored as [*w*]yndplnk = *Windafarnak*; the Pahlavi version, which is badly damaged, appears to have<sup>5</sup> *gundp[llk]*, H 8 (line 45); thus there is here no territorial title at all, but a personal name, 'Gundofarrak the king'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other repetitions were caused by similar misunderstandings; 'Amastria' is merely another blunder of the translator's.

<sup>2</sup> In both cases the letter *N* is as clear as it can well be.

<sup>3</sup> Some further titles were mentioned by Herzfeld, *A.M.I.*, vii, 60, from the unpublished blocks.

<sup>4</sup> *Paikuli*, i, 244.

<sup>5</sup> Herzfeld *znkp[lyk]* in the text, *šndaf[rik]* in the transcription and the glossary; later *šndp[lyk]*, *A.M.I.*, vii, 60.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly a descendant of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. The name does not occur elsewhere with final *-ak* (*-ag*). A Gondophar is mentioned also in the inser. of Shapur, line 32, *gwndply ZY 'dwl'n* = Parth. *wyndprn 'bkn* = Γυνδιφερ Αβγαν. Cf. the seal inscriptions Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix, p. 207, No. 17 *gwndply ZY dpyner ZY hdywy BRH*, *ibid.*, p. 210, No. 33, *gwndply ZY dpyner ZY hdywy BRH* (cf. Horn *apud* Justi, 369; Justi, 248, No. 23, and additions opp. p. xxvi); probably both *hdywy* and *hdywy* are misreadings of *'dicky*, so that the seals belonged to the man mentioned in the inser. of Shapur.

It is a good deal easier to remove the Khagan than to replace him. The correct reading, as we have seen, is  $h'd'n$  ZY .*dkl'*; we will begin with  $h'd'n$ . In the Pahlavi inscriptions postvocalic *-d-* invariably indicates the sound *-y-*, which may or may not have arisen from an original *-d-*; at any rate,  $h'd'n$  was pronounced *hāyān*. Such a word actually occurs in Manichaean Middle Persian, for certain in one passage and probably in another. The former is a line from a hitherto unpublished hymn, M 570, very likely a part of the *Gōwišn īg Grūw-zīndag*. The text is fragmentary, there are no complete lines. The Soul is speaking:—

(2) 'wm 'šn'z'd p'd 'šn'zys[n]  
'yg 'c b'ryst šh[r

(3) 'wm 'hr'm'd p'd pr 'yg  
'wl 'w h'y'n'n 'yg

(4) 'wm p'd gnz 'y pydr n[yys'd ?  
kw gyg'n phryzysn n[y

(2) He shall wash <sup>1</sup> me with a laving . . .  
that is from the Land on high . . .

(3) He shall raise me on wings of . . .  
upwards to the *hāyān*-s of . . .

(4) And shall [set] me in the treasure-house of the Father . . .  
where [no] thieves shall loiter . . .

The second passage is in a fragment of Mani's *Šābuhragān*, M 482, which was published by F. W. K. Müller long ago (*Handschriftenreste*, ii, 1904, p. 16). It is so badly damaged that it is difficult to find out its contents. Some help is afforded by a comparable passage in the Coptic 'Sermon on the Great War' (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, 32<sup>2-11</sup>). Close to the end of the world, after the horrors of the Great War have been endured, the Parousia shall take place and peace shall reign on earth. When at that time the survivors of the Great War pass by a cemetery (482 R 1-2), they will mourn the fate of their relatives (482 R 3 *xwys' twhm[g'n]*, *Homilies*, 32<sup>2-4</sup>), who had had to die before happiness descended on the world, and:—

(5) *g(w)'nd kw w['y] 'wys'n [ky p'd]*

(6) *'w'm ['y] b'z'g m'wrd 'wd ['wzyd]*

(7) *(h)ym[d] <sup>2</sup> k[y]bycwš'n sr '(z) <sup>3</sup> h'y['n]*

(8) *['w](l) [hn]'ryh 'wš'n 'yn š'dy[h]*

(9) *ncyhyh [ky] nwn 'mh 'ndr phryzw(m) <sup>4</sup> [oo]*

'they will say: woe unto them that died and [went out (of the world)] in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Sogdica*, 34, and cf. Parthian *sn'c*. (M. Boyce, above, p. 441, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> cf. Müller *apud* Salemann *Man. Stud.*, 27 n.

<sup>3</sup> Müller *'d*; the lower part of the letter *z* is destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> Müller wrongly *phryzwm[d]*.

evil time<sup>1</sup>; but who would lift their heads up from<sup>2</sup> their *hāy[ān]* and let them see this joy in which we live to-day?<sup>3</sup>

In the second passage, *hāyān* (half restored) is evidently poetic substitute for 'grave', while in the first it designates some kind of place associated with the Realm of Light; a meaning such as 'couch', or 'resting-place', or 'mansion', might fit either. If *hāyān* derives from \**hādān* (as the spelling in the inscription wants us to believe), an easy etymology is at hand: from \**hādan-* or \**hādāna-* 'seat', cf. Skt. *sādana*, OPers., Av. *hadis-*, *ēdos*, *sēdēs*, etc. From a *Grundbedeutung* 'seat' a wide variety of meanings opens out; it certainly includes 'mansion', 'dwelling', 'home', and 'residence'. Nevertheless, in view of the multiplicity of original forms that would produce *hāyān* in Middle Persian, it would be rash to adopt any particular etymology too wholeheartedly.

## v

The second word, *.dkl*, is evidently a proper name; there is no appellative that would fit the letters. The '*hāyān*, mansion, residence, seat, etc., of So-and-so' can scarcely be anything but the name of a place. That this group of words is in fact a place-name emerges clearly from a proper analysis of the context in the inscription. It is impossible to give such an analysis within the confines of this article; it would involve a re-edition of almost the whole inscription. Here only the broad lines of the argument can be indicated; the details, of reading and interpretation, have to be put aside for the present.

The inscription of Paikuli is a monument to a mean spirit. Its object is to tell us why, and how, Narseh ousted his great-nephew, Bahrām iii, from the kingship; that is all. On the death of Bahrām ii, his son Bahrām iii, long before designated as crown prince, was still a minor. A strong party, to which most of the great nobles and officers of state belonged, preferred a stronger personality and put their hope in Narseh, the youngest and last-surviving son of Shapur i, who had brought glory to Persia. Protracted negotiations and civil war resulted. Narseh was in Armenia, where he held the office of *Vazurg Armenān Šāh* 'king of Great Armenia'<sup>4</sup>; from the party that supported his claims:—

*plys[tl](ky) 'L LNH Y'TWN 'YK MLK'n MLK' PWN krpkyhy MN '[lmny]*  
*'(w)(w)ny ('L) 'yr'n štry 'yw whyčyt W (G)DH W štry W NPŠH 'LŠ[']*  
*W pthšly ZY nyd'k'n MN yzd'n MKB[LWNt]* (line 9)

'an ambassador came to Us (to say:) may the king of kings graciously set out<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Homilies*, 32<sup>b-7</sup>, *Wehe euch, dass ihr gestorben und hinausgegangen seid . . .*

<sup>2</sup> *hn>r-* 'to lift (up)', which I have restored from *ʔr-*, is ordinarily construed with *'wcl'w* ('up to'); it would probably be unjustified to change *'wcl'w* to *'w* ('up from') here.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *Homilies*, 32<sup>b-6</sup>, *Wer wird euch aufwecken, dass ihr das Ausmass der Freude sähet, in der wir heute sind.*

<sup>4</sup> Not 'Great king of Armenia' (as has often been translated); the title equals Arm. *ʿagawor Hayoc' Mecac'*. Similarly, 'king of Great Kušān' is preferable to 'Great king of K'.

<sup>5</sup> *whyč-*, past stem *wč[s]y* (D 2/3, line 19); Pahlavi *wbyč-*, Man. MPers. *wbyz-*; Parth. past stem *wyšš*, Shapur, line 4 = *špādōmāi*; not, therefore, 'move upwards'; 'wihščakik' simply = 'movable'.

from Armenia hither to Ērān-šahr and accept the majesty, the realm, his throne, and the honours of his ancestors from the gods'. Narseh was ready to come:—

(W) LNH 'YK ZK *prwltky* HZY[*TNm*] [P](W)N 'w<sup>h</sup>lmzd<sup>y</sup> W w<sup>sp</sup>'n yzd'<sup>n</sup> W 'n<sup>h</sup>yt ZY MR'T' ŠM M[N] [']lm[n]y '[L] 'yr'n štry lwny w<sup>h</sup>yčwmy (line 10) 'and when We saw<sup>1</sup> that letter, we set<sup>1</sup> out from Armenia towards Ērān-šahr in the name of Ohrmizd, of All-the-Gods,<sup>2</sup> and of Anāhit the Lady'.<sup>3</sup> As is well known, especially by the Armenian historians, when one travelled from Persia to Armenia in Sassanian times, one set out from Ganzaca (Arm. *Ganjak*) in Atropatene; Narseh, coming in the reverse direction, no doubt went first to Ganzaca.<sup>4</sup> From there he hastened to Asūristān/Babylonia, where the capitals lay, and where his supporters were concentrated. The shortest road from Ganzaca to Seleucia/Ctesiphon passed through the plain of Siarzūr (Shahrzūr), where one reached the half-way mark; on that account, the chief town in that plain had been named *Nīm-az-rāh*<sup>5</sup> ('half of the way'). To the west and south-west the plain is closed by a double mountain range; the pass of Paikuli, where Narseh's monument is situated, affords a passage over the southern spurs of the second range (now called *Qaradaγ*), which is also the last of the many chains the traveller from Atropatene has to cross before reaching the great plains of Euphrates and Tigris. That Narseh took the road through Siarzūr to Paikuli is clear from his own words:—

MPers. (16) ]ZNH *plky*

Parth. (14') ]'L ZN(H) ['](T)RH YMT'<sup>h</sup> Hm 'YK ZNH [

MPers. *krty* YK'[Y]MWNt 'DYN šh(p)[w]hry (ZY) *hlqwpt*

'[when] We had reached this place, where this monument<sup>6</sup> has been made, thereupon Shapur the Hargupet, etc.' With these words begins an excessively

<sup>1</sup> I assume now that the imperfect still existed in the earlier forms of Western Middle Iranian; there are many cases of it in the inscriptions; note <sup>2</sup>*kylydy* (with augment) = 'was made'.

<sup>2</sup> = *višve devāh*.

<sup>3</sup> *pad* . . . *nām* has often been misunderstood.

<sup>4</sup> On the position of the town see Minorsky, *BSOAS.*, xi, 243 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Heraclius (who may well have been responsible for the destruction of the monument of Paikuli) covered the distance from Siarzūr to Ganzaca in ten days (not counting days of rest), see Minorsky, loc. cit., 251.

<sup>6</sup> Herzfeld failed to recognize that this word, Pahl. *plky* = Parth. *plk*, is an appellative descriptive of the type of monument of which Paikuli is a specimen. We cannot translate it properly until we know the precise shape which the monument of Paikuli once possessed. Herzfeld reconstructed it as almost a cube on a square base, adorned with battlements; the reconstruction may have to be reconsidered in the light of the excavations carried out by him in 1923.—*Plk(y)* is no doubt the same word as Man. MPers. and Parth. *pylg*, on which see *BSOAS.*, xi, 725 n., where I hesitated between 'altar' and 'steps, staircase' (Pers. *pille*). Professor G. Morgenstierne kindly suggested to me that *pylg* might be a loanword from a Middle Indian form of Skt. *piṭha*; one of its meanings, 'pedestal of an idol,' would fit excellently several of the passages in which *pylg* occurs. All these meanings, 'altar' or 'pedestal', 'a monument of the type of Paikuli', and 'steps, staircase', do not necessarily exclude each other; a 'stepped altar' (as e.g. at Tang-i Sarvak, see *Asia Major*, ii, 159) may have been meant, and the monument of Paikuli, even if it was not in the shape of a ziggurat, may have possessed a great staircase.



long sentence, in which all the principal supporters of Narseh were enumerated; the critical passage comes near its end:—

Parth. (16') . . . W 'p'ryk p'rs W prtww MNW 'swr[ (gap)

MPers. (18) ]n 'L h'd'n ZY

Parth. (16') ]r HWHnt hmy'bdyn [ (gap)

MPers. (18) .dktl'. L[NH] p(t)[y]lky Y'T[WN (gap)

Parth. (16') ]TNH hndymn YHWH[n]t 'YK ZNH plk 'BDt

Here, for once, the two versions supplement each other with almost no gap; '(thereupon Shapur the Hargupet, etc.) . . . and the other Persians and Parthians that were [powerful in <sup>1</sup>] Asūr[istān], they all <sup>2</sup> came to Hāyān of .DKTL'. to meet (and receive) <sup>3</sup> Us [and] presented themselves [before Us] here <sup>4</sup> where this monument is made.'

This is perhaps the most important passage in the whole inscription: it tells us the *raison d'être* of the Monument of Paikuli, which, at first sight, seems to have been erected in a singularly ill-chosen place. Here Narseh met the leaders of his party: here he was proclaimed king of kings; he found the event worth recording on stone. While his supporters came into the royal presence (*handēmān būdan*) at the spot marked by the monument, they had first gone to 'Hāyān of .DKTL', where they assembled from all parts of the lowlands in order to receive the new king. Consequently, the place named in the inscription should be looked for to the west or south-west of Paikuli, at a moderate distance from the pass; it would be reasonable to expect that it lay on the very road along which Narseh was travelling, on the Sassanian road from Seleucia/Ctesiphon to Siarzūr over the pass of Paikuli.<sup>5</sup>

When one knows how defective our historical records are for the area thus defined, one will approach the task of searching for the place-name in other sources with diffidence and little hope; the gap at the beginning of the characteristic part of the name, .DKTL', enhances the difficulty. Nevertheless, the name happily does occur elsewhere, and by careful restoration the form in the inscription can be completed with certitude. Herzfeld, it will be recalled, put *alef* (?) as first letter; but only about a quarter of such a letter is visible, namely two-thirds of its initial up-stroke: the remnant may equally well have formed part of *N*.<sup>6</sup> If one restores *N*, one has to supply a further narrow letter (such as *y*, *w*, *n*, *d*, *k*) in order to fill the gap. When one bears in mind all possible restorations and at the same time considers all place-names ever mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Or similarly.

<sup>2</sup> Parth. *hmy'bdyn* (so to be read) = Arm. *hamaurēn*; Pahlavi *h'mucdyn*, Pahl. Psalter *h'mduyn*.

<sup>3</sup> *ptylky* = Pers. *pašire*; = *istiqbāl*.

<sup>4</sup> *TNH* 'here' is certain; not *PNH* 'hither'.

<sup>5</sup> Which was no doubt followed by Heraclius in February, A.D. 628, on his march from Dastagerd to Siarzūr.

<sup>6</sup> cf. above, p. 509.

for the region in question, one will inevitably restore (N)[Y]DKTL[Y] or (N)[Y]DKTL[N]<sup>1</sup> and identify *Hāyān īg N.* with *Niqātōr-Āwānā* (Syriac *Nyqtur-wen*<sup>2</sup>), a place of unknown situation within the confines of the Nestorian metropolis of *Bēθ Garmai*, to which Paikuli and its neighbourhood belonged, see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 48 (n. 417), 277.

Foreign long *ī* or *ē* was regularly rendered by *-yd-* (originally = *īi*)<sup>3</sup> in the quaint orthography affected by the Pahlavi scribes; so *Nydktl* may be regarded as normal spelling of *Nīkār-wp*. The identity of *Hāyān īg N.* with *N.-Āwānā* is sufficiently evident to compel us to reconsider the etymology of MPers. *hāyān*, for which we had provisionally assumed a basic meaning 'seat'.<sup>4</sup> Actually, there is no reason why *hāyān* should not be the very same word as Syriac *āwānā* (*awānā*), which of old<sup>5</sup> has been regarded as a loanword from Iranian: Old Persian *āvahana* 'settlement, village', shortened to *āwān*, which was borrowed by neighbours in East (*āvāna* 'village' in Kharoṣṭhi Documents<sup>6</sup>) and West (Arm. *awan* 'small market town, village', Talmudic **אָוּוּן**,<sup>7</sup> Mandæan **𐌌𐌋𐌌𐌋**,<sup>8</sup> in addition to Syriac), but seemed to have been lost to the Iranian languages themselves. Here it appears for the first time in Middle Iranian; in MPers., *āwān* would necessarily become *\*āyān* and facultatively *hāyān* (with a prothetic *h-* often found before *ā-*). In support of this explanation one could point out that *āwān* occurs everywhere often in place-names<sup>9</sup>; as does *h'd'n* in the inscription. Moreover, in the Aramaic tongues the word is mostly employed for 'a settlement on a high-road where travellers may spend the night'<sup>10</sup>; and as we have seen that *Hāyān īg N.* probably lay on the high-road from Seleucia to Siarzūr, we shall adopt this particular meaning for

<sup>1</sup> The last letter—which does not affect our argument—is doubtful. The apparent traces favour *Y*, but may be a hole in the shape of *Y*. Final *-ā* (as *-y* is to be pronounced) would be unexpected in this name, which in any case appears without it in Syriac; though foreign names are sometimes adorned with it in Pahlavi without good reason. If Herzfeld's restoration, *[N]*, is accepted, we shall regard *Nydktl'n* as an adjective of reference (commonly formed with *-ān* from proper names); hence 'the Nicatorian mansion (etc.)'.

<sup>2</sup> So also in Persian words, chiefly at the end of words (cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 64 sq.), but sometimes even in their interior, cf. e.g. Pahl. Psalter *nāydm-* = *nīēm-* according to K. Barr (beside *nādm*, *Ka'be Kartir*, line 10).

<sup>3</sup> The ending *-ān*, in place of the expected *-ān*, made that explanation not too attractive; it was merely in the nature of a working hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1866), 148 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See T. Burrow, *BSOS.*, vii, 779.

<sup>6</sup> J. Levy, i, 41a.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 136, with n. 1. Nöldeke rejected the derivation from Iranian, which has now been placed beyond doubt thanks to the appearance of the word also on the eastern fringe of the Iranian language territory.

<sup>8</sup> So always in Kharoṣṭhi documents (see Burrow, loc. cit.), often in Armenian, sometimes in Syriac, and once in the Talmud (Levy's passage, **אֲכַבְרָה וְאוּוּן**, invites emendation to 'אֲכַבְרָה וְאוּוּן' = 'Ukbarā and Awānā [differently Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 331 sq.; the MS. he used had *ngr' w-wen*]; these two towns lay on the Tigris, very close by each other).

<sup>9</sup> Brockelmann *hospitium ubi quis noctem agit*; Hoffmann (occasionally) *Post-station*; Nöldeke (for Mand.) *Quartier*; Levy *Station*, *Nachtherberge*.

the Middle Persian word; which, incidentally, fits the Manichaean passages, too, better than any other.<sup>1</sup>

No scholar has ever examined the historical topography of the Zagros lands so thoroughly as G. Hoffmann examined it. As he resigned himself and listed Niqātōr-Āwānā among the places *gänzlich unbekannter Lage* (op. cit., 277), one is inclined to abandon further search as useless; for it is rarely indeed that one can add even a minor point to his incomparable work. However, in this case the inscription of Paikuli has given us a hint to the direction where this 'station' lay; we can now take a further step forward. The only reason that Niqātōr-Āwānā was mentioned at all in our sources was that it was the place where a bishop of *Karzā ā-Bēθ Slōx* (Kirkuk), one Ishāq, died a martyr's death. Elsewhere, the scene of his martyrdom is called *Bēθ-Niqātōr*.<sup>2</sup> As a rule, Syriac place-names compounded with *bēθ* 'house of' refer not to towns but to districts or provinces; therefore, we may safely infer that Niqātōr-Āwānā was the centre of a district named *Bēθ-Niqātōr*. Under the latter name, this district is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>3</sup> (which, of course, was not available to Hoffmann), as one of the Christian bishoprics, over 20 in number, which were established even at the end of the Arsacid period (spring of A.D. 224, acc. to the *Chronicle*). This bishopric was due to disappear soon; one does not find its name in any of the later lists, of which the earliest is from A.D. 410.

Thanks to a singularly fortunate circumstance we can place *Bēθ-Niqātōr* with certitude.<sup>4</sup> On his first visit to Paikuli, in 1911, Herzfeld, after leaving Khaniqin, was compelled (by the turbulent state of the Turco-Persian frontier) to make a detour and so travelled by way of *Binkudrah*, which he defined as *das Gebiet der Mündung des Hulwān-flusses in die Diyālah*.<sup>5</sup> There can be no doubt that *Binkudrah* continues the ancient name, *Bē(θ)-Niqātōr*.<sup>6</sup> The district lies on the direct line from Seleucia/Ctesiphon to Paikuli: the Sassanian road to

<sup>1</sup> Especially the otherwise troublesome text in which *hāyān* refers to the grave; a word connoting temporariness well accords with Manichaean ideas about it.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages collected in the *Thesaurus*, col. 491.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (*Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 21, identified *Bēθ Niqātōr* with *Qatrabbul*. This is inadmissible. He relied on G. Hoffmann's etymology of *Qatrabbul*: \**Νικατορόπολις* (*Martyrerakten*, 41, n. 343). The acceptance of Hoffmann's etymology (which in itself is attractive enough) almost suffices to exclude Sachau's identification; for if the Greek name persisted up to Muslim times, one would expect to find it being used in earlier centuries, and not a Syriac translation of it. The principal objection, however, is that *Bēθ Niqātōr* lay in *Bēθ Garmāi*, while *Qatrabbul* (the district immediately to the NW of Baghdad, on the western bank of the Tigris) is solidly placed in the heart of *Bēθ Armāyē*.—Sachau did not refer to this erroneous identification in his later work *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (*Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919), in which he listed all known bishoprics of *Bēθ Armāyē*, pp. 26-38.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Aufnahme des sassanidischen Denkmals von Paikuli* (*Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1914), p. 6. The name is marked on the map attached to that paper.

<sup>6</sup> The consonantism is exceptionally well preserved; the ending, *-a(h)*, may hardly be used to defend the reading *N[y]dēt[y]*, cf. above, p. 520, n. 1. Herzfeld justly recognized that *Binkudrah* represented an old name compounded with *Bēθ*; however, the original form he posed ('*Bā-Nuhadrā*') is unsupported and leaves *-k-* unaccounted for.—The form developed probably in this way: *Bēθ Niqātōr*—*Bēnikātūr*—*Bēnkātūr*—*Bēnkātūr*—*Binkūdra*.

Paikuli will have passed through it (after branching off near Ĵalülä<sup>1</sup> from the road Seleucia—Holwän) and continued along the course of the Diyālah. It is scarcely an accident that the only reference I have seen<sup>2</sup> to this district, *Binkudrah*, is contained in the description of a journey which a scholar, coming from the direction of the ancient capitals, undertook for the purpose of investigating the remains of the Monument of Paikuli.

<sup>1</sup> cf. *BSOAS.*, x, 941 sq.

<sup>2</sup> [Further inquiry, in which Mr. C. J. Edmonds kindly lent me his help, has shown that the name of *Binkudrah* now chiefly appertains to the village that forms the centre of the district. It lies on the left bank of the Diyālah (Sirwän), at a distance of about half a mile from the river; measured on the excellent map in Herzfeld's *Paikuli* its position is 34° 31' 30" N., 45° 14' E., its air distance from Paikuli 43½ miles. James Felix Jones, *Memoirs. Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. 43, 1857, map opp. p. 136, showed the plain of B. as running several miles along the left bank of the Sirwän, almost down to the confluence with the Holwän. C. J. Rich, who visited the village, spelt its name *Binkudreh*, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, ii, 271 sqq., 378-380. However, Mr. Edmonds points out that according to his recollection the name is pronounced with -g-, and this agrees with the spelling adopted by H. Rawlinson, *Bis-kudrah* (i.e. *Biyyudra*), *Notes on a March from Zohāb*, *JRGS.*, ix, 1839, 29, and, incidentally, with the original form posited here. There are many Sassanian ruins in the neighbourhood of the village; those now named *Kattar Tepesi* (Rich, ii, 274) may well conceal the old *Station of Nicator*.]

## A new Parthian Inscription

(PLATE V)

THE scantiness of Parthian inscribed material enhances the importance of any new find. The existence of inscriptions and drawings on the rock-walls of a gorge near Birjand (Southern Khorasan) had been known for some time; but their antiquity was not recognized until Mr. Jamal Rezai, a Persian student from Birjand, visited the gorge and took photographs, which he submitted to Dr. Sadiq Kiya, of the University of Tehran. Dr. Kiya at once correctly identified the writing as Parthian and, in company with Mr. Rezai, published the whole material, together with a preliminary reading of the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richard N. Frye also paid a visit to the site and reported on it briefly in the Persian literary monthly *Mihr*.<sup>2</sup> Later some uninformed criticism, claiming modern origin of the remains, appeared in the same periodical<sup>3</sup>; it was justly refuted by Dr. Kiya.<sup>4</sup>

The name of the gorge is *Kāl* <sup>5</sup>-i *Ĵangāl*. It is situated among the western spurs of the *Kūh-i Rīč*, itself the westernmost part of the *Kūh-i Bāqrān*, the considerable mountain-range stretching to the south of Birjand.<sup>6</sup> Its distance from *Khusf*<sup>7</sup> (which lies to the west) is 11 kilometres, from the village of *Rīč* (which lies to the north-east) 2 kilometres. The remains noted by Mr. Rezai consist of the following:—

<sup>1</sup> J. Rezai and S. Kiya, *Guzāris-i navīštehā va peikarhāyi Kāl-i Ĵangāl* (= *Irān-Kūde* No. 14). Tehran, Isfandārmudh-māh 1320 Yezd. [= Feb.-March, 1952]. Here quoted as *Report*.

<sup>2</sup> Year 8, No. 4, *Tir*, 1331 [= June-July, 1952], p. 220. Only the principal drawing and inscription had attracted Dr. Frye's notice.

<sup>3</sup> Year 8, No. 6, *Šahrivar*, 1331 [= Aug.-Sept., 1952], p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> *Mihr*, year 8, No. 9, *Ādhar*, 1331 [= Nov.-Dec., 1952], pp. 538-9.

<sup>5</sup> Acc. to *Report*, p. 6, n. 3, *kāl* is a local word, in *Khusf* and *Birjand*, with the meaning of *darre* "valley". Cf. Ivanow, "Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan" (*J. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, N.S. xxi, 1925, No. 3), p. 257, *kāl* "a river-bed, wādī, nullah"; see Vullers s.v. *kāl* 6.—As the brief vowels of place-names are not given in the *Report*, the correct pronunciation of *Ĵangāl* is necessarily uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Useful information on the geography and history of this region is contained in W. Ivanow's article, "Persian as spoken in Birjand" (*J. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, N.S. xxiv, 1928, No. 4), pp. 236-246.

<sup>7</sup> On the origin of this name (*Xusf/b* from *Xwasp*) see Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 20, n. 2. The forms with final *-st* are due to dissimilation, cf. the reverse change from *-st* to *-sp* (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 50, n. 2).

(a) A rock-drawing of a man and a lion, accompanied by a Parthian inscription (No. 1). See Plate V.

(b) A rock-drawing of a male bust (bearded head, with helmet and diadem, in profile turned to the left),<sup>1</sup> with a damaged Parthian inscription (No. 5).<sup>2</sup>

(c) Fragments of seven further inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> all apparently in Parthian. They belong to different periods. Some may constitute parts of a larger inscription<sup>4</sup> (Nos. 6 and 7, in a formal type of script); some are written in a cursive style reminiscent of Sogdian (Nos. 2 and 3).

It is evident that further investigation on the spot is required (as well as some measure of excavation) before the remains can be satisfactorily interpreted.<sup>5</sup> For the present we have to confine ourselves to an examination of the inscription No. 1, for which alone sufficient material is at hand.<sup>6</sup>

All the letters in this inscription, which comprises two lines, are clearly legible:—

נריארתחשתר	<i>gry'rthštr</i>
נחודר ו חשתרף	<i>nhwdr W ḥštrp</i>

The reading offered by Dr. Kiya was almost correct; he gave it in Persian letters in this form:—

ری ارتحشتر نخوری خشترپ

The *tašdīd* indicates that he read the first word in the second line as *nhwrr-y*; but, as the photographs show, *-d-* is clearly distinguished

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, pp. 10 sq., figs. 4 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably giving the name and title (or office) of the man represented in the drawing. A purely tentative reading: *Wyšt'ny K'styr(wk)*]. It is impossible to say how much (if anything) is missing at the end. The writing, compared with that of Inscr. No. 1, tends to the cursive; the letter *K* deviates from the norm. *Wyšt'ny* probably = Hystanes | Histanes | Bisthanes.

<sup>3</sup> One of them on a slab found among the debris on the floor of the gorge (*Report*, p. 13). There are, in addition, several isolated letters, belonging perhaps to Nos. 6 and 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Report*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>5</sup> It would be advisable to take squeezes rather than direct photographs. For the purpose of photography, the *Report* states, "the letters and lines of the inscriptions and drawings were whitened with plaster to make them show up better" (p. 7). We thus entirely depend on Mr. Rezai's powers of observation; he seems to have done his work with commendable care.

<sup>6</sup> I owe thanks to Mr. J. Rezai for sending me, through the good offices of Dr. E. Yarshater, a copy of the photograph he had taken (which was published before in *Report*, p. 7); it accompanies this article. I am further indebted to Dr. R. N. Frye for giving me a print of his own photograph.

from *-r-* in the usual way by a diacritical mark. As the first word of the inscription Dr. Kiya assumed *BRY* "son"; this gives an easy, but doubtless wrong, reading; for the first letter is a very determined *G*; also there is no word-division in the first line.

*Nhwdr* = *Naχwaδār* means (as will be shown presently) "prefect" or the like; it is approximately equivalent to *hštrp* "satrap". In the first centuries of our era "satrap" was not so much a rank as an office; the word is invariably accompanied by the name of the district which was governed by the "satrap". Thus in the Parthian inscription found at Susa, *Hwsk Šwš hštrp* "Khwāsak the satrap of Susa"<sup>1</sup>; and so often in the inscription of Shapur I. The status of a satrap in those centuries cannot be compared with that enjoyed by his Achæmenian namesake; the area he now governed was small, scarcely more than a town with its surroundings; the inscription of Shapur names satraps of e.g. Hamadan, Gay, Weh-Ardašīr, Gundēšābūr, Nīrīz. On these grounds one would assume that the long word which occupies the first line of our inscription was the name of a town or smallish district; so that the inscription means "the prefect and satrap of *Gry'rthštr*". This entails the further assumption that the inscription is incomplete; its first line is close to the present edge of the rock: a piece that carried a further line, with the satrap's name, may have broken away.

Next to nothing is known about the history, in the early centuries of our era, of the wider neighbourhood of Birjand, the sub-province called *Quhistān* "mountain-land" in Muslim times; the inscriptions of *Kāl-i Jāngāl* are indeed the first inscribed monuments ever discovered in Eastern Persia. It is thus not surprising that such a place-name, *Gari-Artaxšaθr* or *Gar-Ardašīr*, cannot be traced in other sources.<sup>2</sup> Certainly it has all the appearance of a name given by the first Sassanian King of Kings, Ardašīr,<sup>3</sup> or given in his honour (there are many such names). One may even suggest that *Gar-Ardašīr*, which perhaps meant "the mountains of Ardašīr", was the name of the very district of which Birjand formed a part, a forerunner of the later *Quhistān*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Asia Major*, ii, 176.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a personal name of somewhat similar aspect (but uncertain reading), see Justi, p. 156a, *Karardašīr* (which could be *Gar-* instead).

<sup>3</sup> The *Kermān-Šāh* Ardašīr need not be considered here.

<sup>4</sup> Alternatively (but less likely), the name could be a recast of *Γαρί πόλις* (Isidorus Characenus, § 16), which lay in the neighbourhood of Farah—Neh.

If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the inscription belongs not to Parthian times (as its Parthian language *prima facie* suggests), but to the Sassanian period, probably its early years. We do not know how long the distinctive Parthian script continued in use; as the letters of our inscription are substantially the same in form as those familiar from the monuments of the third century,<sup>1</sup> we should claim it for that century, the heyday of Middle-Iranian epigraphy. This is in consonance with the date which one would be inclined to attribute to the rock-drawing beside the inscription.<sup>2</sup> It is true that rock-drawings (very differently from rock-reliefs) are altogether unusual in ancient Iran; there is thus no strictly comparable material. Nevertheless, the style of this drawing<sup>3</sup> has all the traits characteristic of the art of the early Sassanian period (man in profile, except for his chest and his eye; absurd misrepresentation of his right arm and hand).<sup>4</sup> From the scene depicted<sup>5</sup> one may infer that Kāl-i Jāngāl served as a hunting-camp for the local chieftains of Quhistān, who probably retired to the Kūh-i Bāqrān in summer.<sup>6</sup> The chief importance of the inscriptions lies in the proof they afford that the language now generally described as *Parthian* was in fact used in (at least a part of) *Parthia*.<sup>7</sup>

It remains to discuss the new title, *Nhōdr*, which etymologically means "he who holds the beginning, the first (place)". Such a word has often been postulated; but this is the first time that it actually occurs in an Iranian document. The following forms have been noted previously:—

(1) *Nohodares*, the name (rightly, probably, the title) of a Persian

<sup>1</sup> The only significant deviation is in the letter *h*, which has developed a loop at the bottom of the first vertical.

<sup>2</sup> The other drawing, above p. 141, under (b), may be somewhat older; it is reminiscent of the representations of the Parthian kings on their coins.

<sup>3</sup> The photograph, having been taken at an angle from the left, is somewhat deceptive; there is increasing distortion to the right side, causing the man to appear over-slim (except for his right leg and hand): in fact, as Dr. Frye's photograph shows, his chest and shoulders are abnormally broad.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Intended to show the man strangling a lion (in the outcome, he seems to be tickling its ear).

<sup>6</sup> As the village of *Riṣ* near-by is now used as *yailoq* by the people of Khushf.

<sup>7</sup> As yet we cannot take into account the documents, believed to be Parthian, which were recently discovered by the Russians at the site of Nisā. No copy, as far as I know, of the book in which they were published (*D'akonov, Parf'anskie dokumenty iz drevney Nisi*) has reached this country. See provisionally M. E. Masson, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1950, No. 3, p. 54.



general under Shapur II, Ammianus Marcellinus xiv, 3: 1, 2; xviii, 6: 16; 8: 3; xxv, 3: 13.

(2) *Nwhdr* in Syriac, as a title in a pre-Christian Syriac inscription, where it precedes a place-name (Pognon, *Inscr. sém.*, No. 5), in the local name ܢܘܚܕܪ ܕܠܘܫ (Hoffmann, *Martyrerakten*, 209 sq.), and glossed by ܢܘܚܕܪ and as "army-chief" by Bar Bahlül. See Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxi (1908), 153 sq.

(3) *Naxarar* in Armenian, "feudal chief, prefect." The actual existence of *Nhwdr* as a title in Parthia itself, in a sense closely corresponding with that of *naxarar*, makes it necessary to return to the explanation advanced long ago by F. C. Andreas (see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, 514 sq.).<sup>1</sup> *Naxarar*, which agrees with *naxwadār* exactly,<sup>2</sup> should be regarded as a loanword from Parthian.<sup>3</sup> The older derivation is preferable to that proposed by Meillet<sup>4</sup> (Sogdian *nāfδār*), which required the assumption of an exception from the sound-laws,<sup>5</sup> see *Rev. Ét. Arm.*, ii, 2.

(4) *Nwγδ'r*, in Sogdian-Uigur writing, = *Noχδār*, the name of a Manichæan presbyter, in *Türkische Manichaica*, iii, p. 35, No. 16.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Differently N. Marr, *Etymologi'a dvux terminov Arm'anskago Feodal'nago stro'a (sepuh and naxarar)*, *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Akad. Obšč.*, xi, 1898, 165-174.

<sup>2</sup> -axa- from -axwa- as in *kaxard*.

<sup>3</sup> This was rightly seen by Meillet (differently Hübschmann).

<sup>4</sup> Who compared *nahapet* < *nāfapati*, which may occur in the inscription of Paikuli, see *BSOAS.*, xiv, 511, n. 6. Of the other words mentioned by Meillet, *nahatak* and *nahang*, the latter, which means "province" (*ἐπαρχία*), does not belong to *nāfa*- (it reflects *Mir. nah-* from *naθ-*). It is met with several times in the inscriptions of Kartir, spelt *nsngy* (which has been oddly explained as meaning "few").

<sup>5</sup> An assumption made also by Marr, loc. cit., p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> The Manichæan *nuxwyr* (cf. Andreas apud F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 111) does not belong to this group, see *Mittelir. Manichaica*, i, 197, n. 2.

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.]

## NOTES ON THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF ŠĀPŪR I

In an article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, pp. 823-849, I have given an analysis of the contents of the recently discovered inscription of Šāpūr I (set up about A. D. 263), which had been published by Professor Sprengling in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. LIII, pp. 126-144, cf. ZDMG., Vol. 91, pp. 652-672. I have tried to show that the first half of the inscription contains an account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire, A. D. 256-261, whilst the second half constitutes a *deed of settlement*, by which Sacred Fires and funds for their maintenance were established in honour of several members of the royal family.

Such a *deed of settlement* was called *pātiṣādr* (*p'thštr*) in Pahlavi. This word occurs in line 23: ... 'dwyn .. YKTYBWN ZNH KL'<sup>1</sup> QDM *p'thštr* YKTYBWN BL' MN ZK 'kblyt 'LP<sup>2</sup> ZY MN t... *pyšyn* 'L LNH 'dwyn YHWWN WLNH LZNHšn 'twr'n YHBWN "custom ... has been written. All this has been written on a deed of settlement, apart from those one thousand lambs (?) which since former [...] it was our custom to give<sup>3</sup> to these Fires". The word *pātiṣādr* occurs several times in the inscriptions of the founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism, Kartēr, who boasts of the great number of documents he had signed and sealed in his function as Magapat and Ehrpat. It is well known, not only from the great number of seals of priests we possess, but also from literary tradition (*e. g.*, *Mātiyān-i*

1. Professor Sprengling offers a different reading.

2. The proper transcription, of course, would be : /lp; in this way the word for "1000" is spelt already in Old Aramaic Papyri.

3. A typical Pahlavi construction; *lit.*, "it was our custom and we gave".

Hazār Dātistān, p. 78, lines 2 sqq., p. 93, lines 4 sqq., p. 100, lines 5 sqq., ed. J. J. Modi), that the sealing of documents constituted an important duty of the Magupats. The correct meaning of the word<sup>1</sup> has been found by the late Professor Markwart (Ung. Jbb., VII, p. 103), who quoted the later Pahlavi form *pātšīr* (Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 112, line 1, ed. Jamasp Asana) and the Armenian Loan-word *patšir* = *dašn* "treaty, agreement". Typical passages are Naqš-i Rajab 24 sq. 'Pm KBYR NPŠH ŠM ... QDM. *gty p'htštyly W m'tyd'n*<sup>2</sup> YKTYBWN YK'YMWnt "And I have often written my name on testaments<sup>3</sup>, agreements ('deeds of settlement')<sup>4</sup> and memoirs", or Naqš-i Rajab 28

1. A re-examination of the meaning of the Mandaean LW *p'd'šīr* (see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., p. xxxi; WZKM., vol. XVI, p. 4) seems advisable. In *Mēnū i Khrat*, xlvi, 5, 16, I prefer Nēryōsang's reading *pāšīšāhtar*.

2. Text: *m't'n* (error of the copyist). The correct reading *m'tyd'n* = Armenian *matean* = Pahlavi 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 has already been found by Nyberg, *Mazdayasn. Kal.*, p. 68 Herzfeld's reading *m'tzd'n* or *m'tgd'n* (cf. *Altper. Inschr.*, p. 214) is hardly correct. The original meaning of this word seems to have been "memory", as is suggested by a Sogdian gloss (see Henning, *Manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 128).

3. *gty* = *gett*, borrowed from Syriac *gettā* "testament" = Babyl. *giṭtu*. This (or a similar?) derivation seems to have been in the mind of Professor Herzfeld (*Altper. Inschr.*, pp. 213 sqq.) whose comparison with *gahnōmak* "book of the ranks" (from *gāhnōmak*, cf. Armenian *gah* "place", "rank", etc.) and Arabic *jahbad* (Mafatih al-'Ulum, p. 54, line 9, p. 55, line 13) can hardly be accepted. The *jahbad* (*jihbād*) was neither a "mint-warden" (thus Herzfeld, Paikuli, s. v. *gty*), nor (and still less) a "naqīb al-ašraf", but a tax-minister, who was chosen by the population of a province, and who was responsible towards the government for the punctual payment of the taxes (particularly the *Ḥarāj*), whilst the tax-payers in their turn pledged themselves towards him. He naturally had to keep book carefully and to present closing accounts at the end of each month (*Ḥatmah*) and of each year (*al-Ḥatmah al-jāmi'ah*). He also had to be an expert in money-affairs, etc.; (hence later the derived meaning "expert"). It belonged to his major duties to give valid receipts (*barā'ah*) to those tax-payers who had fulfilled their duties. A detailed and interesting account of the office of *jahbad* is contained in the Tīrīḫ-i Qumm, pp. 149 sqq. (S. H. Taqizadeh has kindly drawn my attention to this passage). The Persian form, *gahbad*, is used by Firdausi (see Wolff's Dictionary, p. 675) and mentioned by Asadi (p. 33, ed. Horn); cf. also Šama-i Faḫrī, p. 85.

4. Cf. also Herzfeld, *Altper. Inschr.*, pp. 211 sqq. Against Herzfeld, I do not believe that *pātīšāfr* could be connected with Pahlavi *Inschr. patišār* (*phtšly*), Man. MPera. *padišār*, *pašīšār*. The meaning of the latter word: "honour, respect, veneration" (against Herzfeld) is well established from innumerable passages. We also have a Sogdian gloss: *ptfryy* (M 172, later *ptby*, Buddh. Sogd. *ptβy* - "honour, veneration", see Müller-Lentz, S. T. II, p. 514, n. 1). Further, the Parthian

MNW ... *p'thštly m'tyd'n 'ywp gty' 'ywp 'HRN n'mky*  
 HZYTNT "who will see an agreement, memoir or testament  
 or any other writing".

Unfortunately the passage which determined the capital sum (= *zwāstak* in the juridical language) to be given to the church in respect of the new foundation is too much broken to permit of a satisfactory interpretation. As we are told, however, that Šāpūr was in the habit of giving one thousand *'kblyt* (annually) before his new decree, we may safely conclude that the new *zwāstak* also was defined in terms of *'kblyt*. That *'kblyt*<sup>2</sup>, which tentatively I have translated "lamb" in the above passage, denotes some kind of animal, has been proved by Professor Bailey, BSOS., ix, p. 232. It is clear from our inscription that the *'kblyt* was used also in sacrificial ceremonies; passages like Vidēvdāt 18, 70 *hazawrem anumayanam frāvinuyāt* "he shall sacrifice one thousand sheep" (cf. Yt. viii, 58, *pasūm hē pačayon*) seem to suggest that the word was employed for sheep rather than for goats (as Sprengling assumes, ZDMG., 91, pp. 663 sqq.). Passages referring to animal sacrifice in the Pahlavi literature have been collected by Tavadiā, Sūr Saxvan, pp. 14 sqq.

After the sentence on the *'kblyt*-capital presented by the king, we find a series of well-defined orders for its administration. The first two orders are unconditional, while a condition is attached to the third. All three of them stipulate the daily offering of certain gifts "for the soul"<sup>3</sup> of a great

equivalent, *pdysšr* (frequent; also *pdysšr'wnd* = MPers. *pdysšr'wnd* = *padisšar* should be considered. Bartholomae, ZAIR. Wb., p. 85, correctly derived *padisšar* from *patiš-šcar-* and compared Skt. *abhisar-* "praise". From OIran. *patiš-šcar-* we have not only MPers. *padisšar*, but also OPers. *pātis(š)ucari-* = Πατισσορεῖς, name of a Persian clan ("the honoured ones").

1. Text: *giky* (perhaps error of the copyist)

2. Fr. Müller's theory that the group of words *akbarit*, *dūbarit*, etc. is nothing but an invention of the authors of the 'Frahang' (cf. Geiger, WZKM., 29, p. 311) should be considered seriously. A compound form *'k* "one" is not known in Pahlavi; that it should stand for *ē* (from *ēv*) is hardly possible. *-blyt*, of course, might be *-brit* "shorn", cf. e. g. Wakhi *varin-*: *varitt-* "to shear" (Morgenstierne, Indo-Iran. Front. Lang. ii, p. 547), NPers. *mūi burridan*; therefore "once-shorn", "twice-shorn", etc.?

3. See BSOS., ix, p. 847; cf. also Bartholomae, Mir. Mund., ii, pp. 10 sqq.

number of members of the royal family (past and present) and certain other persons. The amount of the daily gifts is equal<sup>1</sup> for all the persons mentioned. The gifts consist of: 'kblyt I, LHM' g I h V<sup>2</sup>, HS p IV, i. e., one lamb and a quantity of bread (i. e., drōn cakes) and wine (HS = Pahl. -w)<sup>3</sup>.

The first order (end of line 23 to beginning of line 24) concerns the king himself: ZK prm'ywmy 'YK 'yw klyty<sup>4</sup> PWN LNH lwb'n YWM' 'L YWM' 'kblyt i LHM' g i h v HS p iv "This I order that there shall be made<sup>5</sup> day by day for our soul one lamb, etc."

The second order refers to members of the royal family (lines 24-26): PWN s's'n ZY MRWHY..... W'whrmzd-whtky ZY sk'n MLK' BRTHk<sup>6</sup> [lwb'n' 'kblyt i] LHM' g i h v HS p iv "(this I order that there shall be made day by day<sup>8</sup>) for the soul of Sāsān, the Lord ..... and of Ohrmizduxtak, the daughter of the Sakānšah (Narseh), one lamb, etc.". The list opens with the predecessors of Šāpūr,

1. The alternative that the second and third amounts are to be devoted to the whole group of people mentioned under those headings collectively should also be considered.

2. The measurements are not yet clear.

3. Wine, of course, was an indispensable ingredient in a ceremony of this kind; cf. e. g. Tavadia, *op. cit.*, on the "drōn-ceremony" and the "myzrd-ceremony". Sprengling's interpretation of HS as "lettuce" (ZDMG., 91, p. 666) is wide of the mark. The clear spelling HS (= māi) dispenses with the old explanation of this ideogram (proposed by Haug, accepted by Geiger, WZKM., xxvi, p. 301, and Nyberg, MO, xvii, p. 229) from Hebrew 'āsā 'must'; explanations, however, should start from that form alone which is used in Pahlavi texts (only HS), not from a corrupt Frahang spelling; moreover, HS always is "wine", not "must". As measure, one should expect [kynk] after HS, see Hansen, *Mittelpers Papyri*, Berlin, pp. 54 sq. Three kinds of wine are mentioned in the Pahlavi Papyri: HS i spīt "white wine", HS i suḫr "red wine" (Hansen: *gwehr*) and HS i virāstak "vinum conditum" (cf. *virāy*-Pahl. Texts, I, p. 32, line 6, "to flavour, or spice (wine)").

4. On the reading see BSOS, ix, p. 845, n. 4.

5. For the expression cf. e. g. Pahl. Riv. Dd. p. 90, line 9 (ed. Dhabhar): drōn-ičē pat ruvān i tō nē kunēnd.

6. The preceding passage seems to exclude the reading BRTHr.

7. This restoration is required by the meaning as well as the available space.

8. The words: ān frawāyom ku ēv kirēt...rōč ē rōč are meant also for the second order.

namely (1) Sāsān, the Lord (*xwatāy*), (2) Pāpak, the King, (3) Šāpūr, the King, the son of Pāpak<sup>1</sup>, (4) Ardašīr, the first King of Kings. After them three queens are mentioned: (5) a *šahr bānbīšn*, (6) the Queen of Queens Aturanāhīt, Šāpūr's chief wife, and (7) the Queen Dēnak. The latter is also mentioned in line 28: (1) Dēnak<sup>2</sup>, the mother of King Pāpak, (2) Rōtak, the mother of Ardašīr, King of Kings, (3) Dēnak, the Queen. It seems possible that this Dēnak was the mother of Šāpūr I; she would have lost the title *bānbīšnān bānbīšn* after the death of Ardašīr<sup>3</sup>. It is difficult to say what position was held by the *šahr bānbīšn* who ranks before even the ruling Queen of Queens; she might have been the (late) predecessor of Āturanāhīt, possibly the mother of Ohrmizd I<sup>4</sup>.

The four sons<sup>5</sup> of Šāpūr I follow: (8) Varhrān, Gēlānšāh, the eldest<sup>6</sup> son who apparently did not enjoy the confidence of Šāpūr. He came to the throne only after the death of his younger brother Ohrmizd. It is noteworthy that his son, Varhrān II, is not mentioned in the inscription. The title, Gēlānšāh, is explained through the well-known passage in an oration of Claudius Mamertinus (A. D. 279): *adscitis Saccis et Cussis et Gellis* (restored by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 36). For the territories of these three nations

1. Cf Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 86.

2. Wrongly called Rāmbihīst by Tabari's source (Nöldeke, p. 4).

3. If this assumption should prove correct, the famous seal of "Dēnak, Queen of Queens" (cf. e. g. Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 75) may have belonged to her; usually it is ascribed to Dēnak, wife of Yazdegird II. The name Dēnak was fairly frequent in early Sasanian times; besides the mother of Pāpak and the mother of Šāpūr, the wife of the Mēsānšāh Šāpūr bears this name; a Manichaean: Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 59.

4. According to Hamzah (see Justi, NB., s.v.), the name of the mother of Ohrmizd was Gurdzād: possibly a corruption of the name of the *šahr bānbīšn* which unfortunately is nearly illegible (Sprengling: *-clucšy*; might be *guc*), Firdausi's Gulnār (daughter or slave of Ardawān, married by Ardašīr, called Artadužt by Agathangelos) need not be considered.

5. See BSOS, ix, pp. 846 sqq.

6. I am now convinced that the second list of the sons (line 24) represents the order of the sons according to age.

were appointed the *Sakānšāh*, the *Kušanšāh*, and the *Gzlanšāh*. (9) Šāpūr, *Mēsānšāh*. He must have disappeared between the date of our inscription and the accession of Ohrmizd. It is only with considerable hesitation that I mention a possible reference to him: in the last chapter of the Persian *Jāmāspnāma*<sup>1</sup> one Šāpūr, son of Šāpūr, is listed as having ruled for one year (*i. e.*, a few days) between Šāpūr I and Ohrmizd I; if any value could be attached to this curious statement which contradicts all other sources, one might consider an unsuccessful and quickly suppressed rising on the side of Šāpūr against his brother. (10) Ohrmizd-Ardašir = Ohrmizd I. (11) Narseh, *Sakānšāh*. = Narseh, King of Kings. In discussing<sup>2</sup> the fuller title given to him in line 23 I had assumed that *t?wrstn* referred to Tokhāristān. It is, however, unlikely that Tokhāristān ever belonged to the domain of a *Sakānšāh*. I should, therefore, prefer to regard *t?wrstn* as an unusual form of the name *Tūrān* (*Tūrān*, *i. e.*, the country of the *Tūrānšāh*, around Quzdār)<sup>3</sup>. For *Tūrān*: *Tūristān* one might compare *Makurān*: Pahl. *Makuristān*<sup>4</sup>.

Various members of the royal family conclude this list. We may mention: (A) the chief wife of Narseh, Šāpuhrduztak, the *Sakānbānbišn*; his second (in rank) wife, Narsehduzt<sup>5</sup>, the *Sakānbānūk*; his daughter, Ohrmizduztak<sup>6</sup>.

1. I have been privileged to see the forthcoming edition by Professor Meisina in galley-proofs.

2. BSOS., ix, p. 848, n. 6.

3. Cf. ZDMG., 93, p. 7.

4. *Kārnāmak* 4, 14 (not accepted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 32); *Bundahišn*, p. 86, line 9, ed. Anlezaria (read *MoYulistān* by Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 62, n. 6).

5. It is, I believe, useless to attempt a determination of the exact relation of these persons merely from their names: names such as Šāpūr, Narseh, etc., were too frequently employed by the Sasanians; see also the following note.

6. I do not think that there can be any doubt that "Ohrmizduztak, the daughter of the *Sakānšāh*", was the daughter of the man who throughout the inscription is referred to as *Sakānšāh*, *i. e.*, Narseh. If it is established that Narseh's daughter was called Ohrmizduztak, we can no longer conclude that the name of the father of one, *e. g.*, Šāpūrduztak was Šāpūr (theophore names such as *Mihruzt* constitute a different case; Ohrmizd-, it is true, is ambiguous).



(B) the son of Ohrmizd I, Hormizdak; if we were not told that the prince *Ormies*, who revolted against Varhrān II, was a brother of the then ruling king, we had to consider his identity with Hormizdak, who as the only son of Ohrmizd I had every right to the throne. (C) six sons of Šāpūr, Mēšānšāh, namely Hormizd, Hormizdak, Artābaxt, Varhrān, Šāpūr and Pērōz (*prywzy*<sup>1</sup>); his daughter, Šāpūhrduxtak. In line 29 his wife, Dēnak, the Mēšānbānbišn, is mentioned; (D) Pērōz, the Prince (BRBYT'), the brother of Šāpūr I, protector of Mani, Great Kušānšāh during the first period of Šāpūr's reign. It is clear from our inscription that the title BRBYT' = *vispuhr* was reserved for members of the royal house. A son of Pērōz, Narseh, occurs in line 30 (*nrshy ZY BRBYT' ZY prywzkn*<sup>2</sup>). According to Herzfeld, Pērōz is still mentioned in the Paikuli inscription (Parthian version line 14', C'13); however, the reading of the name (*prwś* [sic])<sup>3</sup> cannot be regarded as certain. (E) Narseh, the Prince (*nrshy ZY BRBYT'*)<sup>4</sup>: brother of Šāpūr I whose daughter *Duxtnōš* (Dinawari) or *Anōšak* (Firდაუსი: *Nōša*) was abducted by "Daizan", the king of Ḥatra (see Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 36, n. 1). Immediately after Narseh the inscription names: *?lwdwhty<sup>5</sup> ZY dwhšy ZY 'nwšky BRTH* = "*?Rōduzt, the virgin<sup>6</sup>, the daughter of Anōšak*". It seems clear that this princess was the grand-daughter of Narseh, the daughter of Anōšak and the king of Ḥatra<sup>7</sup>. It is noteworthy that the name of her father (who had been

1. An antiquated spelling for Pērōz, in accord with the etymology.

2. Sprengling: *plywzkn*.

3. Cf. AML., vii, pp. 59 sqq.

4. Sprengling's reading: *'ohrmzdy MLK'NMLK' W mtrnrshy ZY BRBYT'* cannot, of course, be accepted. Before *nrshy* probably we have *MLK'NMLK' 'MY*; that suggests the restoration: [*hctky ZY 'rthštr*] *MLK'NMLK' 'MY*, cf. line 28. It is true that one would not expect a person whose name is included in the first or second order to be re-mentioned in the third order; some exceptions to this rule, however, can be observed.

5. The first letter is uncertain.

6. Cf. *dwhšy*, Mordtmann, ZDMG, 18, p. 29 nr. 75; Man. MPers. *dwhš*.

7. Perhaps even "Daizan's" treacherous daughter?

kiled by Šāpūr) has been suppressed. In the Paikuli inscription (line 7) one [B 9] *nrshy* [B 10] ZY BRBYT' ZY [S is mentioned; should Professor Herzfeld's restitution of the last word as *s'snkn* prove correct<sup>1</sup>, this Narseh could not be the same person as Narseh, son of Ardašir I. For after BRBYT' a patronymic should be expected, so that BRBYT' ZY *s'snkn* would mean: "the Prince, the son of Sāsān"; "the Sasanian BRBYT'" would be a tautology.

To the third order for the administration of Šāpūr's gift a condition is attached: (line 26) *'kblyt* ZY' *p'tlyk* ZK 'D *ptwōt* 'ndwōm<sup>2</sup> PWN 'LH<sup>3</sup>n *lwb'n* MNW MLK'NMLK' *prm't[y]* *lwb'n* YDBHWNtn W *n'mcsty* PWN *npsty*<sup>3</sup> QDM *st'ny* YKTYBWN YK'YMWnt YWM' 'L YWM' *'kblyt* i LHM' *g i h v* HS *p i v* "The remaining *'kblyt*, as long as there is enough left<sup>4</sup>, for the souls of those persons whose souls the King of Kings has ordered to worship and who are mentioned by name in writing in (this) place, viz., day by day one *'kblyt*, bread, etc.". It is clear that secondary importance only is attached to the persons mentioned after those words. There are three lists: (I) MNW QDM *p'pky* MLK' YHWWN (26/27), (II) MNW QDM *'rthštr* MLK'NMLK' YHWWN (27), (III) MNW QDM *šhpwhry* MLK'NMLK' YHWWN (29), i. e., "the persons who were before (= served under) (I) Pāpak, (II) Ardašir I, (III) Šāpūr I."

Eight persons only are mentioned as assistants of Pāpak; the last two are *šhpwhry* Zy *wycnyk'n*<sup>5</sup> and *šhpwhry*

1. The Parthian version is incomplete (line 6': A'11 nearly illegible; line 14'-15': C'14 illegible; C'1 a lacuna before *s'snkn*).

2. A curious explanation of these words (*patar-dāt-andar-im*, "those who to me are within the father-law") has been offered by Sprengling (I, pp. 141 sq.).

3. For the correct interpretation of the last three words, see Nyberg, ZDMG., 91, p. 669.

4. *ptwōt* = *pattuy*. "to suffice"; cf. *pattūian*: *pattāy*- and *pattūk*. *'ndwōm* "as long (as)" was known from Manichaean texts, see Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.* II, p. 337; cf. *Mir. Man.* I, p. 202: *d'* ... *'ndwōm*.

5. Sprengling: *wycnyk'n*.

*Zy mtlwcn'n*<sup>1</sup> "Šāpūr, of the family Vēžan"<sup>2</sup>, and "Šāpūr, the son of Mihrōžan"<sup>3</sup>. Whilst we can fairly assume that the assistants of Pāpak belonged to the aristocracy of the province of Pārs, we find a much more varied list given for the officers who served under Ardašir and Šāpūr. The members of the great Parthian families (Sūren, etc.) appear for the first time under Ardašir; they are listed in a strict order, after members of the royal family, and before a number of governors of provinces, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Amongst the members of the royal family enumerated in List II (Ardašir) we find three sons<sup>5</sup> of Ardašir I, all of them also named Ardašir, as rulers of Marv<sup>6</sup>, Kirmān and Sakastān (Marvšāh, Kirmānšāh, Sakānšāh); the last Sasanian mentioned is Pāpak, the Hazārupat (Chiliarch). This Pāpak held the important office of Hazārupat still under Šāpūr I (at the time of the Paikuli inscription one Ardašir has this rank, line 16 = C 9): he occurs again at the end of the enumeration of Sasanians in List III, followed only by the Aspapet<sup>7</sup> Pūsai<sup>8</sup>. Under Šāpūr we still find Ardašir son of Ardašir I as Kirmānšāh, whilst Šāpūr's son Narseh had become Sakānšāh, and the modest *Marvšāh*

1. Sprengling: *mtlwe'n*.

2. Justi, NB, p. 367; cf. also the Parthian spelling *wyjn*, ZDMG., 50, p. 5; originally *Vēžan* is a Parthian name.

3 = Armenian *Mehružan*, s. Hübschmann, Arm. Gram., pp. 52 sq.

4. It is not possible to give a full discussion of all the names and titles here; a few points only shall be made. In the following the abbreviation "List II" is used for the list of persons serving under Ardašir, and "List III" for the list of persons under Šāpūr.

5. Probably; we know only of Kirmānšāh Ardašir that he was a son of Ardašir I (Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 10; cf. Sprengling ZDMG., 91, p. 670).

6. See Sprengling, *ibid.*, p. 670.

7. Corrected by Sprengling from *'mpt*. As *aspapet* (= Armenian *aspet*, Hübschmann, *ibid.*, p. 109) was the title of the Bagratids, one might consider whether Pūsai was not a Bagratid rather than a Sasanian; however, a Bagratid of this name is not known (see the genealogical tree, Justi p. 417). One might be inclined to regard *šhpchryj ZY šnbjtkn*, "Šāpūr, the son of Sambit" as an Armenian nobleman (cf. Justi, p. 814).

8. Sprengling *pr(w)wcd.y*. The name Pūsai, *pusdy*, borne by a Kāren, occurs in line 28 (Sprengling: *'tr(w)wcd[y]*). See Justi, p. 256.

had been replaced by the *Great Kušānšāh*. It is, however, curious that no Kušānšāh or holder of an equivalent office is mentioned under Šāpūr; we have to assume either that Varhrān combined the office of Gēlānšāh with that of Kušānšāh and that his title in line 24 was abbreviated, or (less likely) that the hold of the Sasanian rule over the north-eastern provinces was so precarious at the time of the inscription that no Kušānšāh had been appointed<sup>1</sup>. Two otherwise unknown brothers of Ardašīr I are enumerated in List III: Vardāzī (?), the Prince, the son of Pāpak, and Sāsān, the Prince, the son of Pāpak<sup>2</sup>. Further on, Narseh, the Prince, the son of Zāmasp<sup>3</sup>, and Šāpūr, the Bitaxš.

The first place amongst the princes in List III is taken by 'rthštr ZY nwrthštrkn MLK', "Ardašīr, the King of Nwrthštrkn, or Nrthštrkn". This name is apparently an abbreviation of *Nwrthštrkn* = *Nōt-Artaxšadrakān* = *Not-Artasirakan* in the Armenian Geography (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 8, nr. 10 + 11, note g) = Armenian *Norsirakan* = *Nōd-Ardašīrān* (Arab. Hist.), i. e., the Sasanian name of Adiabene. The combination and restoration of the last-mentioned three forms of the name is due to Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, pp. 81 sq., 105. This Ardašīr, King of Adiabene, may have been another of Ardašīr I's innumerable sons; it is also possible that the town Hazza took its new name *Nōt-Ardašīr*<sup>4</sup> (from which the name of the province of Adiabene is derived) from him, not from Ardašīr I. A British Museum seal (Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, 31, pp. 583

1. It will be necessary to introduce several modifications into the chronological scheme proposed by Herzfeld for the Kushano-Sasanian coins.

2. Reading (*p'pk'n*) uncertain

3. Sprengling: *l(d)'tspc(h)nykn*; the first five letters are probably *z'msp-* (cf. Justi, p. 109; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 179; AMI., vii, p. 57).

4. For *Nōt* cf. *Nwt-Prnbḡ* = *Nōt-Farnbāḡ* and *Nwt-twrplnbḡ* = *Nōt-Ātur-farnbāḡ*, Horn, *ZDMG.*, 44, p. 655, nos. 491 and 626, plate Ia. Possibly connected with Sogdian 'nwt- "refuge" (cf. Henning, *Beichtbuch*, p. 96). Cf. also Justi, p. 227, s. v. Nawadgāw?

sqg., nr. 1; Horn, ZDMG., 44, p. 663, nr. 567, plate Ib; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 80, nr. 11; Herzfeld, AMI., VII, p. 20; with the correct reading except for one minor point) bears the inscription: *glmykn W nwt'rtłštrkn hm'lkly* "The Hamāarakar (finance minister) of Garamaea and Nōrsirakan". At this opportunity I should like to mention the seal of another *Hamāarakar* which apparently has been overlooked so far. It is one of those very rare Sasanian seals with a Parthian legend<sup>1</sup>, now in the possession of the British Museum. Mordtmann (ZDMG., 18, p. 50, nr. v, plate vi) correctly recognised the characters as Parthian, whilst Horn (ZDMG., 44, p. 658, nr. 559, plate Ia, an excellent photograph) read them as Pahlavi. The second word of the legend is clearly *'hmrkr*, the first might be *twrys*<sup>2</sup> = *Tawrēs* (= Tabriz; Armenian *T'avrēs*, *T'avrēž*).

The following order is maintained for the heads of the "Great Families", (etc.), who were the most important officers of State after the royal clan: Warāz — Sūrēn — Awandikān Xwatāy — Kāren. We have under Ardašir: Dihēn, the Warāz; Sāsān, the Sūrēn; Sāsān, the Awandikān<sup>3</sup> Xwatāy, Pūsai and Gök<sup>4</sup>, Kāren. Under Šāpūr we have: Ardašir, the Warāz; Ardašir, the Sūrēn; Narseh, the Awandikān<sup>5</sup> Xwatāy; Ardašir, the Kāren. That Warāz was the name of a (Parthian) family (or clan) is quite clear from our inscription. Ardašir, the Sūrēn, is also mentioned in the Paikuli inscription, line 16 = 15'

1. According to Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 77, only two Sasanian seals with Parthian inscriptions were known; the Ahmārkar seal is not included in this number. Two further seals with Parthian legend: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, p. 49, nr. II (certain) and p. 50, nr. iv (most likely), both on pl. vi.

2. Only *tr.š* is certain. The reading *twrys* is, of course, not very likely; one would rather expect a personal name on a seal of this type.

3. Sprengling: 'r(w)dr(w)r'n (line 28). *'wedykn* can represent; Awand'kān, Āwand-, Ōnd-, Und-, Ond-, Und-; connexion with And'kān (personal name, cf. Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 18) is not very probable; a suitable geographical term is not known to me. Andijān is out of the question.

4. Also line 34; hypocoristic from a name containing *gō*.

5. Sprengling: 'w(r)kdykn, "possibly 'w(r)ndykn" (line 30).

(C' 4); we find also one Ohrmizd, the Warāz<sup>1</sup>, in Paikuli (line 7' [= A' 2] zd wr'z; cf. line 16 = C 11), but he has lost the first place which now is in the hands of Sūrēn. Of other families we have one Spāhpet under Ardašīr (none, however, under Šāpūr): Razš, the Spāhpet; he occurs soon after the second Kāren. The same person, or rather a descendant of this Razš with the same name, is mentioned in Paikuli, line 7' (= A' 1) and line 17 (C 2/3) = 15' (C' 9)<sup>2</sup>. Also one Mihrān occurs, under Šāpūr, but still in a very modest position: Arštāt<sup>3</sup>, the secretary, the Mihrān from Ray<sup>4</sup> (line 33). That the seat of the family Mihrān was in Ray, was known before; A(r)štāt was a current name amongst the Mihrān, cf. Aštāt, father of Yazdgušnasp (under Pērōz, cf. Justi, p. 47). Furthermore, it seems that one Zik, too, is mentioned (line 29, under Ardašīr): ... ZY *blwsk'n*<sup>5</sup> ZY *zky zy nplk'n* = "... the son of BLWSK, the Zik, the NPLK'N"<sup>6</sup>. The spelling *zky* = *Zik* (with short *i*) is not excluded by other sources (cf. Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 41; Justi, p. 385). A Zik as ambassador of Ardašīr to Ardawān: Greek Agathangelos, p. 6, lines 75 and ult.,

1. A different explanation is given by Herzfeld.

2. Under Ardašīr one person only is mentioned between the second Kāren and the Spāhpet; his name 'pers'n (cf. also line 32) reminds one of *Apursām*, one of the highest officers of State under Ardašīr (see Nöldeke, Tabari, pp. 9, 21; cf. Christensen, 'L' Iran sous les Sassanides', p. 102, n. 2), who could hardly have been left out from the list in our inscription. Although the form of the name *Apursām* is well attested (Arm. *Aprsam*, Man, MPera. 'bors'm, etc.), one could assume a fluctuation of final *n* and *m* after long *ā* (as in several other cases); the homonym word for "balsam" may have influenced the name.

3. 'ršt't; Sprengling: 'š't.

4. Sprengling: "the secretary of Mithran who is of the Radh' (I, p. 142).

5. Sprengling: *plw(r)sk'n*. The same patronymic occurs a few words before: *Mtrwst ZY blwsk'n* (29) = Mihrχwāst, son of BLWSK (Barwasak?); Mihrχwāst also in line 33, cf. Nāmχ wāst, Arm. Yezotχwast (Markwart, Ung. Jbh., vii, p. 112) etc.; cf. also Justi, p. 205.

6. NPLK'N cannot be regarded as patronymical name, because BLWSK'N already indicates the father's name. Arm. *Zik neirak(apet)* cannot be compared. NPLK'N, if = *nifārakān*, could perhaps represent the Parthian form of MPera. *niχwārakan*, Arm. *niχorakan*, etc. (Nöldeke, Tabari, pp. 152 sq.; Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., pp. 57 sq.)??

Act. Greg. Arm., p. 91, line 44 (ed. Lagarde). It seems possible that we have the name of a Persian family in 'dnyk (Ainik ?)!: under Pāpak (line 27), under Ardašīr (line 28) and under Šāpūr (line 31). Members of the Sasanian clan who are too distantly related to be regarded as belonging to the royal family have *s'snykn* = Sāsānikān after their name (lines 33,34; for *š'pstn*, cf. Justi, p. 287), cf. *Σασανικῶν*, Gr. Agathangelos, p. 5, line 37. Beside Sāsānikān, we have Sāsānakān in Parthian (Paikuli, line 37', F' 8) and in Armenian (Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 72).

We had seen that both in the second and third lists an Awandikān Xwatāy ('*wndykn MRWHY*) is enumerated between the Sūrēn and the Kāren. This title already is known from the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 22 (p. 106): '*wndykn hwtwy*. Probably it is to be restored also in the Pahlavi version of Paikuli, line 8, B 2: [*wnd*] *ykn MRWHY*<sup>2</sup>. Herzfeld's explanation of the title as "Lord of Avanti" cannot be maintained any longer. It was, perhaps, not very likely that a king of Avanti, in the heart of India, ever should have acknowledged the Sasanian king as his suzerain; that he should appear as one of the highest officers of the Sasanian State under Ardašīr I, is quite impossible. At the end of the Paikuli inscription a great number of MRWHY's is mentioned, most of whom Professor Herzfeld has attempted to identify with Indian or Saka rulers. For instance, he takes the *zwl'dcyn MRWHY* (line 46 = H 7) as King of Surāṣṭra, assuming *zwl'd-* to be an imperfect rendering of a Prakrit form of Surāṣṭra. But according to the rules of Pahlavi orthography, *zwl'd-* indicates the ending *-āy* not *ā + dental*<sup>3</sup>. We may, perhaps, get a clue to the right direction where we should look for

1. Might also be title, etc.

2. Herzfeld's restoration of the passage (Warhrānikān Xwatāy) has not convinced me.

3. Cf. also Herzfeld, AMI., vii, p. 61. The equation Pahlavi *zwl'dcyn* = Parthian *zwrdtšn* is rather doubtful. For *zwl'd-* one might consider Armenian *Dzor(ay)*, the region around Bitlis, see Hübschmann, Indogerm. Forsch., vol. xvi, p. 447

rulers such as the *zwl'dcyn MRWHY* from the legend of a seal which, as far as I know, has not been utilized for the solution of this problem: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, pp. 15 sq., nr. 25, plate ii: *gwšky ZY mwks'dcyn MRWHY* = "Gōšak<sup>1</sup>, the Lord (išxan) of Moqsāy", i. e., obviously Syriac (*Bēth*) *Moqsāyē*, Armenian *Mokk'*, to the south of the Van lake<sup>2</sup>.

Amongst the numerous persons, who are mentioned as faithful servants of Šāpūr, Kartēr<sup>3</sup>, the Ēhrpat (*krtyr ZY 'yhrpt*, line 33) merits attention. This, of course, is the man to whom we owe such a great number of Pahlavi inscriptions (Naqš-i Rajab, Naqš-i Rostam, etc.). He occurs also in the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 15' (= C' 6): *krtyr 'hwrmzd mgw [pty]*. These words should not be translated: "The Kartir Ohrmizd, the Magupat" (as if Ohrmizd were his name), but "Kartēr, the Magupat of Ohrmizd", i. e., of King Ohrmizd I. We know from his own inscriptions (particularly Naqš-i Rajab, lines 27-30), that Kartēr received from Šāpūr I the title "Kartēr, the Magupat and Ēhrpat"<sup>4</sup>, from Ohrmizd I and Varhrān I the title "Kartēr, the Magupat of Ohrmizd"<sup>5</sup>, and from Varhrān II the title "Kartēr, the Magupat of the late Varhrān and (?) Ohrmizd"<sup>6</sup>. In our inscription at least, Kartēr is clearly used as a personal name; still it is possible that originally was an honorary title.

1. Scythian *Gōsokos* (Justi, p. 118; W. Miller, *Ossetisch*, p. 6); Arm. *gūšak* "informer", etc. (cf. also Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 5).

2. *Lšwmc'n MRWHY* (Paikuli, line 46 = H 11) probably "the Lord of Lāšom" in Garamaea. I should much prefer to identify *mwks'n* (MRWHY, *ibid.*, H 6) with Mūqān, Armenian Mukan (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 125).

3. On the original meaning of this word, see BSOS., ix, p. 84; cf. *kltyl* in our inscription, line 34; *kltyl šhpchrty* on a seal, Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, p. 37, nr. 114, plate I; cf. Justi, p. 158. See also Polotsky's suggestion, *Man. Homil.*, p. 45, n. 2. I withdraw my explanation of Copt *Kardel* now and accept Polotsky's identification with Kartēr.

4. *krtyr ZY mgwpt W'yhrpt*. 5. *krtyr ZY 'whrmzdy mgwpt* (= Paikuli).

6. *krtyr ZY dchtlob'n wlt'n Zy 'whrmzdy mgwpt*, lit. "K of the late V., the M. of O." (possibly by mistake?); this passage might favour the interpretation "Magupat of (God) Ohrmizd".



The Dapirpet Ohrmizd (line 33), whose son Ohrmizd is enumerated immediately before himself, was known from a Manichaean fragment, see ZDMG., 90, p. 9. In *wyrwd* (line 34) we have a good example of the proper Pahlavi spelling of the ending *-ōy, -ōi* to which Nöldeke had devoted a careful study (Pers. Stud., I, pp 4 sqq.); we had seen that the ending *-ai* (Nöldeke, *ibid.*, pp. 29 sqq.) is spelt *-dy* (e. g., *pwsdy* = *Pūsai*, see above); for *wyrwd* = *Wērōy* cf. *wyrwd* ZY *whwn'm* BRH = "Wērōy, the son of Wahunām" (seal: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 29, p. 206, nr. 16; see Justi, p. 366), Persian *Vērōy*, Arm. *Viroy* (Justi, p. 371).

At the end of these notes I should like to draw attention to a person of whom, I believe, we possess *two* seals. His name is *gwndply* ZY *'dwk'n* "Gundafarr, the son of 'DWK" (line 31). In his second article on Sasanian seals (ZDMG., 29) Mordtmann published a seal with the legend *gwndply* ZY *dpywr* ZY HDYWY BRH = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of *HDYW* (p. 207, nr. 17); the correct reading and arrangement of the legend has been found by Horn (see Justi, p. 369; rejected by Justi, additions opp. p. xxvi). It has, however, not been recognised that on the same plate Mordtmann has published another seal of the same man, p. 210, nr. 33, *gwndply* ZY *dpywr* ZY HDWNY BRH = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of *HDWN* (Mordtmann's drawing is not satisfactory; an erroneous reading is given by Justi, p. 248, nr. 23, and additions opp. p. xxvi)<sup>1</sup>. There can be little doubt that *HDYWY* and *HDWNY* are both misreadings of the same name, *viz.*, *'DWKY*.

1. I do not know the present whereabouts of these two seals. I regret to have overlooked that the proposal to connect MPers. *hayār* etc. with Arm. *hābry'* (BSOS., ix, p. 844, n. 2) had been made before by Professor Herzfeld, AMI., vii, p. 61 n; for *ayāt*, etc., see Beichtbuch, p. 108, and compare the spelling *'byd't* (seal: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 31, p. 588, nr. 9). I accept Salemann's combination of MPers. *hmys* with OPers. *hamiθ'īya-* now (against my former proposal: Skt. *sammisla*). OPers. should be read *hammiθ'īya-*: MPers. *hammis*, later *hāmis* (cf. *pāsuχ*), still later *hāmist* (*xāmest*) with unetymological *t*; Parthian *hmyr* = *hammīr* from *hammīhr*, Sogdian *āmārb*. (see Beichtbuch, p. 111; BSOS., ix, p. 825, n. 1).

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. The author discusses the various stages of human civilization, from the primitive state to the modern world. He also touches upon the different religions and philosophies that have shaped human thought and behavior.

In the second part, the author focuses on the political and social changes that have taken place in the modern world. He examines the rise of the nation-state, the development of democracy, and the impact of the Industrial Revolution. He also discusses the challenges that the world faces today, such as environmental degradation, global inequality, and the threat of nuclear war.

The book is written in a clear and concise style, making it accessible to a wide range of readers. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history and development of the world.

The author's analysis is thorough and well-researched. He provides a comprehensive overview of the world's history and current events. The book is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand the world we live in.

The book is available in paperback and hardcover formats. It is priced at \$19.95 in paperback and \$29.95 in hardcover. It is available at all major bookstores and online retailers.

## THE INSCRIPTION OF FIRUZABAD

### I

The<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi inscription at the ruins of the Sassanian bridge near Firuzabad was discovered by the late Professor Herzfeld in 1924. The bridge and the inscription are quite close to the relief of the divine investiture of Ardashir, on the right bank of the river in the mountain-gorge leading into the plain of Firuzabad. A mile or so below, on the same bank, there is the famous relief of Ardashir which depicts his victory over Ardavan; a mile or so upstream, on the opposite bank, there are the ruins of Qal'e-i Dukhtar, the great fortress which Ardashir built to cover the entry into the plain of Firuzabad, where he had his capital and where the ruins of his palace can still be admired to-day. In short, the whole neighbourhood is a gigantic memorial to the founder of the Sassanian state; Herzfeld's announcement<sup>2</sup> that the inscription at the bridge was by Abursām, the Vuzurgframadār or chief minister of Ardashir, thus caused no surprise.

Herzfeld never published the text of the inscription. We owe its publication to the enterprise of Dr. Ghirshman, who, a few years ago, gave a full report on Firuzabad and included in it his reading of the inscription as well as a photograph of it.<sup>3</sup> In his reading, Dr. Ghirshman gave the name of Abursām in the place where one would expect to find it, that is to say in the middle of the first line after the words "this bridge"; the inscription thus began "This bridge was ordered to be built by Abursām, the Vuzurgframadār . . .". Dr. Ghirshman did not indicate that the reading of the name of Abursām, which had already been claimed by Herzfeld, was in any way subject to doubt.

As mentioned above, Dr. Ghirshman's report carried a photograph of the inscription. This photograph, however good in the circumstances, was not entirely satisfactory in every respect. Far be it from me to blame Dr. Ghirshman for its quality: on the contrary, as one who has inspected the inscription *in situ*, I have nothing but admiration for anyone capable of taking a photograph at all in a situation where one risks breaking one's neck, or being drowned, in equal measure. However, it is a fact that the name of the man who

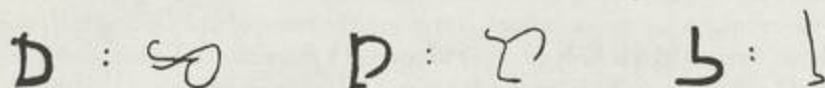
<sup>1</sup> The first part of this article is a paper (unchanged except for trifles) presented to the Twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists (Istanbul, September, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG.* 80 (1926), p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Firuzābād.* Extrait du *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. xlvii, Cairo, 1947.

built the bridge is invisible in Dr. Ghirshman's photograph; owing to a slight overhang in the rock, the place where the name stands is partially in shade.

The photograph, of which Dr. Ghirshman kindly sent me an improved copy, was thus incapable of confirming the presence of the name of Ardashir's chief minister. In studying it, I was able to improve the reading in several points; but most of all was I struck by the shapes of the letters, and gradually it was borne in on me that the attribution of the inscription to Abursām was, for reasons of palæography, impossible, in spite of appearances and in spite of the assurances of two scholars, among them one of the eminence Herzfeld could rightfully claim. The heavy, almost uncouth letters of the inscription bear little resemblance indeed to the elegant and spirited forms familiar from the inscriptions of the third century. Comparison with the legends of the Sassanian coins compels us to attribute the inscription to the fifth century, or to the end of the fourth century at the earliest. Three characteristic letters (*m*, *t*, and *l*) are shown here, together with their earlier counterparts:—



When, thanks to a generous invitation by the Iranian Government, I was granted the opportunity of a prolonged stay in Southern Persia in 1950, I was determined to do all I could to find out to whom the inscription in fact belonged. At the beginning of my stay I had paid a rapid visit to Firuzabad, chiefly for social purposes, but the second visit, which was to be devoted to serious work, refused to materialize for a long time. In the end I sent a trained man from Persepolis to Firuzabad with instructions to take a latex impression of the inscription, which he duly did. Those who have had experience with latex need not be told that in almost all cases the study of an impression in that material is a great deal more fruitful than even a prolonged inspection of the actual inscription.

It now emerged that owing to weathering only feeble traces remained of the personal name in the first line. The only letters which the impression showed reasonably clearly were two, *Wāw* and *Kāf*, near the middle of the name, and these two, representing something like *-ūk-*, were preceded by a partially preserved letter which was either *Nūn* or *Tāw*. The name thus should have contained either *-nūk-* or *-tūk-*; but, however hard I tried, I could not think of a name that fulfilled this condition and at the same time fitted the weak traces of the remaining letters. The one certain point was that the name was not that of Abursām.

The failure to read the correct name vexed me, and, although the season was too far advanced to permit work in reasonably comfortable conditions, I made up my mind to go again to Firuzabad to see whether face to face the inscription could be persuaded to yield its secret. There is no need for des-

cribing my experiences and the various efforts I made to read the letters of the name; Dr. Ghirshman has alluded, in his report, to the physical discomfort which an inspection of the inscription involves. Suffice it to say that I retired from the scene defeated. It is true, I had now acquired a second latex impression, which was even better than the first, and a truly admirable photograph taken by Mr. Rustami, the photographer of the Archæological Museum in Tehran; but, beyond confirming the results previously reached, the reading of the inscription had not been advanced in even the slightest way.

It was only long after my return to London that one day, looking again at the impressions, I suddenly realized the mistake I had made all through, and suddenly saw the true name as a whole. My mistake lay in taking the letter *Kāf* for granted, without considering that it might in fact be a *Nūn*, as indeed it was; for these two letters are often indistinguishable when their upper parts are not clearly visible. And the whole name was that of Mihr-Narseh, *MTRNRSHY*;<sup>1</sup> that one ought to have expected from the beginning, as soon as one attributed the inscription to the fifth century; for Mihr-Narseh was the Vuzurgframādār of the fifth century. The traces in the first line fit perfectly with this reading.

Some time later I noticed, with feelings of consternation mixed with pleasure, that the name of Mihr-Narseh occurred a second time in this brief inscription, at the end of the fourth line, in a passage that previously had not been clear. The sentence in which it is found is this: "Whoever has come on this road, let him give a blessing to Mihr-Narseh and his sons, for that he thus bridged this crossing". Here the reading of the name is absolutely certain, so that no doubt remains that the bridge and the inscription are the work of Mihr-Narseh.

Mihr-Narseh was among the leading statesmen of Sassanian history. As the chief minister to three successive kings, Yazdegerd I, Bahrām Gōr, and Yazdegerd II, he dominated the history of the first half of the fifth century. Abroad he was hated and feared as the arch-enemy of Christendom, but in his own country he was praised as a great benefactor. And nowhere were his public works more numerous and noteworthy than in the district of Firuzabad, where he had been born and where he made his home. The famous fire-temples he built for his own memory and for the memory of his sons,<sup>2</sup> re-discovered and identified by Herzfeld<sup>3</sup> and M. Godard,<sup>4</sup> can still be seen in near-by Gire. Thanks to this inscription, incidentally the only known Sassanian inscription of the fifth century, we can now give him due credit for the bridge, of which he was so proud.

<sup>1</sup> The clearly visible letters, therefore, are *-TRN-* (= *-TWN-*, *W* and *R* being identical in shape).

<sup>2</sup> Who, characteristically, are referred to also in our inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *ZDMG.* 80 (1926), p. 256; *Archæological History of Iran*, pp. 91 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Āthār-é Irān*, iii (1938), pp. 169-173.

## II

The inscription has suffered by erosion, especially in the first, sixth, and seventh lines. The whole surface is pitted, which makes it often difficult to recognize the letters. It may be largely due to this circumstance that Dr. Ghirshman's readings<sup>1</sup> differ so considerably from ours.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- (1) ZNH *pwchly* (m)trn(rshy) (ZY) (L)B'
- (2) plmt'l kvb'n ZY NPŠH l'dy
- (3) MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH plm't bstny
- (4) MN(W) PWN ZNH l'sy Y'TWN mt(r)nrsh(y)
- (5) 'Pš plēndyn 'plyny '(y)w 'BYDWN
- (6) '(Y)K(š) [ZNH] (w)tyl KN bsty 'Pš
- (7) ('D (y)z(d')n hd(yb')l musty W KDB' BYN L'YTY

TRANSLATION<sup>3</sup>

This bridge was built by the order of Mihr-Narseh, the Vuzurgframādār, for the benefit of his soul, at his own expense. Whoever has come on this road, let him give a blessing to Mihr-Narseh and his sons for that he thus bridged this crossing. And while God gives help, wrong and deceit there shall be none therein.

## NOTES

Line 3.—The phrase *MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH* equals the earlier *MN NPŠH BYT'* (inscr. of Bih-Shabur, see *BSOS*. ix, 825 n.4) or *PWN NPŠH BYT'* (Kartir Ka'beh 15 and 16), which continue Achaemenian usage (cf. *mn byt' zy ly* Aršām Documents, vi 2).

Line 5.—*plēndyn* resembles Manich.-Parth. *frzyndyn* in its ending, Pahl. Psalter *plēndwn* in its spelling.

Line 6.—*KN* "thus" may have been corrected into *K'N* "now", by the insertion of a small 'Ain.

<sup>1</sup> These are probably—for owing to Dr. Ghirshman's method of transcription no certainty is possible—as follows:—

- (1) ZNH *pwchly* MNW 'pr's'm LB'
- (2) plmt'l kvb'n ZY NPŠH l'dy
- (3) MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH plm't b'l ZY
- (4) MN 'p 'L ZNH l'sy Y'TWN mt (YHMTWN)
- (5) 'Pš plē dt spl . . . 'BYDWN
- (6) 'Pš . . . . . (b'ly) 'Pš
- (7) . . .

<sup>2</sup> (Uncertain or damaged letters), [restored letters].

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Ghirshman gave the following version: ceci est le pont qu' Abharsām vuzurgframādār, pour son âme (et) avec sa propre fortune ordonna (de construire). (Le rocher) de la rive qui de l'eau sortait (?) sur cette route il atteignit (?) et après avoir réalisé son oeuvre rendit le voyage . . . Puis il . . . la rive (?) et après . . .

Line 7.—This line presented serious difficulties. From the beginning, 'Pš . . . W KDB' BYN L'YTY was clear; *i.e.* "and in it (or: in him) there is not . . . and falsehood". The intervening words seemed to read:—

'D ZK 'nhdmwsty,

with dubious word-division and with a doubt about *K*, which, as is always the case in a bad patch, might be *D* in fact.<sup>1</sup> No such words as 'nhdmwsty, 'nhd, or hdmwsty are known. Now *wsty* by itself would make an excellent pair with *KDB* "lie, falsehood, deceit"; for that word, originally "complained of" = "object of complaint", normally means "a deed of violence, an act of tyranny or iniquity"; but this leaves us with 'nhd, which is unaccountable. Only after repeated efforts, extending over several years, did I notice that some letters had been inserted above the line, over hdmw.<sup>2</sup> There is a fairly clear *l*, which stands between *w* and the right-hand loop of the *t* in *wtyl* (line 6); and this is preceded by *b*' (feeble traces) or probably *yb*' (*y* immediately above the beginning of *h*). The whole group, *yb'l*, doubtless forms a word with *hd*, *viz.* hdyb'l "helper".<sup>3</sup> The remaining group 'n must then be read together with the apparent *ZK*, recte *zd*, as *zd'n*, which is readily completed as *yzd'n*.<sup>4</sup> The resulting phrase:—

'D yzd'n hdyb'l,

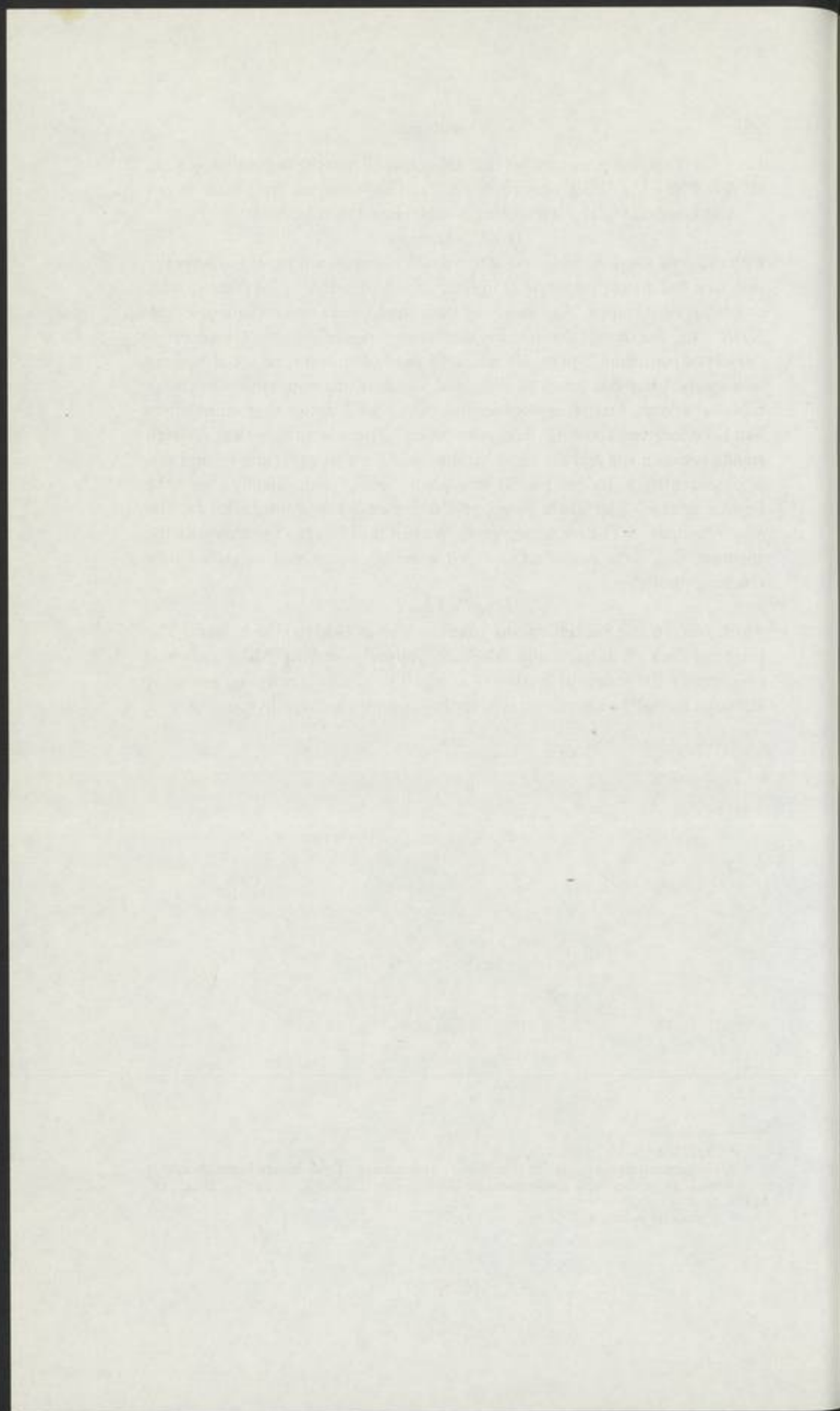
which is idiomatic Pahlavi, means "until/so long as God (is) the helper". The principal "act of iniquity and falsehood" apprehended by Mihr-Narseh is presumably the unlawful levying of a toll. The whole concluding sentence, although formally a statement, is nevertheless a wish or hope in meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BSOAS*. xiv, 508.

<sup>2</sup> This insertion accounts for the blotchy appearance of the letters beneath it.

<sup>3</sup> Spelt as in the Pahl. Psalter and in Book Pahlavi; if hdb'l, cf. hdb'r, *BSOS*. ix, 844 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A trace of *y*- can still be seen.





## EIN UNBEACHTETES WORT IM AWESTA

Es ist erstaunlich, wie viele dunkle Awestastellen sich durch reine Interpretation des Textes aus sich selbst erhellen lassen. Die ersten Paragraphen des Farvardīn-Yasht (Yt. 13, 2—3) bieten ein hübsches Beispiel:

*āḡḡam raya x<sup>o</sup>arənaḡḡača vīdāraēm, Zarathuštra, aom asmanəm:  
yō usča raoxšnō frādrəsrō  
yō iməm zəm āča pairiča bvāva maḡayən ahe yaḡa viš aēm  
yō hištaite mainyu.stā tō . . . .  
yim mazdā vaste vaḡhanəm . . . .  
yahmāi nōiḡ čahmāi naēmanəm karana pairi.vaēnōiḡe.*

In H. Lommels Übersetzung<sup>1</sup> wird diese Stelle folgendermaßen wiedergegeben:

„Durch deren Pracht und Glanz habe ich, o Zarathuštra,  
jenen Himmel ausgebreitet,  
der oben leuchtend strahlt,  
der bis zu dieser Erde hin und um sie herum reicht gerade wie ein Haus;  
er, der von guten Geistern aufgestellt dasteht . . . .  
Den der Weise . . . angelegt hat als einen . . . Mantel,  
an dem von niemand die beiden Enden der Hälften gesehen werden.“

Schon beim Lesen dieser Übersetzung muß einem die in dem Auftauchen eines die Serie der Relativsätze unterbrechenden Demonstrativs liegende Unstimmigkeit auffallen („ . . . er, der . . . dasteht“). In der letzten mir bekannt gewordenen Behandlung der Stelle, der von H. W. Bailey<sup>2</sup>, ist sie noch besonders unterstrichen:

“By reason of their wealth and good things, I held apart<sup>3</sup>,  
O Zoroaster, that sky,  
which is aloft, bright, conspicuous,  
which surrounds this earth, as if it were a castle,  
this sky<sup>4</sup>, which exists placed in the invisible world . . . .”.

Die angenommene Abfolge, *aom asmanəm yō . . . . aēm yō . . . .*, ist in der Tat aus mehreren Gründen unerträglich. Zunächst kommt es, wie oben angedeutet, bei den für

<sup>1</sup> Die *Yāšt's* des Awesta (1927), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books* (1943), p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Für das Verständnis von *vīdāraya-* sollte das daraus abgeleitete soghdische *wīdēr-* „ordnen, herrichten, anpassen“ (vgl. F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, II, 1937, pp. 370 sq.; meine „Sogdica“, p. 62; Gershevitch, *Gramm. Manich. Sogd.*, § 219) herangezogen werden.

<sup>4</sup> Von mir gesperrt.

die Yashts so charakteristischen Häufungen von sich an ein voraufgehendes Haupt-sinnwort anschließenden Relativsätzen niemals vor, daß inmitten der Serie einem der Relativpronomina ein korrelatives Demonstrativ voranstünde. Ferner müßte die Form von *aēm*, das doch ein Nominativ wäre, während das Satzgefüge sinngemäß nur einen Akkusativ zuließe, grammatischer Nachlässigkeit zugeschrieben werden. Und schließlich wäre *aēm* durchaus das falsche Pronomen; denn im awestischen (und ebenso im altpersischen) Sprachgebrauch entspricht dem Gegensatz zwischen dem Himmel dort droben und der Erde hienieden eben der Gegensatz zwischen den Pronominibus *ava-* und *aēm/ima-*, und gerade an dieser Stelle ist eine Verletzung des Usus um so weniger annehmbar, als die übliche Wendung: *aom asmanēm . . . imqm zqm* unmittelbar vorausgeht.

Man ist daher gezwungen, die ursprünglich von Geldner in Vorschlag<sup>5</sup> und später in seiner Ausgabe in Anwendung gebrachte Abteulung der Sätze aufzugeben und *aēm* mit den voranstehenden Wörtern zusammenzulesen; also *mānayən ahe yaθa viš aēm*. Dies ist um so nötiger als die üblichen Übersetzungen keinen zufriedenstellenden Sinn ergeben. Bei den von Bartholomae im Altiranischen Wörterbuch col. 1123 aufgezählten mit *mānayən ahe yaθa* oder *mānayən bā yaθa* eingeführten Vergleichen brauchen Subjekt und Prädikat nicht wiederholt zu werden, vorausgesetzt, daß sie dem Vergleichenen und dem Vergleichenden gemeinsam zugehören; sonst aber ist ein Vergleich in allen seinen Gliedern vollständig. Man müßte daher bei unserer Stelle den Vergleichssatz auf folgende Weise auffüllen: *mānayən ahe yaθa viš (imqm zqm āča pairiča bōva)*, das wäre, auf der Basis von Lommels Übersetzung<sup>6</sup>, „gerade wie ein Haus (bis zu dieser Erde hin und um sie herum reicht)“; und das ist doch offensichtlich nicht möglich.

Wenn wir jedoch *aēm* in den Vergleichssatz einbeziehen, so erhalten wir damit ein mögliches Ersatzwort für *imqm zqm*, so daß der vervollständigte Satz so lauten würde: *mānayən ahe yaθa viš aēm (āča pairiča bōva)*. Hier würde also *viš*, gewiß ein Nominativ, dem Himmel entsprechen, und *aēm*, wahrscheinlich ein Akkusativ, der Erde. Die Beziehung im Bilde, zwischen *viš* und *aēm*, muß der Beziehung ähneln, die zwischen Himmel und Erde statt hat und hier durch *āča pairiča bōva* ausgedrückt ist; die Bedeutung eines jeden der beiden Wörter kann nur im Hinblick auf das andre festgestellt werden.

Schon lange ist man sich darüber einig, daß *viš* der sonst nicht belegte Nominativ<sup>7</sup> von *vis-* „königliches Haus, Clan“ sein soll; wie wir aber gesehen haben, kommt man damit nicht zu Rande, ohne *aēm* in den nächsten Paragraphen abzuschieben und so dem Text Gewalt anzutun. Wir tun gut, uns daran zu erinnern, daß in der Frühzeit der Awestaphilologie gerade die Bedeutung von *viš* heiß umstritten war. Justi z. B. nahm ein sonst nicht bekanntes Wort für „Kleid“ an<sup>8</sup>, und kein Geringerer als Geldner<sup>9</sup> folgte ihm darin<sup>10</sup>. Das Richtige aber war schon vorher von Windisch-

<sup>5</sup> Bezenbergers Beiträge, XII (1887), p. 97 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Für die von H. W. Bailey angenommene Konstruktion (*as if it were a castle*) kenne ich im Awesta keine Parallele.

<sup>7</sup> Der allerdings in einigen Ableitungen (*viš.haurva* etc.) erscheinen soll; siehe jedoch Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, pp. 14 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Handbuch der Zendsprache, 1864, p. 277 (2. vis).

<sup>9</sup> l. c.

<sup>10</sup> Ursprünglich auch Bartholomae (Vorgeschichte § 175b, p. 96).

man n<sup>11</sup> gefunden worden, dem Spiegel<sup>12</sup> sich anschloß: *viš* = „Vogel“. Diese Erklärung hat von vornherein viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, indem *viš* als Nominativ von *vi-* „Vogel“ auch sonst im Awesta belegt ist; und sie trifft das Richtige, weil sich eine geeignete Bedeutung für *aēm* mühelos und wie von selbst ergibt: *aēm* ist das „Ei“, auf dem der Vogel brütet, *āča pairiča bvāva*, das er von oben her und seitwärts liebevoll umfängt, so wie der Himmel die Erde umfängt und über ihr sozusagen brütet.

Wir dürfen uns an diesem Verständnis der Stelle nicht dadurch beirren lassen, daß für Himmel und Erde in der späteren zoroastrischen Literatur gewissermaßen das umgekehrte Bild gebraucht wird: dort wird die Welt als einem Ei ähnlich (*zāyag-dēs*) beschrieben, der Himmel gleicht dann der Schale und die Erde dem Eigelb (*zardag*) oder dem sich entwickelnden Vögelchen (*murvizag*<sup>13</sup>). Diese Darstellung, deren älteste Form auf iranischem Gebiet uns bekanntlich Plutarch<sup>14</sup> bewahrt hat, ist eben nur ein anderes, wenn auch ähnliches und demselben Begriffskreis entnommenes Bild, neben dem das awestische selbständig bestehen kann; damit soll aber die Möglichkeit, daß das Bild des Farvardin Yasht<sup>15</sup> bei dem später geläufigen Pate gestanden hat, keineswegs in Abrede gestellt werden.

Zum Schluß müssen wir noch *aēm* vom sprachgeschichtlichen Standpunkte aus betrachten. *Aēm* setzt \**ayam* voraus, Nom.-Akk. von neutralem \**aya-*, der normalen awestischen Kürzung<sup>16</sup> von älterem \**āya-*<sup>17</sup>. Dies letztere ist in der Tat die Form, die H. Hübschmann als die gemein-iranische ansprach; er schrieb<sup>18</sup>: „Np. *xāya* „Ei“ = phl. *xāyak* = idg. \**ovjom* hat *v* schon im Iranischen verloren, da es in keinem iranischen Dialekt erhalten ist, vgl. H[orn's Neupers. Etym. Nr.] 468“. In dieser Verallgemeinerung läßt sich sein Satz freilich nicht aufrechterhalten; denn wir wissen jetzt, daß sich in einigen wenigen Dialekten im äußersten Osten und äußersten Westen das ursprüngliche *-w-* erhalten hat (Waziri *yōwya*<sup>19</sup>; Talisch *ūva*<sup>20</sup>; Hār-zāndi von Gālinqaya *ōva*<sup>21</sup>; für das Zentrum des iranischen Sprachgebietes hat er

<sup>11</sup> Zoroastrische Studien, 1863, p. 313.

<sup>12</sup> Kommentar über das Avesta, II, 1868, pp. 592 sq.

<sup>13</sup> S. die Stellen bei Bailey, l. c., pp. 135 sq.

<sup>14</sup> „De Iside et Osiride“ 47. Die Stelle (die keinesfalls Theopomp zuzuschreiben ist) läßt sich zeitlich nicht festlegen und ist auch dem Sinne nach nicht ganz klar; sie ist m. E. kaum älter als Plutarch selber. Vgl. Benveniste, The Persian Religion acc. to the chief Greek texts, 1929, pp. 100 sqq.; Bidez-Cumont, Les Mages Hellénisés, II, 1938, p. 72 n. 4, p. 76 n. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Dieses braucht nicht dahingehend verstanden zu werden, daß der Himmel (wie die spätere Kosmologie voraussetzt) die Erde auf allen Seiten (also auch von unten her) einschloß; *pairi* bedeutet hier kaum mehr als bloß seitliche Umfassung.

<sup>16</sup> Daß es sich hier um eine lautgesetzliche Kürzung handelt, steht mir seit langem fest (vgl. Trans. Phil. Soc., 1942, p. 50). Sie zeigt sich z. B. bei den Endungen *-ayā*, *-ayāi* der *ā*-Stämme, für die J. Kuryłowicz, Indoiranica, pp. 10 sqq. (= Comptes rendus de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław, III, 1948, Wrocław 1951) eine komplizierte Erklärung gegeben hat, der jedoch die Übereinstimmung der sanskritischen und altpersischen Formen im Wege steht.

<sup>17</sup> Ich brauche wohl kaum zu betonen, daß ich die von Darmesteter und Justi in Vorschlag gebrachte Ableitung von *apōvaya* (vgl. Bartholomae, Zum air. Wb., p. 104) nicht für richtig halte.

<sup>18</sup> Persische Studien, 1895, p. 166.

<sup>19</sup> Morgenstierne, Acta Orientalia, I, 265.

<sup>20</sup> B. V. Miller, Tališskie Teksti, 1930, p. 257.

<sup>21</sup> Unveröffentlicht.

sich aber durchaus bewährt<sup>22</sup>. Zudem gibt es im Awestischen selber zumindest ein anderes Wort, in dem *-aya-* ursprüngliches *-āwya-* vertritt<sup>23</sup>: *vikaya-* „Zeuge“. Seit Schaefer hier das soghdische *wiāw-* in den Gesichtskreis gezogen hat<sup>24</sup>, kann keiner Frage unterliegen, daß die ursprüngliche Form *\*wikāwya-* gewesen ist; denn sie allein vermag all die vielen Beispiele des Wortes restlos zu erklären.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. z. B. *yāk* im Khwarezmischen, einer Sprache, in der *-w-* im Wortinnern regelmäßig erhalten ist.

<sup>23</sup> Für solchen Verlust von *-w-* im allgemeinen vgl. Bartholomae, *Vorgeschichte*, § 80. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, XV, pp. 567 sqq.

FRANZ ALTHEIM und RUTH STIEHL: *Asien und Rom. Neue Urkunden aus sasanidischer Frühzeit.* Tübingen: Niemeyer 1952. 72 S. 32 Abb. 4 Schrifttabellen. 16,40 DM.

DIESELBEN: *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen. Das Alter der Jesaja-Rolle. Neue Urkunden aus Dura-Europos.* Baden-Baden: Verl. f. Kunst u. Wiss. 1953. 90 S. 15 Taf. 27 DM.

Die beiden Werke gehören aufs engste zusammen; sie beschäftigen sich mit z. T. bisher unveröffentlichten, in orientalischen Sprachen geschriebenen Pergamenten, Ostraka, Dipinti und Inschriften aus den Dura-Europos-Funden. Im September 1951 fragte C. B. Welles an, ob F. Altheim für die mittelpersischen Pergamente einen Bearbeiter nennen könne, worauf er sich bereit erklärte, die Aufgabe selbst zu übernehmen. Nachdem Altheim anfangs O. Hansen als Sachverständigen zu Rate gezogen hatte, machte er sich Ende 1951 in Zusammenarbeit mit R. Stiehl an die Lesung und Erklärung. Die Ergebnisse dieser gemeinsamen Arbeit, die z. T. bereits nach Jahresfrist im Druck vorlagen, dürfen als sensationell bezeichnet werden.

Für das von Altheim bei der Behandlung orientalischer epigraphischer Monumente eingeschlagene Verfahren bieten diese Bücher eine Fülle von neuen Beispielen. Es kann durch nichts besser gekennzeichnet werden als durch die Geschichte der Versuche, die in Tang-i Sarvak (Elymais) gefundenen, in einer lokalen Abart des aramäischen Alphabets geschriebenen Inschriften zu entziffern.

Diesen Inschriften gilt eines der Kapitel von 'Asien und Rom' (30-34); etwa gleichzeitig hatte sich der Referent mit ihnen beschäftigt (*Asia Major*, 2, 1952, 151-178); und in 'Auftreten der Hunnen' (61-68) sind die Verfasser zu dem Gegenstand zurückgekehrt. Es ergeben sich bei wenigstens einer der Inschriften (Tang-i Sarvak 2, nach meiner Numerierung) drei verschiedene Lesungen, von denen die beiden ersten voneinander unabhängig sind:<sup>1</sup>

## TANG-I SARVAK 2

Altheim-Stiehl 1952 (A. u. R. 32)	Henning 1952 (A. M. 2, 171)	Altheim-Stiehl 1953 (Hunn. 64)
1 <i>wl š...ā[...]</i>	<i>blđwš' zy rō'ny</i>	<i>blđwš' zy rō'ny</i>
2 <i>... d ydāh 'py[q]</i>	<i>w'syry' w'tyk'</i>	<i>w'syry' w'kr'</i>
3 <i>... y whfw'</i>	<i>zy btr' br</i>	<i>zy bkr' br</i>
4 <i>wšm hptyk</i>	<i>b'sy n'syb</i>	<i>b'sy n'syb</i>
5 <i>'pyq ydn</i>	<i>kwrsy'</i>	<i>kwrsy'</i>

<sup>1</sup> Statt *š* schreibe ich *q*.

Man würde vielleicht aus Ritterlichkeit über die abenteuerlichen Verlesungen der ersten Kolumne (es handelt sich wirklich um dieselbe Inschrift!) mit Stillschweigen hinweggehen, wenn sie nicht im Tone der Gewißheit vorgebracht worden wären<sup>1</sup> und wenn sie nicht im Fortgang zu allerlei Schlußfolgerungen über die iranische Schriftgeschichte, den Ursprung des Awesta-Alphabets u. dgl. Anlaß gegeben hätten. Die 'Asien und Rom' beschließenden Schrifttabellen, in denen die mit Ausnahme des / durchweg falsch bestimmten Buchstaben von Tang-i Sarvak mit anderen Schriftarten verglichen werden sollen, sind für die paläographische Methode der Verfasser überhaupt charakteristisch.

Von den in den beiden Büchern zum ersten Mal veröffentlichten Pergamenten und Ostraka können hier nur die wichtigsten derer besprochen werden, die für die Leser dieser Zeitschr. von Interesse sein mögen. Zunächst Pg. 12, der Anfang eines Briefes in parthischer Sprache ('Asien und Rom', 9-19).

Die beiden ersten Zeilen werden von den Verfassern folgendermaßen übersetzt: «Von Sāsān an Ardeschīr, wie der Titel und wie es erlaubt ist. (Im) Jahr des Wankens unter dem Kaiser Quietus Pi[us ?] und (im) Jahr 20, zwischen ihm und zwischen 21, und (im) Jahr des Argabedh Schähpuhr (des Älteren . . .)». Hier fällt einem zunächst die dem antiken Briefstil sonst fremde Datierungsfreudigkeit des Absenders auf: gleich auf vierfache Weise hat er das Jahr bestimmt (Tag und Monat zu nennen hat er dagegen versäumt). Das 'Jahr des Wankens' zeugt von seinem romantischen Geschichtsbewußtsein; seine Erwähnung des Augustus Quietus liefert, dank dessen Kurzfristigkeit, ein ziemlich genaues Datum; mit dem 'Jahr des Argabedh' hat er dem Sassanidenreich die bislang dort unbekannte Institution des eponymen Beamten beschriftet; zu tadeln aber ist er dafür, daß er bei seinen Zahlenangaben, die sich auf den persischen König Schapur I. beziehen sollen, für gut befunden hat, sein Schreiben, nicht wie gemeinhin üblich in ein Jahr, sondern zwischen zwei Jahre zu datieren (für die Verfasser ergab sich freilich daraus nur ein weiteres, wertvolles Indiz). Welch ein Schatz des Interessanten ist hier aus knapp zwei Zeilen zutage gefördert worden!

Wenn man nun die Photographie des Briefes ('Asien und Rom', Abb. 1) einsieht,<sup>2</sup> erleidet man allerdings eine bittere Enttäuschung: nichts von alledem steht da zu lesen. Die von den Verfassern vorgeschlagenen und die vom Referenten für richtig gehaltenen Lesungen sind hier untereinandergesetzt.<sup>3</sup>

- A.-S. *šum wšwgun šry' o šnt lmwš (2) qdm hwtwy*  
 H. *šLM W-šRRt šGY' H(W)šRT L-MR'Y (2) QDM hwtwy*  
 A.-S. *kwyytus šy[ . . . ]š wšnt [XX] bynh wbyn XXI wšnty 'rgšt*  
 H. *KTYT wšpš(mny) šL(M) (H)WY(H) 'wgun šwgun hwtwy*  
 A.-S. *bry šh*  
 H. *B-NPšH*

Wie man sieht, ist es den Verfassern gelungen, hier und da die Buchstaben richtig zu bestimmen; doch bis zur erfolgreichen Lesung auch nur eines einzigen ganzen Wortes haben sie es nicht gebracht (für das richtige *QDM hwtwy* bedanken sich die Verfasser bei O. Hansen). Typisch für ihr Verfahren ist die Entstehung des Kaisernamens Quietus, *Kwyytus*, aus dem allerdings seltenen Worte *KTYT*, mit Hilfe einer Verlesung und der

<sup>1</sup> «Nun der Text der Inschrift, soweit wir ihn mit Sicherheit lesen konnten» ('Asien und Rom', 32). In 'Auftreten der Hunnen' (61) wird kurz gesagt: «Demgegenüber ziehen wir unsern Versuch . . . zurück».

<sup>2</sup> C. B. Welles stellte mir gütigerweise Originalabzüge der auch F. Altheim übermittelten Photographien zur Verfügung, wofür ich ihm auch hier meinen Dank aussprechen möchte.

<sup>3</sup> Bis zum Ende der zweiten Zeile, angefangen von der Stelle in der Mitte der ersten Zeile, wo m. E. die Nennung des Adressaten ihr Ende erreicht.

Hinzunahme der ersten beiden Buchstaben des nächsten Wortes, *wspzmnny* (*wispzaman*). Statt einer Datierung enthalten die Zeilen in Wahrheit bloß eine ausführliche, überaus höfliche Grußformel: 'Heil und Kraft in Menge schicke ich dem Herrn; möge bei dem Herrn Heil sein, unverrückbar auf alle Zeit, ganz so wie es dem Herrn selber (erwünscht ist...)'! Das Interessante ist hier, daß die Formel, dem Sinne wie dem Wortlaut nach, aus der Praxis der achaemenidischen Kanzlei bekannte Vorbilder fortsetzt: die ersten Worte finden sich genau so bereits im 5. vorchristl. Jh.<sup>1</sup>

Unbedingt Besprechung erheischen die hunnischen Namen, das Kernstück des zweiten der hier anzuzeigenden Bücher. Durch geheimnisvolle Anspielungen auf das Vorkommen türkischer, a potiori hunnischer, Namen in dem aus der Mitte des 3. Jh. stammenden Dura-Europos-Material hatte F. Altheim in den letzten Jahren bei den an der Geschichte der spätantiken Welt interessierten Gelehrten mehrfach Spannung erregt; denn wenn Hunnen an der Ostgrenze des Römischen Reiches bereits um 250 n. Chr. nachgewiesen werden können, dann muß ein gutes Stück der Weltgeschichte neu geschrieben werden. In der Tat hat Altheim auch keineswegs gezögert, aus seiner Entdeckung die sich ergebenden Konsequenzen zu ziehen. Sein Beweis liegt jetzt vor uns. Es handelt sich um drei Ostraka, von denen zwei (O 4 und O 5) in parthischer Sprache, eins (O 3) in mittelpersischer (Pehlewi) geschrieben sind.

Die beiden parthischen Ostraka (O 4 = 'Auftreten der Hunnen' 9-13 und Abb. 1; O 5 = ebda. 14-16 und Abb. 2), beide anscheinend von derselben Hand geschrieben, stellen Namenslisten mit beigefügten Zahlen dar; der gezählte Gegenstand (im Text als *G* abgekürzt) ist nicht klar.<sup>2</sup> Es mag sich um Soldlisten handeln; die Ansicht der Verfasser, daß hier eine Art Weinstubenrechnung vorläge, beruht darauf, daß sie das Wort *hmky* 'im ganzen' fälschlich als *hmrn*, was 'Wein' heißen soll,<sup>3</sup> gedeutet haben. Übrigens haben sie die Zahlzeichen, abgesehen von der '1', durchweg falsch erklärt;<sup>4</sup> dies liegt im wesentlichen an ihrer Annahme, daß der Schreiber römische Zeichen gebraucht habe; es sind aber, wie zu erwarten, parthische. Was nun die in diesen Ostraka genannten Namen und Titel angeht, so schreiten die Verlesungen der Verfasser von bescheidenen, wie *Mtrk* statt *Mtrkn* (O 5 Z. 5), *Byltyš* statt *Byltwšn* (O 5 Z. 4), *Nrys'y* statt *Nryšhw* (O 5 Z. 8), *Mtry* statt *Mtrdt* (O 5 Z. 1), *Mhrk* statt *Prk* (O 5 Z. 4), zu kühnen und manchmal geradezu grotesken vor, wie *pr'nk* statt *Wr'zk* (O 4 Z. 2), *šhpt* statt *špštn* (O 4, Z. 3), *Nrsng* statt *Wrtrgn* (O 4 Z. 5), *šhdr* statt *gnzbr* (O 4 Z. 6), *štydr* statt *Tyrk* (O 5 Z. 3), *Pryšp* statt *Srytwod* (O 5 Z. 5), *Kr'pymtr* statt *Wrtrgnptkn* (O 5 Z. 9).<sup>5</sup> Inmitten dieses

<sup>1</sup> *Šm w-šrt šgy' hwšrt lk*: Sachau Pap. 16 = Cowley No. 42; Aršām Briefe (ed. G. R. Driver) 1. 2. 3. 5 etc., in Drivers Übersetzung «I send thee much (greetings) of peace and prosperity». Die Fortsetzung, *QDM hwtwy* etc., elaboriert das ältere (*š*) *tmh qdmyk šlm ykwy* (u. ä.), Aršām Briefe 1, 5 = «there too may there be peace with thee» (Driver). Statt 'Du' steht im parthischen Brief durchweg 'Herr' (*hwtwy* bzw. *MR'Y*, das allerdings an dieser Stelle, in einer ererbten, rein aramäischen Formel, gut als 'mein Herr' verstanden werden darf); daher *QDM hwtwy* = *qdmyk*.

<sup>2</sup> Das Wort dafür ist O 4 Z. 1 und O 5 Z. 11 ausgeschrieben, aber bisher nicht sicher identifiziert.

<sup>3</sup> Richtig heißt 'Wein' im Parthischen *HMR*.

<sup>4</sup> Die Zahlzeichen sind wie folgt zu lesen: (a) O 4: die Summe ist 14 (Z. 1); Z. 5 eine 4, Z. 9 eine 3, dazu 7mal eine 1; (b) O 5: die Summe ist 13 (Z. 11); Z. 8 eine 3, dazu 10mal eine 1 (auch je in Z. 1, Z. 2, Z. 3; 2mal in Z. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Die als richtig anzuerkennenden Lesungen der Verfasser beschränken sich hier m. E. auf die folgenden: *'rtštr* O 4 Z. 6, O 5 Z. 6 und Z. 7; *šhm-'rtštr* O 4 Z. 8; *mtry* O 4 Z. 4; und *mtrk* O 4 Z. 3.

Ozeans der Falschlesungen stoßen wir nun auf 'rk qphn (O 5 Z. 7), Ārk Qapḫan, einen Hunnenfürsten (Capcanus, Καυχάνος), der, so scheint es, an den persischen Weingelagen in Dura-Europos teilgenommen und ebenso wie seine iranischen Zechbrüder vergessen hat, seine Rechnung zu begleichen. Wie schade, daß er sich bei näherem Zusehen als ein ganz bescheidener *Wrwd msynk* 'Orodes der Ältere' enthüllt!

Die übrigen Hunnen-Namen, vier an Zahl, sollen sich in dem mittelpersischen (Pehlewi) Ostrakon O 3 vorfinden ('Auftreten der Hunnen', 19-23 und Abb. 7). Die parthische Sprache ist heutzutage recht gut bekannt: so massive Fehllesungen, wie sie die Arbeit der Verfasser kennzeichnen, dürfen eigentlich nicht mehr vorkommen; doch ist zuzugeben, daß angesichts der Ähnlichkeit mehrerer Buchstaben miteinander zur richtigen Entzifferung einige Übung gehört, und wohl auch ein wenig Geschick für dergleichen Arbeit überhaupt. Das Mittelpersische aber gehört jetzt zu den bestbekanntesten Sprachen des alten Orients; es gibt eine Fülle von Material aus mehr als einer Periode, ganz besonders viel gerade aus dem 3. Jh. Die Lesung eines so schön und deutlich beschriebenen Ostrakons, wie O 3 es ist, kann also dem Sachverständigen keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten, außer etwa an den paar Stellen, wo die Schrift ein wenig verwischt ist. Man hat daher das Recht zu erwarten, daß die Verfasser, die ja im Tone nicht nur sachverständiger, sondern auf diesem Gebiet maßgebender Gelehrter schreiben, hier etwas Besseres geleistet haben. Diese Erwartung wird leider enttäuscht. Von den auf  $5\frac{1}{4}$  Zeilen verteilten 27 Wörtern haben die Verfasser nicht ein einziges auch nur annähernd richtig gelesen.

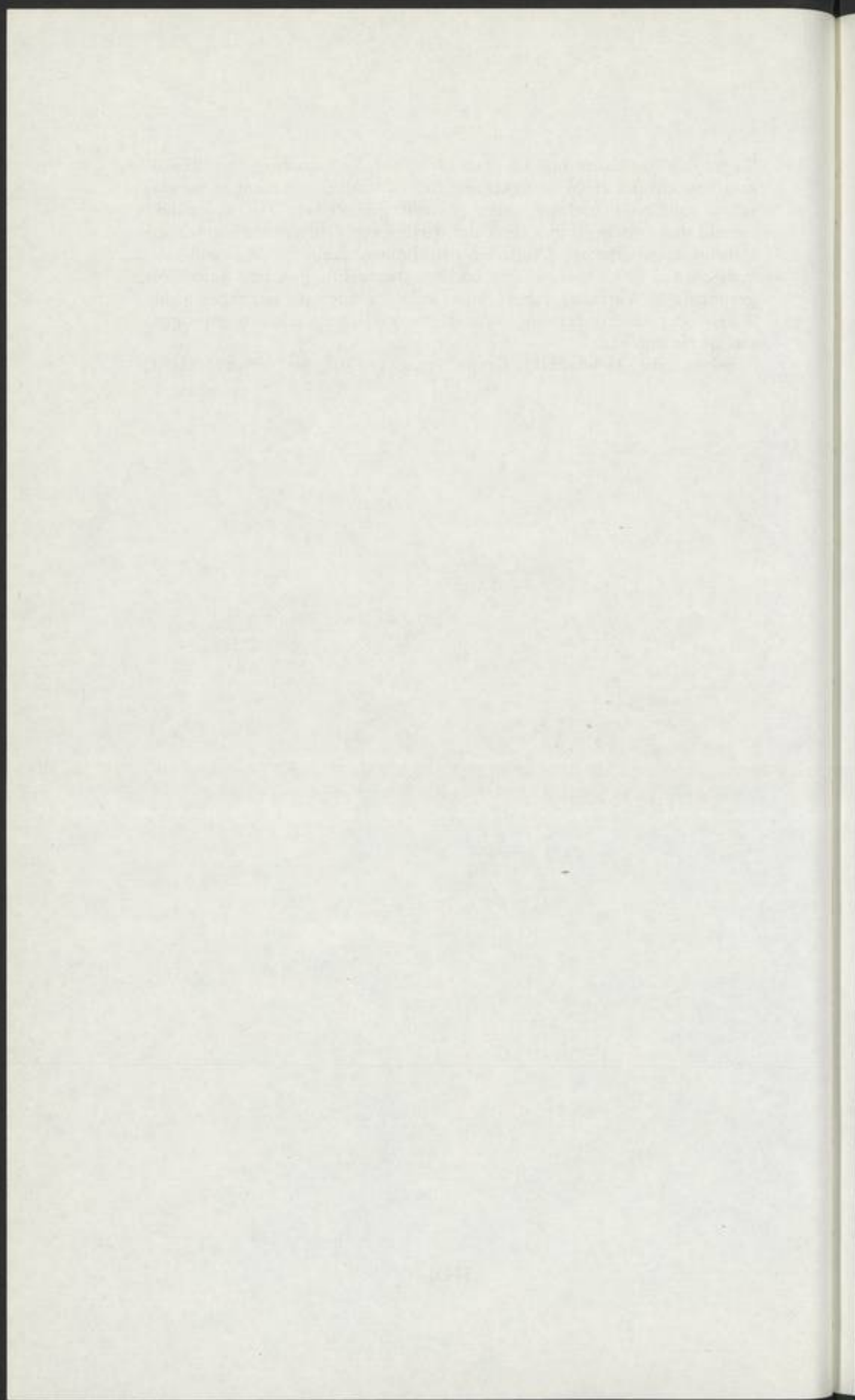
Es hat daher keinen Zweck, die Lesungen der Verfasser im einzelnen zu besprechen; es scheint sie nicht einmal zu bekümmern, daß das Resultat ihrer Bemühungen gar nicht als mittelpersisch zu erkennen ist. Was soll man dazu sagen, daß die Verfasser so gewöhnliche Wörter wie *dlzyk* 'Schneider' (Z. 5, 1. Wort), *n'np'k* 'Bäcker' (Z. 4, 2. Wort), *zynd'nyk* 'Gefängniswärter' (Z. 2, 1. Wort), *zynkly* 'Sattler' (Z. 1, Mitte), *pdky* 'footman', *šp'stn* 'Haremswärter' (beide Z. 2, Mitte) nicht haben lesen können? Daß sie etwas seltener, wie *wy'd'nkly* 'Zeltmacher' (Z. 5, Ende) oder *dhyč* 'Scharfrichter' (Z. 1, Ende), oder gar halb verwischte, wie *md'(ly)* 'Mundschenk' oder *n'hlyr(p)[ly]* 'Jäger' (beide Z. 2, Ende), nicht erkannt haben, begreift man schon eher. Überhaupt werden auf dem Ostrakon keine Personennamen genannt (nur Berufsbezeichnungen), geschweige denn solche hunnischen Ursprungs. Der so ansprechende *Quwratyl* (Z. 4), nachträglich ('Auftreten der Hunnen', 18 Anm.) in *Kirtäl* verwandelt, ist in Wahrheit bloß ein 'Schuster' (*k'pškly*); neben ihm steht *Silil*, lies *swlkly*, auch eine Art Schuhmacher. In *Toḫḫaq*, dem 'Dicksack', erkennt man leicht einen 'Meutewart' (*sg'p'n*). Und der grandiose *Turkân-bäg* oder *Tarqân-bäg* schließlich, zu dessen Erklärung sich die Verfasser bei Turkologen umsonst Rats erholt haben, erweist sich als ein gemeiner 'Fallensteller' (*tlklyny*).

Raumangel verbietet es, die übrigen in diesen Werken neu veröffentlichten oder nur besprochenen Dokumente hier zu prüfen; es genüge, festzustellen, daß die Behandlung sich nirgends über das oben skizzierte Niveau erhebt. Manchmal ist selbst die Schriftart nicht richtig bestimmt. So ist das angebliche 'Bruchstück in awestischer Schrift' ('Asien und Rom', 66 ff und Abb. 31) tatsächlich nur Pehlewi. Das 'hebräisch-aramäische Pergament 35' ('Auftreten der Hunnen' 69 ff und Abb. 18), dem die Verfasser bedeutenden Einfluß auf die Geschichte der hebräischen Pa-



läographie überhaupt und im besonderen auf die Datierung der 'Handschriften aus der Höhle' zuerkennen, ist in Wahrheit gar nicht in hebräischer, sondern in palmyrenischer Schrift geschrieben. Ist es wirklich Schuld des Druckers, daß eines der parthischen Ostraka auf dem Kopf stehend abgebildet ist ('Auftreten der Hunnen' Abb. 5)? Was nun vollends die auf ihre Lesungen gegründeten Beobachtungen und Schlußfolgerungen der Verfasser angeht, sei es auf sprachlichem, schriftgeschichtlichem oder historischem Gebiet, so dürfte es sich nach alledem erübrigen, auf sie einzugehen.

Selten haben Gelehrte ihre Grenzen in so großzügiger Weise verkannt.



### THE MIDDLE-PERSIAN WORD FOR 'BEER'

In *BSOAS* XIII, 1950, p. 642, n. 8, I referred to the Pahlavi word for 'beer', which had lurked unrecognized in the *Frahang-ī Pahlavīk* (v, 2 = xxxi, 2-3), and quoted the *Kārnamag* passage VII, 8 (Sanjana). There it is related that Ardashir, fleeing in disguise, was hospitably received by two friendly brothers. They housed and fed his horse, led him into their dwelling, and seated him in the place of honour. 'And they sacrificed *drōn* and asked Ardashir "Please speak the *vāf* and eat and do not worry" . . . Ardashir's mind was comforted by these words, he spoke the *vāf* and ate. They had no wine, but brought "beer" forward and arranged the meal. . .'. The passage shows in an unobtrusive way how everyday occasions were encompassed by religious ceremony in pious Zoroastrian society: any meal began with the *vāf* (the saying of grace, as it were), sacrificial bread (*drōn*) and wine, or at least beer, formed necessarily part of it.

The spelling of the word in the *Frahang*, 𐭥𐭮𐭮 (apparently *wš'k* or *nš'k*), is naturally less authoritative than that found in the *Kārnamag*, 𐭥𐭮 (apparently *wšk* or *nšk*). The latter recurs in a passage, hitherto overlooked, of the *Drazt-ī Asūrīg*, § 45 (*Pahlavi Texts*, 113<sup>4</sup>), where the word is by mistake written in one with the preceding preposition *ō*—

<i>pēšpārag aš man karēnd</i>	<i>ō *wašak [ud] hur mān</i>
<i>kē x<sup>w</sup>arēd šāhrdār</i>	<i>kōšdār ud āzād</i>

'They make an *hors-d'œuvre* out of me, resembling<sup>1</sup> the beer and (alcoholic) drink, which the king drinks, the mountain-lord or the nobleman.' Here *wāsk/wašak* (if that is the right pronunciation) and *hur* stand side by side, as in the *Frahang*; similarly in the Avesta *hurā* (there defined as *qumys*) is paired with *mađu* 'wine', for which, as we have seen, *waš(a)k* was a substitute.

Slightly altered, as *wask*, our word is found once in Syriac and once in Mandæan, both times as a characteristic ingredient of a pious Persian meal. Mihrāngušnasp (the later Gīwargīs), on the verge of becoming a Christian, became 'disgusted with the mumbling [viz., the *vāf*] of the Magian custom, and whenever, in accord with heathenish usage, a Magian came and gave him *wask* at the mealtime, he began to say to himself . . . [a Christian prayer] . . . and to make the sign of the Cross over the *drōn*, and then to eat' (Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 96). Here we have all three: *vāf*, *wask*, and *drōn*, as in the *Kārnamag*. That *wask* in the Gīwargīs Vita (*wasqā* 𐭥𐭮𐭮) is a *kultische Speise der Parsen* was first recognized by Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, 225, n. 3, when he dealt with the Mandæan occurrence of the word 'Gleich meinem . . . Pihtā und Mambūgā nehmen sie das Wasqā; gleich der Totenmesse richten sie das Drōnā her'. Although the comparison is not entirely clear, we may take it for

<sup>1</sup> *ō* . . . *mān* 'resembling, like' occurs several times in that text.

granted that *Pihtā*, the sacramental bread of the Mandæans, is here compared with the *Drōn*, the sacred bread of the Zoroastrians (as was suggested by Lidzbarski); and that, therefore, *Wasqā* (𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩) is parallel with *Mambūgā*, the sacramental drink, which, as Lady Drower tells us, 'is water and nothing else' (*The Mandæans of Iraq and Iran*, 108). The Pahlavi passages, in any case, leave no doubt that this was not a food, but a drink.

One of the values of the Syriac and Mandæan forms lies in their assuring the reading of the Pahlavi word as *wašk* or similarly (and excluding *\*našk* and the like). The only apparent difference is the replacement of *-šk* by *-sk* (*-sq*), which could be ascribed either to a Persian dialect form (*šk/sk* commonly alternate in Iranian) or to adaptation to the sound-system of Aramaic. The latter may seem more likely; for the Pahlavi word may have been *\*wašak* (as indeed suggested by the *Frahang* spelling), so that the elision of the 2nd vowel and the consequent contact of *š* with *k* would have arisen only in Aramaic. There is good reason for positing *\*wašak* rather than *\*wašk*. When we translate the word by 'beer', we allow ourselves to be guided by its ideogram, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩. That, however, gives us only a very broad equivalent, and no hint of the composition of the Persian drink. Yet the Pahlavi word itself may give us such a hint; for it is tempting to assume that *\*wašak* was the ancestor of the Persian word *wuše/uše*, which is perhaps more familiar in its Arabicized spellings *ušaḡ/wušaḡ*.<sup>1</sup> This designates a peculiarly Persian substance, known as *Persian Ammoniacum*, which is the gum resin of *Dorema Aucheri* Boiss. in Western Persia, of *Dorema Ammoniacum* Don. in Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. It is at any rate possible, though it would be going too far to assert it, that this ceremonial drink of Sassanid Persia was made with that substance<sup>2</sup> and so received its name.

<sup>1</sup> Syriac *wšq* (Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 11) is presumably mere transcription of the standard Arabic form.

<sup>2</sup> Medicinally, draughts were made of it with vinegar, or barley-water, or honey (acc. to *Tuhfatu 'lMu'minīn*); it was highly regarded as a beneficial drug in a long series of illnesses.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE KHWAREZMIAN VERB

Our<sup>1</sup> knowledge of the Khwarezmian language depends largely on two classes of material, which are dissimilar in character but supplement each other. On the one hand, we have the sentences in legal books, chief among them the *Qunyatu 'lMunyah*; on the other, the Khwarezmian glosses in the *Muqaddimatu 'lAdab*, the principal MS. of which was published in facsimile by Zeki Velidi Togan three years ago.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Muqaddimah* the translator aims at accurately reproducing the Arabic original. His phrases are unidiomatic, cast in a uniform mould, monotonous, repetitive, and deady dull; but for us they are highly informative, and would be even more so if the scribe had not chosen to omit for long stretches the diacritical points, without which Arabic script is difficult to read even if one already knows the language. To give simple examples, he does not mind writing *سك* for "house", which admits of 36 readings,<sup>3</sup> or *سسد* for "he became", which in theory can be read in 2640 different ways.<sup>4</sup> However, words which are left unpointed in one place are often found pointed in another, so by careful comparison the correct reading can be established for the greater part of the material. I have now compiled nearly a complete glossary which I hope to publish in the near future.

The Khwarezmian sentences in the *Qunyatu 'lMunyah*, on the contrary, are highly idiomatic, often slangy, full of puns and double meanings, which are difficult to grasp unless one is already thoroughly acquainted with the language. These sentences come from case law; they are sentences actually used in life, which subsequently acquired significance in a law suit. If then we wish to study the syntax of the Khwarezmian language and its mode of expression in daily life, we shall have to turn to the *Qunyah*; while the *Muqaddimah* serves largely to complete our dictionary. Moreover, the MSS. of the *Qunyah* have all the diacritical marks one could wish for, in fact

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the Iranian Section of the xxiiiird International Congress of Orientalists, on 25 August 1954.

<sup>2</sup> *Khorezmian Glossary of the Muqaddimat al-Adab*, Istanbul, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> *Recte pθk* (پتک), perhaps from *paθa-* with change from -θ- to -θ- (as in Younger Avestan).

<sup>4</sup> *Recte nyθyd* (نیثید), 3rd sing. imperfect (pause form) of *nyθ-* "to sit, to become" (Sogd. *nyδ-*).

more than one would like to have; there is a profusion of diacritical points, and vowel marks in addition, but unfortunately each MS. is apt to have somewhat different ones from the next.

Eighteen years ago I gave a brief report on the Khwarezmian language, based largely on the *Qunyah*.<sup>1</sup> At the time I had seen the material only for a few weeks, and so my report embodied some misapprehensions and omitted some important points. Subsequent publications from another side, based also on the *Qunyah*, have neither removed the misapprehensions nor filled in any of the gaps.<sup>2</sup> To-day I would say that precisely the most interesting and important points remained unrecognized, and that is true also of the structure of the Khwarezmian verb; some of them I should like to bring to your attention.

In the *Muqaddimah* the dominant verbal form is the 3rd person singular of the imperfect; next in frequency is the 3rd plural, also of the imperfect; all other forms are very rare. This restriction, although obviously a disadvantage in some ways, is in fact beneficial on the whole; for it allows us to observe, at one example, the infinitely complicated construction of verbal forms with clarity and thus enables us to understand also the rarer forms for the other persons, tenses and moods.

The 3rd singular of the imperfect appears with four endings, *-d*, *-yd*, *-yyd*, and *-yt*. They prove the existence of three classes of present stems.

The first endings, *-d* and *-yd*, are variants of one and the same form. Any verb the stem of which ends in a consonant possesses these two variants. For example, from *hβr-* (*hiβr-*) "to give" we have *h'βrd* and *h'βryd* "he gave". The distribution of these two forms depends on the position in the sentence: the longer form is confined to the end of a sentence, or, to borrow a term from Hebrew grammar, *stands in pause*.

The existence of pause forms is one of the most interesting facts about the Khwarezmian language. Generally, the vowel before the last consonant of a word is stressed in pause and thereby lengthened or apparently lengthened. This rule applies to all words; accordingly, a noun such as *zādik* "son" appears in two forms, as *z'dk* and, in pause, as *z'dyk*; this represents Old Iranian *zātaka-*, for Old Iranian interior *-a-* generally becomes *-i-* in Khwarezmian.

Our example, the word for "he gave", can then be accounted for in this way: it represents *frābarata*; the shorter form, (*h'βrd*), pronounced *hāβirda*, is *frābārata*, but the pause form (*h'βryd*), apparently pronounced *hāβrlda*,

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG., 90 (1936), pp. \*30\*—\*34\*.

<sup>2</sup> An evaluation of the various contributions to Khwarezmian studies was given in an article, written in 1950, which will be included in the *Mélanges Z.V. Togan* (*Z.V. Togan Armağani*), pp. 421-36, the publication of which has regrettably been delayed. That article also contains a sketch of the phonology, a discussion of grammatical points, and a list of interesting words. For the time being see my *Zoroaster—politician or witch-doctor?*, 44 sq.

is *frābarāta*. This distinction must have existed already in the Old Iranian form of Khwarezmian.

Sometimes the verbal stems are affected. This happens chiefly in the imperative. For example, the most frequent word in our material is *p'rwzd* (*pārwezda*) "it became". Its present stem is *prwz-*, probably reflecting Old Iranian *pari-waza-*; but the imperative, in pause, is *prwyz* (*pirwza*). Similarly, "to eat" is *xr-*, vocalized *xur-*; but the imperative is *xwyr* = *xwtra*.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the endings of the 3rd singular of the imperfect, *-yd* is also the interior form of stems ending in *-y*; in such cases, *-yd* has beside it a pause form in *-yyd*. Stems in *-y* are very common; they mostly continue ancient causative stems in *-aya*; but sometimes they represent presents from bases in *-ī*. For example, *mxyd*, in pause *mxyyd*, "he wept or mourned", pl. *mxy'r*, which derives from *xšī*; the *m*-prefix proves that the stem began with two consonants.<sup>2</sup>

In the fourth ending, *-yt*, *-y*- again forms part of the stem. The *-t* was preserved, instead of changing into *-d*, either because no vowel preceded it, or because a preceding vowel was lost at an early stage. These imperfects belong to bases in *-ā*, in *-ah*, and to the base *i* "to go" if joined with a preverb; the simple *i* has *myd* (*mīda*), in pause *myyd* (*miyīda*), "he went". For example, *fra-mā* "to command" produces *š'myt* (*šāmayta*) and a present stem *šm'h-*,<sup>3</sup> with secondary *-h*; from *ah-* "to be" we have *myt* (*mayta*) "he was". "To enter" is *cy-* (*ciyy-*) in the present, which I once wrongly explained as from *čyawa-*, while in fact it is *ati* + *i*; its imperfect is *c'yt* (*cāyta*). These verbs are further peculiar in having *-la* as ending of the 3rd plural, e.g., *c'yl* (*cāyla*) "they entered", while all other verbs have *-āra* in the 3rd plural of the imperfect. The same opposition *-t-* : *-l-* is found also in the present indicative of "to be", *yt* (*yetti*) "he is", *yl* (*yelli?*) "they are". The whole group doubtless represents the remains of the ancient non-thematic inflexion.

<sup>1</sup> This, therefore, represents *xwara*, not by any means *\*xwaraya* (as one might imagine, perhaps misled by Sogdian).

<sup>2</sup> Only verbs that begin with a vowel in the present stem have the *m*-prefix in the imperfect. The present stem to which *mxy(y)d* belonged was therefore *\*xy-*. The initial (prosthetic) vowel arose because the stem originally began with two consonants (*xš*), which were later simplified (*xx*).

<sup>3</sup> In the discussion following the reading of this paper I was invited to account for the divergent treatment of *fra-* exemplified by *šm'h-* (if from *fra-mā-*) and *hβr-* (if from *fra-bar-*). In fact, the preposition *fra-* in verbal compounds normally became *šā-* in Khwarezmian (there are many examples); *hβr-* is as much an exception in Khwarezmian as the corresponding verb, *ββr-*, is in Sogdian; for an explanation see I. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1946, 181, n. 3; *Gramm. Manich. Sogdian*, p. 246. On the history of *fr* in Khwarezmian in general see *Mélanges Z.V. Togan*, pp. 433 sq. One of the words quoted there in illustration, *šw'k* "pure" as from *\*fra-patwāka-* (with *fra-* conferring elative meaning, comparable to *\*peri-* in other languages, see Ernout-Meillet<sup>3</sup>, 880 sq.), is somewhat uncertain as regards its origin; for its *f-* might respond to Avestan *ərəf-*.

Having discussed the three present classes revealed by the four endings, I want now to draw your attention to their finals. They seem to end in a consonant, *d* or *t*, but in reality end in a vowel, in *da* or *ta*. The existence of such unwritten final vowels is assured, not so much by the somewhat erratic vocalization in the *Qunyah*, as by the behaviour of the endings when a suffix is added. Then the final vowel is apparently lengthened, or at any rate expressed in writing as if it were a long vowel.

Most verbal forms, and most nominal forms too,<sup>1</sup> possess final brief vowels, generally *-a* or *-i*, which appear in writing only before suffixes. The question to what extent these final vowels continue the corresponding Old Iranian endings is of great complexity and cannot be discussed here; in the case of the 3rd singular of the imperfect there is no difficulty: it agrees perfectly with the Old Iranian middle ending, *-ta*.

The most common suffixes are the enclitic pronouns for the 3rd person, *-hi* in the singular, *-na* and *-hina* in the plural, the former for the accusative, the latter for the general oblique case. That *-na*, which has a close relative in Khotanese,<sup>2</sup> is the accusative<sup>3</sup> of the plural only is not immediately obvious; it often refers to nouns seemingly in the singular, which, however, are plurals in fact, collectives, the terms for water, food, grain, wheat, and the like.<sup>4</sup>

These suffixes, and most others as well, end in their turn in brief vowels which are not expressed in the orthography unless a further suffix is added. For example, the normal equivalent of "he gave" is *h'βrd* = *hāβirda*; "he gave him" is *hāβirdāhi*, spelt *h'βrd'h*; "he gave them to him" is *hāβirdāhina*, spelt *h'βrd'hyn*<sup>5</sup>; if a further suffix is added, the final *-a* will be expressed in writing, therefore *h'βrd'hyn'*.

It is a rule that any vocalic ending preserves its vowel unchanged, irrespective of the sounds of the suffix. There is only one exception to this

<sup>1</sup> With few exceptions, chief among them forms of masculine nouns in the singular. Although it is too early yet to be sure of all points, the following scheme of inflection in the singular may be put forward tentatively:

	Masc.	Fem.	Fem. <i>-k</i> stems
Nom.-Acc.	} nil	-a	-ka
Genitive (a)		} -ya	} -ca
Possessive	-ān		
Ablative (b)	} -a		
Locative (c)			

(a) Chiefly before the postposition *δ'r*. (b) After *c-* "from". (c) Chiefly after the prepositions *f-* "in" and *par-* "on".

<sup>2</sup> In Sogdian, differently, *-n* serves for both numbers, cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 605, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between *-na* and *-hina* is strict, though obscured by the occasional loss of *-h-* in *-hina* (with attendant elision of an antecedent vowel) and by the possible confusion of *-hina* with *-hi-na* (the two pronouns, *-hi* and *-na*, in succession).

<sup>4</sup> In this point Khwarezmian strikingly resembles Pashto (cf. Trumpp §53).

<sup>5</sup> This, of course, could equally well mean "he gave to them".



rule: namely, when the suffixes *-hi* or *-hina* are followed by a further suffix, they may lose their *-h-*, whereupon the preceding vowel disappears. Thus, instead of *hāḡirdāhina* one may say, and usually does, *hāḡirdina*, spelt *h'βrdyn*.

We must now consider the suffixes that may be attached to verbal forms. They fall into three classes. *Firstly*, the enclitic pronouns, nine in number; three of them have already been mentioned, the remaining six are for the 1st and 2nd persons. *Secondly*, certain postpositions, principally the following four: *c'* "from"<sup>1</sup> Old Iranian *hačā*; *θa* "with, to" Old Iranian *hada*; *b'r* "upon" Old Iranian *upari*; and *da*, with ill-defined meaning (approximately "through, beyond, off"), probably connected with Old Iranian *ati*. *Thirdly*, two adverbs with local meaning, *wa* and *w'θ*, the latter from Old Iranian *awada*.

When several suffixes are attached to a verb, they observe a fixed order of precedence. The pronouns come first, then postpositions and adverbs. Within each of these two groups, the sequence is again strict. In the pronouns, for example, *hi* precedes *na* and *di*, but follows *mi*; among the postpositions and adverbs, *wa* follows *ci*, but precedes *bir*; and so on.

The sequence is often in conflict with the meaning. The postpositions may modify the verbal meaning; or they may function as directives to preceding enclitic pronouns. In the latter case it happens that the enclitic pronoun is separated from the postposition by some other suffix, often one expressing the direct object of the verb. That produces weird forms, e.g., *hyḡdyn'θ*<sup>2</sup> "he read them to him", *c'yt'hyw'byr* "he entered there before him".<sup>3</sup> This conflict of meaning and fixed sequence can sometimes be observed also when enclitics are added to words other than verbal forms, for example: *kf'n'c m'sn* "that I took them from you".<sup>4</sup>

As we have seen, the suffixes that may be added to verbs number at least fifteen. If one takes into account that a given verbal form is capable of taking as many as four different suffixes at a time, it will become clear that there is an almost endless variety of possible forms. Some are veritable

<sup>1</sup> *-cī-* (*-cy-*) when followed by another suffix; but *cā* (*c'*) in independent position, as adverb (e.g., *cā wāzayta* or *wāzaytāci* "he went out"). Not to be confused with the preposition *c-* which, as a rule, appears in combination with the article (*cī* "from the" masc. and pl. comm., *cā* fem.)

<sup>2</sup> = *hyḡd'-hy-n'-θ* "he read-him-them (acc.)-to". The origin of *hyḡ-* "to read, recite" is uncertain. Formally, *hyḡ-* may easily represent OIr. *hida-* (Skt. *sīda-*) "to sit"; a special development of the meaning (*assideo*, to sit in on—perhaps—a sacrifice and recite hymns?) seems not impossible. Connection with Av. *aḡaya-* is unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> = *c'yt'-hy-w'-byr* "he entered-him-there-upon".

<sup>4</sup> "That-you-them-from I took" ("from you" is *f'c*). Thanks to its position at the end, the verb is devoid of suffixes; otherwise, one would doubtless say *\*m'm'f'n'c* (the corresponding 3rd person is *\*m'id'f'n'c*, or rather, with assimilation, *\*m't'f'n'c* "he took them from you").

monsters, such as *hyδd'hyn'd'br* "he recited them before him".<sup>1</sup> No other Iranian language knows such a heaping of suffixes; whether Khwarezmian has been influenced by Turkish in this respect, it is impossible to tell so long as the pre-Muslimic documents remain undeciphered.

Now I come to my last point, the *principle of anticipation*. The position of the verb in a sentence is fairly free. If it precedes the object, the object is expressed a second time by an enclitic pronoun either on the verb itself or on a word before the verb. Until one grasps this principle, it is impossible to understand the structure of the Khwarezmian verbal forms. A good example is provided by the first Khwarezmian sentence I quoted eighteen years ago,<sup>2</sup> at a time when this point had not been clear to me. It meant "I have given you my daughter for one hundred pieces of gold" and began with the verb: *h'βrnyd y' δωγd'm = hāβirnīdi yā δωγdāmi* "I have given you my daughter". At the time I thought that *hāβirnīdi* was the 1st person of the imperfect plus the enclitic pronoun for the 2nd person, genitive-dative, that is *di*. That was incorrect. Firstly, the 1st person of the imperfect ends in *-(i)na*, so that "I gave" is *hāβirna*, or in pause *hāβirna*; and if *-di* is added, the result is necessarily *hāβirnādi*, not *hāβirnīdi*. Secondly, in a sentence of this type the object *must* be expressed on the verb by the relevant enclitic pronoun, in this case *-hi*. Thus, *hāβirnīdi* is necessarily equal to \**hāβirnā-hīdi*, and the sentence means literally "I have given *her* to you, my daughter".

Most of the longer verbal forms contain one or even two anticipatory suffixes; it is in fact largely due to them that the forms have become so inconveniently long. Not only the direct object, but also other parts of the sentence, such as prepositional phrases, may be expressed on a preceding verb by anticipatory suffixes. For example, *w'xyt'c c'γdc 'y xr'x (wāzaytāci cāγudca ī xērāx)* "the sword was drawn from the scabbard, lit. came out".<sup>3</sup> Here the postposition *ci*, attached to the verb, anticipates the immediately following preposition; if the order of the words is changed and the verb placed at the end, it will appear as *w'xyt*. Similarly, the adverb *wa* "there(in)" often anticipates the preposition *fi* "in". Thus, *m'st'n'w fy prδ'β* "he misled them",<sup>4</sup> lit. "he took them (there)in, in deception"; or *m'kwocydyw fycwb* "he dipped it in water".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "He read-him-them-off-upon" (*-d'* serves to modify the verbal meaning, *hyδ- + d'* approximately = "recite").

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG. 90 (1936), p. \*34\*.

<sup>3</sup> *wāzayta* "it came out" (from *ux-i*, treated in the imperfect as if it were compounded with *awca-*); *'γdyk* fem. "scabbard", gen.-abl. *'γdc*; *xr'x* "sword" cf. Sogd. *xγr*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *māstā-nā-wa* from *ās-* "to take", impf. 3rd sing. in pause *m'syd = māśida*, otherwise *m'sd*, *m'st = māśda*, *māsta* (cf. above p.47, n.4).

<sup>5</sup> Short for *m-ākūcidā-hi-wa*; *ākūciy-*, caus. "to suspend, submerge".

These, then, are the four points that dominate, so it seems to me, the structure of the Khwarezmian verb: the presence of pause forms, the vocalic endings, the system of suffixes and its complications, and finally the existence of anticipatory suffixes.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> It should perhaps be stated that the contents of this paper are largely inferential, based on imperfect and often contradictory material; in particular, the vocalization of the Khwarezmian words is almost wholly conjectural.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF AZERBAIJAN <sup>1</sup>

WHEN I proposed the title of this paper to the officers of the Society, I imagined, in an optimistic mood, that I could offer a reasonable theory of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan. Further study, I regret to say, has convinced me that I cannot: our information is defective on all sides; and the information we do possess is affected by uncertainty in the most essential points. Although therefore it would be wise to keep silent, I hope I may be allowed to put the problem as an unsolved problem, as well as to add a little to the information hitherto available.

For several centuries now a form of Turkish has been the common language of the north-western provinces of Persia, Azerbaijan and Zenjan. The late Persian historian, Sayyid Aḥmed-i Kesravī, has traced the story of the gradual infiltration of Turkish tribes into those territories, and the attendant regression and final disappearance of the older population and their language; the process began in the 11th century and was completed by the beginning of the 16th.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally agreed, and indeed not subject to serious doubt, that before the advent of the Turks Iranian languages were spoken here in Azerbaijan and Zenjan, as elsewhere in Persia. From the distribution of the Iranian dialects one may infer the group of Iranian to which the lost language of Azerbaijan belonged. To the east of Azerbaijan, in the high mountains that enclose the southern edge of the Caspian Sea, and in the coastal plain itself, we have successively Tālišī, Gilakī, and Māzandarānī, also called Tabarī; and beyond the mountain range, in the neighbourhood of Semnān, several further dialects. To the south-east of Azerbaijan, at a great distance, we find the Central Group of dialects in the neighbourhood of Isfahān, with branches eastwards towards Yezd

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Philological Society on Dec. 4, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> A. Kesravī, *Āḍarī yā zabān-i bāstān-i Āḍarbāyagān*. Tehran 1304/1926. With regard to the alleged survival of *Āḍarī* in Tabriz down to the end of the 16th century, see below, p. 176, n. 5.

and southwards towards Sivand. In the same direction, at less distance, a group of dialects was recently noticed in the neighbourhood of Vafs, half-way between Hamadān and Sāve.<sup>1</sup> In the south, Gūrānī survives in the Zagros mountains, which separate Persia from the plains of Iraq. And in the far west, beyond the limits of Persia, as far as the western border of classical Armenia, Zāzā, called *Dimlī* by its speakers, existed until quite recently and for all we know may exist even now. All these languages, which may be said to surround Azerbaijan, belong solidly to the north-western group of Iranian, and that was probably true also of the lost Azerbaijanian tongue.

The languages and dialects named just now constitute all the surviving forms of North-west-Iranian speech about which we have information, with the sole exception of Kurdish, which stands apart and is outside the range of the present subject. Several have attained full status as literary languages: for example Gūrānī, the language of an obscure religion, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, with considerable literature; Gurgānī,<sup>2</sup> from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea, now defunct, once the language of a Muslimic sect, the Ḥurūfī; and above all, Tabarī, with a literary history looking back almost as far as the Persian literary language.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, all of them have been receding before the onslaught of the official language of the country, Persian, which itself belongs to a different group, to South-western Iranian; and now, under modern conditions,

<sup>1</sup> M. Muqaddam, *Gūyishāyi Vafs ve Āstiyān ve Tafriš* (= *Irān-Kūde* No. 11). Tehran, 1318 Yezd./1949. This work also contains notices, deserving attention, of a local gypsy dialect, a Southern Kurdish language (Zand), and Khalaj Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> Our knowledge of that dialect, hitherto largely based on Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufites* (Gibb Mem. Ser. ix), 1909, has been deepened by S. Kiya, *Vāze-nāme-i Gurgānī (Intishārāt-i Dānišgāh-i Tehrān 133)*, Tehran 1330/1951. An interesting survival is the optative (3rd sg. and pl.) *byndy/bndy*, which corresponds with Parthian *byndyy*. [See now further H. Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfisekte*, Oriens vii, 1954, 1-54.]

<sup>3</sup> The older specimens were recently collected and analysed by S. Kiya (*Vāze-nāme-i Tabarī [Irān-Kūde No. 9]* Tehran, 1316 Yezd./1947), who also published the text of a Tabarī "Niṣāb".

all the non-Persian languages and dialects are rapidly dying away.

Of the dialects still spoken in villages some may well disappear before they have been recorded. True, some areas have been fairly fully investigated; but others have been neglected, most of all the north-western provinces. Not only is practically no information available about the few dialects known to have survived in remote corners of Azerbaijan itself; but also the districts between that province and the capital, a stretch of some 250 miles, have remained disregarded, and this in spite of a hundred years' study of the dialects of Persia. It is probably due to such gaps in our knowledge that the task of determining the relationship of the north-western dialects to each other continues to present such great difficulty.

Thanks to a lucky chance I am able to say a little about a dialect spoken on the approaches to Azerbaijan, roughly halfway between Tehran and the present border of that province. I came upon it<sup>1</sup> three years ago at Tākistān, a village formerly known by the name of Siyah-dehān, some twenty miles to the south-west of Qazvīn, on the ancient high-road that joins Azerbaijan with the heart of Northern Persia. I had only two hours and a half for taking notes, and even this short period was not free from disturbances of various kinds. In the outcome, the material I collected is insufficient and defective; regrettably there was no chance to check doubtful points and fill in the gaps that became manifest as soon as it was possible to read over my notes at leisure. In fact, one would be inclined to bury them quietly, were it not for the evident importance of this dialect, which may conveniently be called Tākistānī, for the comparative study of North-western Iranian.

At the time I did not know that the dialect had in fact been mentioned once before, namely by Professor Minorsky in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, in his article "Tāt". Professor

<sup>1</sup> I owe its acquaintance to the kindness of Mr. Hannibal, of Tehran, a very learned gentleman who invited me to pay a visit to Qazvīn, a town for which he had unbounded enthusiasm.

Minorsky there expressed the opinion that it resembled the dialects of the Central Group and quoted, from his own observation, a small number of the words he regarded as characteristic. Our notes are not always in agreement. For example, of the five verbal forms quoted by Professor Minorsky (*mīzānā* 'I know', *mīzānū* 'we know', *mīzānindā* 'they know', *biškās* 'look' [imp.], *šī* 'you should go') two differ materially from the forms I received, in which the first person of the singular ends in *-im* and the first person of the plural in *-um*. The full set of the endings of the present in Tākistānī is as follows: Sing. *-im*, *-ī*, *-e*; Plur. *-um*, *-ā*, *-indā*.

A related dialect is known from another village in the neighbourhood of Tākistān, Ištihārd; known, however, not by observation but through a written source. Žukovskiĭ found a copy of a Persian dictionary, the *Burhān-i Jāmi*, which was printed in Tabriz in 1844: in the margins of that copy a Persian had written glosses in an otherwise unknown dialect, attributed to Ištihārd.<sup>1</sup> These glosses, which number about 180, are written in Arabic script, with fairly full vowel marks; they are of restricted usefulness, chiefly because many of them merely serve to indicate a slightly deviating pronunciation of Persian words. Nevertheless, there is enough to show that this dialect is very near to Tākistānī. Two words may suffice here. The first, *tīiye* or *tīiye* 'daughter' (Tāk. *tīiye*), is typical of the dialect group, with its initial *t-*; the nearest form otherwise is Mahallāti *dīiye*. The second, *burbunīstīn* 'to weep' (Tāk. *birbanāstīn*), has four characteristic points: the use of the prefix *bi-* with an infinitive; the ending *-āstān*; the metathesis *-rb-*; and *-n-* in the place of *-m-*, the base being *bram-*.

Now I shall put before you a few of the points which define the position of Tākistānī in relation to the other North-western Iranian languages. The first is the survival of grammatical gender. I had been told that 'bull' is *gāv* and 'cow' *māgāve*, which in addition to the prefixed *mā-* (an old adjective meaning 'female') possesses a short vowel at the end, which

<sup>1</sup> Žukovskiĭ, *Materiali*, vol. i, p. ix. The Ištihārdī words are included in the glossary in vol. ii, part i.



could be a mark of gender. Towards the end of our session I was blessed with an intelligent informant and drew his attention to the difference, and he told me, almost in so many words, that his language possessed gender distinctions, and quoted as example, *mārdāk bišō* 'the man went', but *zeināye bišīye* 'the woman went'. Here we have separate forms for the verb, the 3rd person singular of the intransitive preterite, which however is a nominal form by origin. Later, when I looked over my notes, I found several additional examples,<sup>1</sup> one of which shows that this distinction is not confined to words of natural gender: *varā būmā* 'snow fell' (literally 'snow came'); here both the noun and the verb have feminine endings.

Gender distinctions exist in comparatively few of the North-western languages; of those reasonably near to Tākistān, in Semnani and in certain Central dialects, such as Farizandī and Jōšagānī.<sup>2</sup> In the details, Tākistānī agrees here most closely with Semnani. The Semnani equivalent of the sentence 'snow fell' happens to occur in the texts collected by Christensen, *vara . . . biāmā*<sup>3</sup>; it almost coincides with the Tākistānī version.

There are other points, some of them almost as weighty, in which Tākistānī agrees with Semnani. Semnan is situated about 200 miles to the east of Tākistān; half-way between the two villages sprawls the modern capital of Persia, whose presence has extinguished the intervening dialects.

Yet Tākistānī has another face, and that is turned towards the North. The pronominal system shows that most clearly. Practically all the pronominal forms of the dialect are mentioned in the following table:—

Personal	<i>az</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>amā</i>	<i>šumā</i>	<i>anā</i>
Enclitic	<i>-m</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>-mun</i>	<i>-yun</i>	<i>-šun</i>
Possessive	<i>čimi</i>	<i>ištā</i>	<i>ǰā</i>	<i>čumā</i>	<i>šumā</i>	<i>ǰanā</i>
[Tal.	<i>čimǰi</i>	<i>ištǰi</i>	<i>čai</i>	<i>čama</i>	<i>šima</i>	<i>čavon</i> ]

<sup>1</sup> *čimi numāziye bišīye* 'my betrothed went'; *kārke bipārāstī* 'the chicken flew (up)'. <sup>2</sup> Lambton, *Three Persian dialects*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Le dialecte de Sāmnan*, p. 62, line 3.

Here the possessive pronouns are by far the most interesting. Possessive pronouns are something of a rarity in the North-western Iranian languages; they also do not exist in Persian, the language of communication used for talking with the villagers, so they attract one's attention immediately. It is true, they function occasionally also as oblique cases of the personal pronouns, as for example in the sentence *čimi ištā ānidīyindā* 'they do not give me to you' (*čimi* 'me', *ištā* 'you', *ā(n)* verbal prefix, *ni* negation, *diyindā* 'they give'). Such use is compatible with their origin; for they consist of an ancient preposition, Middle Iranian *ač* 'from', and oblique cases of the personal pronouns, themselves no longer in use.<sup>1</sup> But their characteristic function is that of possessive pronouns; e.g. *čimi sīgār* 'my cigarette', *šā piyār*<sup>2</sup> *kālā* 'her father's head', *čumā gālbār* 'our gate'.

Comparable pronouns exist only in one of the North-western languages hitherto known, in Tālīšī, the language of Tālīš, the district on the Caspian Sea which straddles the frontier between Persia and the Soviet Union. The Tālīšī pronouns, which there are used exclusively as possessive pronouns, are given above; they are in form almost identical with the Tākistānī series.

Another proof of the close relationship between Tākistānī and Tālīšī is provided by the preterite of the verb. Below a full set of the normal forms has been given, successively the preterite of the intransitive verb, the preterite of the transitive verb, the preterite of 'to be' in post-sonantic position, and the pluperfect of a transitive verb, which involves the preterite of 'to be':—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the oblique cases of the pronouns for the 3rd person in Semnani, Christensen, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *piyār/piār* is oblique case of *piā* 'father', cf. *piārpiā* 'grandfather', *piārmpīā* 'my grandfather'; similarly *mayā* 'mother', *mayum* 'my mother', *mārēmayā* '(my) mother's mother'; *zānbērā* 'wife's brother', *bērāzān* 'brother's wife'. Cf. Christensen, *Sāmnān*, § 80. Curious is *šr* 'son'.

I sat	I said	I was	I had said
<i>aništīm</i>	<i>vātīm</i>	<i>-veime</i>	<i>vātā-vīmā</i>
<i>aništiš</i>	<i>vātī</i>	<i>-veiše</i>	<i>vātā-vī</i>
<i>aništ</i>	<i>vātiš</i>	<i>-ve</i>	<i>vātā-višā</i>
<i>aništīmun</i>	<i>vātīmun</i>	<i>-veimūn</i>	<i>vātā-vīmūn</i>
<i>aništeiyun</i>	<i>vātīyun</i>	<i>-veiyun</i>	<i>vātā-vīyun</i>
<i>aništinde</i>	<i>vātišun</i>	<i>-vinde</i>	<i>vātā-višun</i>

Here the most striking feature is the threatening confusion of the second singular with the third singular: *aništiš* 'you sat', but *vātiš* 'he said', *veiše* 'you were' but *vātā-višā* 'he had said'. What preserves the difference is merely the status of the verbs as either transitive or intransitive, but this distinction is in process of being reduced, as one can see from the 1st and 2nd persons of the plural, where the intransitive has borrowed the finals of the transitive; one may perhaps wonder how the contrast between *aništiš* 'you sat' and *vātiš* 'he said' is going to be resolved.

There is no difficulty about the *origin* of these forms. The intransitive, of course, consists of the perfect participle and the present of 'to be', but the transitive of the perfect participle and the enclitic pronouns. What interests us here is the agreement of the intransitive with the corresponding forms in Tālišī. In that language the present of 'to be', in combination with the negation (*ne*), has the following forms: *nim*, *niš*, *nī* (*niye*); *nimon*, *nion*, *nin*. There is substantial agreement, and that is most remarkable in the 2nd person of the singular, *-iš* 'you are'. Such a form is exceptional in Iranian. It is true, one finds it here and there, for example in Eastern Iranian in Sogdian; and in South-western Iranian among some dialects of Lāristān, on the coast of the Persian Gulf<sup>1</sup>: but in North-western Iranian it was hitherto known solely from Tālišī.

A considerable distance separates Tākistān from the Tālišī-speaking area, and the greater part of it is occupied by

<sup>1</sup> Mann, *Tājik-Mundarten*, 127 sqq.; Ivanow, *Gabri dialect*, 77; Romaskevič, *Lar i ego dialekt (Iranskie Yaziki, i, 1945)*, 41 et passim.

the most inaccessible mountain country in the whole of Persia. There is every likelihood that Tālīšī and dialects close to it extended much towards the south, into the mountains, probably as far as Khalkhāl and upper Tārom,<sup>1</sup> and we may assume that dialects related to Tākistānī extended to the north-west of its present location, towards the Zenjān valley, so that there may have been a smooth transition from Tālīšī to Tākistānī, just as there probably was a smooth transition, through dialects now lost, from Tākistānī to Semnani in the east, and to the Central dialects, or some of them, in the south.

Thus we may regard Tākistānī as the essential link, joining the Northern, Eastern, and Southern groups. That it is in the right and natural position is also indicated by certain traits it shares with Gilakī and Tabarī, the languages in its neighbourhood to the north and north-east. One could mention, e.g., the preference for *-āstān* as the secondary ending of the infinitive<sup>2</sup> (an ending entirely absent from Tālīšī); or the almost primeval word *vūye* 'water', which has disappeared from practically all Iranian languages, but was preserved in Gilan, as *biya*,<sup>3</sup> in certain geographical names.<sup>4</sup>

We now leave Tākistān and turn to Azerbaijan proper. As I mentioned at the beginning, in this province, where Turkish

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> *bišāstān* 'shave', *biškāstān* 'look', *bičāstān* 'taste', *birbanāstān* 'weep', *āgārdāstān* 'turn back', *āvazāstān* 'dance'.

<sup>3</sup> *Biya-pīš* and *Biya-pas*. It is doubtful whether any of the other dialect forms with initial *v/w* may belong here, such as Sangisari *vō* (Žukovskiy), *vō* (Christensen, ii); Yazdī *vō/vōv* etc. (Hadank, *Khunsār*, lxxvi n.; Andreas-Christensen 102 *vōv*; Ivanow *vūv*) certainly represents *āp*.

<sup>4</sup> Note also *lūyas* 'fox' (Tab. *luwās*, Gozarkhoni [Ivanow, *A.O.*, ix, 367] *luwos*); *pilā* 'big, great', *pilā-mūs* 'rat' (Gozarkhoni *pilo bowo* 'grandfather'; Gilaki *pīle*, *pille*; Zaza *pīl*, *pīli* Hadank 163; often wrongly confused with Pers. *pīr* 'old'; Dailemi name *Pilesuār*, Minorsky, *Domination des Dailamites*, p. 3). A few further interesting Tāk. words may be briefly mentioned here: *āzirā* 'yesterday'; *sārā* 'day after to-morrow'; *čūst* 'boot'; *vayā* 'wedding'; *čālū* 'sparrow'; *asbe* 'dog'; *gūyār* 'calf'; *asif* 'apple'; *ūz* 'walnut'; *simār* 'straw'; *terizgā* 'hail'; *nimarij* 'noon'; *zārin* 'child' (pl. *zārun*; cf. Kurd.); *geisin* 'plough' (from

has been the dominating language for several centuries, a few islands of Iranian speech have survived in remote corners. Here our information is singularly defective: instead of knowing any of these surviving dialects, we merely know rumours of their existence. Three areas have been named:—

*Firstly*, the Harzan-Küh in the north-western corner of the province, in the ancient borderland between Armenia and Persia, to the north-west of Tabriz, between the northern shore of the Urmia lake and the River Aras (the ancient Araxes). In several villages here, in Harzan, Gālin-qaya, Bābra, and others, an Iranian dialect is spoken, which may conveniently be called Harzanī<sup>1</sup>; I shall say more about it presently.

*Secondly*: some villages in the Qaraĵa-dāγ, to the north-east of Tabriz. Nothing is known about their language.<sup>2</sup>

*Thirdly*: several villages in Khalkhāl, at the eastern fringe of Azerbaijan. This is precisely the area in which we should expect to find dialects that provide a transition from Tālīsī to Tākistānī, and for this reason it is much to be regretted that we know nothing about them. There is at least a potential source of information. It is understood that the late Kesravī, in the second edition of his well-known book on the ancient language of Azerbaijan, quoted a few words in one of the Khalkhāl dialects; but this second edition, published in Tehran in 1317/1938, does not seem to have reached Western

\**gav-āsin*; *isbārz* 'spleen'; *vak* 'kidney' (cf. Tal. *rek*); *dīm* 'face'; *mifik* 'eyelash'; *bār* 'door'; *xur* 'good'; *gūfil* 'small'; *peinā* 'broad'; *zur* 'compost' (cf. Tal. *zīr/zīl*); *āsbune yur-yurī* 'it thunders' (cf. Tal. *gurgur*); *bikātān* 'to fall', *miginim* 'I fall', *az mugu biginim* 'I shall fall'; *bifundān* 'to chew', *mūfūnim* 'I chew'; *vīndān* 'to see'; *dast āsindān* 'to touch', *ānsinim* 'I touch', *ānsindim(?)* 'I touched'; *sozaviān* 'to grow', *sozambim*, *sozambī*, *sozambe*, *sozambeyum*, *-beyū*, *-bindū* 'I grow', *sozaveime* 'I grew' (cf. Pers. *sabz būdan*); *ādiyān* 'to give', *āndim*, *āndey*, *āndiye*, *āndeyum*, *āndeyū*, *āndiyindū* 'I give'; *eisūšindān* 'to light a fire', *eisāma-šinim* 'I light it'.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. Navābī recently discovered and published a Persian deed dated in 791/1389, in which the name now generally known as *Harzand* is spelt *Harzan*; accordingly, Dr. Navābī prefers *Harzanī* as the name of the language (*Nāṣṭiye-i Dāniškade-i Adabiyāt-i Tabriz*, V, No. ii, 29-38).

<sup>2</sup> See the additional note below, p. 177.

Europe<sup>1</sup>; at any rate, in spite of some search, I have not been able to see it.<sup>2</sup>

Twenty years ago a promising attempt was made to fill the great gap in our knowledge of these dialects, by a Swiss linguist, Dr. Emil Baer. In 1932/33 he visited Harzan and Khalkhāl<sup>3</sup> (but not the Qaraĵa-dāγ), and then went on to study the languages of Persian Tālīš, of Gilān, and Māzen-darān. To two successive Congresses of Orientalists, at Rome in 1935<sup>4</sup> and at Brussels in 1938,<sup>5</sup> he read papers on the material he had collected and the method he had used. At the latter Congress (which I could not attend) he quoted examples from the languages he had investigated, but these examples were unfortunately omitted from the report printed in the Proceedings. In fact, not a single word or a single form, out of the clearly massive material he had brought together, has been made accessible to the public. It has been reported

<sup>1</sup> See the additional note below, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, thanks to the kindness of a friend in Tehran, I have secured the 3rd edition of Kesravi's *Āḍarī* (Tehran 1325/1946). It is probably an unchanged reprint of the 2nd edition, regrettably printed in a most unsatisfactory fashion, often illegible and studded with misprints. The specimen of a dialect (unspecified, presumably *Šāhrūd*) of Khalkhāl is on pp. 61-62, in unvocalized Arabic script; its contents, a brief description of the linguistic situation in Khalkhāl, render it almost useless for our purposes; according to it, dialects (called *Tāti*) are spoken in the whole of *Šāhrūd* and in a few villages of *Kāyaḍkunān*: all of them are close to *Tālīšī*. As far as one can see, the latter opinion is partly borne out by the specimen, which shows some characteristic Tal. forms (*ištan* 'self'; *im* 'this'; antecedent genitive, sometimes in *-ī*; postpos. *-kū*; possessive pronoun *če* [*ēh*] 'his'); but there are also considerable deviations from *Tālīšī*, especially in the verb (e.g. *vōĵin* [*wōĵn*] 'they call', *gaf-žanin* 'they talk', *bera* [*brā*] 'it was', *šera* [*šr ?*] 'it went'). However, one fails to detect any resemblance to *Tākistānī*, in which the corresponding verbal forms are *māfindā*, *zānindā*, *-ve*, and (*bi*)*šō*.

<sup>3</sup> He worked in *due villaggi remoti, ma grandi e popolati, che han conservato anche essi il loro idioma iranico* (*Atti* p. 237) . . . in *Tale Šāhrūd, einem der 5 Mähale des Berglands Khalkhāl* (*Actes* p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> Il metodo della geografia linguistica applicato all'investigazione dei dialetti iranici. *Atti del xix Congresso internazionale degli orientalisti*, Rome 1938, 233-239.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Dialektologie Nordirans. *Actes du xx<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940, 153-157.

that towards the end of the war Dr. Baer was killed in Germany, and it was said that his material had disappeared; but recently I learned from Professor Minorsky that Dr. Georges Redard had succeeded in tracing his collections. There is now good hope that they will be published one day. Pending that, we must make do with what can be obtained in other ways.<sup>1</sup>

The only one of these dialects about which I can give information is Harzanī, or more precisely, the variety of it spoken in the village of Gālin-qaya. It was in this village that European scholars first became alive to the survival of Iranian languages in Azerbaijan. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, who passed a night at Gālin-qaya in 1898, noticed its peculiar dialect, and drew attention to it in the report on his journey which was published in 1910.<sup>2</sup> He quoted there four or five separate words, only two of them significant (*hārā* 'three', *isba* 'dog'), and a sentence of two words, *ospe bindor*, which he misunderstood: he thought it meant 'the horses are harnessed',<sup>3</sup> while in fact it means 'tie up the horse', *ospe* being singular and *bindor* the plural of the imperative.

This is all so far made known about the language of Gālin-qaya; in compensation, we have seven words from the neighbouring village of Harzan, which the late Mirza Muhammad-i Qazvīnī communicated to Professor Minorsky, who quoted them in the Encyclopaedia article mentioned above. These few words suffice to show that there are differences between Gālin-qaya and Harzan. Two of the forms supplied by Muhammad-i Qazvīnī, together with their Persian equivalents and the corresponding Gālin-qaya forms, may be adduced here, *berend* = Pers. *būdand*: Gäl. *berut*; *šerīndū* = Pers. *šūdand*: Gäl. *šerut*.

It will be clear from the foregoing remarks that I have had

<sup>1</sup> However, during the recent Congress of Orientalists (Cambridge, Aug., 1954) Professor Redard told me that only a part of Dr. Baer's collections had survived; the notes on the dialects of Azerbaijan have disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 185 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Pferde sind 'gebunden', angeschirrt.*

access to a fresh source of information, and this is happily a copious one.<sup>1</sup> I owe it to a Persian scholar, Dr. M. Navabi, a lecturer in the recently founded University of Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan. Dr. Navabi, who studied for some time at the School of Oriental and African Studies, very generously allowed me the use of his field notes, as well as of a fair copy he had made of the larger part of his collections. Naturally, the publication of this material, which is fairly comprehensive, must be left to Dr. Navabi; but he has kindly permitted me to quote from it in this paper.

The dialect of Gälin-qaya has inevitably been strongly influenced by Turkish, which is also the second language of its speakers. There is a good deal of vowel assimilation: *ümüta* 'to teach' corresponds with Persian *āmūxtan*, *vörör-* 'to pass by' with Persian *gudar-*; in *zunasna*, *vörösna*, *beramesna*, respectively 'he knows', 'it rains', and 'he cries', the vowel in the penultimate is one and the same by origin. The palatalized *k*-sounds are so strongly marked that they appear to be scarcely distinguishable from *ç*-sounds; thus in Dr. Navabi's notes one finds both *kina* and *çina* for 'girl', *kölla* and *çölla* for 'you made'. A preceding genitive is mostly resumed by the enclitic pronoun for the 3rd person, which is *-y* after a vowel, *ʃ* after a consonant, and *-yʃ-* between vowels; e.g. *kölö* = 'hat', *yan* = 'wife': 'his hat' is *kölöy*, 'his wife' is *yanʃ*, and *kölöyʃa* means 'it is his hat' (the *-a* at the end being the word for 'is'). This pronoun now appears where

<sup>1</sup> The 3rd edition of Kesravi's *Āḡarī* (see above p. 166, n. 2) also contains specimens of the *zabān-i Harzand*, 17 everyday sentences (pp. 63-64) and a brief word-list (pp. 62-63). Although owing to the orthography used (unvocalized Arabic script with somewhat haphazard *matres lectionis*) some points necessarily remain uncertain, one can say that the language of these specimens is substantially in agreement, indeed almost identical, with that of Dr. Navabi's collections. Curious is the uncertainty in the endings of the 1st pers. plur. (also of the 1st pers. sing.), e.g. subj. *šnm* 'let us go' (Gäl. *šnum*); pres. (n) *kündwm* 'we (do not) do' (Gäl. *köndum*), but (n) *znswn* 'we (do not) know' (Gäl. *zunasnum*; prob. misprinted for *\*nznswn*); pret. (*hth*) *brwn* 'we were (asleep)' (Gäl. *heta berum*); "trans." pret. *zwnwm'n' wrtwn* 'we knew (and) fled' (Gäl. *-muna*); uncertainty in this very point is found also in Dr. Navabi's notes.



a genitive precedes, e.g. *merde kölöy* 'the man's hat' or *bröri yanı* 'the brother's wife'—a construction doubtless due to Turkish influence. Similarly, the possessive pronouns (*čaman, ešde, avey; čama, šema, avuney*), which incidentally resemble the Tāliši and Tākistāni forms, are resumed by enclitic pronouns, e.g. *čaman yanma* 'it is my wife', *ešde zunustar* 'your knowledge' (the final *-r* being the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person).

Here I have put down a scheme of the nominal inflexion, in which, however, one or two points are not entirely certain:—

General Case	Sing. <i>merd</i>	Plur. <i>yanöy</i>
Oblique Case	<i>merde</i>	<i>yanun</i>
Determ. Acc.	<i>merde</i>	<i>yanune</i>
Locative	<i>merdenda</i>	<i>(yanunenda)</i>
Ablative	<i>merderi</i>	<i>yanuneri</i>
Instrumental	<i>merdehun</i>	<i>(yanunehun)</i>
Partitive	—	<i>yanunda</i>

It is always interesting to see how a language that has once shed an elaborate system of inflexion creates a fresh system that bears comparison with the original one. Actually, most of these cases are pseudo-cases, mere juxtaposition of noun and postposition. That becomes clear when an enclitic pronoun is affixed to the noun; it precedes postpositions, but of course follows proper endings. Hence *dösmönda* 'in my hand', *döslönda* 'in your hand', *karfiri* 'from his house' (*kar* = house), *karlenda* 'in your house', *hamayfiri* 'from all of it'.

This consideration shows also that the determinative accusative, which in the singular often coincides with the oblique case, is in fact a pseudo-case. Actually, it is distinguished when a noun ends in a vowel; then the accusative ends in *-re*, but the oblique case is identical with the general case; e.g. *kina* 'girl', oblique case also *kina*, but *kinare* is the determinative accusative. Now I have found two examples in which enclitic pronouns are involved, *grile* 'his neck', i.e. *giri* 'neck' + *-y* for the 3rd person + the dissimilated accusative ending; and

*xöyö ešde karille vörun kani* 'may God ruin your house', where *karille* 'your house' is composed of *kar* 'house', the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person (-r, often -l), and the mark of the accusative.

It is not possible to discuss here all the problems connected with the *verb* of this dialect. The following table contains the principal forms of the preterite and the perfect:—

I saw	I have seen	I went	I have gone	I have not gone
<i>vimma</i>	<i>vindama</i>	<i>šerin</i>	<i>šerama</i>	<i>nema šera</i>
<i>villa</i>	<i>vindara</i>	<i>šeri</i>	<i>šerara</i>	<i>nera šera</i>
<i>vinša</i>	<i>vindaya</i>	<i>šera</i>	<i>šeraya</i>	<i>niya šera</i>
<i>vimmuna</i>	<i>vindamuna</i>	<i>šerum</i>	<i>šeramuna</i>	<i>nemuna šera</i>
<i>vinnura</i>	<i>vindaruna</i>	<i>šerur</i>	<i>šeranura</i>	<i>nenura šera</i>
<i>vinšuna</i>	<i>vindayna</i>	<i>šerut</i>	<i>šerayna</i>	<i>neyna šera</i>

It shows the influence of the transitive verb upon the intransitive. The perfect of the latter (*šerama*) is entirely modelled on that of the former (*vindama*); similarly *behešdama* 'I have got up', *nehetara* 'you have not slept', *vin nani zülferangin gune parišun berama . . . hazrate Adam angin öšo pašimun berama* 'see, how like your locks I have become tangled in (my) soul (?) . . . like Adam I have now become repentant'.<sup>1</sup> The intransitive preterite ordinarily preserves its distinct forms (*šerin*), even where the two kinds of verbs are in close contact, e.g. *šerim nāhāre hörma āmarim*<sup>2</sup> 'I went, ate lunch, came'; but occasionally we find forms adapted to the transitive, e.g. *vörörma* 'I passed by', *mörša* 'he died'.

Of particular interest are the *verbal stems*, of which a fairly full list is given here. In Middle Iranian and in the majority of modern Iranian languages we find *two* verbal stems, a present stem and a preterite stem; but in the dialect of Gälän-qaya there exist *three* stems, present, preterite, and subjunctive, and an additional form for the 2nd singular of the imperative:

<sup>1</sup> There is no translation of these verses in Dr. Navabi's notes; the one above is therefore conjectural. *-angin* 'like' (*spā vorganin a* 'a dog is like a wolf') represents earlier \**angōn*, cf. MPers. *angun*, Sogd. 'nγwn.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to *-im* instead of *-in*, see above, p. 168, n. 1.

	Imp.	Subj.	Pret.	Pres.	Base
(a)	<i>še</i>	<i>šun-</i>	<i>šer-</i>	<i>šend-</i>	<i>šyav</i>
(b)	—	<i>bun-</i>	<i>ber-</i>	—	<i>baw</i>
(c)	<i>da</i>	<i>dan-</i>	<i>dor-</i>	<i>dond-</i>	<i>dā</i>
(d)	<i>ka</i>	<i>kan-</i>	<i>körd-</i>	<i>könd-</i>	<i>kar</i>
(e)	<i>(bi)a</i>	<i>(bi)an-</i>	<i>ord-<sup>1</sup></i>	—	<i>ā-bar</i>
(f)	—	<i>han-<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>hörd-</i>	—	<i>x<sup>w</sup>ar</i>
(g)	<i>verar</i>	—	<i>vörörd-</i>	—	<i>wi-tar</i>
(h)	—	—	<i>vözörd-<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>vözörn-</i>	<i>wi-čar</i>
(i)	—	<i>yan-</i>	<i>yar-</i>	<i>yand-</i>	<i>jan</i>
(j)	<i>āsta</i>	<i>āstān-</i>	<i>āstār-<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>āstand-</i>	<i>ā-stan</i>
(k)	<i>vin</i>	<i>vin-</i>	<i>vind-</i>	<i>vinn-</i>	<i>wain</i>
(l)	—	—	<i>[hönd-]<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>hönn-</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>an</i>
(m)	—	<i>zun-</i>	<i>zunust-</i>	<i>zunusn-</i>	<i>zan</i>
(n)	—	<i>öš-</i>	<i>öt-</i>	<i>ötn-</i>	<i>wak</i>
(o)	—	<i>heraš-</i>	<i>höröt-</i>	<i>hörödd-</i>	<i>fra-wak</i>
(p)	<i>ri</i>	—	<i>ret-<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>rett-</i>	<i>raik</i>
(q)	—	<i>duž-<sup>7</sup></i>	—	<i>dutn-</i>	<i>dauk</i>
(r)	—	<i>hes-</i>	<i>het-</i>	<i>hett-</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>ap</i>
(s)	<i>žen</i>	<i>žen-</i>	<i>got-</i>	—	<i>grab</i>
(t)	<i>[nšīn]<sup>8</sup></i>	—	<i>nešt-</i>	<i>nešn-</i>	<i>ni-had</i>
(u)	—	<i>fi-</i>	<i>fest-<sup>9</sup></i>	<i>fesn-</i>	<i>vid' ?</i>
(v)	<i>[bend-]<sup>10</sup></i>	—	<i>böst-</i>	<i>bösn-</i>	<i>band</i>
(w)	—	—	<i>nevešt-</i>	<i>nevešn-</i>	<i>ni-pais</i>
(x)	—	—	<i>höšt-</i>	<i>höšn-</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>az</i>
(y)	<i>be</i>	<i>bez-</i>	<i>behešt-</i>	<i>behešn-</i>	<i>bar + haiz</i>
(z)	—	—	—	<i>vašn-<sup>11</sup></i>	<i>waxš</i>

<sup>1</sup> Preterite stems ending in two consonants are shortened in the "transitive" preterite, generally by the loss of the second consonant; hence in Kesravī's material 'icrf' = *orfa* 'he brought'; *zunust* = *zunusta* 'you knew'; cf. above *vimma*, *villa*, etc. (from *vind-ma*, *vind-la* etc.).

<sup>2</sup> In Kesravī's material *hym* as 1st sing. Subj. (read *hnm*?).

<sup>3</sup> 'To perform' (a prayer, etc.), Pers. *guzārdan*.

<sup>4</sup> 'To buy.'

<sup>5</sup> Supplied from Kesravī (*hwnd-*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *vereta* (inf.) 'to flee'; Kesravī *wrtmwn* (above p. 168, n. 1) = *veret-muna*.

<sup>7</sup> 'To sew.'

<sup>8</sup> Supplied from Kesravī.

<sup>9</sup> 'To throw, spread (a rug over someone)' and 'to scatter seed, to sow', Pers. equivalents *andāxtan* and *gustardan*. Example, *ärtāndakiōy noxut festayna ya neyna festa* 'have the people there sown (chick-)peas or not?' (*ärtā* 'thither', *ärteyri* 'thence', *ärtānda* 'there', *ärtāndaki* '(someone) being there', *ärtāndakiōy* pl.).

<sup>10</sup> Adapted from Lehmann-Haupt (*bind-*, above p. 167).

<sup>11</sup> 'To shine, be alight' (*ōšma vašna* 'the moon is shining', *čore vašna* 'the lamp is lit').

The preterite stem continues the ancient preterite stem and thus presents no difficulty. The old present stem is continued substantially by the subjunctive stem, and entirely by the imperative, which generally has strongly shortened forms. However, some of the subjunctive stems, those at the beginning of the list (a-f), have acquired a final *-n*, the origin of which is not clear. Here only those stems are affected, the base of which ended in a vowel or an unstable consonant. It is probable that these subjunctive stems are new formations built upon the imperative; for example, case (d), 'to make', where the old present stem was *kar*, which in the imperative was shortened to *ka*: on this form the subjunctive stem was built by the addition of *-n*. The first verb in the list shows that this formation is not entirely recent; for the subjunctive stem *šun-* must have been created at a time when the imperative was still *\*šū*.

The most interesting of the three stems is the present stem. It is evidently built on the preterite stem; in this point the dialect of Gālin-qaya differs from most Western Iranian languages. This origin of the present stem is quite clear in the forms in the second half of the list; but some of those at the beginning of the list are again difficult. For example, if we consider case (i), at first sight one might assume that the present stem, *yand-*, was derived from the subjunctive stem, *yan-*, rather than from the preterite stem, *yar-*. However, it is in itself unlikely that in the weaker bases the formation should have been essentially different from that found in the stronger ones; also, it is to be observed that the vowel of the present stem is in every case identical with the vowel of the preterite stem.

The rule for the formation of the present stem can be formulated in this way: if the Old Iranian preterite stem ended in *-t-* preceded by a sonant, then the Gālin-qaya present stem ends in *-nd* with loss of the old *-t-*; and if the Old Iranian preterite stem ended in *-t-* preceded by a consonant, then the Gālin-qaya present stem ends in that consonant, if it was preserved, plus *-n-*, otherwise in *-tn* or *-tt*. The origin of these

stems may be found in the *-ant-* participle, which in Gālin-qaya is regularly built on the preterite stem: *šeranda* 'going', *doranda* 'giving', *kōrdanda* 'making', *yaranda* 'hitting', and so forth. These forms may have been strongly shortened in the creation of the present stem, so that the actual present would be a composite tense by origin, 'I am going' in the place of 'I go'. Thus one could account for the various finals, *-nd-*, *-n-*, and *-d-* (often assimilated to *-t-*), all resulting from *-nd-* at the end of clusters of consonants.

These few details will, I hope, give an idea of the distinctive features of the dialect of Gālin-qaya, which we may regard as representative of the Harzanī group. The question now arises: is this Harzanī the last surviving form of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan? This question is not easily answered. The first test to be applied concerns certain sound-changes which must be presumed to have characterized the old language of Azerbaijan, principally the change of Iranian *fr-* to *hr-*, and the change of intervocalic *-d-* to *-r-*; the Iranian loanwords in Armenian, which entered Armenian from the neighbouring province of Azerbaijan, prove the existence of these changes. Now the first, *hr* from *fr*, is satisfactorily present in Harzanī; but it carries no weight, because it is also present in at least half the North-western Iranian languages. The second change, *-r-* from intervocalic *-d-*, is unfortunately absent. It is true, intervocalic and post-vocalic *-t-* regularly becomes *-r-* in Harzanī; many of the words I have quoted show it—but that should not be confused, though it often has been confused, with the change we are seeking. Intervocalic *-d-* has either disappeared in Harzanī, or been replaced by a glide. There is only one certain case of *-r-* from *-d-*, *arina* 'Friday', and that word is probably a loan-word; a doubtful case is the word for 'under', which occurs in *ružare* 'west', literally 'sun-down' (*ruž* 'sun'), and in *parare* 'below', which contrasts with *parpe* 'above', so that *-are* meant 'under' and may be referred to Old Iranian *adari* 'under': that word, however, already contained an *-r-*, so that we are not safe in claiming that the Harzanī *-r-* in this word represents the old *-d-*.

We have now to consider the relationship between Harzanī and the other languages of the north-western group. It is obvious, and has already been pointed out by Dr. Baer,<sup>1</sup> that Harzanī is most closely related to Tālīšī. This relationship would be even stronger if Tālīšī, which now presents much abbreviated forms through the loss of interior *-r-*, all dentals, and other consonants as well, had once shared in the change from intervocalic *-t-* to *-r-*, which characterizes Harzanī; it has indeed been reported that words exhibiting that change occur in the southernmost dialect of Tālīšī, that spoken in Assālim.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Tālīšī, like Harzanī, possesses a present built on the preterite stem; the Tālīšī forms have not been explained correctly,<sup>3</sup> and can in fact be explained only with the help of the Harzanī material.

On the other side, Harzanī is related to Zaza. One may instance the existence of two genuine plural cases in both languages; the ablative postposition *-ri*, Zaza *-rā*; the negative prefix in *ćini(ya)*<sup>4</sup> 'it is not', Zaza *ćinyō*, *ćinyā*; many characteristic words, such as Harzanī *ōšma* 'moon', Zaza *āšma*, the nearest related word<sup>5</sup> being Tālīšī *ovšjm*; *vašna* 'it shines', Zaza *vāšena*; *gen-* both 'to take' and 'to fall' in Harzanī and Zaza; *rau* 'quick' in both languages<sup>6</sup>; *vondor-* 'to stand': Zaza *vindār-*<sup>7</sup> and Vafsi *vender-*,<sup>8</sup> a verb known

<sup>1</sup> *Anderseits erweisen sich das Härzändi und das Shähradi Āzərbājāns mit dem Talyshi Kaspiens eng verwandt* (*Actes*, pp. 155 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> B. V. Miller, *Tālīšskiy Yazik*, 1953, p. 261. Two of the words quoted above, p. 166, n. 2 (*šr* and *brh*) prove that this change also occurred in the Khalkhāl dialect from which Kesravi's specimen is derived.

<sup>3</sup> Thus B. V. Miller in his latest work explained the Tal. present (*votedam*, or shorter *vottam*, 'I say') as compounded of the infinitive (*vote*), the preposition *da* 'in' (used as postposition), and the present of 'to be' (*Tālīšskiy Yazik*, p. 146). However, Miller himself does not attribute, in his discussion of the prepositions (*ibidem*, pp. 86-88), such a preposition to Tālīšī (only *dj* 'with', and the postposition *ada* 'in', which would not produce the form required; there is, of course, a preverb *da*).

<sup>4</sup> Several times also in Kesravi's specimen, spelt *ćynyh*.

<sup>5</sup> [Now: Keringāni *ūšmā*.]

<sup>6</sup> [So also in Keringāni.]

<sup>7</sup> Hadank, *Zázá*, 138, 273, 361, 378, *stehen bleiben, stillstehen, anhalten, bleiben, warten*. Similar forms (but with initial *m-*) occur also in Gurani.

<sup>8</sup> Muqaddam, *Vafs*, p. 97, inf. *venderdan*, imp. *hāwender*, pret. *hāwenderd*, and similarly in neighbouring villages (note also *vandarda*, p. 127 middle); Pers. equivalent *istādan*. [Add Keringāni *vendārdan*.]

from Middle Iranian.<sup>1</sup> This is merely a small selection of the many coincidences, some of them exclusive, that can be quoted. They leave no doubt that Harzanī takes its place between Tālīšī and Zaza.

This result seems to be consonant with the present geographical location of the three languages, with Harzanī actually in the middle between Tālīšī in the east and Zaza in the far west. But these appearances are deceptive; for it is certain that Zaza, now altogether out of contact with the languages to which it is related, has been carried to Eastern Turkey by some migration. It has been argued on historical and linguistic grounds, on converging lines, that Zaza is a branch of the ancient language of Dailam, an alpine country in the centre of the high mountains on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.<sup>2</sup> If Zaza had its original place in Dailam (to the north and north-east of Tākistān), we are driven to the assumption that Harzanī, too, is a dislocated language and had its home to the south-east of Tālīš, somewhere between Tālīš and the ancient Zaza country. Such an assumption would give an answer to many difficult problems; for example, we should gain a perfect series of the languages that form their present stem with the help of an *-n-* or *-nd-* suffix, that is, Tālīšī, Harzanī, Zaza, parts of Gilakī, Tabari, and some dialects near Samnān.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there has been a report, by the head of the American Presbyterian Mission in Tabriz at the beginning of this century (S. G. Wilson), that the people of Harzan had been transferred there from the region of Tālīš by Nādir-Šāh, that is to say a little over two hundred years ago.<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily one might look upon such a report with

<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi Psalter *wndlty* = *gayyāmā* 'durans, permanens'; Inscr. of Shapur, Parthian 17 *RB* 'y'ztn wyndršn 'BDt; with assimilation *-nd-* > *-nn-* Manich. MPers. *wnyr-* 'to remain (permanently), stay' (so to be translated), from which its apparent causative *wyn'r-* 'to set, fix' (also Pahlavi *wyn'l-*, Pahl. Ps. *wn'lty*, Inscr. *wn'l-*) cannot easily be separated. The derivation of *wnyr-* from a base *nar-* (cf. *ZII.*, ix, 206; Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1953, 106) can scarcely be maintained.

<sup>2</sup> See the full discussion in the introduction to Hadank, *Zázá*; cf. Minorsky, *Domination des Dailamites*, 17; *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), 86-89.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hadank, *ibidem*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> See Hadank, *ibidem*, p. 5.

a critical eye<sup>1</sup>: but here, as it is in agreement with the linguistic evidence, we may accept it as corroboration.

That leaves us with empty hands. The dialects that were presumed to be the last remnants of the ancient language of Azerbaijan have proved to be recent imports from another province. We are similarly unfortunate with the literary evidence which the late Kesravī had collected from Persian works: there is nothing conclusive. The most considerable<sup>2</sup> is a set of 14th century dialect quatrains from Ardabil<sup>3</sup>; but Ardabil is merely on the fringe of Azerbaijan, close to Tāliš, and the dialect of these quatrains has been shown to be akin to Tālišī.<sup>4</sup> In short, with all the dialects we have considered here, of Tāliš, Harzan, Khalkhāl, and Tākistān, we remain on the threshold of Azerbaijan; but of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan itself we know nothing.<sup>5</sup>

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE

This paper has been dogged by misfortune. Important new

<sup>1</sup> For example, I was myself told in Tākistān that according to a local tradition the people of that village (the *Tāš*) were immigrants from *somewhere else*; but no one could say from where they had come, or at what date.

<sup>2</sup> The 3rd edition of Kesravī's *Āḡarī* contains additional dialect verses (some of them very interesting) taken from various *juṅg*-s (pp. 54-59); unfortunately, they are not sufficiently closely localized.

<sup>3</sup> *Silsilatu 'n-Nasab-i Šafawīye*, pp. 29-32; Kesravī, *Āḡarī*, 1st ed., pp. 31-42 (3rd ed., pp. 36-46).

<sup>4</sup> See Miller, *Tal. Yazık*, 254-263. After seeing Miller's work (1953) I abandoned my intention to give a full analysis of the language of these quatrains. Note that *drđ(h)-žr* continues Manich. Parthian *drđjd* 'suffering, in pain' (cf. *šrmjd*); and *žyr* 'life' Manich. Parth. *jyđ*. There is a possible case of *-d- > -r-* in *gurym* (6) 'I am the ball', which reading, however, is secured only by emendation (required by the rhyme); *neštym* (7) is misreading of *n-dštym*, cf. Tal. *daže* Miller, *Tal. Tekstī*, 217; Gālin-qaya *dōsdōm dašna* 'my hand hurts'; probably Yaghnobi *daxš-*. The word for 'God', 'ey'n, is surely of Turkish origin (= *oγan* Kāšyari; Houtsma, *Glossar*, p. 7; etc.).

<sup>5</sup> The 'Appendix' to the *Risāle* by Rūhī of Anāraġān (16th century), to which A. Iqbāl has drawn attention (*Yādġār*, ii, fasc. iii, pp. 43-50) and which was published in full by M. Muqaddam (*Yak sanad-i tāriġi az ġuyiš-i āḡarī-i Tabriz = Irān-Kūde* 10, 1317 Yezd./1948), is not, as has been claimed, written in any "dialect", but in a vulgar (extremely vulgar!) and slangy type of colloquial Persian. It has no bearing on the problem of the ancient language of Azerbaijan.



publications, each requiring fresh adaptation of the views presented, kept coming in, either at the last minute or after the event. While the printing was in process, my friend and former student Dr. E. Yarshater, of the University of Tehran, presented me with (1) the second edition of Kesravi's *Āḍarī*, for which I had looked so long in vain (above, p. 165; it is indeed much superior to the third edition, which is merely a reprint); (2) M. Sutūde (Sotoodeh), *Farhang-i Gīlakī*, Tehran, 1954 (an admirable work); (3) Yahya Zoka, *The dialect of Keringan*, Tehran, 1332/1953-4 (the first glimpse of one of the unknown dialects of the Qaraĵa-dāγ, see above, p. 165; received too late, unfortunately, to be taken into account here).

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PH.D. THESIS

BY

THE AUTHOR

CHICAGO, ILL.

1950

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

## Eine arabische Version mittelpersischer Weisheitsschriften<sup>1</sup>

Vor ein paar Jahren ist in Kairo ein neues Werk von Miskawaih, dem besonders als Verfasser der *Tajārib al-Umam* bekannten Autor des vierten Jahrhunderts der Hijra, veröffentlicht worden, unter dem Titel *al-Hikmah al-ḥalīdah* „die ewige Weisheit“<sup>2</sup>. Als mir kürzlich ein Exemplar dieses Buches in die Hände fiel, hatte ich gleich den Eindruck, daß es für die Geschichte der Pehlewi-Literatur von großer Wichtigkeit sei, und näheres Zusehen hat diesen ersten Eindruck nur bestätigt.

Der Titel, *al-Hikmah al-ḥalīdah*, ist, so scheint es, erst von dem Herausgeber, ‘ABDURRAḤMĀN BADAŪĪ, erfunden worden; der wahre Titel, so wie er im Buche selbst und auch in den Schreibernotizen am Ende vorkommt, ist persisch, *Jāwidān Hirad*. Unter diesem Titel ist das Werk schon längst bekannt, in persischen Übersetzungen oder Überarbeitungen, und in Handschriftenkatalogen und Handbüchern mehr oder minder kurz erwähnt; eine von ihnen ist auch in Teheran, im Jahre 1877, gedruckt worden. Viel Beachtung haben diese persischen Versionen nie gefunden, zum Teil wohl weil sie so stark überarbeitet worden sind, zum Teil weil ihr spätes Datum (17. Jahrhundert) Zweifel an der Echtheit der Vorlage erweckte, vielleicht auch weil der einzige Druck nicht leicht zugänglich war. Jedenfalls liefert erst die Ausgabe des arabischen Originals eine solide Grundlage für die Forschung und macht das Werk für uns nutzbar.

In seiner Vorrede erzählt Miskawaih, daß er als junger Mann, also etwa um 950, in einem Buch des berühmten Philologen und Literaten al-Jāḥiẓ von dem *Jāwidān Hirad* gelesen und daß diese Notiz ihm keine Ruhe gelassen habe, bis er schließlich nach langem Suchen das seltene Werk bei dem Obermoted von Fārs fand; nebenbei bemerkt, für die Qualität der im Druck vorliegenden persischen Version ist es charakteristisch, daß sie *al-Jāḥiẓ* in *Hāfiẓ* umgewandelt hat<sup>3</sup>. Al-Jāḥiẓ nun habe eine lange romantische Geschichte über die Entdeckung des *Jāwidān Hirad* erzählt, in die der Calife al-Ma’mūn, seine Minister, die Brüder al-Faḍl b. Sahl und

<sup>1</sup> Beim xiii. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Hamburg am 28. Juli 1955 gehaltener Vortrag.

<sup>2</sup> Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawaih, *al-Hikmah al-ḥalīdah*. Ed. ‘ABDURRAḤMĀN BADAŪĪ. Kairo 1952.

<sup>3</sup> Lithographie Teheran 1877 (1. Farvardin 799 Jālālī), S. 16 u. ö.

al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, und ein weiser Mann aus Kabul, Dhübān oder Dhaubān, verwickelt sind. Nach seiner Entdeckung in den Ruinen des Chosroenpalastes gelang es al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, wenigstens ein paar Seiten von Dhübān zu borgen und sie rasch übersetzen zu lassen, und eben diese leider fragmentarische Übersetzung stelle das existierende *Jāwidān Ḥīrad* dar. Das Original aber, das der weise Dhübān nach dem fernen Kabul entführte, war von keinem andern als dem iranischen Urkönig *Hōschang* verfaßt worden.

Dieses *Hōschang*-Buch nun, dem allein von Rechts wegen der Name „*Jāwidān Ḥīrad*“ zukommt, nimmt nur etwa den dreißigsten Teil von Miskawaihs *Jāwidān Ḥīrad* ein; es steht an seinem Anfang, zusammen mit der Dhübān-Legende, und hat dem ganzen Werk den Namen gegeben. Das *Hōschang*-Buch existiert auch für sich außerhalb von Miskawaihs Werk. Der Herausgeber des arabischen Textes hat eine Handschrift dieser Separatausgabe benutzt: sie hat einen verschiedenen Titel, *Yatīmatu 's-Suḷḷān*, und ist Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' zugeschrieben, und zwar als Autor, nicht als Übersetzer<sup>1</sup>; die Geschichte von al-Ma'mūn und dem weisen Dhübān fehlt natürlich in dieser Separatausgabe. Unglücklicherweise ist eine solche Schrift des Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' sonst nicht bekannt; und das Buch von al-Jāhīz, das Miskawaih zitiert, *Istīḍālatu 'l-Fahm*, scheint ebenfalls sonst nicht bekannt zu sein; so daß wir also über Miskawaih selber zunächst nicht hinauskommen. Doch kann man die Möglichkeit, daß die Schrift von Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' stammt oder übersetzt war, immerhin nicht ganz von der Hand weisen.

Dem eigentlichen *Jāwidān Ḥīrad* oder *Hōschang*-Buch hat nun Miskawaih eine ganze Reihe von Schriften ähnlichen Inhalts angefügt, Schriften der Perser, Araber, Inder und Griechen. Hier wollen wir uns nur mit dem persischen Material beschäftigen. Bekanntlich besteht ein guter Teil der Pehlewi-Literatur eben aus solchen ethisch-didaktischen Büchern wie Miskawaih sie hier gesammelt hat, Büchern des guten Rates oder „*Pandnāmag*“, Testamenten oder *Andarz*, usw. Man hofft also von vornherein, daß Miskawaihs Sammlung das eine oder andre Stück der noch existierenden Pehlewi-Literatur enthalten werde, und diese Hoffnung hat nicht getrogen.

Allerdings muß ich nun gleich gestehen, daß die Identifizierung der Stellen nur in den ersten Anfängen steht. Den arabischen Text habe ich eben erst vor kurzem erhalten, und das Aufsuchen der Stellen ist mühsam und zeitraubend. Miskawaih (bzw. seine Vorlage) behandelte sein Material mit völliger Freiheit. Im allgemeinen beschränkte er sich keineswegs darauf, die Pehlewi-Schriften, so wie sie sind, aufzunehmen, vielmehr suchte er sich aus ihnen aus, was ihm zusagte; und was er sich aussuchte,

<sup>1</sup> Arabischer Text S. 7 Anm. 5.

brachte er unglücklicherweise nicht in der Reihenfolge des Originals, sondern wie es ihm gerade paßte. Dazu kommt noch, daß die Zuschreibung der Sentenzen an Urheber schon in der Pehlewi-Literatur ziemlich willkürlich war, so daß ein und dasselbe Diktum hier dem frommen Ādarbād, dort dem weisen König Chosro in den Mund gelegt ist. All dies erschwert das Suchen sehr.

Gleich das erste Stück, nach der Überschrift eine Auswahl aus den Ermahnungen des Ādarbād an seinen Sohn, stimmt recht gut mit dem entsprechenden Pehlewi-Andarz überein, nur erscheinen die Sätze in der schrecklichsten Unordnung, verglichen mit dem Original. Hier liest man so charakteristische Sentenzen wie diese: „Seiest Du auch noch so geschickt in der Schwimmkunst, so stürze Dich doch nicht in die Wirbel des Flusses; seiest Du auch noch so klug mit Beschwörungsformeln, so greife doch nicht Schlangen in Hast“<sup>1</sup>. Genau so dem Sinne nach im Pehlewi<sup>2</sup>; in der Ausdrucksweise freilich ist der Unterschied hier und überall bedeutend: im Arabischen ist sie elegant, stilvoll und pointiert, im Pehlewi dagegen schwerfällig, langatmig und kindlich.

Auch dem Ādarbād zugeschrieben ist hier<sup>3</sup>, ebenso wie im Dinkard, eine auf fünf Ursachen schematisch verteilte Liste von 25 menschlichen Zuständen und Attributen, deren zoroastrische Versionen R. C. ZAEHNER vor einigen Jahren ans Licht gezogen hatte<sup>4</sup>. Seinerzeit hatte ich mir notiert, daß eben diese Liste auch in muslimischen Büchern vorkommt, so in der al-Ghazzālī zugeschriebenen persischen *Naṣīḥatu 'l-Mulūk*<sup>5</sup> und in dem sogenannten *Zafar-nāme*, das auch als Teil des *Tārīḫ-i Guzīde* erscheint und den weisen Buzurjmīr zum Verfasser haben soll<sup>6</sup>. Wie weit solch spätere Weisheitsschriften auf Miskawaihs Werk zurückgehen, bliebe noch zu untersuchen.

Man muß sich nun fragen, ob nicht auch das eigentliche *Jāwidān Hīrad*, das Hōschang-Buch, seinen Ursprung in der Pehlewi-Literatur habe. Hōschang, wiewohl als iranischer Urkönig dafür recht geeignet, ist jedoch in der iranischen Tradition als Produzent von Weisheitssprüchen nicht bekannt. Da liegt der Verdacht nahe — ich glaube, er ist schon einmal ausgesprochen worden — daß er seine Einführung in diese Literatur nur einer Verwechslung mit dem weisen *Aošnar* verdanke. *Aošnar* führt im Awesta das Beiwort *pouru.fira* „überaus weise“ — Grund genug,

<sup>1</sup> Arabisch 27<sup>16</sup>—17.

<sup>2</sup> *Pahlavi Texts* ed. JAMASP-ASANA, S. 68 §§ 113—114.

<sup>3</sup> Arabisch 67<sup>4</sup> sqq. <sup>4</sup> JRAS. 1940, 36—39; dazu kürzlich desselben Vfs. *Zurvan* (Oxford 1955), 407—8.

<sup>5</sup> Teheran 1315/7, 123 u. — 124<sup>10</sup> (wo anmerkungsweise auf das persische *Jāwidān Hīrad*, 113—114, verwiesen ist).

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīḫ-i Guzīde* 73<sup>11</sup>—17 (auch bei SALEMANN-ZHUKOVSKIY, *Persische Grammatik*, 41\*). Vgl. übrigens NÖLDEKE, *Pers. Studien*, II 29 A. 2.

ihm Weisheitsbücher zuzuschreiben. Ein allerdings fragmentarisch überliefertes Pehlewi-Andarz des Aošnar existiert ja noch heute<sup>1</sup>, und in der Pehlewi-Schrift waren die Namen *Hōschang* und *Aošnar* einander recht ähnlich. In der Tat haben die Sentenzen des Hōschang-Buches mit denen der Aošnar-Schrift eine gewisse Familienähnlichkeit, besonders in der äußeren Anlage, doch ist direkte Identifikation bisher nicht möglich gewesen<sup>2</sup>.

Das wichtigste Stück aber von Miskawaihs Sammlung, wenigstens in den Augen des am Pehlewi Interessierten, ist seine Auswahl aus den *Adāb Buzurjmīhr*. Sie entspricht genau dem Pehlewi *Ayādgār* des *Vuzurgmīhr*, und hier ist nur wenig vom Original weggelassen (besonders am Ende), und vor allem ist die Reihenfolge genau beibehalten, so daß tatsächlich eine fast vollständige Übersetzung vorliegt. Sie ist so treu, daß sie für das Verständnis des oft schwierigen Pehlewi-Textes von großer Wichtigkeit ist; mehrere Wörter, deren Bedeutung man bisher erraten oder erschließen mußte, werden nun sichergestellt. Dazu sieht man einmal an einem Beispiel, wie die Übersetzer derartiger Pehlewi-Schriften ihre Originale handhabten und in welcher Weise sie sie modifizierten, um sie ihrem Publikum schmackhaft zu machen.

Alles einem Muslim Anstößige, alles spezifisch Zoroastrische wird einfach weggelassen oder so verändert, daß es harmlos aussieht; nichts liegt dem Übersetzer ferner, als etwa die Lokalfarbe zu wahren. Die *Druj*, die Dämonen, welche Ahriman gegen die Menschen schickt, erscheinen als „die natürlichen Eigenschaften und Begierden“, das „Gesetz der Dämonen“ wird der „Befehl des Teufels“, die Dämonin *Būsāsp* wird Tiefschlaf, der zoroastrische Priester ist einfach ein *Faqīh*, und die Frage „welche Religion ist die beste“ ist taktvoller Weise beiseite gelassen. Dem ganzen Stück sieht man nicht mehr ohne weiteres seinen fremden Ursprung an, und der Leser kann kaum umhin, zu finden, daß Buzurjmīhr und seine Zoroastrier eigentlich ganz gute Muslims waren. Man kann wohl sagen, daß solche Übersetzungen eine Art kultureller Propaganda darstellen.

Die Frage, wer diese Übersetzungen angefertigt hat, läßt sich nicht beantworten; sicherlich waren mehrere Hände am Werk. Dagegen kann man dessen ganz gewiß sein, daß die Texte aus dem Pehlewi ins Arabische übersetzt worden sind und nicht etwa umgekehrt. Der Herausgeber des arabischen Textes, dem die Existenz vergleichbarer Schriften in der Pehlewi-Literatur wohlbekannt war, hat in seiner gelehrten Einleitung

<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi Text Series, No. 4, *Andarz-i Aōšnar-i dānāk*, ed. ERVAD B. N. DHABHAR, Bombay 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Dagegen finden wir z. B. *Aošnar* §§ 39—40 bei Miskawaih S. 37<sup>2</sup>—<sup>15</sup>, aber unter dem Namen des Buzurjmīhr.

die Frage nach dem Ursprung des Materials ernstlich aufgeworfen, und wenn er sich auch sehr vorsichtig ausdrückt, so neigt er doch offensichtlich der Ansicht zu, daß das Arabische das Original sei, das Pehlewi aber die Übersetzung — Fälschungen wohl des neunten Jahrhunderts. Für jemanden, der beide Versionen Satz für Satz verglichen hat, gibt es hier aber überhaupt keine Frage. Der Umstand jedoch, daß der Herausgeber hier ein Problem sah, zeigt aufs deutlichste, wie überaus geschickt die Übersetzer in ihrem Bemühen, diese Schriften zu arabisieren und islamisieren, verfahren sind.

In seiner Besprechung dieser Frage hat der Herausgeber wohl zuviel Gewicht auf die Ansicht gelegt, die CHRISTENSEN in seinem grundlegenden Artikel über Buzurjmīr<sup>1</sup> zum Ausdruck gebracht hatte, dahingehend, daß das *Ayādgār* des Vuzurgmīr seine gegenwärtige Form erst im neunten Jahrhundert erhalten habe. Diese Ansicht gründet sich jedoch zum Teil auf Mißverständnisse von Stellen in seiner Einleitung. Das Datum „neuntes Jahrhundert“ z. B. beruht auf einem Passus, der nach CHRISTENSEN heißen soll „im Laufe von dreihundert Jahren geht eine Familie zu Grunde, ihr Name wird vergessen, und die Tempel der Magier fallen in Ruinen“. Solch ein Satz, so meinte CHRISTENSEN, könnte erst längere Zeit (eben etwa 300 Jahre) nach dem Verfall des sassanidischen Reiches geschrieben worden sein<sup>2</sup>. In Wirklichkeit jedoch ist von Tempeln der Magier im Text gar keine Rede, vielmehr steht dort „Haus und Hof, *mān ud mēhan*, fallen in Ruinen“<sup>3</sup>. Die übrigen Gründe, die CHRISTENSEN zu dieser späten Datierung führten, sind ebenfalls nicht zwingend. Meinerseits sehe ich keinen überzeugenden Grund, weshalb der Text nicht, wie er vorgibt, im sechsten Jahrhundert verfaßt sein soll. Dafür spricht gerade seine Einleitung, die, wie CHRISTENSEN gesehen und mit Recht betont hat, sich aufs engste mit Burzoes Einleitung zu *Kalīla wa Dimna* berührt und daher gut derselben Zeit wie jene angehören mag, eben dem sechsten Jahrhundert.

<sup>1</sup> *La légende du sage Buzurjmīr*. Acta Orientalia, viii, 81—128.

<sup>2</sup> Nous pouvons en effet, d'après ce passage, fixer la date de la rédaction à environ trois cents ans après la période de Khusrau I, c'est-à-dire au milieu du neuvième siècle. CHRISTENSEN, a. a. O. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, 86<sup>a</sup>.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.



## THE KHWAREZMIAN LANGUAGE

Many of those who come to-day to offer their congratulations to Professor Zeki Velidi Togan may be unaware of the great services our learned friend has done to the study of the Iranian languages. It is owing solely to his restless energy and searching mind that we now possess a fairly adequate knowledge of the ancient Khwarezmian language, the mother tongue of al-Beruni and al-Zamakhshari, an Eastern Iranian dialect that continued to be spoken in Khwarezm well into Mongol times.

His first discoveries of Khwarezmian material were embodied in an article (*Islamica* iii, 1927, 190-213) that contained extracts from a Fiqh work studded with Khwarezmian sentences, the *Yatimatu 'd-dahr fi fatāwī ahli 'l-'aṣr*, and, in addition, a few glosses from the Khwarezmian version of Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimatu 'l-adab*. They were overshadowed by his later find of the *Qunyatu 'l-munyah*, another Fiqh work written in Khwarezm, of which countless manuscript copies are extant, some of them of the first quality. As the Khwarezmian words of the *Qunyah*, in the best manuscripts, are not only properly pointed and vocalized but also fully explained, in Arabic or Persian, they offered a secure basis for the study of this hitherto forgotten Iranian language.

Professor Zeki Velidi Togan has now crowned his earlier efforts with the brilliant discovery of a considerable portion of the *Muqaddimatu 'l-adab* in its Khwarezmian version. The manuscript he has discovered extends to some 190 pages: it contains about a third part of the original work (corresponding to pp. 45-132 in Wetzstein's edition). The obvious fact that this manuscript is the original copy written by the author, the great Zamakhshari, himself, nearly consoles us for the lack of any vocalization; but the scarcity of consonant points, which

to the author, writing in his mother tongue, may have seemed an unnecessary adornment, creates endless difficulties for us<sup>1</sup>.

In correct appreciation of the immense value of his discovery, which, providing a vast vocabulary, supplements the information derivable from the *Qunyah* in the happiest way, Professor Zeki Velidi Togan has decided to publish the manuscript in a full-length facsimile edition. Of his edition, which may be generally available by the time this paper is published, he kindly sent me advance proof-sheets. As a token of our appreciation of his great services to Iranian Studies, what could be more appropriate to the occasion than making some use of the rich material he has provided?

When Professor Togan had found the *Qunyah*, he generously invited me to participate in the exploration of the documents. After some weeks of intensive work the basic structure of the language became clear. At the 8th German *Orientalistentag*, held in Bonn in August, 1936, both Professor Togan and myself delivered lectures on the *Qunyah* and the language data contained in it; our lectures, in extract, were printed still in 1936 (*ZDMG.*, vol. 90, pp. + 27 + — + 34 +; here quoted as *Report*). We then announced that we were engaged in preparing a full edition of the material.

Three years later, before we could complete the work, the «discovery» of the very same *Qunyah* was announced by S.L. Volin and A.A. Freyman in two articles (*Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk*, vii, 1939, 79-91, 306-319), of which the former repeats Professor Togan's lecture and the latter reproduces what I had said. These two articles are unhampered by consideration of our clear priority; in Freyman's article the only acknowledgement made is in a sentence of classical brevity at the end: «the study of the Khwarezmian language proceeds also abroad» (p. 319, with reference to *ZDMG.*, 90, but without mention of our names). One gains the impression that in the opinion of these two authors the task of analysing the Khwarezmian language was so easy that its accomplishment deserved no credit; it is true that it is easy *after* it has been accomplished by someone else.

As A.A. Freyman had declared his wish to proceed to the publication

<sup>1</sup> [When this was written, in November 1950, the even greater extent of Professor Togan's discovery could not be fully perceived. The Ms., now happily published in facsimile (*Khorezmian Glossary of the Muqaddimat al-Adab*, edited by Z. V. Togan, Istanbul 1951) contains in fact as much as 511 pages with Khwarezmian glosses. Only the first 190 pages could be used for this article.]

of the Khwarezmian sentences of the *Qunyah*, I for my part abandoned my earlier intention to undertake this task. The interference we had experienced produced in my mind disinclination to engage in work now made distasteful; and there is a sufficiency of untouched material in our field to render double work doubly undesirable.

Ever since 1939 A. A. Freyman has published a series of articles on the various features of the Khwarezmian language, without, however, fulfilling his promise of making the text of the *Qunyah* accessible in a proper edition. Only in his latest paper, contained in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi, 1949, pp. 63-88, has he made a beginning with the systematic publication of the Khwarezmian sentences, although still withholding the Arabic context and, for the greater part, the Arabic and Persian glosses explaining the Khwarezmian words<sup>1</sup>.

After studying Freyman's latest article (here quoted as *SV. vi*) one realizes, not without surprise, that there has been no advance over the inevitably incomplete and in many points faulty statements in my part of the *Report*. It is clear that no proper analysis has ever been attempted. In consequence, not even the principal points of either phonology or morphology have been grasped (apart, of course, from those that had already been dealt with in the *Report*). The explanations given by Freyman unsystematically, sentence by sentence, are marked by poverty of invention, lack of coherence, and irritating repetitiveness. There is an abundance of blunders; a few examples may be given here.

In the sentences concerning divorce the word *panāmi* «my co-wife» occurs more than once (*SV.*, vi, 86). Freyman derives it from *patināma*. Such a word might mean «surname», but scarcely «co-wife»; and even the most casual glance at the Khwarezmian language assures one that it would result in *picnām*. In fact, the *mi* of *panāmi* is pronominal affix «my»; the noun is *pana*, or, more properly, *apana* (spelt 'pn in the *Muqaddimatu' l-adab* [here referred to as *Muq.*]), presumably stressed *apána*; the stress moved forward on to the final syllable when a suffix was added, and the stressed vowel was lengthened, hence *panāmi* from *apaná-mi*. Already in my part of the *Report* I referred to the *Beweglichkeit der Vokale unter Akzentwirkung* (p. 34),

<sup>1</sup> [Meanwhile the publication has been continued in Freyman's *Xorezmiyskiy Yazik*, 1951, which, in addition to reprints of earlier articles, including that in *S.V.*, (here on pp. 51-78), contains further glosses (pp. 78-118) published in the same style. This work was not yet available when the present article was written.]

which is indeed as characteristic of Khwarezmian as it is e. g. of Hebrew and Aramaic; it frequently involves the loss of an initial vowel, when the stress moves forward, cf. e. g. *'wδyr* = *uδir-* «belly» (Avestan *udara-*) beside *δrβnd* = *δrβánd* «girth» or *δrβncyk rwyr* = *δrβánjik ruwira* «astringent medicine» (Av. *urvarā*). While lack of understanding such finer points as the movement of stress and its effect on the word structure may well be excused, one would have thought that the ability of detaching the more obvious suffixes from the whole word should form one of the prerequisites of the study of unknown languages. In the present case matters are made worse by the consideration that the true etymon (Avestan *hapathni* «co-wife»), which in any case should be obvious to anyone acquainted with the history of the Iranian languages, was expressly stated as long as ten years ago (see my *Sogdica*, 1940, p. 17).

The first of the *Probesätze* I gave in the *Report*, p. 34, is reproduced by Freyman, *SV.*, vi, p. 66, but the first words, *hāβarnidi yā δuydāmi* «I have given you my daughter», reappear wrongly as *hāβ(i)rīndi yā δuydami*. In fact, all MSS agree in spelling *h'βrnyd* (not *h'βrynd*), with *nūn* before *yā*. To give the text as *h'βrynd* involves a silent correction of an altogether illicit and misleading kind; no doubt it has been caused by inability to account for the form; for as "I gave" + *hi* "him" is *h'βrn'h*, "I gave" + *di* should appear as *h'βrn'd*. However, the actual form, *h'βrnyd*, illustrates one of the principal rules of Khwarezmian syntax, a rule not understood by me in 1936, after the first brief glance at the Khwarezmian material, and not understood by Freyman in 1949, after many years of study. The rule is this: if a verb precedes its object, the object is expressed a second time by an anticipatory pronoun, which is added either to the verb (if the first word of the sentence) or to a word before the verb<sup>1</sup>. It follows that in the sentence under review the verb, *h'βrnyd*, as it precedes its object, *must* contain a reference to the object, in addition to the pronoun - *di* "to you". Indeed, it is owing to the presence of a second pronoun that the actual form differs from the (wrongly) expected form *h'βrn'd*. The

<sup>1</sup> The use of anticipatory pronouns in such positions is not confined to the direct object. It also occurs with certain prepositional expressions. Thus a noun preceded by *f-* "in, by" is normally anticipated by the pronominal adverb *wā* "in him, therein, thereat" (not understood by Freyman, *SV.*, vi, 76, 78), which, when affixed to a verb, appears as *wa* (e.g. added to the ending of the 3rd pers. sing impf., *-da*, it appears as *dāwa*, spelt *-d'w*). Example: *c'yr'w fy n'n'm* = *cāytāwa fī nānāma* = Arabic *daxala 'alā fulānin* (Muq.), where "he entered" = *cāyta*.

hidden pronoun, of course, is *-hi* "her", and *-nyd* = *nidi* represents *-nahidi*. Such contraction commonly occurs, owing to the feebleness of *h* in Khwarezmian, whenever the pronoun *-hi* is followed by another element. For example, the ending of the 3rd sing. impf. is *-da*, which combined with *-hi* becomes *-dāhi*; but when *hīθ* "with him, to him" or *hīc* "from him" are joined with it, we find *-dīθ* and *-dīc*.

Another error in which Freyman has followed me concerns the prepositions. In dealing with the words *fy cw̄b* "in the water" (*Report* p. 34) I wrongly explained *fī* as a preposition "in". In fact, two words have coalesced in *fī*: the preposition *f<sup>a</sup>* or *f<sup>i</sup>* "in to, at, on, etc." (presumably derived from Old Iranian *abi*) and the masculine (and plur. comm.) article *i*. Hence, *fī* = "in the". Correspondingly, in combination with the feminine article, *yā*, we have *fā*. Freyman, of course, has not understood why this preposition should seemingly appear sometimes as *fī*, sometimes as *fā* (see *SV.*, vi, 76, 84). The two forms of the article are equally combined with the other prepositions; thus we have *cī* and *cā* from *c<sup>a</sup>* "with, from" (Av. *hača*), *pacī* and *pacā* from *pac* "after" (Av. *pasča*), *parī* and *parā* from *par* "over" (Av. *upairī*), and so on. This has not been clear to Freyman (see e.g. p. 86 on *parā*). The fact that the feminine article is a mere *-ā* when attached to prepositions may, at first glance, make one doubtful of the derivation of the article from the old relative stem *ya-*, which was proposed in my portion of the *Report* (p. 34) and has since been advocated by Professor Bailey (*Asica*, 15 sqq.; Transactions of the Philological Society, 1945). Yet the volatility of initial *y-* in Khwarezmian entitles us to the assumption that the difference between *yā* and *ā* was so insignificant that the former could be replaced by the latter. Indeed, one finds *'wyc'nyk* (unpointed) = *āwēcānəkīk* "eternal" resulting from *yāwaitān-*, or *'yw'nk* "young" (from *yuvan-*) beside *'y yw'nyk* "the young". An allusion to the reverse phenomenon, the addition of *y-* to initial *ā-*, was made already in my *Report* (p. 32); it is applied irregularly, cf. *'dyr* = *ādīr* "fire", *'styr-* = *āstīr* "lining" (Pers. *āstar*), *'y* (with *tašdid*) = *āy-* "life" from Old Iranian *āyu-*, against *y'k* = *yāk* - "egg" (with article *'y y'k*), and the like; it must not be confused with the occasional coalescence of the article with a word that begins with a vowel or with *y-*, as in the case of *y'mnk* "the summer" (from *ī* + *'mnk* from *hāmina-*) or *y'sm* "the sky" (from *ī* + (*y*) *āsm-*; why Freyman, *SV.*, vi, p. 66, attributes the feminine gender to this word escapes me). Clear support of the derivation of the Khwarezmian article from the old relative pronoun is afforded by the repetition of

the article before an apposition (an adjective or a genitive) that follows a determined noun. Examples: adjective + noun, undetermined *znc j'nwrn* «insects, lit. small animals», determined *y' wδžy'k-mync 'wc* «the place of strangulation» (*wadažyāk* verbal noun, from *awa-darzaya-*); noun + adjective, undetermined *r'c wdncy* «old veins» (pl. of *r'k* = Sogd. *r'k*; *wdnyk*, fem. *wdnc* «old», pl. fem. *wadanciya*, cf. Sogd. *wičnyy* etc.), determined *'y st'rc 'y nħsy* «the unlucky stars» (pl. of *st'ryk*; *naħsiya* from Arabic *naħs*), *'y mrc 'y xw'rz m* «the Khwarezmian». Determined genitives, preceding *y' jfty pcy's* «the wife's (*juftiya*) clothes», cf. *'š δnc k* name of a parasite plant, clearly «camel's tooth» (viz. *ušši δancik*; OIr. *uštra* and *dant-*); chiefly following, *'y cyy 'y xr'x'n* «the blade of the sword» (*taiya-*; *xr'x'n* gen. of *xr'x*, masc., cf. Sogd. *xyr* etc.); *'y nwk y' nyzc* «the tip of the lance» (*nyzc* gen. of *nyzk*, fem.), *'y y'k 'y zmwrk'n* «the ant's egg» (gen. masc. of *zmwryk*, cf. Sogd. *zm'wr'k* P 2, 390, *zm'wrč* SCE. 366), *'y hwny y' n'cy* «the blood of the nose» (*hūni*, Av. *vohuni-*; *nāciya* gen. fem. of *nāca*), *'y 'nwβ y' qlmy 'wd 'y δβr'n* «the creaking of the qalam and of the door» (*qal(a)miya* gen. fem., *δβarān* gen. masc. of *δβar-*), *y' δ'rk y' γwc 'wd y'psy* «the udder of cow and ewe» (*δārik* from *ūdar-?* *γōca* gen. of *γōk* «cow», Oss. *γog*; OIr. *pasu-* here capable of being either masculine, gen. *'ps'n* = *apsān*, or feminine, gen. *'psy* = *apsiya*). In these genitive constructions the gender of the first article always conforms to the gender of the first word; but the gender of the second article conforms to the gender of the second word only if the first word is masculine: is the first word a feminine, both articles are feminine. This circumstance is not necessarily due to attraction; for if the article is indeed derived from the relative pronoun, the gender of the second article should agree with that of the first word. For example, *wāc* «thing, matter» (Av. *vāč-*) is a masculine noun in Khwarezmian, and as such has the gen. sing. *wācān*; one finds both *'y hqyqt 'y w'c'n* «the truth of the matter» (the Arabic fem. being treated as a masc. in Khw.) and *y' pc y' w'c'n* «the end of the matter» (*paca* «end» is fem. throughout); cf. also *y'yt 'y w'c'n* «the beginning of the matter», where *y'yt* = *i* + *āyat-* «beginning» (from *āyašt-*). The repetition of the article has a parallel in the repetition of prepositions in equivalent situations. Thus we have without article *f'γdk'wk fn'n'm'n* «in the presence of so-and-so», *f-* preposition, *āyadkāuk* «presence» (abstr. of *āyadik* «one who has come»), *f-* preposition, *nānāmān* gen. masc. of *nānām-* = *fulān*. With the article, *fy zβ'k fy trk'wyk* «in Turkish», literally «in the language in the Turkish»; *cy b'δys cy 'llh'n* «from the command of God» (from

the command from the of-God). No repetition occurs with an antecedent apposition, *fy n'n'm w'c* «in such-and-such a matter», *fy nβ'γ'n δrwk'nyk* «in the illness of death» (*nβ'γ*, masc., «death»; *δrwk*- «sick» from *adruga-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, ii, 224).

As I have mentioned the *Probesätze* in the *Report* (p. 34), I will not let the opportunity pass without correcting a few further points. In the second sentence, *ciyy-* «to enter» does not belong to OIr. *čyaw-*, but derives from *ati* + *i-*; its imperfect stem is *cāy-* (*atiyāi-*), its participle is *cydyk* (*atigata-*); cf. Parthian *'dyh-*: *'dgd*, Sogdian *tys-*: *tyt-*. In the third sentence, the first word should be written *kimi*, *-mī* here being contracted from *-mi-hi*; and the name of the small coin is not *'yš* but *'pš* = *ipši*, developed from *piši-* with the prothetic vowel common in Kwarezmian; this *ipši* belongs to Persian *piši* (beside *pišiz* etc.), which originally means «scale» but is used of small coins (= Arabic *fals*; on the history of the meaning see G. Hoffmann *apud* J. Flemming, *Akt. Ephes. Syn.*, Abh. G. G. W. 1917, p. 174a).

It should not be thought that the errors found in Freyman's latest article are confined to the cases mentioned above; these are merely representative cases, showing the absence of progress beyond the stage reached in our *Report*. It would be tedious to fill many pages with the list of his blunders, but we will mention a few. P. 64, the first word, *aciwa* is not *a* + interrog. pronoun, but *'cy* interrog. pron. + *wa* «therein» (= *wā* with preceding stress). P. 65, *mis* «also» compared to Sogd. *m'yδ* «so», without regard to phonology; in fact = Sogd. *ms* «also»; still stranger remarks on *mis* on p. 80. P. 64, a peculiar derivation of the ending of 2nd sing. subj. from the 3rd sing. opt. of «to be». P. 67, *pār wuzda* «he became» derived from *par* + *vart-*; but the present stem is *parwuz-* (e.g. *ibid.* p. 68 where wrongly with *ž*), hence *pari* + *waz-*. P. 68, *nānām-* is declared to be a pronoun; in fact, a *bahuvrihi* compound of *nā(n)* «that» and *nām-* «name». P. 69, *hyd* and *n'd* completely misunderstood; in fact, *hy* + *da* and *n'* + *da*, *hy* and *n'* being the enclitic pronouns of the 3rd person, *hy* singular and *n'* plural. P. 71 *hwβyr* and *hwβ'r*, from *hwβ-* «to fall», wrongly divided into *hw* (which does not exist) and forms of «to be». P. 71, *kicyāmihi* «I throw it away» absurdly referred to *kaft-* «fall», with the usual confusion of present stem and past participle and the accustomed disregard of phonology; in fact, *kcy-*, impf. *k'cy-*, is from *kartaya-* cf. Wakhi *kart-* «to throw». P. 72 *muxxāsi* is said to be from *xwah-*, but on the next page we are told that *muxxās-* comes from *vi* + *hrz-*; the latter statement stands on the same page as the assertion that *ixxi-*

is the result of *grz-*: truly an extraordinary language; we note that in fact *rz-* always becomes *ž* in Khwarezmian, and that (*i*)*xxiy-* belongs to Avestan *xšī-* (with *-x-* or *-xx-* from *-xš-*, see *Report* 32; *mxy-*, not *mcy-*, as in *Sogdica* 37, is the correct reading). P. 74 *y-atti* «lip» wrongly compared with Sogd. *yāt-* «meat»; in fact, from Av. *aošta-* «lip» with *-t/-tt-* from *-št-* as commonly. P. 75 *xurnāna* explained as *xurin* + *nāna*, while in fact it is *xurina* «I ate» + *nā*, encl. pron. 3rd pers. pl. (see above my remark on p. 69); *xurinā-nā* results in *xurnāna* quite regularly; the pronoun is extremely common, especially in combination with the 3rd sing. impf. *-da*, when *-dā-nā* produces *-dāna*. P. 75 *ws-* «to say», from Av. *vaša-*, is wrongly referred to Sogd. *wys-*, which in fact would have *-xs-* in Khw. (cf. e.g. *\*mxs-* «to learn»). P. 76 *nāz dī* «I (am) a woman» has been «corrected» into *nāz wudē* (in itself an impossible form, «wife» being *wud*); but *dī*<sup>1</sup>, also *δyn* = *δin*, «woman» (not «wife»), which belongs to Av. *daēnu-*, is the correct word. Even stranger is the importation of the word for «wife» into *\*cydywθ* (in our MSS. *\*cydwθ*, vocalized *acidūθ*), p. 77, which means «what (*\*cy*) to you (*-dī*) there (*-wθ*)», (*\*wθ* «there» = OIr. *awada*, Sogd. *\*wδ*). P. 77 *jfty* «of the wife» is wrongly transcribed *jiftē*; in fact, the oblique case of feminine stems (excluding those ending in *-k*) has the ending *-iya* (from OIr. *ayāh* etc.); it is vocalized *-iya* throughout; when a suffix is added, the ending is spelled *-y'*, for example *y' wē* «the place», *c' wcy* «from the place», but *c' wcy'h* «from his place». P. 77 *pw'rcymn* completely misunderstood; in fact two words, *buwāracci* from *buwāradi* from *buwārād-ci*, pl. of *buwārādik* «separated» (cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 310), and *ymn* «we are». P. 78 *mānbā*, explained as «to me», means in fact «as soon as». *Ibid.*, *yd* «they are» is either a bad misreading or a «silent correction». The correct form is *yl*, mostly vocalized *yalli* (it occurs often enough). It may be difficult to account for it; but such consideration does not entitle one to suppress the true form and replace it by a purely speculative word. The pres. indic. of «to be» is spelled (without vowels) sing. *ym*, *y'h*, *yt*, plur. *ymn*, *yf*, *yl*; forms with vowels are rare and uncertain, sing. 1st *yimmi*, 2nd *yāhi*, 3rd *yatti*, *yitti* (probably *yetti*); pl. 1st *yimmini*, *yimminni*, *yuminni*, 2nd not found, 3rd *yalli*, *yalla*, *yilli* (probably *yelle*). P. 80 *šhydk* «damaging action, obstruction» is queerly referred to Arabic *šāhid* «witness». Since *šā-* normally represents OIr. *frā-*, we should pose *frāhiti-* or a similar form (from *hāy-*); cf. Gathic *āhōiθōi*. P. 81 *fynd*

<sup>1</sup> With nasalized *i*.



(*βynd*) «husband» (whence *fyndk* «master, God») is derived by Freyman from *band-*; in my view it belongs to *fšuyant-*, Saka *kšundaa-*, Pers. *šūy*, etc., with *f-* from *fš-* (cf. *x-* from *xš-*). P. 81, *mā*, *-fā*, the enclitic pronouns, are here and elsewhere referred to OIr. *mām* and *θwām*, while in fact they belong to the enclitic OIr. *-mā* and *-θwā* (see *Report* 32). P. 82 *zywk* = *zīwak* “anyone” someone<sup>1</sup> appears in the transcription as *ēv ka-*, distributed over two words and deprived of its initial consonant; and *hβy*, the personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. plural, is said to be a “prefix” (it forms a pair with *mβy* “we” = *maβyi*, genitive *mβy'n* = *maβyān*; hence = *haβyi*). P. 82-3, *θbrkk* has been arbitrarily changed into *tbrkk*; in fact, it is glossed *δū barakat*<sup>m</sup> and therefore is an adjective, while *tabarruk* (which in Khw. is spelled *tbrwk*) is a substantive. Adjectives indicating possession are ordinarily formed with prefixed *θa-* in Khwarezmian; they are very numerous and have their prototype in the Avestan compounds of the type of *haḍa-hunara*, *haḍa-barəsmān-* etc. Hence, *θabarakak* (vulgarism for the expected *θa-barakat*).

Before we leave this appreciation of the value of the contribution Freyman has made to the study of Khwarezmian, a few words must be said on a major error he has disseminated, namely on his assertion that Khwarezmian shared the Sogdiano-Osetic plural ending *-t* (*Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 314, and elsewhere). The presence or absence of this ending is of some importance for the classification of the Iranian languages; it figures prominently among the material Professor H. W. Bailey collected for the demonstration of close relations between Khotanese, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Ossetic (*Asica*, 24 sqq.). However, Freyman's assertion is misleading; no such ending, in fact, existed in Khwarezmian. It is true that plurals frequently end in *-c*; but this *-c* derives not from *-t* but from *-k*. One only has to look at a list of the plural forms found in Khwarezmian to discover that the plural in *-c* is restricted to words that in the singular end in *-k*, and, contrariwise, that all words in *-k* form their plural by changing *-k* into *-c*. For example *z'dyk* “son”, pl. *z'dyc*; *'stryk* “drachm” pl. *'stryc* (\**ester-* from *satēr-* = *statēr-*); *p'cm'nyk* “a weight (= *mann*)”, pl. *p'cm'nc* (Pers. *paimāne* etc.); *'ywck* “single”, pl. *'ywyc*; *snk* “stone”, pl. *snc*; *šwk* “nail”, = *šuwik*, pl. *šwyc* (from *sruva-*, cf. also *šw* “horn”, and, for *š* from *sr*, *'šwc* “tears”, *xš* “mother-in-law”<sup>2</sup>; *xd'k* “self, same; he”,

<sup>1</sup> From “living, existing”.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptional change in *p'cfrwmyd'h* “he exorcised it”, denominative verb from Sogd. *ptsrwm*, where *-cfr-* from *-csr-*.

pl. *xđ'c* (Av. *x'atō*); *r'k* "vein", pl. *r'c*; and so on. That the ending was *-ci*, not a mere *-c*, is shown by the spelling when a suffix is added, e.g. *z'nwk* "knee", pl. with suffix *'y z'nwcyh* "his knees"; hence, sing. *zānūk*, pl. *zānūci*, with suffix *zānūcihi*. Cf. also the passage printed by Volin, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 91 where *xw'jcyh* and *r'yycyeh*, the plurals of *xw'j(y)k* and *r'ycyk*, face *mšryfn'h* and *n'ybn'h*, the plurals of *mšryf* and *n'yb*. The two latter forms indicate the normal plural of nouns other than those ending in *-k*; it is in *-ina* (in final position *-ina*, before a suffix *-(i)nā-*). Certain such words, however, possessed a plural<sup>1</sup> that remained unmarked in unvocalized text, e.g. *'my* = "bird" and "birds"; the rare suffixed forms show that in these cases we have to presume the presence of a final vowel, namely *-i*, cf. *'y pnyh* (nom.) "its feathers" (*parna-*, with regular *-n-* from *rn-*, cf. *w'nync* "sheep-wool", Av. *carānā*, *cn-'ngbyn* = Pers. *tar(r)- angubin*, *znwk* "crane", Pashto *zāṇa*, *h'ny-* "shake", Sogd. *'rn-*, *-knynk* "making", etc.); they differ from the corresponding singulars (nominative), which are spelled masc. *z'dkh* "his son", *δwmh* "its tail", *nšh* "his lancet" (note *ywh* "its colour" = *yūhi* with nasalized *-ū-*, from *ywn*), fem. *n'c'h* "his nose", *δyđ'h* "his daughter", *kfwk'h* "its foam", *y' n'xk'h* "its claws".

Evidently nouns in *-k*, as the words mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph, formed their plurals by adding *-i* to the singular stem, and *-ki* became *-ci* (by *-čī*). Similarly, the feminine nouns that in the nom. sing. end in *-k(a)*, have the genitive and ablative ending *-c(a)*, while other feminine nouns have *-iya* in the genitive and ablative; clearly, this *-ca* is the outcome of an earlier *-kiya* (by *-kya* and *-ča*). Several fem. genitives have been mentioned in this paper, such as *ywc* from *ywk* «cow», *nyzc* from *nyzk*, *nyzyk* «lance»; cf. further *y' đnc* from *đnk*, *đnyk* «bow» (with *tašdid* over *-n-*; prob. from *druna-* by *drn-*); *y' β'rcyc* from *β'reyk* «riding animal»; *y' zycwk* «life»; and contrast *y' dwyty* from *dwyt* «ink-pot», *y' 'šy* (*uššiya*) «of the she-camel», *y' 'kty* «of the bitch», *y' xry* «of the she-ass», *y' 'wōry* «of the belly», etc. (an exception to the rule is *y' pšky* from *pšk* «back»). There are not many ablatives; a good example is *c' rknbwrc* «from the she-hyena» (*rknbwryk* «hyena», masc.<sup>2</sup> or fem. acc. to natural gender), in contrast with *c' βwmy* «from the land» (*βūmiya*, nom. *βwm*), *c-xby* «at night»

<sup>1</sup> A form of this type may have been in Freyman's mind when he attributed a third plural ending *-ē* to Khwarezmian (and moreover to Sogdian). No such ending exists in Khwarezmian (nor in Sogdian).

<sup>2</sup> The masc. abl. ends in *-a*, e.g. (with suffix) *cy s'rwđ'h* «from his head».

(*xšap-*), and the above-mentioned *c' wcy*, *c' wcy'h* «from the/his place».

As regards the position of Khwarezmian within the circle of the Iranian languages, the closeness of its relation to Sogdian on the one hand and Ossetic on the other has perhaps been overstressed; some of the most striking resemblances to Sogdian may be due to loans. Some of the sound changes that so far have been neglected may be mentioned here, especially those that show the connection of Khwarezmian with the languages adjoining it towards the south and south-east.

Not only *wi-* becomes *ū-* (cf. also *'wsyc* «twenty», *'wš'd* «wide»), but also *wr-*, e.g. *'wr(y)k* «wolf» (fem. *'wrk'n*), *'wšyk* «hunger», *'wšynd* «hungry», *'wšnycyk* «male», *'wžnyk* «neighbour» (Av. *varazēnya-*). *-h-* is mostly lost (e.g. *s'k* «hare», *n'c* «nose»), but sometimes maintained (*w'h* «price», *pxw'h-nyc* ptcple. from *pxy-* «cut», Sogd. *pxw'y-*; *hwny* «blood»), sometimes added (*t'h* «thief» from *tāyu-*, *hrs* «bear», *h'kš* «mountain goat», Wakhi *yukš*). *-y-* is lost after *-s-* and *-d-* (*s'w* «black», *ksb* «tortoise», *mδ'n* «middle»). Initial *xw-* becomes *ux-* or *ax-*, but sometimes *x-*, cf. *'x* «sister» = *uxa* (from *xwahā*), *'xyδ* «sweat», *mxyd* «he beat» (Oss. *xvayun*), but *xyr* «sun» beside *'xr*, *xsr* «father-in-law»; *xwā-* remains or is *axwā-*, e.g. *'xw'dk* «weak» (Sogd. *xw't*), beside which we find *mx'st* = *mux(x)ās-t* «grew tired» (Sogd. *xw's-*, Parth. *wx's-*). While *-θw-* appears as *-f-*,<sup>1</sup> *cf'r* «four», *cf'rys-* «forty», as in Parthian, *-dw-* becomes *-δβ-* as in Sogdian, e.g. *δβcy*, *δβcym* «second», *δβzk* «thick», *δβr* «door», *'rδβk* «erect» (Av. *arəδwa-*), *δβ'ny-* «winnow» (see *IIFL.*, ii, 222), *b'δβzyd'h* «he unfolded, spread out», intrans. impf. *b'δβxsyd*, participle *b'δβcyk* (cf. Sogd. *wyδβys-* etc.). Similarly, *zw* is *-zβ-* in *zβ'k* [so, not *žβ'k*] «tongue». Irregular *β* for *-w-* perhaps in *βnc* (?) «rice», *βnyk* «mark, characteristic» (*warna-*?), and *bz'β'r* «lean», cf. Pers. *nizār* (if indeed from *nizāwar*).

While old *ž/j* has become *-z-* throughout (*yyz* «snake» from *aži-*, *zyw-* «live», *zywy-* «revive», *z'my-* «bring»), both *rz* and *rž* appear as *ž*, cf. *kž* «difficult» (Sogd. *krj*), *wž* «thread» (Yidgha *wirž* etc.), *'žnd* «worthy» (Chr. Sogd. *'yžnd-*), *šž* «wild beast» (Pers. *šarže*), *'ndž* «(knee-) fetters» (Av. *handarəza*), *xž*, *xžk* «good, sound» (Oss. *xorz*), perhaps *'žδ'nk* «sheath (of a stallion)» if from Av. *arəzi-* + *dāna-*. Correspondingly, *š* often becomes *-s-* (see below), and both *rs* and *rš* turn into *š*, cf. *βš* and *'βš* «mane», *kšyk* «strap», *mwšyd* «he was

<sup>1</sup> Initially perhaps as *θf-* in *mθfncd'h* «he collected it» (Pers. *alfanj-*), see *BSOS.*, x, 105; *Sogdica*, 17, 32.

hungry», *γšyk* «glad», *γ'syd* «he was glad» (Sogd. *wyš-* etc.), *w's'myk* «a wrapper or veil for the head» (Arabic *ximār*) = Pers. *bāšāme*, Arm. *varšamak*. Further, *δš* «goat-hair» (Wakhi *δirs*, Yidgha *lirs*) and, with *šp* for original *-rsw-*, *pšp-* and *pšpyk* «side, rib» (Av. *pərəsu-*).

Most other *-r-* groups offer little of interest; *sr* and *rn* (becoming *š* and *n* respectively) were mentioned before. *-dr-* remains (*δrwk* «sick», *δryd'h* «he reaped it»), and so do *-gr-* (*γryw* «self», *çyr* «sharp» from *tigra-*, *γr'cy* «awake», *γr'm* «weight» cf. Oss. *ärjom*, *çyr* «Falco sacer» = Pers. *čary*, *čarx*, Arab. *šaqr*), *-rg-* (*mryy'* «wild (animal)» from Av. *marəyā* with adj. suff. *-yān* or *-yā* with nasalized *-ā*; *sry* «lion»; *δryyc* «long»), and *-br-* (*βr'd* «brother»), many forms from *braig* «fry», e.g. *βryy* «kabab», *mβryzd'h* «he fried it», *βryck* «fried»). Difficult groups are *θr* and *fr*. The former becomes *-r* in postvocalic position, *pur* «son», *purandir* «son-in-law», *cwrδys* «fourteen», and so also in the often divergent Khwarezmian dialect of al-Beruni, e.g. *'rw* from *āθrō*, *'xšrywry* from *xšaθrahe vairyehe*, *'ryyn* from *vəθəθraynahe*, etc. In initial position we have *š-*, as in Sogdian, *šy* «three», *šys* «thirty», *š'sy-* «strew» (Sogd. *dr''š-* beside *š's-*), but once *hr-*, in *hrδys* «thirteen» (cf. Parthian *hry*), once *arc-*, in *'rcy'dyk* «third part» (with Av. *yāta-*) beside *'rcy'my* (reading doubtful) «third part» (the ordinal number is *šym*), and once *θ-* in *θyd* (as pointed out by Freyman); the latter form is due rather to loss of *-r-* in a cluster of consonants (from *θrxta-* instead of *θraxta-*) than to any regular change from *θr-* to *θ-*<sup>1</sup>. Similarly divergent treatment, due no doubt to the influence of a number of dialects, occurs in the case of *fr-*. It may remain (*wfrk* «snow», *zfrk* «deep», *mfrydyθ* «he sent to him») or become *f-* (*fyk* «oar»), and sometimes appears both as *fr-* and *f-* in one and the same stem. E.g. *fratarā-* is *'fyr* «before» and *frdr* «better», *fratama-* is *frdm*, *frdym* «chief, best» and *fimyck* «first» (*-t-* remaining after reduction<sup>2</sup>), *fri-* gives *b'fnd* «he created», *b'fnd'h* «he created it», beside *y' bfyrc* «the creature(s)» (unpointed and doubtful except for *-fr-*), *friya-* supplies *fy'ny* (unpointed) «love affair(s)», *θfy'n* «friend» (*θa-* + *fy'n-*), *fyγwnyk* «friendly» (parth. *fryhgwn*), *fyγwny'd* «kindness, friendliness»<sup>3</sup>). However, the normal development of the preposition *fra-* is *ša-* (cf. Balochi and Ormuri); I have noted more than a dozen examples, among them *šmcd'h* «he took it off (clothes)» (*frā-* + *muč*); *šmšyd-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *δnyk* «bow» from *druna-*.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly *'spnk* and *'wspyk*.

<sup>3</sup> Correctly *βry'k* «honoured, dear», not from *friya-*.

«he rubbed» (Bal. *mušag* etc.), *š'k'ry-* «to paint» (cf. Pers. *nigār*); *š'w'c* «voice» (cf. Av. *fravāka-*), *š'nsyd* «he went astray», *šntyk* «astray», caus. impf. *š'n'syd* (*franas-*, *franašta-*), *š'wžd* «he jumped», caus. impf. *š'w'žy-* «throw» (*fra-waz-*) *šbw'k* «pure» (*fra-pawāka-*?), cf. also *š'δ* «nine» if from *frād-* «increase» (the only aberrant numeral of Khwar.; «90» is *nwyc*, «19» *nw'δys*). In addition, there are a few cases where one suspects that *fr-* has become *r-*, e.g. *rxnd* «insult» *rxyz-* (?) «arise, occur», cf. *'rs'wyk* «pumice» (*fra-sāw-*?) and *p'cr'wyd'h* «he recalled it» (Sogd. *ptβr'w-*); that this change existed in a Khw. dialect is assured by Beruni's *rwen* (*rawacina*) = Av. *fravašinam*. — *xr* remains in the middle of a word, *txryk* «bitter», *cxyr* «wheel», but loses *-r-* at the beginning of roots, *xn-* «buy», *sxn-* «ransom» (Sogd. *syr'yn-*), *p'cx'wd-* «he scratched» (BSOS., X, 509); doubtful is the occurrence of *-rx* in *p'rxwθd* «he became lost, giddy, dazzled», possibly from *apa* + Av. *xraoda-* (cf. the metathesis of *gr* in Beruni's *'wnry*).

As confusing as the treatment of *θr* and *fr* is that of postvocalic *-š*. It remains in a few words, perhaps throughout loanwords, *pwš* «cat», *pwps'yk* «hoopoe» (Pers. *pūpaš*), *'š'wk* «target» (cf. Arm. *nšavak*?), but normally becomes *-s*, e.g. *'ws* «attention» *θws* «intelligent» (*θa-* + *'ws*), *'nyws-* «listen», *δws-* «to milk», etc.; cf. also *sry* «lion» for initial *š-* (of doubtful origin). Besides, we have *h*-sounds, namely *x* in *γwx* «ear» and *h* in *'mh* «ewe», obviously from Av. *maēši* (cf. also *mhyнк* «ram», formed as *'βzynk* «he-goat» from *'βz* «goat», Pers. *buz*), and in *sp'h* «louse»; in *nhst-* «sitting» (cf. *nyθ-* «to become»), *-h-* is probably original. And in addition, there are, surprisingly, clear cases of *-f-* as the result of *-š-*, namely *mwf* «mouse» and *frwf* (or *βrwf*) «flea»; this change occurred also in the dialect spoken by al-Beruni, who has *'srwf* for *sraošahe* (with *sr* maintained in contrast with the other forms of Khw.) and *wwfyk* «Virgo» from (*h*)*aušaka-* «ear of corn» [*f* from *š* only after labial vowels].

A few groups with sibilants: *sn* (*wsn* «because of»), *zn* (*βžnyk*<sup>1</sup> «cushion»), *zg* (*mzy* «brain», *zyyk* «horn» from *azga-*, *zyryk* «coat-of-mail» Oss. *zγar*, Psht. *zγara*), *zd* (*'zd'k*, unpointed, «clever», from *azdā?* *γzdk* «rich» Oss. *qāzdig*, on which differently Bailey, Asica 15), *zm* (*zm* «fuel»), *sm* (*y'sm* and *y'sym* «the sky»), *ms* (*δms-* «be tamed»), *šm* (*cm* «eye», *δmn* «enemy», *δmn'wy'd* «enmity») *xšm* (*y'xmyk* «the moon» from *uxšm-*?), *xšn* (*pxnwr'wc* «ungratefulness» from *apa-xšnauθra-*), *xš* (normally *x*, *w'xd* «he grew») *xwfcyk* «sweet» from

<sup>1</sup> *žn* from *rzn*.

*xwfc* «milk», *'xh'cyk*<sup>1</sup> «kingdom», etc., but *xšwθy-*, unpointed, «to wash» from *xšaudaya-*), *fš* (mostly *f*, *fynd* «husband», *cfk*, *cfyc* «sour, vinegar» from *trfš-*, *fi'n* «breast» *'rδf-fi'n* or *'rδf-fn'n* corresp. to Av. *arδva-fšni*, but *bsprm'c* «shamelessness» with *sp* from *šp* from *fš*; *mδšyd'h* or *mδβ-* «he envied him» from Av. *dvařša-*? both with *-š-*, perhaps *s'fs'nyd'h* or *š'fš-* «he smoothed it with a file» from *fra-fšānaya-*?), *fs* (*xfst* «he was eclipsed» from *grfša-*), *sč* (*pc* «after», *pcs'r* «backwards», *pcrmk* «arms (tied) on back» cf. Sogd. *'pš'rm'y*), *šxw* (*'nx'r* = Pers. *nišxvār*), *ršt* (*'šc* «lance», but *pšk* «back» from *pršt-*), *str* and *štr* (both *-š-* or *-šš-*, e.g. *wš* «grass, pasture», *βš* «dam, dyke» from *bastra-*, *γš* «tooth», *'š-* «camel», cf. *'šmy* «ostrich»; also = *-š-* in *'šcyk* «female» from Sogd. *'stryc* + *-k*). *St* either remains, *'stnb* «last», *b'stwd* «he denied», *'styk* «bone», *mstkyk* «fresh butter» (from *manθ-*; Pers. *masge* from *mastke*), etc., or appears shortened to *-s-*, as in *fs'd* «master», *'swr*<sup>2</sup> «large animal» (but once, disconcertingly, *'scwr*<sup>3</sup>, as pl.), *w'syd* «he placed» from *awāstayata* (beside *wst'dyk* from *awastātaka-*), cf. also *sxyr* «osprey» (from *asti-xwara-*); possibly *-c-*, by *-sc-*? in *pck* «egg-shell», if from *pustaka-* (but *pwst* also exists, as «fur», perhaps loan-word). *Št* similarly either remains, *'št*, *'št-δys*, *'št'c*, *'štzd* «8, 18, 80, 800», *'štyc* «brick», *'šyw*, pause form of *'šw* from *sravah-*, probably also in *δstw* «poor», *δstw'wyk* «poverty» (Sogd. *δštwn*), if, as is likely, *-st-* is due merely to the common habit of incomplete pointing; or becomes *-t-*, *'yt* «beginning», *šntyk* «astray», *mtyk* «broken», *mt-zyyk* «with broken horns» (*m'z-d* «he broke», Parth. *'mšt*, Psht. *māt*, Ormuri *maz- mašt-*), *rtk* and *rtynk* «true» (beside *ršt* and *ršt'wnd*), perhaps *y't* «the lip» and *wtr* «twirl» (*wařtar-*?), cf. perhaps also *yt* «is» from *ařti* by *ařti*? The resulting *-t-* has further developed into *-c-* in *mck*, *'mck* «fist(ful)» from *muřti-* (cf. the word for «egg-shell» above).

A remarkable feature of Khwarezmian, which it shares with Younger Avestan, is the occasional appearance of *-θ-* in the place of *-δ-*, as in *θ-* «with» (*-hīθ* «with him», *θxr* «sunny», *θwž* «threaded (needle)», *θ'wf'y* «faithful»), *mθx* «locust», *nyθ-* «become», (*y'*) *pθk* «house» (probably from *pada-*), *k'lbyθ* «form»; presumably in *nmθk* «salt» (see *Sogdica* 8, *BSOAS.*, xii, 55). It is true, though, that devoicing occurs sometimes in Khw. (e.g. in *črs* «bustard» = Pers. *čarz*).

<sup>1</sup> *'xh-* "to rule".

<sup>2</sup> Mistake for normal *'stwr*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably merely badly formed *'stwr*.

Ordinarily, Khw. -θ- represents OIr. -θ- (e.g. *γwθ* «excrements»); it may render foreign *t + h* (*mθ'ryk* = Arabic *maṭharah*); and in one case Khw. -s- responds to OIr. -θy- (perhaps by -š-, cf. OPers. -šiy- MPers. -š), namely in *xbsk* = *xubisk* «own» (MPers. *xwybš*), supported by *xbsk'wnd* «master» (cf. Sogd. *xypδ'wnd*).

A brief list of some interest may conclude this survey, which, it is hoped, will afford some guidance to those who may wish to study the Khwarezmian material contained in the *Muqaddimatu -l- Adab*. «Paradise» is *γrdm'n*, «hell» *tm-* (as in Sogd.), *'sbnδ'rmδ* «earth», *βyk*, *'βyyk* «doll» (from «god»; cf. Pers. *fiy*), *'rd* «feast» (Av. *ratu-*; Beruni has *ryd*). *K's* «pig» (Sogd.), *p'θ* «arrow» (Asica 11), *pd'ryk* «slate» (Sogd. *pyd'r*, S. T., i), *mand-* negative prefix as in Sogd. (*mndm'nynd* «dissimilar», *mndcyr* «blunt», *mnd'ktrm'n*<sup>1</sup> «disobedient»); *rwbs* «fox», *'bwd* 1) «silk», 2) «woof» (Sogdica 19), *p'rd-* «sell», *tšyckykyk* «axe» (Sogd. *tšycq*), *wryyk* «saw» with *wryyd'h* «he sawed it» (Sogd. *čnn wyr'kh* «with a saw» P 21, iii, 3; *čn wyr'*, S. T., ii)<sup>2</sup>; *w'rynyk* «royal falcon» (Av. and Sogd.), *mrk* «monkey» (Sogd. *mkr'*), *δrmcyk* «scorpion» (from *drmad-* cf. Sogd. *nyrdβ'k* from *drdab-* and, from *drdam-*, Pasthto *laṛam*, Pers. *dilamak*), *γrdk* «neck» (Sogd. *γrd'kh*). *byrβk* «cloud» (Sogd. *pr'yβ'k*), *'ks* «lean» (Sogd.). *Knbynk* «linen» (Sogd. *kynp'*, cf. *BSOAS*. xi 724), *wyn* «eye-sight», *γwr* «wild ass» (also Sogd., Pers. *gōr*). *K'm* «mouth» (Oss. *kom*), *'m'ny-* «guide, show» with intrans. *m'm'nsyd* «he was guided» (Oss. *amonin*), *n'rk* «narrow» (Oss. *nareg*, Psht. *narai*), *'lx* «top of the spindle» (Oss. *älxui*; excludes etym. Asica 36), *pdyk* «large axe» (from *p(a)rt-*, cf. Asica 13), *rsy* «barley» (Saka *rrusā-* etc.). *Spdyr* «mule» (Pers. *astar*, but Sogd. *γrtr-*), *mr'w* «date» (Parth. *'mr'w*), *γwndyk* «sin» (Parth. *gwyndg*), *β'r* «cup», *'βyw-*, trans. *'βy'w-* «increase», *'βywnk* «additional» (Parth. *'bgw-*, *'bg'w-*), *nbyk* «Qur'an» (Pers. *nubī*, MPers. *nbyg*, etc.), *nx'w'z* «a he-goat that leads a flock» (*naxāw-* from *naxu-*, and *waz-*<sup>4</sup>? Cf. Arm. *noxaz*, Pers. *nuhāz*). *Krbwn* «lizard» (Av. *kahrpuna-*), *nkδyk* = Arabic *Ibn 'irs* «weasel, ichneumon» (Skt. *nakula*, hence Indo-Iranian *nakuḍa*; not loan-word), *'zyd* or *'žyd* «silver» (*rzata*),

<sup>1</sup> *'ktrm'n* shortened from *\*'kt-frm'n*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further Khotanese *bir-* as in E 6, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Probably to be read *rysy*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *δmn'wy'd* «enmity», where *δmn'w* represents the strongest stem of *dušmanyu-*, the abstract ending being *-y'd*.

*pyxk* «node» (Av. *pixa-*), *prw* «grey» (cf. Pers. *pīr*), *twy* «jizyah» (Pers. *tūxtan*, Arm. *toiž*), *fywδ* «beestings» (obscurely related to Skt. *piyūṣa* or MPers. *frušag*, BSOAS., xi, 719?), *rxt* «red» (Skt. *rakta-*)<sup>1</sup>.

---

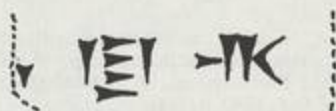
<sup>1</sup> [For technical reasons, a few diacritical marks, especially points etc. under letters etc. have been omitted in this article.]



## THE 'COIN' WITH CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION

THE square piece of silver inscribed with cuneiform characters, which formed part of the Kabul hoard (dated in about 380 B.C.) consisting largely of coins of the sixth and fifth centuries (R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, 1953, pp. 41, 45, pl. v. iii. 12), has been the subject of comment in this journal more than once (H. H. Figulla, *N.C.* 1954, p. 173; P. Hulin, *ibid.*, pp. 174-6; G. K. Jenkins, *N.C.* 1955, p. 145). Already R. Labat, *apud* Curiel-Schlumberger, p. 45, recognized the Elamite nature of the cuneiform characters and read them as *MA-HU*,<sup>1</sup> a reading rightly insisted on by P. Hulin and placed beyond a doubt by the excellent enlarged photograph published by him, *N.C.* 1954, p. 175. G. G. Cameron, *apud* Hulin, p. 174, suggested that 'HU could just possibly be the beginning of some such word as *hudda* or *huddaš*, "I made" or "he made"

In order to understand the purport of the inscription, which is obviously incomplete, and thereby gain an idea of the object that was so inscribed, it is necessary to consider the context of which the surviving characters may have formed a part. The first point to observe is that there are not merely two characters but three, or rather, two complete characters preceded by a fragmentary one:

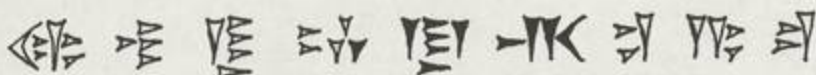


The number of Elamite signs that could fit the fragmentary character is not unduly large: according to Weissbach's list nos. 55 (*kar*), 63 (*e*), 66 (*ru*), 71 (*ia*), or 108 (*a*); we thus gain five possible readings, *kar-ma-hu*, *e-ma-hu*, &c.

A rudimentary acquaintance with the Elamite material of Achaemenian times suffices to call to mind a formula containing the sequence *e-ma-hu* (which otherwise is by no means common), a

<sup>1</sup> The alternative reading *MA-PAK*, given by H. H. Figulla and P. Hulin, does not deserve consideration, since the second character possesses only the value *HU* in the Elamite of Achaemenian times.

formula found regularly at the end of inscriptions on movable or semi-fixed objects belonging to the King of Kings:



UL-HI<sup>ḫe</sup>e-ma hu-ut-tuk-qa

i.e. 'made at the palace', equivalent with *viḍiyā krtam* in the corresponding Old Persian versions. These words (3) are preceded by (1) a brief definition of the object, and (2) the owner's name, e.g. (1) *ḥar-da-iš-da-na* <sup>det</sup> HAR<sup>idg</sup>in-na (2) <sup>pers</sup>Da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš <sup>pers</sup>sunkik (3) UL.HI<sup>ḫe</sup>e-ma hu-ut-tuk-qa '(1) stone sill,<sup>1</sup> (3) made at the palace (2) of Darius the king' (= Darius I); similarly on the door-knobs made of artificial lapis lazuli (Darius I and Xerxes). Of inscribed silver ware there was hitherto only one safe example, the silver jug of Xerxes, with incomplete inscription only in Old Persian (ending in *viḍiyā krtam*).<sup>2</sup>

There is scarcely any doubt that the characters on the Kabul piece, which, as regards their execution, are on a par with those of the royal inscriptions, formed part of an owner-inscription of this type. The width of the surviving fragment being 17.5 mm., the whole Elamite text would have required about 17.5 cm.; if (as is likely) it was preceded by an Old Persian version and followed by a Babylonian one, a line approximately 50 cm. long must be postulated. Such a strip of silver may have been part of a tray or box-top, which once belonged to the treasure of the Achaemenian kings, but somehow made its way to the eastern frontier, where it was cut up into small squares, to divide the spoil or, perhaps, for melting it down.

<sup>1</sup> Old Persian *ardastāna*, which (as has hitherto escaped notice) survives in Persian *āstān(e)* (shortened from a theoretical \**ālstān*), 'threshold, sill'.

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions on the four silver plates ascribed to Artaxerxes I are generally regarded as faked (cf. *B.S.O.S.* 1940, p. 501).

### 'SURKH KOTAL'

M. Daniel Schlumberger deserves warm congratulations on his discovery of a sanctuary, dating from the time of the Great Kushan empire, in the eastern part of Bactria.<sup>1</sup> The question it is desired to raise here concerns the name of the site. Its situation has been described by M. Schlumberger in these terms<sup>2</sup>: '... en bordure de la grande route de Caboul à Mazar-i Shérif, à une quinzaine de kilomètres au-delà de Pul-i Khumri,<sup>3</sup> au pied d'une haute colline qui se projette... dans la vallée du Kundúz-âb, enlargie en cet endroit aux dimensions d'une plaine intérieure. La colline n'est rattachée aux montagnes, qui limitent cette plaine vers l'ouest, que par un ensellement, dit le "col rouge", Surkh Kotal...'

Originally, when the discovery was first announced,<sup>4</sup> the ruins were introduced under the name of *Sar-i Tchechmé*, which properly belongs to 'une source distante d'environ 2 kilomètres'<sup>5</sup> and has been rightly discarded. The site itself was described as *Kāfir-Qal'e* 'heathens' castle', 'comme toutes les ruines pré-islamiques du pays'<sup>6</sup>; this, being virtually an appellative, was rejected by M. Schlumberger, who finally adopted the name of the saddle joining the sanctuary-hill to the mountain-range, *Surkh Kotal*. While agreeing that the site, now practically anonymous, is in need of a name, we should consider whether its ancient appellation can be recovered.

From the description given by M. Schlumberger it is clear that the sanctuary lies within the district known to medieval geographers under the name of *Baylân*, see e.g. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 427, or Professor Minorsky's definition<sup>7</sup> 'on the middle course of the Doshî river (formed by the Surkhâb (= Barfak) and Andarâb)'. The name survives to the present day. Captain John Wood, coming from Bâmiyân, left the valley of the river of Haibak a little below Ruy and, after travelling eastwards to the Qunduz river, came 'through the swampy district of Baghlan and Aliabad'.<sup>8</sup> It still belongs to an eastern tributary of the Qunduz river<sup>9</sup> and to a village near the junction of the two watercourses.<sup>10</sup> According to Muqaddasi, 303<sup>6</sup>, *Baylân* was divided into two parts, 'upper' and 'lower'; the sanctuary should be counted to 'Upper Baylân', where there was a 'large village, to which a well-wooded valley belonged'.

Among the fragmentary inscriptions found by M. Schlumberger and ably

<sup>1</sup> 'Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane', (i), *JA*, 1952, 433-53; (ii), *ibid.*, 1954, 161-87.

<sup>2</sup> *JA*, 1952, 435.

<sup>3</sup> This town lies 'au point où la route principale [from Kabul to Mazâr-i Šarîf] se sépare du Kundúz-âb et de la route de Kunduz, pour s'infléchir en direction de Haibak' (*JA*, 1952 435 n. 2). It corresponds with the 'bridge [pul] at Thomri [sic] halfway between Ghorî and Baghlân' mentioned by Sir Henry Yule in his 'Essay' introducing Captain John Wood's *Journey*, p. lxxxi and marked on his map.

<sup>4</sup> R. Dussaud, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1952, 225-7.

<sup>5</sup> *JA*, 1952, 435 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* <sup>7</sup> *Hudūd*, 340.

<sup>8</sup> *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 1872, 136.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Wood, *loc. cit.*, 270.

<sup>10</sup> See Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 67.

discussed, in all their aspects, by M. Raoul Curiel,<sup>1</sup> the most considerable piece consists of three lines, of which the first two are incomplete at both sides. M. Curiel gives the following reading:—

ΙΒΙΔΟΙΣΗΝΟΒΙΔΟΙΑΡΙΟΙ  
ΚΙΡΔΟΜΙΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟΜΙ  
ΔΙΑΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥ

Apart from the last line, which is in Greek, the language of the inscription is not clear: M. Curiel assumes, with some measure of likelihood, that it is the Middle-Iranian dialect once spoken in Bactria.<sup>2</sup> Here I wish to draw attention merely to the principal word in the second line, ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, which I regard as an older form of the name of *Baylān* and very probably the ancient name of the sanctuary. It would be a strange coincidence if ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, in an inscription found within the territory of *Baylān*, were to be unrelated to the name of the district.

ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, i.e. *Bayolāngo*, after the loss of the ending and the compound-vowel, became *Baylāng*, *Baylān*, finally *Baylān*. Previously one could compare *Baylān* with Armenian *Bagaran*, from early Middle-Iranian \**bagaδān*; the inscriptional spelling shows now that the Sogdian form, βγδ'nyy (Man. Sogd. -βγδ'nyy), was closest: both represent Old Iranian \**baga-dānaka* 'temple, altar, sanctuary'.<sup>3</sup> Since the place-name *Bayolāngo* must be ascribed to the local Iranian dialect (whatever may have been the language of the inscription),<sup>4</sup> we are safe in attributing to that dialect the change of -d- to -l-, at least in intervocalic position, and the reduction of final -ānaka- to -āng- (-āng-), as e.g. in Persian *dāng*: δανάκη. Hüan-tsang's *Fo-ka-lang* also proves -āng.

The transparent etymology of *Baylān* always permitted the inference that the district was called 'the sanctuary', short for 'the province of the sanctuary', after a famous temple or sacred enclosure. M. Schlumberger's brilliant discovery of *Bagolango* (as perhaps we may now be permitted to say instead of *Surkh Kotal*) has taught us where the temple lay to which *Baylān* owed its name.

<sup>1</sup> 'Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal', *JA*, 1954, 180-205.

<sup>2</sup> ΧΡΟΝΟ, in Inscr. No. 2 (Curiel, pp. 193 sq.), may be = *kyra* (*kyra*) 'reign-period, rule'.

<sup>3</sup> cf. E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, p. 176. The Manichaean Sogdian form referred to in *BSOAS*, xi, 720, should be read and restored as [ε]ρωδβγδ'nyy = synagogue; the corresponding Middle Persian word was presumably *qonyšt*.

<sup>4</sup> If M. Curiel is right in assuming that ΚΙΡΔΟΜΙ is a complete word, and in his interpretation of it as *kirdo-mī* 'made of me', the second line may mean 'I made Bagolango . . .' or 'I made [this] sanctuary . . .'.

## THE DATES OF MANI'S LIFE

by S. H. TAQIZADEH

*Translated from the Persian, introduced, and concluded*

by W. B. HENNING

In the first appendix to G. Haloun's translation of the Chinese Manichaean document a new set of dates was proposed for the principal events of Mani's life (*Asia Major*, iii, 1952, 196-204). It so happened that S. H. Taqizadeh, universally regarded as the leading authority in all matters of Oriental chronology, was then about to publish a book on Mani written in Persian; when he had taken cognizance of our article, he added to it a *Takmilah* (or "finishing touch"), in which he gave an account of the Chinese document and discussed the new dates. In 1953, His Excellency Mr Taqizadeh kindly sent me page proofs of this *Takmilah*. It seemed to me a great pity that so important a contribution was likely to remain inaccessible to almost all the numerous scholars who take an interest in the history of Manichaeism; for very few of them are sufficiently familiar with the Persian language to be able to follow such intricate argument as is here presented. Accordingly I prepared a draft translation and submitted it to Mr Taqizadeh when he visited this country in 1954, on the occasion of the Congress of Orientalists held at Cambridge. After some amendments had been made and a few slight improvements of the contents had been introduced, Mr Taqizadeh very kindly approved my English version, which is here published with his permission.<sup>1</sup>

### TAKMILAH

[i] . . . Professor Henning's part of this article contains some very important and useful points concerning Mani and his creed; among other matters, he has put forward a new theory of the date of Mani's death, which disagrees with what I have said about it in the present compendium and in some of my earlier articles which were published in English.

About the date of Mani's death a number of different theories has

---

<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the Persian text has been issued: *Mānī va dīn-i ū* (*Natīyye-yi Anjuman-i Irānīnāsi*), Tehran 1335 (1956). The *Takmilah*, separately paginated with *abjad*-numbers, is inserted after page 70; reference is here made to its pages by Roman numerals in square brackets.

been placed on record within the last twenty years. At first, on the strength of passages in Parthian Manichaean fragments<sup>1</sup> which gave *Monday the fourth of Šahrivar* as the day of Mani's death, H. H. Schaefer and I myself proposed February 14, 276; for in the years 273-7, which could be presumed to have been the regnal years of Bahrām I, the fourth of Šahrivar fell on a Monday only in 276. Later, when the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book turned out to have mentioned the date as Monday, too, but *Monday the fourth of Baremhat* (which date corresponds, in 276, with February 29, a Tuesday), the whole question became subject to doubt. Finally, the opinion (which I was the first to advance) gained ground that *Monday the fourth*, the common factor, was the true date; that, however, neither the Persian nor the Coptic month formed originally part of the date, but instead the Babylonian month *Addaru*, for which the translators had substituted approximately corresponding month-names from their own calendars. [ii] Since in the years 275-7, which may be considered the final years of Bahrām I, it was only in 277 that the fourth of Addaru was a Monday, I attributed the death of Mani to that year and adduced some additional arguments, which appeared to support that attribution.

Now, however, Professor Henning, relying on a Turkish Manichaean colophon in which the year 522 after the death of Mani is counted as a "pig-year",<sup>2</sup> has become persuaded that the year of the death was 274 and the day Monday, March 2 (corresponding with the fourth of the Babylonian Addaru); the aforesaid scholar supports this view chiefly by stressing that all other conclusions are built on conjectures, inferences, and calculations, while this opinion is grounded on an ancient written document, which is the only source in this matter.

No one acknowledges Henning's learning and high rank as a scholar more than I do; he was also my teacher in Pahlavi; nevertheless, I cannot refrain from expressing doubt about this theory, for the following reasons.

The wording in the *Kitāb alFihrist*, on which Henning relies, does not clearly convey that the date on which Mani received his second revelation and the command to propagate his religion coincided with the day of Shapur's official accession and coronation, on which he received Mani in audience. We may rather assume that Mani announced his prophethood and occupied himself for two or three years with conversions and missionary work and with his journeys to the East and the South, up to Khorasan, Sind, and so on; that, having heard the news of Ardashir's death and Shapur's accession during his stay in Sind, he returned to Ctesiphon and gained access to Shapur with the help of the king's brother, Pērōz; that on the day of the coronation, which took place on the first day of the Babylonian

<sup>1</sup> Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, iii (1934), p. 861.

<sup>2</sup> v. LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 12.

year as was customary, he was admitted to the presence of the king and had the courage to proclaim his religion openly and formally; and that that day was the first of Nisannu in the Christian year 243. This hypothesis is supported by several arguments:

Firstly, relying on Ibn anNadīm and Beruni, we should calculate the years of Mani's birth and of his first and second revelations in the following fashion. His birth took place within A.D. 216, with great probability on April 14 (= 8th of Nisannu of the Seleucid lunar year 527). [iii] Therefore he entered upon his thirteenth year, *i.e.*, completed his twelfth year, on April 14, 228 (if the years of his life are counted in Julian years) or on April 1, 228 (if one counts them, as he himself would have done, in lunar Babylonian years).

The first revelation came to Mani [within the Seleucid Babylonian year 539 = March 25, 228—April 12, 229, and] within his thirteenth year, therefore after April 1, 228, and before April 12, 229 (= Nisannu 8, 539—Nisannu 1, 540 lunar Sel.). Since, however, he received the revelation, according to his own statement in the *Shābūrāgān* as quoted by Beruni, *after the passing of two years of Ardashir's reign (or within its second year)*, its arrival can be narrowed down: it came *either* after September 26, 228, when two years had passed since September 26, 226, the beginning of Ardashir's reign in official reckoning (Mani's age would by then have been twelve years and five and a half months approximately); *or* between September 26, 227, and September 25, 228, *i.e.*, within the second year of Ardashir's rule; at all events, after April 14 (or April 1), 228, the day of Mani's twelfth birthday. One may not count the two years from Ardashir's actual accession (his coronation), which apparently took place in April, 227; for then the two-year period would have ended only by April, 229, when Mani had already completed his thirteenth year, whereas Beruni's phrase "son (boy) of thirteen years" definitely means, not that he had completed his thirteenth year, but that he was in his thirteenth year. At any rate, considering that Ibn anNadīm says "when twelve years had become complete for him" and Beruni "when he was a son (boy) of thirteen years" = "when he was in his thirteenth year", it is necessary to place the "coming of the revelation" after March 25, 228 (= the first day of the Seleucid year) or rather even after April 1 (= Nisannu 8), and probably between that date and, say, October or November of the same year, so that it would fall within Mani's thirteenth year but not too close to its end, and within Ardashir's third official year but not too far removed from its beginning.

Secondly, the second revelation, and with it the call to missionary work, came to Mani after he had completed twenty-four years of his life; they were completed on April 14, 240 (in Julian years) or April 19, 240 (in Babylonian years). It is overwhelmingly probable [iv] that at that date Ardashir was still on the throne. He exercised royal power, according to the

most reliable sources, for fourteen years and ten months (for fourteen years and six months according to a weaker tradition); for the final term of this period, when Ardashir either abdicated or died, the following four possibilities are given:

(a) If it is counted from September 27, 223, the beginning of the Persian year during which Ardashir killed Ardavan, it comes to an end on July 26, 238 (or March 26, 238) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on July 24 (or March 26), 238.

(b) If it is counted from the death of Ardavan (April 28, 224), it comes to an end on February 27, 239 (or October 27, 238) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on February 18, 239 (or October 21, 238). At none of the dates gained by the above calculations (a and b) had Mani yet completed his twenty-fourth year.

(c) If it is counted from the "official" beginning, *viz.*, the first day of the first Persian year of Ardashir's reign as "King of Kings" (as Beruni, quoting the *Shābūrāgān*, explicitly calls it), namely, September 26, 226, it comes to an end on July 25, 241 (or March 25, 241) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on July 23 (or March 25), 241.

(d) If it is counted from Ardashir's actual coronation (very probably on April 6, 227), it comes to an end on February 5, 242 (or October 5, 241) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on January 26, 242 (or September 28, 241). At any of the dates found under (c) and (d), Mani was already twenty-five years old (or near that age).

Thus, the date of Shapur's accession (or the end of Ardashir's rule), calculated in any of these four ways (a-d), is not in agreement with the date assumed by Henning, April 12, 240.<sup>1</sup> In fact, we should gain the following values:

## SHAPUR

	True accession	"Official" beginning of 1st year
a	July 26, 238	September 23, 237
b	February 27, 239	September 23, 238
c	July 25, 241	September 22, 240
d	February 5, 242	September 22, 241

[v] All these are based on the assumption that Ardashir's reign lasted fourteen years and ten months; if it lasted fourteen years and six months,

<sup>1</sup> [On that day, however, I placed Shapur's coronation, not his accession, which I did not discuss or mention. W.B.H.]



the dates in the first column would have to be advanced by four months (if the Persian calendar was followed, they would be earlier by merely three days or so).

Although in the *Kitāb alFihrist* the report of Mani's "coming out" on the day of Shapur's coronation follows immediately without break upon the sentence about the second revelation and the descent of the angel that commanded him "to come out" on the occasion of his completing his twenty-fourth year, this collocation does not necessarily indicate that his "coming out" and the inception of his missionary work on his reaching the age of twenty-four took place on the day of coronation. For, firstly, according to the very same sentence, Mani, on the first day that he was received in audience by Shapur, was accompanied by two of his disciples,<sup>1</sup> which presupposes that he had begun his mission before and had acquired followers. Further, Ibn anNadīm, quoting Manichaean sources, states<sup>2</sup> that before his meeting with Shapur Mani had travelled about in various countries;<sup>3</sup> that he had converted Shapur's brother Pērōz to his creed, evidently in the course of his journeys, perhaps in Khorasan und Kūshān where he was governor; and that Pērōz "caused him to come to Shapur". On the heels of that report,<sup>4</sup> under the heading "the Manichaeans say"—the very heading that had introduced also the report of Mani's "coming out" on the day of Shapur's coronation (plainly both are derived from one and the same ancient Manichaean source)—there follows once more a story of Mani's going to Shapur and presenting several requests, all of which the king accepted. Then it goes on "Mani *had* called Hind and Šīn and the people of Khorasan to his religion and *had* appointed one of his companions as his representative in each region" (*wa-kūna Mānī da'a 'lHinda waš Šīna wa-ahla Xurāsāna wa-ḡallafa [vi] fī kulli nāḥiyatin šāḥiban lahu*). Therefore, his first meeting with Shapur (clearly on his coronation day) lay a little later than his first announcement of his prophetship, his first appeal to others (possibly in private), his first successful conversions at home and in various other provinces, and his journeys.

Furthermore, as results from a Kephalaia passage laid in Mani's mouth, he set out on his journey to the South and the East (Sind and Khorasan) still in the time of Ardashir's kingship (perhaps in A.D. 240), made up his mind to come back when he heard of Ardashir's death (perhaps in 242) and Shapur's assumption of the royal power, returned along a route detailed in the Coptic work, by way of the Persian gulf to Persis, Mesene,

<sup>1</sup> *K. alFihrist*, p. 328, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328, lines 26-7.

<sup>3</sup> Although the duration of this travelling is determined as forty years in the printed text, there is no doubt that a mistake has crept in and that the number was originally perhaps two or four years (or forty months).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328, lines 27-31.

Khuzistan, and Ctesiphon, and only then, after reaching the Sassanian capital, was received by Shapur, on his coronation day. If Ardashir's death occurred after Nisannu 1 of the Seleucid lunar year 553 (April 20, 242), one may assume that Shapur's coronation had to be postponed to the first day of the next Babylonian year and thus fell on Nisannu 1, 554 = April 9, 243, the eve of the feast of *Mihragān*, when the sun was in its "exaltation" (Aries 19°).

In the *Kitāb alFihrist*, the ingredients of the whole story are given in various places on one and the same page, but not consecutively, in fragments torn from each other. Henning himself speaks of a report which, as he says, "certainly emanated from Manichaean circles, probably from Mani himself", and which implies that Mani had delayed and waited for about three years before announcing his prophetship publicly and beginning to fulfil the divine command.<sup>1</sup> This report, which Henning regards as incredible, seems on the contrary very sound and trustworthy. In the history of Islam, too, there are indications that its prophet, between his first revelation and very restricted appeal on the one hand and the public announcement of his prophetship and the appeal to the people in general on the other, spent about three years delaying, reflecting, and converting his friends and relations.

Beruni says<sup>2</sup> "Mani's affairs were uninterruptedly on the increase in the days of *Ardashir* and his son Shapur . . .". This sentence, unless there exist proof [vii] of its unsoundness, is in itself clear proof of our contention that Ardashir was still on the throne when Mani was twenty-four years old (*i.e.*, after April 19, 240), probably even until his twenty-fifth birthday (April 7, 241), hence during the first year of Mani's missionary activities. Thus, firstly, the claim that the announcement of his prophetship after his twenty-fourth birthday (or in the course of his twenty-fifth year) coincided with Shapur's coronation becomes baseless; and, secondly, the sentence proves that Ardashir still held the reins on April 19, 240, at the very least. Henning, however, places Shapur's coronation on the first day of the Babylonian calendar in that very year, *viz.*, April 12, 240, on a day, therefore, on which Mani had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year, whether we count in Babylonian or in Julian years; indeed, he himself points out that that date preceded the birthday by seven days in the former calendar, by two days in the latter. Actually, to interpret the report that Mani was entrusted with the prophetship after his completing twenty-four years as meaning that he was so entrusted *on the first day* of the calendar year in the course of which he became twenty-four years old, and not at some point in that year, is improbable. If, however, the phrase used in the *Kitāb alFihrist*

<sup>1</sup> *Asia Major*, iii, 201 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Āthār alBāqiyah*, p. 208.

about the second revelation, "when twenty-four years became complete for him", is taken to refer to the first day of the calendar year in the course of which he became twenty-four years old, then it follows necessarily that the equivalent phrase used of the first revelation, "when twelve years became complete for him", is to be referred to the first day of the Seleucid lunar year 539, *viz.*, April 9, 228 (or Nisannu 8 of that year = April 16, 228); whereas that date is unlikely (though not impossible) on other grounds, among them Beruni's statement that Mani was then "a son of thirteen years" and Mani's own words that "two years had passed from (the beginning of) Ardashir's reign".

It is likely, in a high degree, that in the Seleucid year 551 (April 12, 240—March 31, 241), which is, with a few days' difference, Mani's twenty-fifth year (the period when, in common parlance, he was "twenty-four years old"), Shapur had not yet succeeded Ardashir on the throne. [viii] The "official" beginning of Shapur's first year (in accord with the customary Sassanian system of chronology), which for some time and especially ever since Nöldeke has been accepted as falling on September 22, 241 (and which according to that system certainly opened the year, ending on September 21, 242, in the course of which Ardashir died or abdicated and was followed by Shapur), lay some time after the moment when Mani became twenty-four years old (at the least six months); and Shapur's coronation lay again some time (one year, six months, and nineteen or eighteen days) after this "official" beginning. Elias of Nisibis, too, counts the Seleucid Macedonian year<sup>1</sup> 553,<sup>2</sup> beginning on October 1, 241, as the first year of Shapur's reign. If now the duration of Ardashir's reign is calculated, as Nöldeke, probably rightly, assumed, by the method given above p. 109 under (d), *viz.*, from Nisannu 1, Seleucid Babylonian 538 = April 6, 227, to February 5 (or January 26), 242, the possibility arises that the latter date is that of Ardashir's abdication, not of his death: because his father was still alive, Shapur may have postponed his coronation (which in the normal way would have been due on Nisannu 1, 553 = April 20, 242, only two and a half months after his father's abdication) to the next following year, *viz.*, Nisannu 1, 554 = April 9, 243. Or else, if the date (early February, 242) is really that of Ardashir's death, Shapur may have been compelled to postpone his coronation by a full year because, in the spring of 242, he was busy with the war against Gordian and away from his capital. It is true that reliable investigations have shown [ix] that Gordian with his own army, under the command of Timesitheus (who in any case died before October, 243), did not until the first half of 243 occupy himself with conquests in Asia, taking Carrhae, gaining a victory near Resaina on the high road from

<sup>1</sup> = "year of Alexander" or "year of the Greeks".

<sup>2</sup> In Nöldeke's work misprinted 533 [Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 412; but correctly in the table, p. 435].

Carrhae to Nisibis, conquering Nisibis, and marching forwards to the frontiers of Mesopotamia; and that, moreover, Gordian's offensive in a southerly direction, towards the Euphrates, in the aim of reaching Ctesiphon by the southern route, took place only after the death of Timesitheus. Nevertheless, Gordian's movement towards the Orient had begun in 242; before the end of that year he had reached Asia and his army threatened the frontier regions of Syria and Mesopotamia and the dominion of Persia.

That Shapur succeeded Ardashir either at the end of 241 or in the course of 242 is clear thanks also to a statement by Zosimus,<sup>1</sup> who places that event after Gordian had married Timesitheus' daughter and established his power on a firm basis, therefore, between the autumn of 241 and the summer of 242.<sup>2</sup>

If we place the "official" beginning of Shapur's first year on September 22, 241 (= Farvardin 1) and his coronation on April 9, 243, we obtain perfect corroboration through the various reports, as in Tabari, etc., concerning the length of Shapur's reign, *viz.*, thirty years (or thirty years and fifteen days) and thirty-one years, six months, and nineteen (or eighteen) days; indeed, the very exactness of these figures affords a powerful argument in favour of the assumed dates. For, if Shapur's reign counted from his coronation lasted thirty years, its duration counted from its "official" beginning would have been thirty-one years, six months, and nineteen days precisely; since the interval between the two dates involved (Farvardin 1 of one year to Mihr 14 of the year thereafter, including the five epagomenae at the end of Mordad) is one year, six months, and nineteen days.<sup>3</sup>

[x] Support for our contention that Mani's death occurred in 277 is afforded by the reports that he was sixty years old at death or that he lived for sixty years; such reports are found in various sources, as in a Parthian Manichaean fragment quoted by Henning,<sup>4</sup> in the Chinese document<sup>5</sup> published by Haloun and Henning, and in certain other passages.<sup>6</sup> On March 31, 277 (= Nisannu 8) Mani would have completed his sixty-first (Babylonian) year; if he died, as we assume, on Addaru 4 (= February 26) of the same year, *i.e.*, thirty-three days earlier, his lifetime would have been 60 years and 318 days (counted in solar years: April 14, 216—February 26, 277). It does not seem likely that the figure 60, which everywhere appears plainly enough, can be regarded as due to mis-spelling or interpreted, as Henning assumes, as meaning "58 years of age", even if not strictly (in his calculation Mani would have lived only 57 years and 323 days, even less

<sup>1</sup> i, 17/18.

<sup>2</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), 13 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Asia Major*, iii, p. 191, line 24, and p. 195, line 12.

<sup>6</sup> Referred to by Henning, *ibid.*, 199 n. 5.

than 58 years by 42 days); although Henning treats this important and glaring difference, between the 60 years of the sources and the 58 years (or less) of his conjecture, as a "minor and negligible difficulty".

To come now to the equation, in the Turkish colophon, of the year "522 after Mani's death" with a "pig-year", which Henning regards as the sole and principal authority in the question of Mani's death-date, and which would require attributing the death to the year 274: even if one cannot consider it totally unworthy of attention, it cannot, in my view, have decisive force in the face of the numerous contrary arguments. Firstly, the document is late. It is not at all unlikely that the authors of the Turkish manuscripts made mistakes in identifying non-Turkish years with Turkish ones, especially if they were accustomed to using Sogdian or Persian years and dates (or others, except Chinese ones). An example of this sort of mistake can be seen in a Manichaean Uigur calendar-fragment,<sup>1</sup> where the Yezdegerdi year 358 is described as a "mouse-year", while in fact it was a "cow-year", with its last days in a "tiger-year" (perhaps the year 357 Yezd. had been intended). I referred to this circumstance in my *Notes* to Henning's article on the Sogdian calendar-fragments.<sup>2</sup> In one of the last-named fragments, as I pointed out in the same *Notes*, the Christian year 985 is apparently identified with the year 388 after the death of Šād-Örmizd (if [xi] the figure 388 is so to be interpreted), whereas it should have been 384 or 385, so that a mistake of as much as three years has crept in; however, that the number refers to Šād-Örmizd (who died in A.D. 600) is nothing more than a possibility (a conjecture by Henning) and cannot be regarded as certain.

Henning's assumption that the original date of composition of the Chinese Manichaean document, the "Stein Fragment", was 724, earlier by eight years than its known date (731/2), is also merely a conjecture; and although some seemingly plausible arguments have been adduced in its favour, it does not appear entirely confidence-inspiring.

As a result of our discussion of the dates of Ardashir's and Shapur's reigns one may say, with some degree of assurance, that (1) Shapur succeeded his father, on his abdication or death, at the beginning of 242 (probably in the first days of February), (2) he was crowned on Sunday, April 9, 243 (= Nisannu 1, lunar Sel. 554), (3) he died in April, 273 (probably on one of the first days of that month), (4) his son and successor Hormizd died in April, 274 (probably on April 11, or a little later), (5) Hormizd was immediately succeeded by his brother Bahrām I, who lived to the middle of 277 (perhaps to the end of July), and (6) Mani was killed on February 26, 277, in the third year of Bahrām's kingship (two years, ten months and a fraction—or nearly eleven months—after his accession).

<sup>1</sup> Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.*, 1945, 157.

That, as is hinted and occasionally explicitly stated in the sources, the date of Mani's death is tied to the period of Bahrām's reign at any rate, moreover to a moment removed from its beginning, is an important point in determining it, and for this reason Henning has been compelled to date Bahrām's reign from the middle of 271 to September, 274, so that Mani's death (according to him on March 2, 274) would fall in Bahrām's third year. If, however, in accord with the arguments stated above Shapur's death is assumed for 273, even Bahrām's accession would have been later than the end of Mani, as dated by Henning.

Apart from the conclusions he has drawn from the Chinese document, Henning has leaned on W. Ensslin's opinions<sup>1</sup> [xii] about the dates of Shapur's coronation and his death, which have not remained without influence upon his views. Although Ensslin's work is useful in the parts dealing with Roman history, in matters of Persian chronology he unfortunately followed the baseless and unacceptable opinions put forward by Martin J. Higgins in his article *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice*; it would go beyond the scope of this *Takmilah* to explain why Higgins' theories of the Persian year and its months in Sassanian times are unfounded.

The observations made above concerning Professor Henning's recent opinions and investigations should not by any means be accepted as decisive proofs against his theory. The confidence I have in his standing as a scholar, the quality of his investigations and observations, and his wide knowledge, do not permit me to claim absolute correctness of my own remarks. It is, I admit, possible that I am wrong; and I do not deny that it is possible that he is right. However, he himself encouraged me to express my opinion, and therefore I took the liberty to present the points made above about his article; otherwise, an amateur's statements in front of a specialist could merely have claimed to be a reminder . . .

---

Εἰ δ' ἀναγκασθῆσόμεθα πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγειν, οἷς μάλιστα ἐπακολουθοῦμεν κατ' ἄλλα, δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν. Strabo

The remainder of the *Takmilah* summarizes the information, contained in the Chinese document, concerning Mani's writings. I have purposely refrained from omitting the concluding paragraph as well as some further kindly remarks in the body of the *Takmilah*; for they are a monument to the author's generosity of spirit. In fact, in matters of chronology and related subjects, His Excellency Mr Taqizadeh, none other, has been my teacher; whatever I know in this field I owe to his guidance. It was,

<sup>1</sup> In *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I.*, Sb. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., 1947, 5, Munich 1949.

therefore, with the utmost diffidence that I ventured to put forward a hypothesis that ran counter to his opinion.

The chronology of Mani's life is inextricably bound up with the dates of the early rulers of the Sassanian state; whoever wants to settle the one, must at the same time deal with the other. I freely concede that Mr Taqizadeh has created an integrated whole; but it seems to me that for my own hypothesis the same claim may be made. It should not be overlooked that there is a considerable area of agreement, especially on such essential points as the duration of the reigns of the various Sassanian kings, the date of Mani's birth (April 14, 216), and the weekday and day of the month of Mani's death (Monday, the 4th of Addaru). The disagreement arises from "matters of opinion": the value to be put on certain traditions; the question which of several contradictory reports is more deserving of credit; and the like. In the outcome, almost all the important moments in the two schemes are separated from each other by a constant interval of three years:

	Taqizadeh	Henning
Ardashir's 1st year begins	September 26, 226	September 27, 223
His actual accession	April 6, 227	April 28, 224
Shapur's 1st year begins	September 22, 241	September 23, 239
His coronation	April 9, 243	April 12, 240
His death	April, 273	May, 270
Hormizd dies	April, 274	June, 271
Bahrām I dies	July, 277	September, 274
Death of Mani	February 26, 277	March 2, 274

The origin of the three years' interval lies in the various ways of determining the reign of Ardashir, who laid the foundation of the Persian (Sassanian) empire by his great victory over Ardavan, the last Parthian king of kings. The day of this event, "the day on which the dominion of the Parthians, the sons of mighty Arsaces, came to an end" (as the Chronicle of Arbela puts it), is happily known: April 28, 224. In the Persian official history, the Sassanian "Book of Kings", the duration of Ardashir's reign was given as fourteen years and ten months.<sup>1</sup> As this reign-period emanates from a Persian source, it is likely that it was counted from the victory over Ardavan, the event that in the eyes of Ardashir's Persian compatriots was the most important in his career; so that his reign would have lasted till February 239. Yet Nöldeke (followed herein by Taqizadeh), for reasons not

<sup>1</sup> Certain by the agreement of witnesses so remote from each other in the line of transmission as Agathias and Tabari. The alternative (fourteen years six months) has no claim to consideration (as Nöldeke clearly saw).

clearly explained, preferred to attach its initial term to the "year of accession" (begins autumn, 226) attributed to Ardashir by some Western authors (Agathias; Elias of Nisibis; implied by Mani). We do not know on what happening this "year of accession" is based (if it is soundly based at all)—the final defeat of the last Parthian claimant in Babylonia? the conquest of Seleucia? a solemn coronation in Ctesiphon? At any rate, it is scarcely appropriate to combine the Persian reign-period with this "year of accession" that had some limited currency in the western fringe of the Sassanian state. The result is incongruous: it is hard to believe that the Persians, in determining the length of Ardashir's rule, should have disregarded the first two or three years after his momentous victory and waited for some unknown event in Babylonia or Mesopotamia, which, whatever it was, was at any rate insignificant in comparison with the great battle that crushed the power of the hated Parthian overlords.

Moreover, if one accepts Nöldeke's construction, one has to put aside the direct statement in one of our best historical sources (Tabari) that the reign-period is to be counted from the defeat of Ardavan.<sup>1</sup> An even greater difficulty is presented by the stele of Bihshabur, which is dated in terms of the years of the "sacred fires" appertaining to the first Sassanian kings. It is hardly possible that this system of dating, an entirely Persian religious affair,<sup>2</sup> depended on occurrences outside Persia proper, in colonial territory populated by non-Zoroastrians. The natural assumption is that the "fire of Ardashir" was lit immediately after the news of his victory over Ardavan reached Istakhr.<sup>3</sup> In the stele the number of years given to Ardashir is sixteen: this is in consonance with his reign-period of fourteen years ten months, which are distributed over sixteen calendar years (five months after April 28, 224, to the end of the Persian year; fourteen full years; five months from the beginning of the following year). According to the stele, therefore, the full years of Ardashir run from September 27, 223, to September 22,

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 215q. "Seine Regierung währte, vom Fall des Ardavān an gerechnet, 14 Jahre, nach Einigen aber 14 Jahre und 10 Monate".

<sup>2</sup> Its importance is shown by the coins: throughout the Sassanian period, the "sacred fire" of each king occupies the reverse. "Years of the sacred fire" amount to "regnal years". In the later Sassanian coinage the regnal year appears on the reverse, at the side of the representation of the "sacred fire": the legend should be understood as conveying "year x. of the sacred fire of King Y."

<sup>3</sup> This is as good as proved by the appearance of the "fire of Ardashir", for the first time, on coins where his title is given as "king of Iran" (Paruck No. 13). On the earlier issues, struck before Ardashir extended his power beyond the Persis, his title is simply "king" and there is no "sacred fire" yet. Taqizadeh himself expressed the opinion that the coins with "king of Iran" belonged "to the period after the defeat of Ardavān, but before the consolidation of his power in the whole of the empire and his crowning in Ctesiphon (c. 224-7)" (*BSOAS.*, xi, 29); but the coins are inseparable from the institution of the "fire of Ardashir" (*NWR ZY 'rthštr*), on which the dating of the stele depends.



239; so that the year beginning on September 23, 239, was counted as Shapur's year of accession.<sup>1</sup>

If we settle the limits of Ardashir's reign in the one way or the other, we are bound to determine the dates of the subsequent rulers in a matching fashion; for the duration of the various reigns is too well established to leave much room for argument. Nevertheless, we should examine the beginning of Shapur's rule, that being the central point in the whole series of events. It is unfortunate that the data given in the *Fihrist* for the coronation of Shapur are so constructed that they are equally applicable to two different days, and, as if malicious Fate had set out to baffle the historian, there is an interval of almost exactly three years between these two days: April 12, 240, and April 9, 243.<sup>2</sup> Here the evidence of Roman history, last examined by W. Ensslin, is of some importance: "Es kamen 241 Nachrichten aus dem Osten, dass der Perserkönig Schapur<sup>3</sup> erneut das Reichsgebiet bedrohe, und darauf antwortete die römische Regierung mit dem 242 beginnenden Feldzug, bei dem nominell Gordian III . . . die Führung hatte."<sup>4</sup> This is a fair summary by a leading classical historian; it is independent of Oriental reports. It seems to me that we would do an injustice to Professor Ensslin's admirable study if we dismissed it merely because he adopted in it the system of Persian chronology advocated by M. Higgins, which, I fully agree with Mr Taqizadeh, is untenable; for evidently Ensslin accepted the dates given by Higgins (which happened to be earlier than those proposed by any other author) only because they agreed best with the Roman evidence as interpreted by him; and that evidence favours the earlier dating.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that Taqizadeh, deviating from the indications of the stele, allows only fifteen full years for the rule of Ardashir (September 26, 226, to September 21, 241). The reason why his last year was not counted as Shapur's year of accession, contrary to later custom, may lie in the unusual circumstances, hinted at in several sources, that led to the assumption of power by Shapur (abdication or semi-retirement or co-regency).

<sup>2</sup> A fine observation we owe to Taqizadeh (above p. 113) is that the suspiciously precise figure "31 years, 6 months, and 18 or 19 days" found in some sources for Shapur's reign is made up from a full number of years and the interval between the beginning of the Persian year and the day of coronation. Regrettably this provides no criterion for the choice between April 12, 240, and April 9, 243. The latter, it is true, gives an interval of 6 months and 19 days, including the epagomenae (= 15 Mihr); the former, alas, fits just as well: it was the 18th of the 7th Persian month, so the interval was 6 months and 18 days (counting the coronation day, but neglecting the epagomenae).

<sup>3</sup> Taqizadeh (above p. 113) quotes Zosimus as saying that Shapur *succeeded* Ardashir after Gordian had married the daughter of Timesitheus, therefore after the autumn of 241. In fact, Zosimus says that Shapur then *had succeeded* Ardashir, a very different matter (ἤδη τῆς βασιλείας οὐσης ἐν ὄχρῳ, Πέρσαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐξῶαν ἔθνεσιν ἐπιέναι προσεδόκωντο, τὴν ἀρχὴν Σαπῶρου παραλαβόντος μετὰ Ἀρταξέρξη).

<sup>4</sup> W. Ensslin, *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I.*, Munich 1949, 118q.

<sup>5</sup> In his own inscription, Shapur attributes the conduct of the war with Gordian to himself entirely, but gives no precise date, beyond saying that it occurred at the beginning of his long reign.

An important point, rightly stressed by Ensslin, is the report in the Chronicle of Arbela (a prime source) that Shapur spent his first year in wars in northern Iran. This agrees badly with the later dating, excellently with the earlier one:

Shapur's first year	September 23, 239—September 21, 240
War in northern Iran	Summer 240
First moves against Rome	Summer 241 <sup>1</sup>

Further support is provided by the dates in the Pahlavi graffiti in the synagogue of Dura-Europos, buried under sand when the city was besieged and captured by the Persians in 256. Already M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Berytus*, viii, 1943, 50sqq., suggested that there had been an earlier conquest of Dura-Europos by the Persians in 253, and such a temporary occupation obviously affords the best (indeed, the only) opportunity for the activities of the Persian "scribes" in the synagogue. This view is now also held by C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue*, 1956, 336sqq. The earliest and latest full dates are: 4th day of 7th month, year 14, and 18th day of 1st month, year 15. These fit precisely our scheme of early dating; they would correspond with March 26, 253, and October 6, 253.<sup>2</sup>

One would contend that the purely historical evidence, summed up in the preceding paragraphs, deserved more credit than the legendary story of Mani's life. Hagiography is not history; it is biased and involves elements of religious propaganda. We hear of Mani's age only on three occasions: when he was twelve, when he was twenty-four, and when he died at the age of sixty. Is it credible that the prophet's life thus proceeded in even jumps of twelve years *precisely*? Five and twelve, we must remember, were sacred numbers for Mani; everything in his system was grouped in pentads or dodecads. Did Life accommodate itself to Mani's system to the extent of granting him a span equal to the product of his favourite numbers? Such figures are no more than approximate values at best.

Mani's completion of his twenty-fourth year, in the Manichaean legend, is bound up with the coronation of Shapur. In my calculations, the coronation preceded the birthday by as little as seven (or two) days; according to Taqizadeh, the coronation followed it by almost three years. The implication of the relevant passage in the Fihrist is that the two events coincided: an angel, Mani's "Twin", came to him and said "*the time has come for you to go out . . . so he went out on the day when Shapur became king . . .*". Arguing within the hagiographical tradition, one experiences

<sup>1</sup> In agreement with the *Script. Hist. Aug.* "*Gordiano iam iterum et Pompeiano cons. [= 241] bellum Persicum natum est*" (ii 47<sup>b</sup> ed. Hohl).

<sup>2</sup> Taking into account the yearless dates, one can easily arrange them so that they all fall within 253: earliest 19th of 5th month [year 14] = February 4, 253, and 29th of 6th month [year 14] = March 21, 253; latest, 1st of 2nd month [year 15] = October 19, 253. They would thus testify to an occupation lasting 8½ months.

some difficulty in believing that a prophet addressed by his divine guide in such terms, "the time has come" (*qad hāna laka an . . .*), should be represented as responding to the command only three years later. We need not assume that Mani refrained from all activity until his twenty-fourth birthday arrived, the less so as a fragment of his autobiography tells us that after his first meeting with the "Twin" (therefore after his twelfth birthday) he began to spread his gospel and converted his father and others;<sup>1</sup> and the journey to India, described in the *Kephalaia* immediately after the first appearance of the "Twin", may have taken place when he was about twenty years old. The true interpretation of the report in the *Fihrist*<sup>2</sup> is probably that at the age of about twenty-four Mani gained the ear of the newly-crowned king of kings and was enabled to organize his missionary activities on a large scale.

Whether Mani's age at death exceeded full sixty years by some 300 days or fell short by some 700, in a community so conscious of sacred numbers and still addicted to the sexagesimal system the precise figure was bound to be replaced by the hallowed round number of sixty. That sufficed for the purposes of hymnology and popular consumption. It does not mean that the Manichaeans were incapable of precision where it mattered. Characteristically, our Chinese document speaks (twice) of Mani's "sixty years", in general context; but the very same document, by supplying precise dates for the prophet's birth and death, informs us that his life-span was a little short of fifty-eight years, namely, fifty-seven (solar) years and 350 days (March 12, 208, to February 25, 266). Such a figure, therefore, is not due to a conjecture of mine; it is directly attested in an authoritative statement of the Manichaean church, incidentally the only source known to exist that gives dates for both Mani's birth and his death. Adding the length of life, as derived from the Chinese document, to the actual day of birth, April 14, 216, we reach the early part of 274. The much-discussed Turkish colophon,<sup>3</sup> correctly construed, also points to 274. If the chronology proposed above for Ardashir and Shapur is accepted, 274 would be the last year of the reign of Bahrām I. There is thus some solid evidence in

<sup>1</sup> Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, ii, 308.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn anNadim has combined stories of different origin and value. Some depend on Mani's autobiography; others derive from late sources of poor quality. Thus the sentence with the Arabic equivalent of a pluperfect (above p. 110) is an unhistorical commonplace that cannot have been invented before the eighth century, when the Manichaeans had reached China; Mani, of course, never set foot in "Khorasan", far less in China.

<sup>3</sup> It seems hard to put a colophon, in which the scribe mentions the current year according to the era to which he is accustomed, on a level with calendar tables, which were calculated many years in advance; in the latter, mistakes occur easily. The Manichaean specimens, moreover, are very late; but the Turkish colophon, older by two centuries, was written at the time when Manichaeism flourished in Central Asia.

favour of the date proposed by me for the death of Mani, March 2, 274 (= Monday, 4th of Addaru, 584 Sel. Bab.).

It would be ungracious if in the end, having defended my point of view, I refused to admit that it may be wrong after all; and that Mr Taqizadeh's opinion may very well be right. We sorely need a fresh piece of unambiguous evidence to decide these questions.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TANG-I AZAO

(PLATE I)

Χρυσὸν γὰρ διζήμενοι  
γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσοι  
καὶ εὐρίσκοι ὀλίγον

HERACLITUS

ALTHOUGH your scholarly fame, Sir Ralph, rests principally on your achievements as a comparative linguist, your work on certain Asoka inscriptions has shown that you are no less at home in the field of epigraphy. I gratefully recall how generously you helped me when, some years ago, I struggled with a particularly difficult inscription (also attributable to Asoka) from the Indo-Iranian borderland. This interest in matters of epigraphy encourages me to hope that you will not disdain, as a modest tribute, the following notes on some new inscriptions, discovered at a place not far beyond the confines of ancient India.

In the early summer of 1952, Dr. R. Ghirshman and Professor R. N. Frye set out from Tehran with the aim of reaching Tang-i Azao, a desolate gorge in the midst of the mountains of western Afghanistan, some 50 miles to the south-east of Čišt<sup>1</sup>; they had heard from Dr. Ahmed Ali Kohzad, the Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Kabul, that a rock-inscription had been discovered there. The journey proved arduous in the extreme and lasted much longer than had been expected, so that, having arrived at the site, the two scholars found themselves compelled to turn back almost immediately, without being able to give as much time to the study of the inscription as they had wished to do. The attempt to secure an impression with a mixture of latex, which turned out to be too liquid, failed; the photographs, taken after the rock had been painted with latex and after the latex had been removed (leaving behind a surface disconcertingly speckled with drips and blobs of glistening latex), proved to be insufficient for decipherment. Although the expedition had thus not been wholly successful in its principal object, it had at any rate the merit of drawing attention to a previously unknown monument. In his account of the journey (*Archaeology*, VII, 2, 1954, 114-18), R. N. Frye stated that the inscription was written in Parthian. As a hypothesis this is perfectly possible, even though the nearest site where Parthian inscriptions have been found (Kāl-i Jangāl, see *JRAS*, 1953, 132 sqq.) is some 300 miles away<sup>2</sup>; for the

<sup>1</sup> An old town, also called *X'āje-Čišt*, on the upper Heri-rūd. Cf. *Nuzhat-al-qulūb*, transl. Le Strange, p. 152 ('Chašt'); Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 410 ('Khasht'); Markwart, *Wehrot*, 166, n. 2; Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 343.

<sup>2</sup> Not counting the inscribed (?) Parthian or Sassanian (?) bas-relief in the mountains to the south of Sar-i-pul, which was discovered by the French general J. P. Ferrier in 1845 (see his *Caravan journeys*, London, 1856, p. 229). Attempts to locate it have, I understand, been made recently, but without success.

author of an inscription at Tang-i Aza, presumably a traveller on the ancient road linking Herat with Bamian or Kabul,<sup>1</sup> may have belonged to any of the nations that once dwelt in the surrounding countries.

At the time, Dr. Frye, with customary generosity, had presented me with good copies of the photographs he had taken. Not much could be seen in them, but I doubted whether the writing should be described as Parthian; after repeated study I gained the impression that it might be Hebrew. The latex covering the letters made a clear decision impossible, but I thought I recognized, in the first line on the left, the name אברהם (Abraham), with letters barely distinct (except for the **N**) from ordinary Hebrew printing type. In two or three places there seemed to be a short word, פא, in rather old-fashioned script; that could only be a Persian word, the preposition *pa* (later *ba*), which is ordinarily so written in the older type of Jewish Persian. I scarcely dared voice the suspicion (it could not be more) that the language of the inscription was Jewish Persian, expressed in letters of the Hebrew alphabet<sup>2</sup>; one has to bear in mind that Parthian, Hebrew, and all the other children of the ancient Aramaic script share in a certain family likeness, which makes it all too easy to mistake one for the other, if the light is bad or the conditions are otherwise unfavourable.

The only way to decide the question was to obtain fresh material. Several times I discussed ways and means with Dr. A. D. H. Bivar, the able and energetic numismatist and archaeologist, who then specialized in the early history of Afghanistan and who on more than one occasion had helped me by procuring photographs or impressions of inscriptions out of my reach. When Dr. Bivar learnt that an expedition of young Oxford scholars was about to set out for Afghanistan, he in his turn approached its members and asked them to pay a visit to Tang-i Aza. The expedition, the 'Hertford-Wadham Afghanistan Expedition', went out last year. As I am aware that its members intend to publish an account of their adventures, it would not be proper if I anticipated their tale in any way. Suffice it then to say here that the expedition duly visited Tang-i Aza and brought back a series of admirable photographs of the inscription. Through the good offices of Dr. Bivar, some of its members got in touch with me on their return to England and handed to me all the material they had collected. I wish to thank, also in this place, the Hertford-Wadham Afghanistan Expedition and especially Mr. Robert M. Evans of Wadham College and Mr. M. L. Holland and Mr. P. J. F. Bell, both of Hertford College, for coming so readily to the rescue of despairing epigraphists; and in particular for placing their precious material at my disposal and even permitting me, in the most generous fashion, to publish the most suitable of their photographs with this article (Plate I).

It is clear now, beyond a doubt, that the writing is in fact Hebrew. It

<sup>1</sup> On the various routes see Markwart, *Wehrst.*, 166 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> I mentioned it, with due reserve, in an article on Middle Iranian contributed to the *Handbuch der Orientalistik*; it has not yet been published.

emerges that we are dealing not with a single inscription, but rather with three separate inscriptions, which were probably inscribed at one and the same time. One of these, Inscr. A (of three lines), which stands by itself on the left-hand side, is written with smallish, compact letters. The script of the other two, which form a slanting block to the right, is large and straggling: Inscr. B, above, comprises four lines, Inscr. C the remaining three. Inscriptions A and B have almost identical text, except for the personal names; the wording in C differs a little. After the opening words (which we leave aside for the present) one reads in both A and B:

(A יי) אֵן נִוִי קַנַד פֶּא דְאֶלֶס פֶּא מוֹד יי

The beginning at any rate is plainly Persian: *in nivē kand pa . . .* 'he incised this inscription in דְאֶלֶס'. At the end one recognizes יי or יי, the common abbreviation of the divine name, but the meaning of מוֹד is not clear; hence, 'in/by/through the . . . of God'.

In this short passage there occurs a remarkable word, *nivē* 'inscription': the context guarantees the meaning. This is the lineal descendant of Old Persian *dipi-* 'inscription' (whence Indian *lipi-*),<sup>1</sup> through Middle Persian *nīpāk*,<sup>2</sup> later *nībīg/nīβīg*.<sup>3</sup> In Middle Persian, and equally in Sogdian, the word stands for 'script, writing, anything written' generally, especially 'sacred writing, scripture'. This last meaning alone is attested in classical Persian: *nivē (nībē)*<sup>4</sup> exclusively<sup>5</sup> = 'the Qur'ān'. The word became obsolete in Persian probably in the eleventh century<sup>6</sup> although it continued to be used by poets in need of a rhyme in *-ē* or of a substitute for *Qur'ān*; its occurrence in our inscriptions, moreover with a meaning that had not otherwise survived in Persian, testifies to their relative antiquity.

Up to now we have neglected a word, or group of letters, that forms part

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Ind. Palaeographic*, 5 sq.; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, 1, 222. The change *d/l* may be due to transmission through an Eastern Iranian dialect in which *dipi-* was pronounced *ḍipi-*. The contrary opinion, that *lipi-* belonged to Skt. *li(m)p-* 'smear' (Pisani as quoted by Kent, *Old Persian*, 191), cannot be maintained.

<sup>2</sup> On *d/n* see *BSOAS*, x, 4, 1942, 949, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The final *-g* was lost relatively early, as is shown by Middle Persian words borrowed by Syriac (Hoffmann, *Martyrerakten*, 283 sq.) and by transcriptions of Western Iranian texts into Sogdian. This accounts for the MPers. loanword *aby* 'book' in Syriac, which there collided with the indigenous word for 'prophet'. The confusion of the two is well illustrated by a quotation from Baumstark, *Gesch. syr. Lit.*, 110, 'die Originalausgabe . . . umfasste . . . 360 . . . Gedichte, die . . . in 12 Bänden angeordnet waren, deren jeder wieder in zwei . . . Halbbände oder "Propheten" zerfiel'.

<sup>4</sup> Final *-ē* according to the grammatical tradition, supported by several-unexceptionable rhymes; cf. also Pazend *nevē* (*Mz.* xxvii, 23). The change in the quality of the vowel may have taken place in the later Middle Persian period: *nībīg* became *nībīg* under the influence of *nībēs* 'to write'.—The alternative Persian pronunciation *nūwē/nubē* is comparatively late.

<sup>5</sup> Except occasionally where Mohammed is considered as representative of a class, as e.g. in the definition of *mursal* given by Bal'amī: آن که مرسلان بودند آن بودند که هرکسی را از آسمان: صحف ونبی وشریعت آمد

<sup>6</sup> In prose it was freely used in the tenth century, e.g. by Bal'amī in the *History* (where continually *اندر بنی* = 'in the Qur'ān'); it does not once occur in the *Shāhnāme*.

of the sentence quoted above: (he incised this inscription in)  $\overline{\text{דאלס}}$ . The line surmounting the letters indicates that they constitute an abbreviation or that they have the value of figures. No such abbreviation being known, it is reasonable to assume that they represent figures, presumably for the year in which the inscriptions were written. When a date is given in a document or a letter, one expects most of all the month and the day; but those who record their names in the places they visit (or cut their initials in trees) are apt to feel they have done enough for posterity when they have stated the year alone. The numerical value of  $\overline{\text{דאלס}}$  is  $4-1000-60 = 1064$ . It will be noted that  $\overline{\text{אל}}$  (an abbreviation of  $\overline{\text{אלף}} = 1000$ ) is expressed not by two letters but by a common ligature, a *Lāmedh* with a little stroke set on its horizontal; even this ligature is perhaps unduly shortened by omission of its lower part, in both A and B, but its nature is not in doubt. A serious difficulty, however, lies in the sequence of the letters: they should appear in descending order, as  $\overline{\text{אלסד}}$  =  $1000-60-4$ . I cannot explain this deviation from the norm<sup>1</sup>; the reading of the first letter as *Dāleth* seems certain.<sup>2</sup> For the present we have no choice but to assume that the figure intended by the scribes is 1064. Since the era is necessarily the Seleucid era (beg. autumn 312 B.C.), the date of the inscriptions would be A.D. 752/3. Undoubtedly so early a date is somewhat unexpected; for the inscriptions would then be the oldest documents written in the Jewish dialect of Persian, indeed in any form of the Persian language; but it is in consonance with the occurrence of the rare word *nivē* and with certain orthographic and palaeographic features that will be mentioned below.

There is little comparable material; most of it is listed in Professor Minorsky's article 'Some early documents in Persian (I)', *JRAS*, 1942, 181 sqq.:

- (1) a fragmentary letter found by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandan-Uiliq, near Khotan, and attributed to the eighth century, = Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 8212 No. 166 (Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1903, 747 sqq.; see further Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 183)
- (2) the Quilon copper-plate with witnesses' signatures, believed to have been written in about A.D. 880 (see Minorsky, *loc. cit.*)
- (3) the Hormušir settlement dated in the year  $\overline{\text{אלשלב}}$ <sup>3</sup> = 1332 = A.D. 1020/21, = Bodleian Ms. Heb. b. 12 fol. 24 (Margoliouth, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1897, 671 sqq.; see further Minorsky, *loc. cit.*)
- (4) the Kabul inscription dated Saturday, *Tvšvī* 24, year 1510 = Saturday, September 26, A.D. 1198<sup>4</sup> (A. Dupont-Sommer, *C.R.Ac.Inscr.*, 1946,

<sup>1</sup> In certain Pahlavi inscriptions of the later period, also in some Sogdian material from Bukhara, the units are in fact placed first, contrary to normal usage.

<sup>2</sup> The *hata* is far too short for final *Kaf* (= 500), which otherwise might have seemed attractive (on account of the Kabul inscr., see below). *Dāleth* and *Res* are well distinguished in both inscriptions, and in this place *Res* (= 200) is clearly inadmissible. The sequence would be no less troublesome in either case.

<sup>3</sup> Written with the ligature mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> = Julian day 2, 158, 896.



252 sqq.; reading greatly improved by S. M. Stern, *JA*, 1949, 47 sqq.; on its date W.-J. Fischel, *ibid.*, 299 sq.).

The last-named monument, although geographically nearest to the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao, is far removed from them in point of time; its year date is written אֶלְרִי (with the usual ligature<sup>1</sup> for אַל), the *hasta* of the final *Kaf* = 500 being drawn well below the line. Its script differs *toto coelo* from that of our inscriptions, which rather resembles the script of the Dandan-Uiliq letter, regarded by common consent—rightly or wrongly—as the oldest Jewish Persian document previously discovered. The letter ק, for example, takes the following shapes:

Tang-i Azao	Quilon <sup>2</sup>	Dandan-Uiliq	Hormušīr	Kabul <sup>3</sup>
† †	†	ץ †	ז †	ץ

Altogether, the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao exhibit some fairly old forms of letters, e.g. א and ק; but these are matters we prefer to leave to those who are better acquainted with the problems of Hebrew palaeography. There is, however, a point of orthography that helps with the dating of the inscriptions: *kand* 'he incised' is spelt קַנַד with *Qōf*. Of all the Jewish Persian material, it is solely in the Dandan-Uiliq letter that similarly the letter *Qōf* is regularly used to render Persian *k*, *Kaf* being there reserved for Persian *x*; everywhere else *Kaf* represents both *k* and *x*, the latter being often distinguished by a diacritical mark.

In inscriptions of this kind one must count on meeting Hebrew or Aramaic words or phrases, in addition to Persian ones; when the engraving is poor, the reading in doubt, and word-division uncertain (all of which being true of the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao), it becomes difficult to sort out the various elements. In studying the texts I was conscious of my lack of familiarity with Jewish studies generally and felt the need of competent advice. It so happened that just then I learnt that Dr. S. M. Stern, who had dealt so notably well with the Kabul inscription, was living in Oxford. I asked Dr. Stern to help me, and he readily accepted my invitation; together we have worked out most of the remainder of the inscriptions. I wish to thank Dr. Stern warmly for his kind assistance without which I should scarcely have dared to publish them.

Let us begin with the names of the authors of the inscriptions:

B	זכרא בר סמעל אזק קובן
A	קובן קי (ב) אברהם אז
C	שמואל בר ראמש

<sup>1</sup> So quite clearly according to the independent photographs I owe to the kindness of Dr. Bivar; W.-J. Fischel, however, who was the first to state the correct year-date, speaks of 'le signe ל, avec ses deux traits horizontaux'.

<sup>2</sup> First letter of the last line (read זכריה?).

<sup>3</sup> Once in רוצי (which certainly cannot be read רוצי).

The last is easy to explain: Samuel son of *Rāmiš*, a Persian appellative meaning 'joy', here perhaps (Dr. Stern suggested) to be regarded as translation of the Jewish name *Simḥāh* (שמחה) = *Farah* in Arabic; *Rāmiš* (or *Rāmišt*), however, occurs otherwise as a personal name in Persian, see Justi s.v. In A only the father's name, Abraham, is preserved. In B the middle letters of the first name cannot be made out with certainty: זכוא? זכרא? זכרא? His father's name might be (Dr. Stern proposed) a somewhat shortened spelling of the Arabic name *Ismā'il*. This is an ingenious suggestion, and probably the correct explanation, although it imports an Arabic element—the only one—into our inscriptions; I should like, however, to draw attention to a similar form in the Quilon copperplate, line 4 סמיעיל (\**Smi'il*?),<sup>1</sup> which could be the same name as סמעל, but more liberally vowelled. The names are followed, in both A and B, by a further definition, which appears to begin with אז = Persian *az* 'from'; in B the second letter is uncertain (it could be ו), but in A the horizontal line is well marked. *Az* precedes קובן in A, presumably a place-name, while there is an additional ק in B; we assume that the scribe of B intended to write אז קובן in line 1, but changed his mind when he had completed אזק and began line 2 with קובן, without bothering to destroy the now redundant ק. A has added קי (the second letter is very doubtful) to קובן, probably the Persian relative pronoun *kē* (later *ke*).

There are many places in the world whose names could be spelt קובן, but none of them is reasonably close to Tang-i Azao; after the preposition *az* one would expect the place from which the travellers set out on their journey, rather than their place of origin. Bearing in mind that the immediate point of departure can have been only either Herat or Bamian or Kabul, one is tempted to suggest that *Qubn* may have been a name of the Kabul valley, derived from the old name of the Kabul river, *Kóφης* (*Kωφίης*), Skt. *Kubhā*. The initial *Qōf* very likely represents ordinary (Persian) *k* here, as in קנר and קי, so one may not compare Hsüan-tsang's 護苾那 *Hu-pi-na* (Middle Chinese pronunciation *γuo-b'jēt-ná*), a capital city in the neighbourhood of Kabul, Stan. Julien, *Mémoires*, II, 190.

The formulae concluding the inscriptions have caused us a good deal of worry. In B we seem to have:

#### אשאובאר אמן

*Amen*, at the end, is not very clearly written; in C the last word is אמן, with medial *Mēm*: the scribe forgot, or at any rate omitted, to add *Nān*. The preceding group can be divided in אשא and באר, and the latter is best taken as Persian *bād* 'may he be(come)' (rather than e.g. באר or באר, all here equally possible); such a word, indicating a hope or pious wish, would be eminently suitable at the end of an inscription. As to אשא, there is no such word in Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, or Aramaic. It resembles Avestan *ašavan-* 'righteous',

<sup>1</sup> The readings previously given (בן סיכאל, סיכאייל) are frankly impossible. One should perhaps transcribe the name as \**Sme'il*, *Imūlah*-form of (*Ismā'il*).

which subsists in Parsi Persian<sup>1</sup> as اشو = *ašō*, doubtless pronounced *ašav* earlier on; but אשאו rather demands \**ašāv*, while *ašāv* or *ašō* would have been written אשו.

In the end it occurred to me that אשאו, the remnant of אשאוואך, should perhaps be divided once again, that is into אש = -*aš* 'his' and או = *ō* (*ū*) 'he'. The enclitic pronoun of the 3rd Pers. Sing. is in fact written אש both in the Dandan-Uiliq letter<sup>2</sup> and in the Hormušir settlement (נפתונואש = they said to him). The difficulty, of course, is that -*aš* is an enclitic pronoun and therefore should have a noun to lean on; yet of that there is no trace in B. However, there is in A a three-letter word between אש and אשאו, which ends in או, and in C the last line begins with או. If we read או in A (which is feasible), we should gain a good word: *yār* 'friend, helper'. We should then have to restore או in B at the end of line 2, where the top layer of the rock seems to have broken away; and to assume that the scribe of C, whose hand plainly trembled, left out the first letter of his last line, as he did forget its last letter. Thus the formula reads *yār-aš ō bād* 'may he be his helper', *ō* referring to God (named immediately before) and -*aš* to the author of the inscription.<sup>3</sup>

The scribe of C borrowed the general sense from A and B (who had copied each other), but employed a simpler wording. He said או 'this' instead of 'this inscription', and instead of the precise *kand* 'he incised' he used נשת, clearly a mistake for נבשת 'he wrote'. His concluding sentence began with אש and had therefore to be construed differently; it probably continued [*yār i ōy bād*. The *Idāfe*-particle seems to have been expressed by a simple *Yōd* joined to the following word, as frequently in the Hormušir settlement,<sup>4</sup> but the reading is doubtful. It is possible that in this early form of Jewish Persian *ō* and *ōy* were distributed according to their functions, *ō* as nominative and *ōy* as oblique case.

There remains the unexplained word אור in the phrase 'in/by/through the . . . of God'. The dictionaries of the relevant languages let us down again; we shall have to guess at its meaning. A non-committal 'by the grace of God' or a colourless 'by the help of God'? Perhaps rather 'in the hope of God (hoping in God)', which might be better suited to the situation in which the authors of the inscriptions probably found themselves. At practically all moments of history a traveller passing through Tang-i Azao must have been in imminent danger of his life. He would not linger there and while away the hours by putting up rock-inscriptions, unless, deprived of the means of reaching safety, he was compelled to stay; in despair, he would put his hope

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a typical Parsi word in Jewish Persian would not be surprising, cf. P. Horn, *Idg. Forsch.*, II, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Line 29 *q'r 'y farmudy 'š skt qnncm (kār i farmūdi-aš saxt kunom)* 'I deal energetically with the tasks you have set'.

<sup>3</sup> cf. the opening of the Dandan-Uiliq letter:

אור [אור] יוד אור א (א = א) יאר באשד

<sup>4</sup> In the Dandan-Uiliq letter it is mostly written as a separate word, או.

in divine help. Such may be the *raison d'être* of these inscriptions. מוד faintly recalls Persian *umīd* (*ummēd*) 'hope', which, however, should have been spelt מויד (or even אומויד),<sup>1</sup> in conjunction with the preposition *pa* פאמויד or at the least פאמויד; although -ī- was often expressed by *Wāw* in Jewish Persian,<sup>2</sup> we can scarcely assume such a vagary in the case of an -ī- that developed from -ē- and was still pronounced as -ē- in the eighth century.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving aside all doubtful points, one would then propose the following reading:

## A

1                    (ב)ר אברהם אז  
2                    קובן קי אין נוי קנד פא דאלס  
3                    פא מוד יי יאר אש או באד

'(It was) X the son of Abraham (coming) from Kōban, who incised this inscription in 1064, hoping in God. May He be his helper.'

## B

1                    זכרא בר סמעל אזקן  
2                    קובן אין נוי קנד פא דאלס  
3                    פא מוד יי (יאר)  
4                    אש או באד אמן

'Zachary the son of Smi'il (coming) from Kōban incised this inscription in 1064, hoping in God. May He be his helper. Amen.'

## C

1                    אין שמואל בר  
2                    ראמש נ>ב>ש ת יי  
3                    <ו>אר יאוי באד אמן<ן>

'Samuel the son of Rāmiš wrote this. May God be his helper. Amen.'

It was disappointing to find that these inscriptions are not written in Parthian. Yet, if they are indeed as old as is assumed in this article, we have reason to feel compensated: for they would constitute the oldest monuments of the Persian language. The Parthian gold has eluded us, but we have found a trifle that may be worth keeping.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dandan-Uiliq letter initial *Alef* is generally omitted before vowels other than *ā*, e.g. ופתאד = *uštād*, יזיר = *īzed* (Pers. *īzād*), ירון = *īdān*.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in words of Arabic origin, e.g. קבולת 'tribe' = *qabilah*. It has been assumed that the spelling indicates pronunciation with *ū* (*qabūlat*), see Bacher, *ZDMG*, LI, 401; it could also have been caused by the common change from -*ū*- to -*i*- in many Persian dialects, which would tend to provoke inverse spellings.

<sup>3</sup> Support for the assumption that *p'-mūd* = *pa-umīd* may possibly be found in a passage of the Dandan-Uiliq letter, line 13, where ונויד = 'hope' seems to be the correct reading (*p' te umūd d'rom*). The continual confusion of *dūr* 'far' with *dēr* 'long' in Pahlavi may have been preceded by the change to *dīr* in the pronunciation of both words.

## A SPURIOUS FOLKTALE

PROFESSOR G. VERNADSKY, well-known as an historian of ancient Russia, recently published an Ossetic folktale,<sup>1</sup> which he had obtained from a Mr. Dzambulut Dzanty, an Ossete by birth,<sup>2</sup> who in his turn stated that he had heard it (and written it down) in his youth, 'in the village of Great Iron (*Bolshoe Osetinskoe*) at the time of hay-making (*zosgärdän*), June, 1910', from an 'old white-bearded man' by name of Khulyx [*K'uljz*] 'The Lame One', who 'was a poet himself and in some of his own works followed the pattern of the old Ossetian oral traditions'.<sup>3</sup> As the old gentleman was 'over seventy in 1910',<sup>4</sup> we cannot hope to consult him now about his sources or about the numerous strange words and expressions in the text presented, after an interval of 45 years, by Mr. Dzambulut Dzanty.

The tale, cast in the form of a prose epic, purports to give an independent account of the story, known from the Russian *Annals* (*Povest' Vremennix Let*) and alluded to in the *Slovo*, of the fight between Mstislav, Prince of Tmutorokan', and Rededya, the chief of the *Kasogi* (Circassians); but Rededya has turned here into a leader of the *Ossetes* and his name is altered to *Iry-Dada*. According to the *Annals* this fight took place in A.D. 1022. That the *Ossetes*, a nation lacking historical tradition, should have preserved, with fair accuracy, the memory of an isolated historical event as remote as nine centuries ago, is exceedingly improbable. The genuine Ossetic folktales, of which large numbers have been published, deal with spirits and demons, heroes and giants, and the like, not with recognizable historic situations.

Not satisfied with laying the scene of his tale in the early eleventh century, its narrator has painted it on an ethnographic background that, inconsistent in itself, reaches down even further into antiquity. We are not greatly surprised at finding the *Ossetes* generally referred to here as *Alani*, although their present-day name, *Ir/Iron*, occurs also (e.g. line 9).<sup>5</sup> The old term, *Alan-*, was still known, and applied to the ancestors of the *Ossetes*, in the fifteenth century<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> G. Vernadsky and Dzambulut Dzanty, 'The Ossetian tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav', *Slavic folklore: a symposium [Journal of American Folklore]*, 1956, 216-35.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere (*JAOS*, LXXVI, 1956, 189, n. 13) Vernadsky mentions a book by Dzambulut Dzanty, *L'empire des Oss-Alanes* (Institut d'Ossétologie, Clamart/Seine), 1, 1953, which I have not seen.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit., 222.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Supposedly also in the wilful corruption of Rededya, *Iry-Dada*, which Vernadsky translates as 'Father of the Iron (Ossetians)' (p. 217); but 'Daddy of the Ossetes' would be more adequate.

<sup>6</sup> As proved by Josaphat Barbaro, who began his travels in 1436 and spent 16 years at Tana, on the doorstep of the land of the *Alani*: 'the cuntry of Alania is so called of the people Alani, which in their tonge they call As' (*Travels to Tana and Persia*, Haklyt Society, 1873, p. 5); 'cuntries of divers languages . . . to witt, Elipehe, Tatarcoisia, Sobai, Cheurthei, As Alani . . .' (p. 25).

it persists in Mingrelian<sup>1</sup>; but from Ossetic itself it has disappeared, except in the compound *allon-billon*, found a single time in a folktale.<sup>2</sup> 'Iry-Dada', however, provides us not merely with this rare term *allon-billon* (spelt *Alon-bilon*, lines 66 and 124), but also with profuse occurrences of the simple *Alon* (pl. *Alantä*),<sup>3</sup> which would appear to have escaped the notice of all the scholars, among them many born Ossetes, who hitherto have investigated their language.

Even if we passed the *Alani*, we must draw the line at the *Ruxs-Alan* (lines 6, 47, 93, 121, 135), evidently the *Rozolani*. This nation disappeared from the ken of the peoples inhabiting the lands near the Caucasus as early as the second century B.C., when they crossed over to the European side of the Don; having later migrated further westwards they are last heard of in the third century of our era. In time as well as space the *Rozolani* were neatly distinct from the *Alani*; for the latter appear on the scene only about the middle of the first century (A.D.), then still on the Asiatic side of the Don. The close association, in which we are accustomed to think of those two nations, is not so much an historical one as rather the product of modern etymologizing scholarship: since Müllenhoff (1866) and V. F. Miller (1887), who explained *Rozolani* as a compound of an Iranian word for 'light' (exemplified by Ossetic *ruxs*) and the name *Alani*, it has acquired the status of a learned dogma. Actually, this etymology is somewhat in doubt; for at the earliest occurrence of the name familiar to us from literary sources as 'Ρωξολανοί, in an inscription from the closing years of the second century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> its spelling is different altogether: τὸ τῶν 'Ρευξινολῶν ἔθνος.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, the place for the *Rozolani* is in the pages of Strabo, Tacitus, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, not in Ossetic fairy-tales taken down in 1910; and *Ruxs-Alan* provides a safe *terminus ante quem non*: 1887, the year in which the third part of Miller's *Osetinskije etyudī* appeared.

There are a good many further items of antiquarian interest; only some of the pearls can be mentioned here. The first rank is disputed by the *Sarmatae* (lines 48, 51, 143)<sup>6</sup> and the *Tochari*. The latter, however, appear thinly disguised as an appellative, *tozar* 'warrior' (for example line 81 *Alon tozartä* 'Alan warriors' or line 51 *tozar Mstislav*!); the narrator composed his 'Iry-Dada' out of books on history—Professor Vernadsky, travelling in the reverse direction, has made this allegedly Ossetic word *tozar* the basis of a novel

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Abaev, *Osetinskij yazik i fol'klor*, I, 1949, 249.

<sup>2</sup> V. F. Miller, *Os.-Russko-Nem. slovar'*, s.v.; cf. Abaev, loc. cit., 246.

<sup>3</sup> If this were an inherited word, its plural should be \**Aläntä*.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 73, n. 4. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, 1955, 265, unconvincingly tried to separate *Rozolani* and *Reuzinani*; that Ptolemy should have both names side by side (the latter perhaps as 'Ρωξολανοί or 'Ρευξινολοί, reflecting possibly \*'Ρευξινολοί in his source) provides no argument whatsoever against their identity.

<sup>5</sup> Inscr. of Diophantus, I, 23 (e.g. *apud* Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 647); -λαν- may thus be due to metathesis, and -νλ- is easily enough explainable, in terms of 'Sarmatian', as from OIr. *narya-*, Oss. *näl*. Cf. Vasmer, *Iranier in Südrussland*, 49.

<sup>6</sup> In the last two verses Vernadsky gives a different explanation.

explanation of the name of the mighty *Tochari* (For Roman Jakobson, 1956, 588 sq.).

More recondite yet than the *Sarmatae*, *Rozolani*, and *Tochari* are the *Antes*, who, to judge by Vernadsky's translation, still enjoy a great vogue in Bolshoe Osetinskoe: 'the Antes', 'Antian drinks', 'the Antian prince', 'an Antian horseman', etc. (meaning in effect *Russian*); but here one doubts whether the narrator ever had heard of them. The *Antes*, famous in the sixth century, were a confederacy of Slav tribes; but according to Vernadsky, Slavs organized by *Alani*, or rather by their sub-division, the *As*. This latter opinion appears to have been based on most dubious etymologies of names, in particular of the name *Antes* itself, for which Vernadsky has proposed three different explanations (two of them in the same book), all tending to show connexion with the *As* or their language:

(a) *Antes* = *As*. 'The transmutation of the \*Aσ into \*Αντες is in full accord with the phonetic laws of the Greek language, cf. γίγας, plural γίγαντες.'<sup>1</sup> Here the actual name was *As*, distorted by Greeks into *Antes*. However, no Greek would have rendered a foreign tribal name *As* as \*Aσ, and in any case \*Αντες does not exist, the Greek form being \*Ανται in fact.

(b) *As* = *Antes*. 'The contraction of the name Ant into As may be explained from the phonetical laws of the Greek language (compare πᾶσι from παντι).'<sup>2</sup> Here the actual name was *Ant-*, out of which the Greeks somehow made *As*: this Greek form, it would seem, was then adopted in the Caucasus and in Central Asia as well (for *As* occurs also in Arabic, Mongolian, Chinese, etc.).

(c) In a note contributed to the *JAOS*, LXXIII, 3, 1953, 192, Vernadsky withdrew explanation (a)<sup>3</sup> and suggested that 'the name is of Iranian origin and should be explained in the light of Sanskrit *anta* "end, limit" and Ossetic *āndā* "outside"'; the *Antes* thus should be the 'outer' tribes of the *Alani-As*. It will be noted that, once the link between the names *Antes* and *As* is withdrawn, no reason remains discernible for deriving the former from an Iranian language; apart from that, an adverb such as Oss. *ādtā*, Dig. *āndā* is scarcely fit to serve as the name of a nation, while the appertaining adjective Oss. *ādtag*, Dig. *āndag* 'being outside' cannot be represented by \*Ανται.

On the strength of this last etymology, Vernadsky has rendered as 'Antian' every *ādtagon* in the text of 'Iry-Dada'.<sup>4</sup> Yet, *ādtagon* is an everyday word in

<sup>1</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, New Haven, 1943, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing is said about explanation (b), which V. may not have considered essentially different from (a).

<sup>4</sup> Lines 27, 29, 36, 40, 42, 83; and so *āndāston* lines 54, 62, 65, which (not mentioned in any dictionary) may be intended as an 'elegant variation', but in that case would be an incorrect form (*āndā*- being Digor only).

Ossetic, and its ordinary meaning (' exterior, wild, strange, foreign, alien ') fits the passages admirably, e.g. line 27 *ādtagon adāmtā* ' the strangers, foreigners '. Even in the unlikely event that the narrator had dipped into Procopius and desired to import the ἄντρα into his tale, would he have used a harmless adjective of this sort to disguise his intention ? for that it was meant to conceal the name of a long-forgotten nation, could not have occurred to anyone of his listeners. Unless indeed he was possessed of second sight and foresaw in 1910 that *ādtag(on)* was going to be claimed as the etymon of *Antes* in 1953.

This tale of ' Iry-Dada ' does not spring from the deep well of national remembrance ; it is the product of book-learning. If Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty had left it at his original statement : *āz fequston* ' I heard ( this tale . . . ) ' ( in a prefatory remark, p. 221 ), we should be free to assume that his memory had played him false. However, in an additional note, quoted in translation from a letter written in Russian to Professor Vernadsky, Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty changed this statement to ' I heard and wrote down the tale . . . ' ( p. 222 ); yet, whether any amplifications or other modifications have been introduced, and if so which,<sup>1</sup> since the writing-down in 1910, we are not told, so that there is room for speculation. As to the narrator of the tale, old Khulyx, he must have been more learned than he let on. There is no reason at all for blaming him ; for an Ossete, as well as anyone else, is entitled to tell or write historical romances and inspire himself by browsing in the Public Library. We, however, should be capable of distinguishing such productions from genuine folktales.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One such modification is the change in transcription, into a new kind of romanization.

<sup>2</sup> This is not even the first time that the story of Mstislav and Rededya has been supposed to be reflected in Caucasian folklore. Šora-Bekmurzin-Nogmov, the Kabardian author of a history of the Circassians (*Istori'a Adızeyskago naroda*, Tiflis, 1861), incorporated it in his work, but Prince N. S. Trubetzkoy proved that it was simply borrowed from the Russian *Annals*. Vernadsky himself gives an outline of the history of this earlier attempt ( p. 217 ), which was unsuccessful and, one should have thought, would prove discouraging.



### NEW PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS ON SILVER VESSELS

Under the title 'Argenterie d'un seigneur sassanide' Dr. Ghirshman describes, in *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, 77-82, a recent find, made in Mazendaran,<sup>1</sup> of silver-ware, the most important constituent of which is a set of three richly ornamented bowls with Pahlavi inscriptions. Of these inscriptions, throughout in *pointillé*, only feeble traces can be seen in the photographs that accompany the article; for the purpose of reading we depend wholly on a drawing (p. 81). Drawings are useful enough when they supplement photographs; but no student of epigraphy likes being compelled to rely on another man's eyes. In view of their importance for the history of Oriental art, these inscriptions deserved better; for they supply, for the first time, a definite date for specimens of 'Sassanian' silver-ware.

As most Pahlavi inscriptions on objects made of silver,<sup>2</sup> the newly discovered ones consist of two parts, (1) the owner's name followed by *NPŠH* 'own' (= 'belongs to N.N.'), and (2) a determination of the weight, usually in the form *MN* (number) *ZWZN* '(made) from so many drachms' or *MN* (number)

<sup>1</sup> The precise locality is not indicated.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief survey of relevant material see my 'Mitteliranisch' (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, *Iranistik*, Pt. 1, 20-130), 49 sq.

ZWZN-sng<sup>1</sup> ' (made) from so many drachms-by-weight '. Bowls 1 and 2 belonged to the same person ; his name is :

wndt-<sup>2</sup>whrmzd (Z)Y kln<sup>3</sup>n<sup>2</sup>  
(Windād-ōhrmizd ī Kārenān).

Windād-ōhrmizd (Windād-hormizd) is a very rare name indeed.<sup>3</sup> In the whole history of Iran but a single bearer of it is known, and he flourished in the part of the country where the bowls were found : Windād-hormizd, the Ispahbad, who expelled the Arab invaders from Tabaristān and restored the ancient religion.<sup>4</sup> He was, according to the family legend, a lineal descendant of Kāren (the son of Sōxrā), who was said to have received a part of Tabaristān in fief from Khosrau I ; after its supposed founder, the little dynasty was called Kāren-wand. As the owner is described as Kārenān, i.e. ' descendant of Kāren ',<sup>5</sup> in our inscriptions, we may confidently assert that bowls 1 and 2 once were the property of Windād-hormizd, the famous prince of Tabaristān whose exploits filled the closing years of the eighth century.

On the third bowl, which is smaller and less elaborately decorated, the owner's name is :

'ēlmyk (Z)Y š(t)lwyn<sup>7</sup>n<sup>6</sup>  
(Āzarmīg ī Ša(h)rwēnān).

No such person is known to history : his father's (or perhaps ancestor's) name, Šarwēn, is known all the better ; that šlwyn-<sup>7</sup> is a historic (or inverse) spelling of Šarwēn- need not be doubted. We may assume that Āzarmīg was an otherwise unmentioned son<sup>8</sup> of the Malik al-Jibāl Šarwēn, Windād-hormizd's friend and supporter.

One cannot take it for granted that the man named in an ownership inscription is the first owner, the person for whom the object was made ; but, failing argument to the contrary, there is a presumption in favour of that supposition. In the present instance, moreover, the standard of weight derivable from the

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *sng* ' weight ', Ghirshman reads *snī*, a reading that he proposed in *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 916 sqq. ; cf. ' *Mitteliranisch* ', 49, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *kln* is clear in No. 1, *-ln<sup>3</sup>n* in No. 2, where the first letter is confused and, at any rate in the drawing, joined to the preceding (Z)Y ; the resulting jumble of traces has been taken for *h* by Ghirshman (such an *h*, however, as would be incommensurate to the rest of the script). This misunderstanding helps to account for his reading of the name : *Zaraspān hormizd hazarnēāč*, which courtesy forbids discussing in detail.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs in the list of witnesses in the Quilon copperplate inscription, ' *Mitteliranisch* ', 51.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Minovi's delightful essay on Māziyār, 4-13 (in M. Minovi and Šādiq Hidāyat, *Māziyār*, Tehran, 1312) ; cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Ordinarily the form in *-ān* designates a man's father, sometimes perhaps his forefather. It is possible that Windād-hormizd's father's name was in fact *Kāren*, and not (as stated in most sources) *Farruxān* (which name may have been attributed to him in an attempt to link Windād-hormizd with the earlier Ispahbads).

<sup>6</sup> The *-t-*, to judge by the drawing, is not perfectly executed and thus resembles *-p-* (cf. the *-t* of *wndt* No. 2) ; but *šplwyn-* is less likely, though not impossible. According to Ghirshman this name reads *Hormizdē hazarnēāč*.

<sup>7</sup> Or possibly *šplwyn-*.

<sup>8</sup> And presumably, in comparison with Windād-hormizd, a less important and wealthy man, who had to be content with a more modest bowl.

second halves of the inscriptions proves that the bowls were not fashioned before the eighth century; Dr. Ghirshman, who uses the figures in order to deduce from them the silversmiths' income, has missed their significance. Bowl No. 1 was made 'from 306 drachms-by-weight' and weighs 880 grammes; bowl No. 2 was made 'from 274 drachms-by-weight' and weighs 795 grm. These figures are almost proportionals; strictly, e.g.,  $880 : 306 = 795 : 276.4$ . The 'drachm-by-weight', accordingly, is  $\frac{880}{306} = 2.876$  grm. and  $\frac{795}{274} = 2.901$  grm., say approximately 2.9 grm.; the figure has to be increased by a trifle in order to take account of accidental loss.<sup>1</sup> The resulting weight obviously agrees with the early Muslim weight standard (*dirham* = 2.97 grm.), which was introduced by the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in about A.H. 75-6 (= A.D. 694-6)<sup>2</sup>; at any rate it corresponds with no Sassanian measure.<sup>3</sup> Strictly, we should not take a coin weight, such as the *dirham* of 2.97 grm.,<sup>4</sup> as point of departure; for the inscriptions speak<sup>5</sup> of *dra(h)m-sang* (= Pers. *diramsang* = Arab. *dirham al-kail*) 'drachms-by-weight', which often differed; yet even if we take as basis the weight given by Hinz<sup>6</sup> for the *mithqāl* as used in Iran in early Muslim times, 4.3 grm., the corresponding figure for the *dirham al-kail* will not differ significantly: 2.87 grm. (=  $\frac{2}{3}$ ) or 3.01 grm. (=  $\frac{7}{10}$ ).

In conclusion, it should not be left unmentioned that E. Herzfeld once proposed reading the name of *Šarwēn* (the *Masmoyān* of Demāwend) on such a silver bowl; even though his reading has proved unacceptable,<sup>7</sup> his estimate of the period to which the object belonged has now gained support.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot rely here on bowl No. 3, because its inscription is not wholly clear in the drawing. Probably: *MN ciii ZWZN M-iii (ZY) PW(N) sng* ' (made) from 202 drachms (and) 3 *dāngs* in weight' (i.e. 202½ drachms). The bowl weighs 544 grm., hence a drachm 544 : 202.5 = 2.686 grm. This is rather too little; a correct proportion would be 880 : 306 = 582.3 : 202.5. However, we may be justified in assuming considerable loss (about 1 in 14) through wear, cf. Ghirshman p. 82 'son état prouve une grande usure'.

<sup>2</sup> cf. J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian coins*, cxlvii.

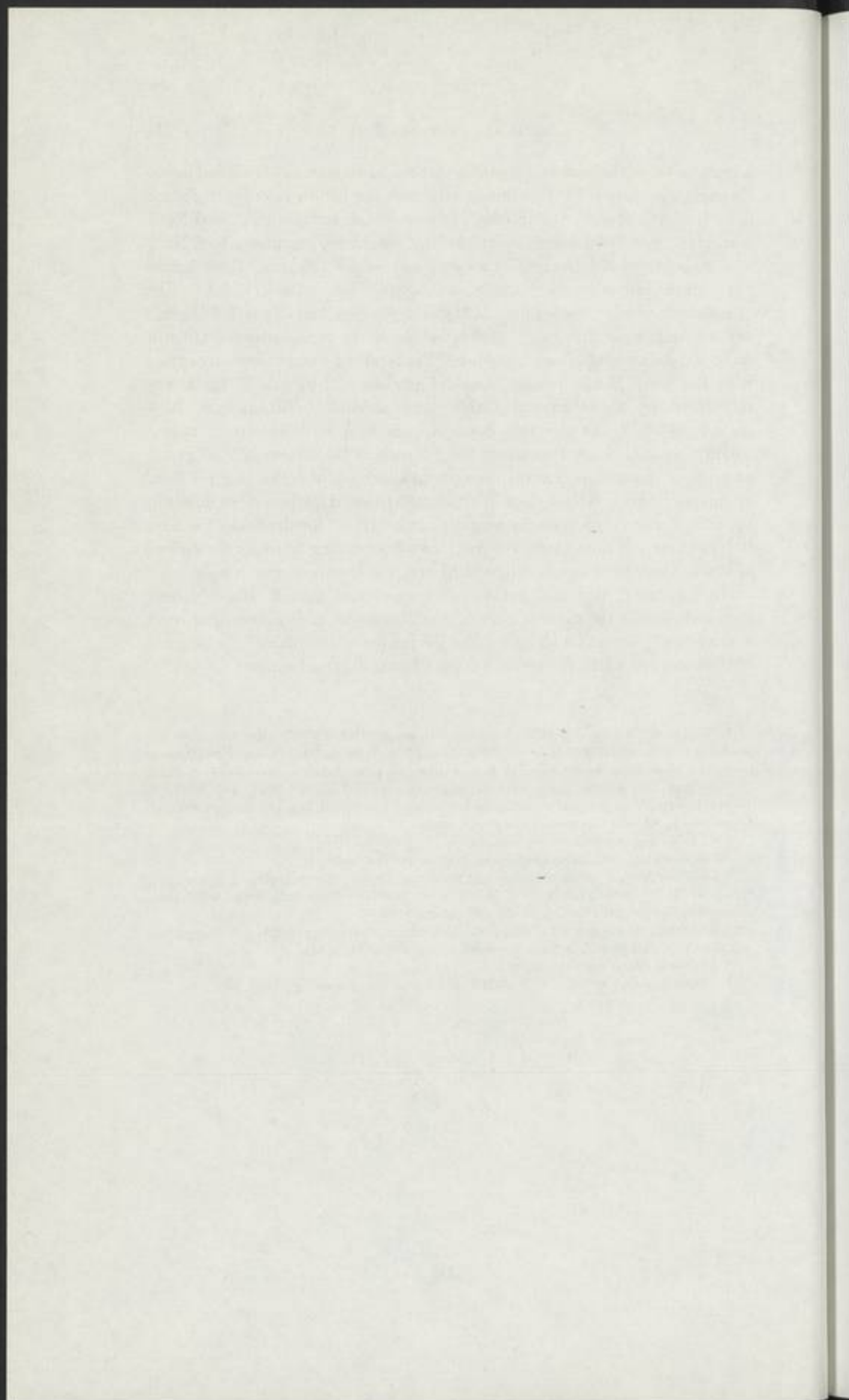
<sup>3</sup> The Sassanian drachm weighed about a whole gramme more.

<sup>4</sup> Or rather 2.96, if the 18 *mithqāl* weight mentioned by Hinz (see below), p. 2, is accurate; for  $\frac{7}{10}$  of 76.23 is 2.9645 (and even of 76.235 merely 2.9647). From the average, 4.231 grm., of smaller glass weights (Hinz, p. 1) one also obtains 2.96.

<sup>5</sup> And thus have answered in advance Dr. Ghirshman's question 'les chiffres qui se rapportent aux drachmes, indiquent-ils le poids des objets ou leur valeur?' (p. 82).

<sup>6</sup> *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> 'Mitteliranisch', 49 sq. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xi, 1957, 239.



## A FRAGMENT OF THE MANICHAEAN HYMN-CYCLES IN OLD TURKISH

Every student of Manichaean literature will feel grateful to Dr. Waley for his elucidation of difficult passages in the Chinese version of the first canto of *Huwīdagmān*,<sup>1</sup> the most important of the Manichaean hymn-cycles, which were composed originally in the Parthian language. As a modest tribute to the eminent scholar, it may not be entirely inappropriate to call attention here to a hitherto unnoticed version of the same canto, which played a part in the Manichaean ritual and therefore was translated into several languages.

The new version, of which only a small fragment survives, is in Uyghur Turkish. The fragment, T.M. 278 (in Uyghur script), was published long ago by A. von LeCoq in his *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho* iii (1922), p. 45, No. 32; its text corresponds with verses 326 (65)–331 (70) of the Chinese hymn-scroll.<sup>2</sup> We will not blame the Turcologists for having failed to recognize the identity of the texts. The small extent and incompleteness of the Turkish fragment, the presence of unknown words, the obscurity and wordiness of the Chinese version, and the general repetitiveness of Manichaean imagery and phraseology, all combine to make such a recognition a matter of good fortune rather than merit. A further obstacle lies in the presence of a discrepancy in the number of verses. Dr. Boyce had very acutely observed<sup>3</sup> that the Chinese translator must have omitted a whole verse between his verses 60 and 68: the missing verse is actually found in the little Turkish fragment (between 66 and 67; here numbered 66a).<sup>4</sup> Unlike his Chinese colleague, the Turkish translator wisely contented himself with a prose rendering. In the following confrontation of the three versions I reproduce the late Mr. Tsui Chi's translation; for the Turkish I depend largely on von LeCoq's text and translation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, pp. 66–77.

<sup>2</sup> Tsui Chi, *Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan*, BSOAS. xi (1943), pp. 206 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *loc. cit.*, 76 n. 7, 77 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Each verse is separated from the next by two groups of dots (mostly four, sometimes two) and occupies about three lines in the manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough revision a photograph of the manuscript would be indispensable, but is not available to me.

## 65

- Parthian: missing.  
 Turkish: (only last word) . . . . *mängigü* "eternally".  
 Chinese: (line c) . . . . for evermore . . . .

## 66

- Parth.: missing.  
 Turk.: *it ördüki quş üni, bulyaqlı ämgätigli yavlaq ög'ür, yirdä äştilmäz*  
 Barking of dogs, calls of birds, confusing and troublesome  
 evil howling—they are not heard in (that) land.  
 Chin.: Chickens and dogs, pigs and cats (?), and other animals,  
 From all these the World of Light is free;  
 Voices and noises of the five kinds of birds and quadrupeds,  
 To say that there they are is not true.

## 66a

- Parth. and Chin.: missing.  
 Turk.: *qorqınčy titin ular a[r]a yoq; könür'ügli isig yil yiltirmäz.*  
 Frightening jostling (?) is unknown among them; no burning,  
 hot wind blows (there).  
 The unknown *ätin* may be a bad spelling of \**itin* (from *itmäk* "to push").

## 67

- Parth.: missing.  
 Turk.: *qamay tünäriğ[dä] tumanta [*  
*]da aray or[unlar ?] ičrä yoq*  
 From any darkness and fog . . . . there is nothing within the  
 pure abodes.  
 Chin.: All kinds of dark shadows, dust and dirt,  
 From them the world of extreme happiness is free:  
 Monasteries of all the Saints are clean and pure.  
 That gloom and dusk exist, is not true.

## 68

- Parth.: [*'wd*] *hmg pwr rwšn* [ ] [*pd š'd*] *yft 'wd pdyšfr* [  
 And all full of Light . . . . in gladness and honour . . . .  
 Turk.: *tolu y(a)ruq tirig öz ol, turqaru ögrünčün tayayl(i)qan amrašu*  
*körträk ärürlär.*  
 Full of Light is the(ir) "Living Self"; ever in gladness and  
 honour loving each other they are very beautiful (?)  
 Chin.: Light pervades everywhere and fills all things,  
 Life is eternal and permanently peaceful,  
 Estimable, joyful, and happy without intercession,  
 And *man's* merciful heart is sincere, true, and always at ease.

Dr. Waley has stated<sup>6</sup> that the third line is literally "esteem and joy have no gaps between". The concluding words "have no gaps between" presumably reproduce a single word—it is missing in Parthian—for which the Turkish translator wrote *turqaru* "ever, always". The nouns rendered as "esteem and joy" agree well with Parthian *šādīft ud padīšfar* "gladness and honour": accordingly I have ventured to change von LeCoq's *araqḷqan*, which could only mean "in purity (= *arīyḷiqan*)", into *ayaγ-* "honour".

## 69

- Parth.: [wšmnyn]d pd š'd[y]ft, u r'[. . . . .]  
[ ? jmn](y)n pdm[n . . . .]  
They rejoice in gladness, and . . . .  
. . . . the measure of hours (?) . . . .
- Turk.: *ögi[r]ärlär ögrünčün, †yīdan igdilürlär, künin sanī yoq ular tiriḡ özināng.*  
They rejoice in gladness, they thrive on perfume (?).  
In days—there is no number of their "Living Self"  
(= no limit to their lives).
- Chin.: Always pleased, joyful, and gay without break:  
Freely enjoying, body and mind, in the precious-scented air,  
Counting neither years and months, nor hours and days,  
How will one fear the "Three Exterminations" in the end of life?

The Turkish is so obscure that von LeCoq refrained from translating it. In the absence of a photograph any change of his readings is hazardous, yet on the strength of "the precious-scented air" one may emend *z(?) yēdan* to punctuation marks + *yīdan* "by perfume".<sup>7</sup> The construction of the second half of the verse, where I have replaced *könin* by *künin*, is not very clear.<sup>8</sup>

## 70

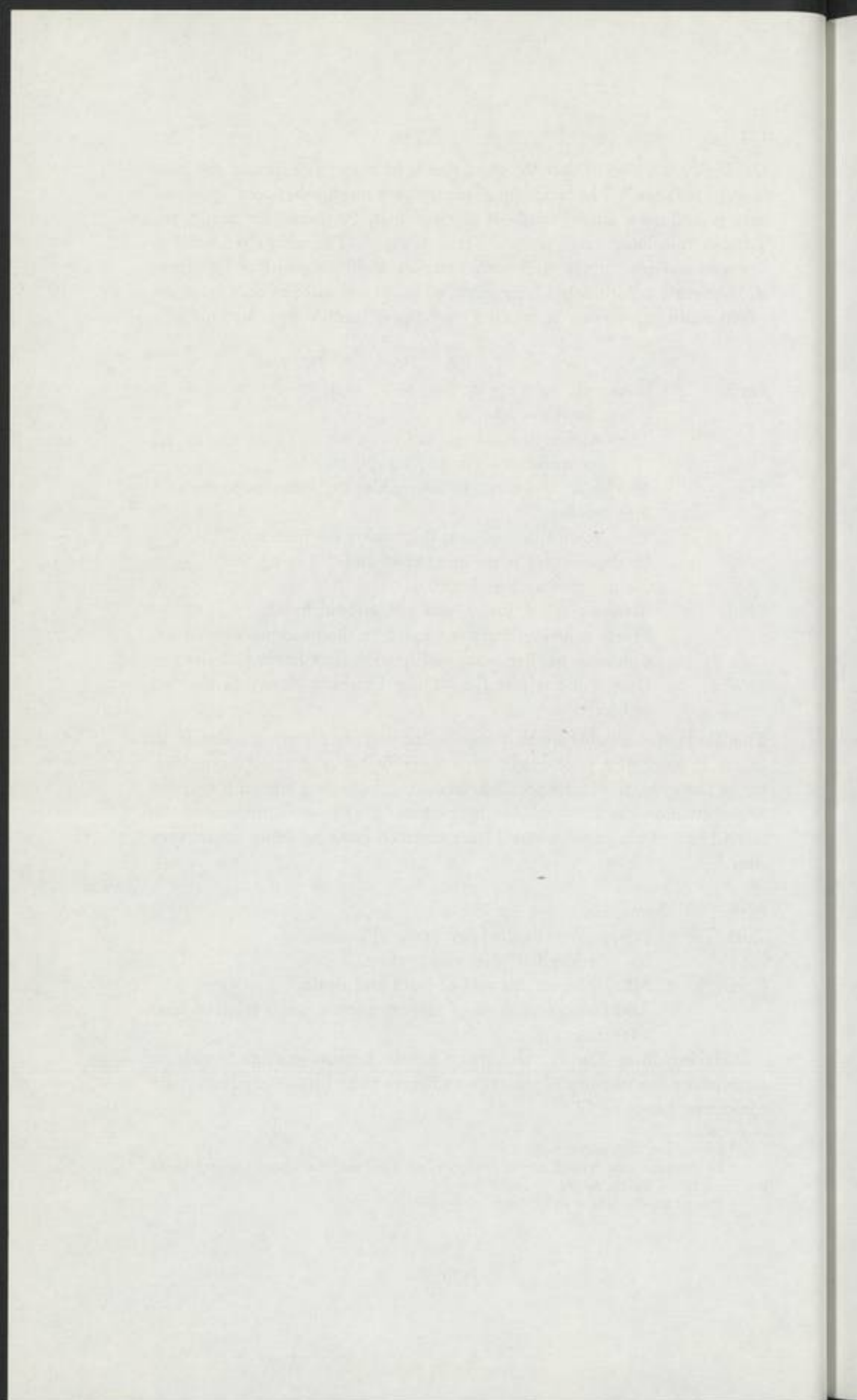
- Parth.: missing.
- Turk.: *qamay [tiriḡ] öz ular [ara ölmāz ?] . . . .*  
No "Living Self" dies among them . . . .
- Chin.: All the Saints are void of birth and death,  
And the killing devil of Impermanence will not attack and hurt them . . . . .

Having little Turkish and less Chinese I must confine myself to establishing the identity of the texts and leave their further study to more competent hands.

<sup>6</sup> Boyce, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> In Parthian one would expect *prwzsynd pd bwy*, but the traces apparently do not fit; *igdil-* = Parth. *prwz-* = Sogd. *prwjj-*.

<sup>8</sup> Parth. \*rwč'n pdm'n ny 'st 'w hwyn jywhr?





HENNING, W. B. (London): *Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift: eine neue Version von Barlaam und Joasaph*

Als älteste persische Handschrift gilt der im Jahre 1055 geschriebene Wiener Codex des *K. al-abniya 'an haqā'iq al-adwiya*. Nicht-muslimisches Material in persischer Sprache übertrifft ihn jedoch an Alter erheblich. So christliche Handschriften in syrischer Schrift aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, wie das von F. W. K. MÜLLER veröffentlichte Psalmenbruchstück (etwa X. Jahrhundert). Wesentlich Älteres gibt es in hebräischer Schrift, in erster Linie das von SIR AUREL STEIN in Dandan-Uiliq (bei Khotan) gefundene Brieffragment, dessen frühe Ansetzung (VIII. Jahrhundert) durch die kürzlich entdeckten

Inschriften von Tang-i Azao bestätigt worden ist: sie sind ins Jahr 752 n. Chr. datiert und stellen so die absolut ältesten Denkmäler der neupersischen Sprache dar<sup>1</sup>.

Die turkestanischen Manichäer, der Nationalität nach im wesentlichen Sogher, begannen gegen Ende des IX. Jahrhunderts, sich der persischen Sprache zu bedienen, die sie natürlich mit ihrer eigenen „manichäischen“ Schrift zum Ausdruck brachten; sie empfingen ihre kulturellen Impulse seit jeher von Samarkand, und seit man dort die persische Literatursprache angenommen hatte, schrieb man eben auch in Turfan auf Persisch. Auf die Existenz persisch-manichäischer Fragmente hatte F. W. K. MÜLLER gleich zu Beginn der Turfanstudien, im Jahre 1904, hingewiesen; sie sind bislang unveröffentlicht geblieben, und das umfangreichste Stück, M 106, welches F. W. K. MÜLLER erwähnt hatte, ist leider in den Nachkriegswirren verlorengegangen (doch ist wenigstens eine Abschrift erhalten geblieben).

Die gegenwärtig im Gang befindliche Katalogisierung der manichäischen Handschriften durch Frl. DR. BOYCE erbrachte mehrere Fragmente, die sich nach erfolgreicher Zusammensetzung als Bruchstück eines Epos in persischer Sprache erwiesen. Obwohl nur Teile von 27 Doppelversen erhalten sind und dabei nicht eine einzige Zeile vollständig vorliegt, verdient das Stück einiges Interesse; der Schrift nach ist es nicht später als in der ersten Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden. Auch dem Inhalt nach ist es von Bedeutung: es gehört zu einer Version von „Barlaam und Joasaph“ (Bilauhar und Būdāsaf). Die Namen beider Hauptpersonen sind glücklicherweise je einmal erhalten, als *Bylwhr* und *Bwdysf*. Eine Seite des Bruchstücks enthält das Ende der ersten Unterredung (= *K. B. wa B.*, Bombayer Druck S. 69) und den Beginn der zweiten, welche mit Bōdisafs Frage über Bilauhars Lebensalter beginnt (= Bombayer Druck S. 83).

Die Auffindung dieses von Manichäern überlieferten Epos stützt die mehrfach gemachte Annahme einer auf indisch-buddhistisches Material gegründeten *manichäischen* Urversion der Legende<sup>2</sup>; F. W. K. MÜLLER z. B. schlug ein „manichäisches Prototyp vielleicht in soghdischer Sprache“ vor. Die Namensformen, besonders *Bwdysf*, beweisen, daß der neue Text am Anfang der Überlieferung steht:

Indisches Original:	<i>Bodhisattva</i>
Soghdisch:	<i>Bōdisaf (Pwtysf)</i>
Persisch:	<i>Bōdisaf (Bwdysf)</i>
Arabisch:	<i>Būdāsaf</i>
Arabische Corruptel:	<i>Yūdāsaf</i>
Georgisch:	<i>Yodasap'</i>
Griechisch:	<i>Ἰωάσαφ</i>
Lateinisch usw.:	<i>Josaphat</i>

<sup>1</sup> Siehe jetzt *BSOAS*, XX (1957), 335sqq.

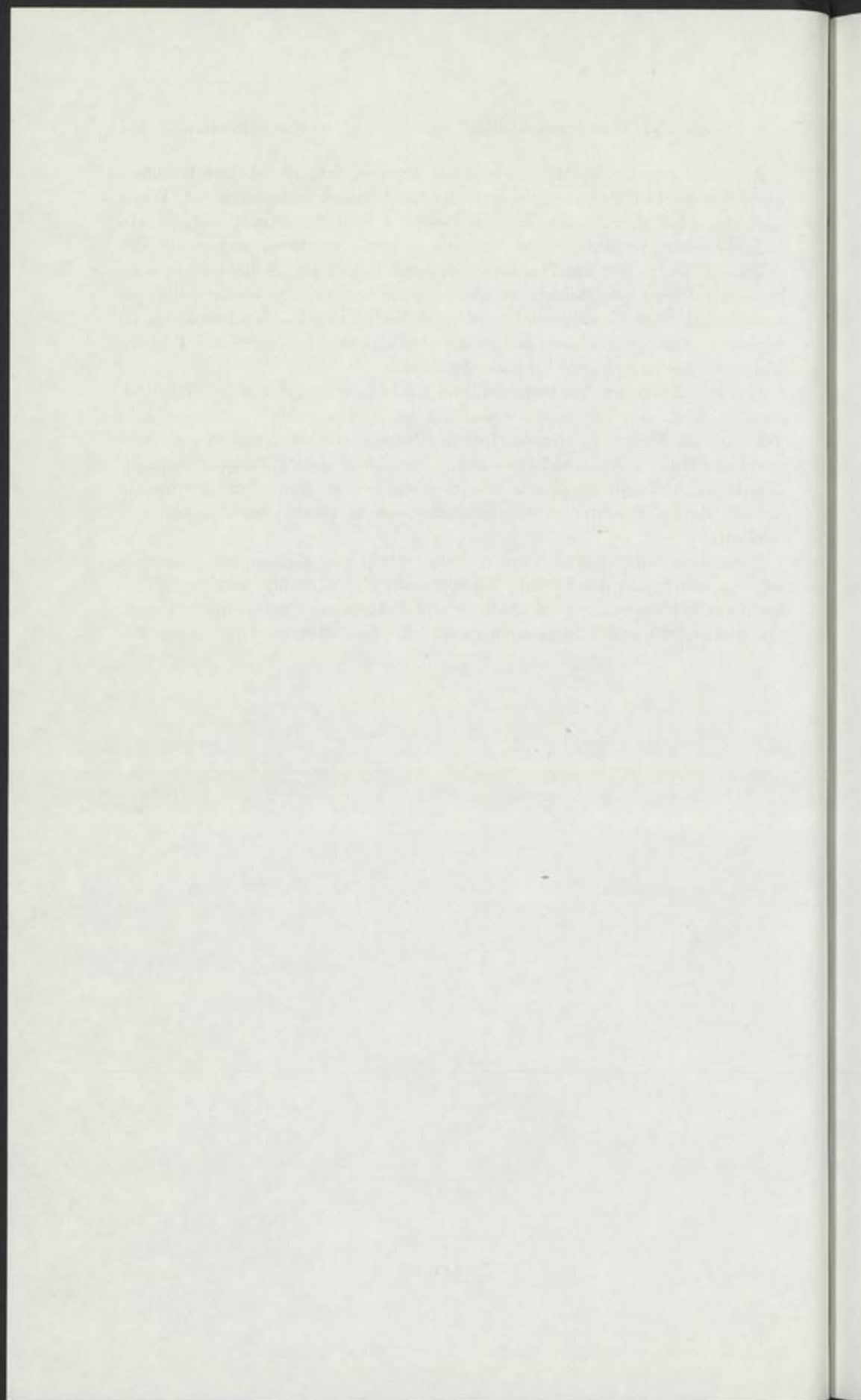
<sup>2</sup> Siehe jetzt D. M. LANG, *BSOAS*, XX, 389sqq.

Man wird annehmen, daß das persische Epos in Samarkand oder Buchara, wo die persische Literatur ihre erste Blütezeit genoß, entstanden ist. Wenn auch der Stoff den Manichäern seit langem lieb und vertraut war, ist ein manichäischer Verfasser nicht unbedingt vorauszusetzen; angesichts der religiösen Neutralität des Themas ist es möglich, daß ein Gedicht eines muslimischen Autors von Manichäern übernommen und aus der arabischen in die manichäische Schrift umgesetzt worden ist. Vielleicht ist es nicht zu kühn, zu vermuten, daß der Verfasser der größte persische Dichter jener Zeit, Rūdakī, war; zwei positive Gründe für diese Annahme:

1. Schon NÖLDEKE hat bewiesen, daß Rūdakī nicht nur *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, sondern auch *Sindbād* episch behandelt hat; dazu gehört „*Bilauhar* und *Bōdisaf*“ als Dritter im Bunde. Der des Manichäertums verdächtige ältere arabische Dichter Abān al-Lāḥiqī hat ja auch diese drei Themata behandelt.

2. Rūdakī's *Kalīla wa-Dimna* und *Sindbād* sind in demselben Metrum (in kurzem Ramal) geschrieben wie die neue persische Version von *Bilauhar* und *Bōdisaf*.

Falls aber die weitere Untersuchung, etwa aus stilistischen Gründen, ergeben sollte, daß das Gedicht Rūdakī nicht zugeschrieben werden darf, so kann der Verfasser nur ein Nachahmer und Zeitgenosse von ihm gewesen sein; die Handschrift selber ist ja noch zu Rūdakī's Lebzeiten geschrieben worden.



## THE BACTRIAN INSCRIPTION

THE long-awaited Greek-letter inscription discovered, on 6 May 1957, by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan in the course of their excavations at 'Surkh-Kotal', the ancient Bagolango,<sup>1</sup> has now been made public by M. André Maricq under the title of 'La grande inscription de Kaniska et l'éteo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane', *JA*, CCXLVI, 4, 1958, 345-440.<sup>2</sup> It is wonderfully well-preserved and, once one gets accustomed to the somewhat barbaric forms of certain letters, offers not the slightest difficulty to the reading. The difficulties lie elsewhere: this is the first substantial, and at the same time readable, document of the Iranian language once spoken in Bactria and, appropriately to a text in an unknown language, is slow in yielding its meaning to the scholar, who inevitably has to be guided partly by often contradictory internal evidence, partly by uncertain comparisons with related languages. All those devoted to Central Asian history and languages will be grateful to M. Maricq for his painstaking work and for his unselfishness in publishing this superb monument before being able to submit more than a partial interpretation.

The language of the inscription occupies an intermediary position between Pashto and Yidgha-Munji on the one hand, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Parthian on the other: it is thus in its natural and rightful place in Bactria; this is also the opinion expressed by M. Maricq (pp. 395 sqq.). It would then be best to call it *Bactrian*. Such a long time has passed since that term fell into disuse, as the name of the Avestan language, that it is available again; there is no reason why we should avoid it. Surprisingly, M. Maricq prefers *éteo-tokharien* as the name of the new language, largely on the ground that in much later times (eleventh century) al-Beruni used *Tokharian* (*tuḫārīy* in Arabic) for the dialect spoken in Bactria, then called *Tuḫāristān*. We cannot well follow al-Beruni's example and simply say *Tokharian*; for that would increase the great confusion already associated with that term. Yet, having some authority in its favour, it could be defended, while *éteo-tokharien* seems inappropriate altogether; for it implies a claim, not made by M. Maricq himself nor indeed tenable,<sup>3</sup> that the new language is that of the genuine *Τόχαροι* (as against the people of Qarašahr), who, coming from Kan-su, conquered Bactria in the second century B.C. and caused that country to be renamed. The invaders, as is so often the case, adopted the native language in the course of time; it is possible, even probable, that they imported some

<sup>1</sup> cf. *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 366 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This issue of the *Journal Asiatique* reached London on 16 October 1959.

<sup>3</sup> An intruding language (even if it was also an Iranian one by origin) would not fall so neatly in position.

words into it from their own form of speech, and such words could indeed be properly called *étéo-tokharien*.

It is not at all likely that the inscription, as M. Maricq believes and already suggests by the title of his publication, can be attributed to Kaniška (I). True, his name is mentioned in the opening sentence, as that of the founder of the sanctuary; and no other royal name occurs. Yet, if we consider the contents of the inscription<sup>1</sup> as a whole, we can hardly fail to get the impression that it was set up a long time after Kaniška's death. We may not yet be able to produce a full translation, but the general drift of its message seems clear: after its foundation by Kaniška, the sanctuary fell into disrepair and was abandoned, until in the *kṣuṇa*-year 31 one *Nokonzoko*, a high official, came there and repaired and adorned the place; three other officials, of equal rank, were associated with *Nokonzoko*'s work; the inscription itself was 'written', i.e. composed, by Mihrāmān and Burzmihruhr, who signed it and caused their heraldic devices<sup>2</sup> to be incised after their names.

The purpose of the inscription, therefore, is to celebrate *Nokonzoko*'s restoration; we shall hardly go wrong if we take it that it was by his orders that the inscription was written. It mentions at some length his devotion to the king (lines 7-9); there is a similar phrase about him and his three colleagues at the end (lines 23-24). As the king's name is stated in neither passage, one would assume that the then ruling king is meant, the only one whose name may be taken for granted. The *kṣuṇa*-year<sup>3</sup> 31 is mentioned merely incidentally, as the year in which *Nokonzoko* 'came here' (*μαλο αγαδο*). It has caused great perplexity to M. Maricq; the latest year attested for Kaniška being 23, he advances two hypotheses (p. 384 sq.): either that Kaniška continued to live in Bactria beyond 23, leaving the rule of Gandhara and India to others; or that the era of the inscription differs from that universally used in monuments belonging to the period of the Kaniška dynasty. Once we have recognized that the inscription was not set up by Kaniška at all, we can dispense with such cumbrous hypotheses. Its date is 31 + x, in the early part of *Huviška*'s reign.

In his chapter 'La destination du sanctuaire' (pp. 368-72) M. Maricq has laid stress on certain words in the opening lines which he renders as 'un sanctuaire appelé Dieu, Roi Kaniška'. Before we can discuss this translation, which is *a priori* improbable, we have to consider some problems of orthography and word-division. The first point to be noticed is the apparent absence of affricates, see Maricq, p. 401. A Middle Iranian language lacking affricates or

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that M. Maricq has not supplied a summary of the contents.

<sup>2</sup> As far as I see, M. Maricq has not alluded in his article to these interesting monograms, which are personal or family devices of the kind called *tamya* by some scholars (in Western Iran, where they were exceedingly common in Sassanian times, they were known as *nīsān*).

<sup>3</sup> i.e. regnal year; the ordinary word for 'year' may occur in Fragment G of the *inscription pariétale*: *σαρλ[ο]*, see Curiel, *JA*, CCXLII, 2, 1954, 191 (the last letter is unfortunately in doubt; it might be *σαρδ[ο]*).

sounds representing the ancient affricates, particularly  $\dot{c}$ , is frankly impossible. In Bactrian, as in certain related languages, e.g. Pashto and Khwarezmian, the ancient palatal affricates ( $\dot{c}$ ,  $\dot{j}$ ) probably became dental affricates ( $c$ ,  $j$ ): in Greek script these could well be represented by  $\sigma$  and  $\zeta$ ; they might even have developed further to  $s$  and  $z$  (as happened in some Pashto dialects). The inscription does indeed contain words in which  $\sigma =$  Old Ir.  $\dot{c}$ ; none of them has been recognized by M. Maricq. For example,  $\alpha\sigma\sigma$  'from', lines 4, 5, etc., from  $ha\dot{c}\bar{a}$ , which may be part of the compound  $\alpha\sigma\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron$  17, possible \* $ha\dot{c}\bar{a}$ - $skamba$  'buttressed';  $\phi\omicron\rho\delta\alpha\mu\omicron$  2 'at first', cf. the Sogd. suffix  $-(\dot{c})y$  beside  $-(\dot{c})yk$ , and Sogd.  $\dot{p}rtm\dot{c}yk$ ;  $\sigma\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  line 1, and perhaps  $\alpha\sigma\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  2 =  $\sigma\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  with prefixed  $\alpha\sigma\omicron$  'from', = 'which, what', the neuter relative-interrogative combined with the particle familiar from Sogdian ( $\dot{c}$ ) $\dot{c}w$ -ZY,  $\dot{c}w(\dot{c})y$ ; it forms a pair with  $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  'who' 7, 9 (as e.g. Parthian  $\dot{c}y$ :  $\dot{c}y$ ), cf. Sogd. ( $\dot{c}$ ) $\dot{c}y$ -ZY, ( $\dot{c}$ ) $\dot{c}y\dot{c}y$ .<sup>1</sup>

M. Maricq assumes that the letters  $\iota\zeta$  in combination denoted  $z$  in  $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\omicron$ , a frequent word in the inscription, obviously an appellative describing the whole complex of 'Surkh-Kotal', and that this word and its orthography had been borrowed from a Saka dialect (353 sqq., 407 sq.). In face of the fact that  $z$  in other words is invariably expressed by plain  $\zeta$  in the inscription, such a borrowing of an orthographic device (which owes its invention to the lack of a sign for  $z$  in the Brāhmī script) is as unlikely as it would have been needless. Moreover, the presumed Saka \* $malysa$  'house' does not even exist.<sup>2</sup> Since  $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\omicron$  should represent earlier  $m\bar{a}-d-i-z$ , with possible elision of some sounds, it could be a compound with OIr.  $diz\bar{a}$  'fortress'; provisionally we will translate it as 'acropolis'. A difficult case is that of  $\chi\omicron h\zeta\omicron$  20, where the consonant cluster may denote some variation of  $z$ , possibly  $\dot{z}$  (in which case Parth.  $\chi wj$ , i.e.  $\chi\dot{z}$ , could be compared). Yet are we wise to transcribe ypsilon as  $h$  in all cases? The study of the coins has shown long ago that ypsilon was used for  $h$ , and it is true that it is so used in the inscription. Nevertheless, in cases where there would otherwise be a heaping of omicra, it may perhaps serve as  $y$ . For example,  $\lambda\rho\omicron\omicron$  4, 14/5, surely =  $lrwy^o$  from Old Ir.  $drwca$ ,<sup>3</sup> which otherwise might have been spelt  $\lambda\rho\omicron\omicron$  (in  $\lambda\rho\omicron\alpha\sigma\pi\omicron = Lrwy\bar{a}sp^o$  the awkwardness was less great); probably  $\nu\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\gamma\omicron \mu\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\omicron$  19/20 = 'the whole acropolis', with  $haruyg^o$  from  $haruyaka$ <sup>4</sup>; thus possibly in  $\chi\omicron\nu\zeta\omicron = \chi wj^o$  or  $\chi wj\dot{z}^o$  (if = Parth.  $\chi wj$ ), so that  $\zeta$  may also serve for  $\dot{z}$ . The origin of  $\beta\dot{\iota}\zeta\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron$  8, probably 'beneficent', is unfortunately in doubt.<sup>4</sup>

The first task that faces the editor of a document of this nature is to divide

<sup>1</sup> An unconvincing explanation of  $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  has been given by M. Maricq, 357 sq. Note that the Bactrian equivalent of Sogd.  $\dot{k}'\dot{s}y$  would be \* $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron$ , and that Khot.  $k\dot{a}de$  contains  $-d-$  from  $-rt-$ . It may be better to regard  $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  as a relative adverb, different from  $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$ .

<sup>2</sup> It has been inferred from Khot.  $malysaka = grhapati$ , but a  $-ka-$  suffix does not usually involve so great a change in meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Not recognized by M. Maricq.

<sup>4</sup> Perh. =  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ; no connexion with Sogd.  $\dot{s}yr-$  etc. seems possible.

the words correctly: this difficult task has been resolved successfully on the whole by M. Maricq, whose text provides a sound basis for further study. It appears to be the rule that all words must end in a vocalic letter.<sup>1</sup> If a word in fact ended in a consonant, an omicron was added to it, except if the closing consonant was  $\mu$  expressed by omicron ( $\beta\alpha\omicron$  'king' =  $\delta\bar{a}\mu$ ); no exception was made in the case of consonantic iota, e.g. final  $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$  was spelt  $-\eta\omicron$ . It is possible that here and there a closing omicron expressed a vowel actually pronounced in speech at the time of the inscription; in most cases it functioned virtually as a word-divider. The prepositions  $\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron = \pi\dot{i}\delta$  from  $\pi\dot{\alpha}\tau\dot{i}$ ,  $\alpha\beta\omicron = \alpha\beta$  from  $\alpha\beta\dot{i}$ ,<sup>2</sup>  $\alpha\sigma\omicron = \alpha\sigma$  from  $\eta\alpha\delta\bar{\alpha}$  show that clearly; the omicron even appears in composition:  $\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\gamma\dot{\iota}\gamma\delta\omicron$ ;  $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$  11/12 and  $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$  20 with  $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron$  from  $\pi\dot{\alpha}\tau\dot{i}$ ;  $\omicron\zeta\omicron\sigma\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron$  12 with  $\omicron\zeta\omicron = \omicron\zeta$ ; even  $\nu\omicron-$  =  $\nu-$  for ancient  $\nu\bar{i}$ - in  $\nu\omicron\beta\dot{\iota}\chi\tau\omicron$ , and  $\nu\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron$  5, 15/6 'seat'<sup>3</sup> =  $\nu\bar{s}\alpha\lambda\mu$  from  $\nu\bar{i}\bar{s}\alpha\delta\mu\bar{a}\nu$ -. If an inflexional ending or a suffix is added to the word, the final omicron disappears, e.g.  $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron$  1:  $\beta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$  4,  $\omicron\tau\omicron$ :  $\omicron\tau\eta\omicron$ :  $\omicron\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron$  *passim*. On these facts, a spelling  $-\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron$  8 as inflected form of  $-\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron$  25 is extremely unlikely. This type of form has induced M. Maricq to assume (359 sq.) a three-case inflexion, with nominative-accusative, genitive, and 'oblique case', the latter being derived from the genitive (as in the plural gen.  $-\alpha\gamma\omicron$ , obl.  $-\alpha\gamma\omicron\iota$ ). This hypothesis is not in conformity with what we know of Middle Iranian generally and should be discarded. The difficulties that have led to it disappear if we assume the existence of a word expressed by a single iota: a relative/article  $\bar{i}$ , identical in origin with K̅hwarezmian  $\bar{i}$  and Middle Persian  $\bar{i}(g)$ ; the occurrence of  $\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$  (i.e.  $\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron + \iota$ ) suffices to demand it. Examples:

(1) (Attributes joined to preceding noun)  $\tau\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$   $\text{Nokonzoko}$   $\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron$   $\iota$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\alpha\delta\eta\gamma\omicron$   $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\omicron$   $\alpha\beta\omicron$   $\beta\alpha\omicron$   $\iota$   $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron$   $\iota$   $\lambda\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\beta\omicron\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron$   $\iota$   $\beta\dot{\iota}\zeta\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron$   $\iota$   $\alpha\lambda\omicron\beta\chi\alpha\lambda\omicron$   $\kappa\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron$  . . . (6-9) 'until (the time) when<sup>4</sup> Nokonzoko the lord of the marches, loyal-to-the-emperor<sup>5</sup> who (is) most devoted<sup>6</sup> to the king, the *devaputra*, the . . .<sup>7</sup>, the \*beneficent one, the merciful<sup>8</sup> one, who . . .'. The absence of the iota from the last of a series of epithets confirms our analysis.<sup>9</sup>  $\text{K}\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron$  is the same word as Pers. *kanārang*,  $\text{X}\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\eta\varsigma$ , a title of the

<sup>1</sup> Therefore  $\alpha\lambda$   $\beta\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron$  18 should be a single word,  $\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron$ , perhaps belonging to OPers. \**hadabāra*-, MPers. *hdb'l*-, Pers. *yār* 'helper' (rather than a relative of Sogd.  $\delta\beta'r$ , Oss. *lāvar* 'present(s)').

<sup>2</sup> The uncompounded preposition hardly reflects also  $\alpha\rho\alpha$  and  $\alpha\rho\iota$ , as M. Maricq supposes.

<sup>3</sup> Not recognized by M. Maricq.

<sup>4</sup>  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$  (regarded as a noun by M. Maricq) is a conjunction, from OIr. *kadā + do* as in *oido*, *κ\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron*, *κε\delta\omicron*, and *τα\delta\omicron* 'so, then'; cf. Sogd. *k̅d̅iety*, and, for *τα\delta\omicron*, Sogd. *tuty* (if its first part belongs to the demonstrative stem *ta-*; cf. Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, p. 307).

<sup>5</sup> Instead of an appellative adjective, this could be a patronymic, 'son of  $\Phi\rho\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\alpha\delta\eta\gamma\omicron$ '.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Sogd. *frystr*, Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 1297; Parth. *fry(h)stom*.

<sup>7</sup> Second part of the compound probably OIr. *upalāra* (Aram. 'upār', Pers. *afzār*).

<sup>8</sup> From *hada* 'with' + the noun attested by Parth. *'zād*.

<sup>9</sup> A similar list of epithets connected by the iota in the first line of the Palamedes inscription (Curiel, *JA*, CCXLI, 2, 1954, 194; cf. *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 367). Two of them end in  $-\beta\epsilon\delta\omicron$  from  $-\beta\dot{\alpha}\tau\dot{i}$ ; the second should probably be read  $\zeta\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon\delta\omicron$  (rather than  $\sigma\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon\delta\omicron$ ) = Parth. *z̅nypt̅y* (Pahl. *z̅nypt̅*) in the Great Inscription of Shapur (Parth. line 24).



governor of the provinces bordering on the lands of the former Kūšān empire,<sup>1</sup> and supplies its etymology: \**kanār-drang* beside \**karān-drang*.<sup>2</sup>

(2) (Introducing preceding attribute) . . . *ωσογδομαγγο πιδο ι ωγο οδο υρσο χρονο* . . . *μαλο αγαδο* (9-11) ' (when) with a pure heart<sup>3</sup> (N.) came here<sup>4</sup> in the regnal year 31 '.

(3) (Direct article) *ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλιο φροχορτυνδο* (4/5) ' then the gods \*withdrew from the seat '.

(4) (Introducing preceding genitive?) *καραλαγγε μαρηγο πιδο ι χοαδηο φρομανο στο ευομανο* (23/4) ' (Burzmīhr *et al.*) the lords<sup>5</sup> of the marches, subservient<sup>6</sup> to the emperor's command and acquiescent'.<sup>7</sup> The interpretation depends on *φρομανο*, which could be = OIr. *framānā-* 'command' or Av. *framanah-*, MPers. *frmyñ* 'joyfully willing'. If the latter, the iota would be a direct article, 'serving unto the emperor willingly and wholeheartedly'. In either case the passage suggests that *στο* means 'and' and therefore is not different from *οδο*; M. Maricq regards *στο* as a relative pronoun, but as such it would be inexplicable.

*Χοαδηο* has been correctly recognized as the outcome of \**xwatāwya* by M. Maricq, who translates 'seigneur': it surely deserved some notice in his discussion of the royal titles (pp. 372-84), where it is not even mentioned<sup>8</sup>; for it clearly denotes the Kūšān emperor.<sup>9</sup> It is also of interest for Persian *xidēn*, in which we can now see a loan from Bactria.<sup>10</sup>

We are now prepared to resume the consideration of the opening sentence:

*Ειδο μαλιζομο Κανηρκο Οανυδο βαγολαγγο σιδο ι βαγο ραο Κανηρκι ναμο-βαργο κιρδο ταδ* . . .

M. Maricq's translation 'Ceci est un édifice de moi, Kaniška le Victorieux. Un sanctuaire s'étend appelé " dieu, roi Kaniška " . Un rempart a été construit . . . ' is based on a sentence-division that runs counter to the spirit of all Middle Iranian languages. Clearly there is a relative clause *σιδο* . . . *κιρδο*, and *ταδ* . . . resumes the principal sentence. *μο* is regarded by M. Maricq as a separate word, the genitive of the personal pronoun of the 1st person. Apart from the

<sup>1</sup> Probably borrowed from the neighbours.

<sup>2</sup> 'Who secures the borders (Av. *karan-*)'. At a brief talk I had with Dr. Gershevitch I learned that he had found the same explanation of *καραλαγγο*, and that we were in agreement also on several other points concerning the interpretation of the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Sogd. 'ωσιγμ' n'ky' (abstr.); M. Maricq oddly 'du chanvre (?) fut brûlé'.

<sup>4</sup> From *imada*; cf. Sogd. *mδy*.

<sup>5</sup> One does not see why M. Maricq declines to regard this form as a plural.

<sup>6</sup> So, if the derivation proposed by M. Maricq is correct; a different meaning, 'mindful' (from *mar-* 'remember'), seems not impossible.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'unanimous', from Av. \**aēōmanah-* (cf. Av. *hamō.manah-*, Skt. *ekīmanas-*, Pers. *yakmanīš*, etc.); *aīya* developed differently from *aīyaks* (*ωγο*), cf. e.g. MPers. 'ye and yē; *euo-* perhaps = *āiy-*.

<sup>8</sup> *ραοναο ραο*, on the other hand, does not occur in the inscription (a remarkable fact).

<sup>9</sup> It does here actually agree in meaning with *αυτοκράτωρ* = *imperator*, as demanded by Meillet's etymology.

<sup>10</sup> *Χοαδηο* also on Hephthalite coins, e.g. *arud* Junker, *Sb.PAW*, 1930, 644, top of page, end of obverse (*βαγο χοαδηο*).

awkwardness of attributing to the inscription (wherein 3rd persons only are used throughout) an isolated form of the 1st person, *μο* cannot easily belong to the accented pronoun (of which the genitive should be \**μανο*); nor even to the enclitic pronoun, which should be \**μα* acc. (if it existed) and \**μηιο* gen.-dat.<sup>1</sup> (since *-ηιο* = 3rd pers. sing. encl.). In my opinion *μο* is an enclitic particle, a short form of *αμο* 'same, also, and'. In line 20 *ειομο σαδο* is not perceptibly different from *ειο σαδο*, line 12; and *μαλιζομο . . . βαγολαγγο* compares with *μαλο αγαδο αμο βαγολαγγο* 11 (end of a clause) 'came here-to the sanctuary', where the full form, used after a verb, serves merely to express the identity of the two terms *μαλο* and *βαγολαγγο*.

One might expect that it would be advantageous to read Middle Iranian in a fully vocalized script: in practice, the lack of distinction of long and short vowels is a great hindrance. Is *ναμο* 'name' (*nām*) or 'homage' (*nām*)? Is *βαργο* = *βārg*, which could be 'fruit, result' (Sogd. *βr'kwo*),<sup>2</sup> or = *βārg*, which might have a variety of meanings ranging from 'riding animal' to 'dress' and (perhaps) 'wall'? Moreover, *ναμοβαργο* may well be a compound, either *namβarg* 'offering homage' (Parth. *nmb-*, etc.) or *nāmβārg* 'bearing a name'. M. Maricq has chosen 'name' and 'wall'.<sup>3</sup> Even if one accepted his division of words and sentences, one would have to insist that *βαγο βαο Κανηρκι ναμο* could only mean 'the lord, king named Kaniška'. Putting aside M. Maricq's interpretation, and preferring 'name' and 'bearing', we are still troubled by the function of the iota, which may fall within categories 3 or 4 above. Thus there would be two alternative translations:

either 'This acropolis, the Kaniška-Nicator<sup>4</sup> sanctuary, which the lord, king Kaniška made name-bearing (= to which he gave this name), . . .'

or 'This acropolis, the Kaniška-Nicator sanctuary, which was made bearing the name of the lord,<sup>5</sup> king K. (= which was given the name of K.), . . .'

In either case, *Κανηρκι* is necessarily a genitive, either as possessive gen. or as the agent of a transitive verb in the past<sup>6</sup>; and therefore *Κανηρκο* cannot also be a genitive, but must be a 'direct case' (= nom.-acc.).<sup>7</sup> Hence, *Κανηρκο*

<sup>1</sup> Or \**μι* at the least, if *κινδομι* in the Palamedes inscription (Curiel, *JA*, CCXLII, 2, 1954, 194; cf. *BSOAS*, XVIII, 2, 1956, 367) is correctly formed acc. to the rules of the 'passive construction' and not due to confusion with the intransitive past (with \**μι* from *ahmi*).

<sup>2</sup> Thus probably in line 9 (*βαργανο* pl.).

<sup>3</sup> This is the least likely of all possible meanings.

<sup>4</sup> M. Maricq is presumably right in regarding *Οανωδο* as an epithet of Kaniška; he may have chosen it in imitation of Seleucus Nicator.

<sup>5</sup> The customary translation of *βαγο*, Sogd. *βγγ*, MPers. *byy*, etc., as 'god' even when preceding a man's name is grossly misleading. Every gentleman was entitled to it as a prefix, though hardly regarded as a divinity.

<sup>6</sup> The 'passive construction' is observed throughout the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> So is *Νοκονζοκο* in line 7, as the subject of an intransitive verb. The forms in lines 22-23 were felt to be agents of the preceding transitive verbs, but the following *καραλαγγε* owing to its remoteness was allowed the ending of the direct case; *Κοζγαρκι πουρο* is 'K.'s son', not a compound proper. *Κανηρκι* on the coins should therefore be regarded as a genitive (as it was assumed to be e.g. by Whitehead, *Cat. Panjab Mus.*, 1, 187). With regard to the inflexion of these proper names M. Maricq takes the opposite view.

*Οανινδο βαγολαγγο* is an open compound and should not be rendered by 'the sanctuary of K.-N.'

The most difficult part of the inscription is that which deals with the abandonment of the sanctuary and its restoration; its obscurity may be due to the presence of technical terms, unknown to us, relating to buildings. Yet one point is clear: the abandonment was largely caused by a breakdown in the water-supply. M. Maricq failed to recognize this, principally because he took *αβο* persistently for a preposition, while it is not only a preposition (= *αβ*) but also the word for 'water' (*āb*); manifestly the latter in lines 12—before a verb with the preverb *uz*—and 14—before a negative particle. He approached the correct understanding by seeing that *αβαβγο* 3/4 must mean 'waterless'; but his translation of *μαλιζο αβαβγο σταδο* 3/4 as 'l'édifice fut asséché' gives a wrong slant; it should be '(whereby)<sup>1</sup> the acropolis came to be waterless'. The preceding words are not clear. Perhaps '... then after (?) he (?) had first completed the acropolis, then its... water... dried up (?)'. There is not sufficient material to show whether we may assume that intervocalic *-št-* developed to *t* (or *l*),<sup>2</sup> so that *χοτο* 3 could represent \**hušta-*<sup>3</sup> 'dried'; some such meaning seems required in view of the following 'whereby'.

It is in accordance with this hypothesis that the restoration of the water-supply was Nokonzoko's preoccupation: *ταδηιο μαλιζο πορογατο ταδηιο ειο σταδο κανδο οτηιο αβο οζσοαστο οτηιο πιδο ασαγγε ιβο οιλριδο ατανο αβο μαλιζο φαρο καρανο αβο μα γασηιο* (11-14) '(when N. came here, to the sanctuary,) then he \*circumvallated the acropolis, then he dug a (?) well and conducted its water out (of it), and he set up \*pillars on (with?) stones, so that through them pure water shall not be lacking to the acropolis'. This translation, which is deliberately literal, is merely tentative and will doubtless have to be improved; unless it is misleading altogether, it would seem to imply that Nokonzoko built an aqueduct. It is based on the following interpretation of words<sup>4</sup>:

- (1) *ταδηιο* from *ταδο* 'so, then' with the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. (Av. *hē*, Pashto *ē*, Khw. (*h*)*l*, etc.).
- (2) *πορογατο* perhaps = Sogd. *prkšt*, with *-t* from *-št*.<sup>5</sup>
- (3) *ειο* may well be different from the first part of *ειομανο*.
- (4) *σταδο* (which M. Maricq equated with Sogd. *s't* 'all') is here clearly = *cād* = Sogd. *č't* 'well'.
- (5) *οτηιο* 'and of him/it' from *οτο* 'and'.

<sup>1</sup> = *αιδο*.

<sup>2</sup> If *μαβτο* 20/21 means 'broken' (as related languages may induce one to suppose), such an assumption cannot be maintained. M. Maricq's explanation of *νοβιχοτο*, which I accept, affords some support. See also below p. 55, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Against Av. *hušta-*.

<sup>4</sup> Those correctly explained by M. Maricq are omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Another possible case of this kind is *ποροατο* 20, if from \**parwa(r)št* 'nursed, looked after', cf. Parth. *prwz-*, Sogd. *prwǰ-*.

- (6) οζοοαστο = Parth. 'zw'st, Av. uzvādaya-<sup>1</sup>
- (7) ιθο is obviously a noun, the object of the action expressed by ολιρδο.<sup>2</sup> Possibly from Av. qithyā 'post'. A meaning 'post' or 'pillar' is recommended by the verb, cf. Av. stund vīdārayeiti.
- (8) ολιρδο from 'vidrta,<sup>3</sup> from dar- 'hold'. The form of the participle agrees with Parth. dyrd.
- (9) ατανο from ατο 18, a conjunction, probably 'so that', from Av. at + x; to which the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. plur. has been added (from \*han-, cf. Sogd. šn, Khw. -na-, etc.). This is found also in οτανο 'and of them', καλδανο, and ταδανο.
- (10) The first αβο in this clause = prep. 'to', the second = 'water'.
- (11) φαρο postposition referring to -ανο; preposition<sup>4</sup> in line 9; prob. from frā.
- (12) καρανο 'pure', Sogd. kr'n.
- (13) μα prohibitive negative.
- (14) γασηο = γαιεῖ, opt. 3rd sing. from γαι- 'to lack, want, fail', Sogd. γw-, etc.<sup>5</sup>

When the lack of water had made itself felt, ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτινδο . . . στο μαλιζο πιδοριγδο τα . . . 4/6 'then<sup>6</sup> the gods \*withdrew from the seat . . . and the acropolis was abandoned until<sup>7</sup> (N. came . . .)'. M. Maricq has rightly drawn a parallel between this statement and a sentence embedded, in the corresponding place, in the report on Nokonzoko's activities, ταδανο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο μα φροχοαρονδηιο οτανο μαλιζο μα πιδοριχσηιο 15/7 'may then the gods not \*withdraw from their seat and may their acropolis not become abandoned'. The various conclusions M. Maricq has drawn from this parallelism have already been examined here. The verbal forms in the second passage are optatives, -οιδηιο 3rd pers. plural<sup>8</sup> and -ηιο 3rd pers. singular.<sup>9</sup> The meaning of φροχορτ-/φροχοαβ- arises from the contexts, but neither the relation of the stems to each other nor the nature of the base is clear.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the same base οαστωδο 5 = 'they were led' (Parth. w'st hynd). M. Maricq, comparing (uz)uāsta, needlessly assumes a change of *st* into *st*; similarly in the case of φρεισταρο, where his derivation (\*fryšt(a)-) is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> One does not see how M. Maricq arrived at the meaning 'here'.

<sup>3</sup> M. Maricq gives the correct Old Ir. form, but a wrong meaning.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably; but it might be 'Tyche' there = Φαρρο, Φαρο on coins (it depends on the meaning of ανομοοαστο; the relative clause κιδο . . . βαργανο probably expresses a pious wish for the king).

<sup>5</sup> M. Maricq has recognized that this is a form of a present stem, but, since the meaning of μα escaped him, could not define it closely enough and referred it to the wrong base, Av. gar-.

<sup>6</sup> Apodosis beginning with ταδο; the protasis opened with οδο καλδο; correspondingly in the sentence to be discussed next, οδο καλδανο . . . ταδανο.

<sup>7</sup> cf. MPers. (Man.) d', Pers. tā.

<sup>8</sup> Based on 3rd pl. indic. pres. (which presumably ended in -οιδο), cf. the generalized Parthian optative in -yndy(y).

<sup>9</sup> βοσηιο 15 = βογιῖ is another opt. 3rd sing. = Sogd. βwy, wβgy, MPers. bwy.

<sup>10</sup> One might make bold to emend φροχοαβ- into φροχοαρ-, if a suitable base xwar- were known; perhaps Khwar. xwarδ- 'flee' (see my 'Mitteliranisch', p. 113) is a derivative of it.

In the concluding paragraph (17-21) Nokonzoko describes further improvements carried out by him and his colleagues (named in 21-22) and sums up his work. Several unknown or uncertain words, such as *ασασκομο*,<sup>1</sup> *αχβτριγο*,<sup>2</sup> *αλβαργο*,<sup>3</sup> *ιβο*,<sup>4</sup> *χουζο*,<sup>5</sup> *ποροσατο*,<sup>6</sup> *χιργομανο*,<sup>7</sup> compel us to leave this part aside for the present; some words and short phrases in the main body of the text have also been left for further consideration.

At the end of this largely critical article it is but fitting that we should pay a tribute to the acumen and sureness of judgment displayed by Professor D. Schlumberger, the excavator of the Sanctuary, who from the beginning not only attributed its foundation to Kaniška, but also postulated a measure of rebuilding (Period II) at a time well before the end of Huviška. The inscription beautifully confirms his views on both points: foundation by Kaniška, restoration by Nokonzoko in the early part of Huviška's reign.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps = MPers. or Parth. *'šyrg* (itself of unknown meaning), *Sogdica*, pp. 31 sq., 35.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 50, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 53, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps = Pers. *zirman* 'haló, threshing-floor'; hence possibly 'the great forecourt', if *μαβρο* should reflect OIr. *masita* (cf. above p. 53, n. 2).

<sup>8</sup> I have had the advantage of being acquainted with a document written in a closely related language, which Dr. M. Boyce and I are preparing for publication. It would not have been proper to anticipate our joint results; and had I done so, I should have betrayed the trust the owners of the document have reposed in me. It affords a little help in determining pronominal forms, such as *αιδο*, *κιδο*, *ταδο*, *ταδηιο*, *οτηιο*, but otherwise is itself in need of elucidation.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from its discovery by Columbus in 1492 to the present time. It covers the early years of settlement, the struggle for independence, the formation of the Constitution, and the growth of the nation to its present boundaries. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from 1789 to the present time. It covers the early years of the Republic, the struggle for the abolition of slavery, the Civil War, and the Reconstruction period. The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from 1865 to the present time. It covers the Reconstruction period, the Gilded Age, the Progressive Era, and the modern era.

The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is suitable for use in schools and colleges. It is a valuable source of information for anyone interested in the history of the United States. The book is divided into three parts, each of which covers a different period of American history. The first part covers the early years of settlement and the struggle for independence. The second part covers the early years of the Republic and the struggle for the abolition of slavery. The third part covers the Reconstruction period and the modern era.

The book is a comprehensive and authoritative history of the United States. It is written by a team of leading historians, and is based on the most recent research. The book is a valuable source of information for anyone interested in the history of the United States. It is suitable for use in schools and colleges, and is also a valuable reference work for anyone interested in the history of the United States.

The book is a comprehensive and authoritative history of the United States. It is written by a team of leading historians, and is based on the most recent research. The book is a valuable source of information for anyone interested in the history of the United States. It is suitable for use in schools and colleges, and is also a valuable reference work for anyone interested in the history of the United States.

## A SASSANIAN SILVER BOWL FROM GEORGIA

In discussing some Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels I recently drew attention to the importance of their determinations of weight for the dating of the objects (*BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 132-4). In the specimens then investigated the standard of weight, a drachm of a little under 3 grammes, sufficed to prove that the silver vessels, supposedly Sassanian, had in fact not been made before the eighth century.

An altogether different case is presented by a silver bowl found, in the course of scientifically conducted excavations, in a tomb (No. 2) at Armazi, the ancient capital of Georgia. Its Pahlavi inscription was first mentioned, with a tentative reading, by G. Tsereteli in the course of his article in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1948, part 2, p. 55. The reading was repeated in the monumental work on the excavations at Armazi, which contains a full description of the various objects found, *Mtsxeta*, I, Georgian edition, 1955, pp. 45 sq., especially p. 46, col. A top; Russian edition, 1958, pp. 52 sq., especially p. 52, col. B below; with pl. XLIX (in both editions) showing the inscription on the rim of the bowl. The Russian edition carries an additional annotation, p. 53, n. 1, in which the existence of an alternative reading by Sh. Amiranashvili is mentioned. This has now been supplied by that scholar in his article 'Une coupe en argent du début de l'époque sassanide provenant des fouilles d'Armasiskhevi (Géorgie)', *Riv. degli Studi Or.*, xxxiv, 3-4, 1959, 149-62 (with better photographs of the inscription, on plate III). Dr. Lang very kindly brought this article to my notice.

The inscription is badly damaged by corrosion in various places, but its final portion, which contains the determination of the weight, is beautifully clear:

'*symy s xx xx x iii ZWZN-i*

This passage has not been entirely understood by the Georgian scholars. '*symy*' was combined with the following *s*, misread as '*rsmys*', and regarded as a personal name by Amiranashvili; in fact it is the Pahlavi word for 'silver' (from *ἄσημον*; Book Pahlavi and Manichaean Middle Persian '*sym*'). Both disregarded the important figure '1' after *ZWZN*, the ideogram for 'drachm', and so Tsereteli assumed that the weight was stated to be 53 drachms; in this he was followed by Amiranashvili, who, however, apparently unfamiliar with Pahlavi figures, regarded the sign for '10' as one for '50' and read the two signs for '20' as letters (*dd*). It should be remembered that figures frequently follow denominations of weight in Pahlavi, therefore *ZWZN-i* can only mean 'one drachm' and the figure '53' (which Tsereteli correctly recognized) necessarily refers to the preceding *s*, clearly an abbreviation of the name of a weight.

We need not search long for a multiple of the drachm expressed by the

letter *s*: it is evidently  $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  (in Pahlavi pronounced *satēr*), i.e. tetradrachm.<sup>1</sup> The weight of the bowl is therefore given as  $53 \times 4 + 1 = 213$  drachms. It actually weighs 850 grammes. Hence a drachm was  $\frac{850}{213} = 3.991$  gm.; the fact that the author of the inscription was not satisfied with a round figure in staters, shows that the weight was accurately determined.<sup>2</sup> The drachm thus found agrees perfectly with the Sassanian drachm: the maximum average weight of the coins issued by the early Sassanian kings from Shāpūr I to Bahrām V never falls below 3.90 nor rises above 4.05 gm. (only the coins of the founder of the dynasty, Ardashir, are slightly lighter, having a maximum average of 3.85 according to Mordtmann).

The remainder of the inscription tells us who the owner of the bowl was. His name, as recognized by Amiranashvili, was *p'pky = Pāpak*. It is followed, according to Tsereteli, by *bthšy bgy 'rthštr B[RH] bgy . . .* 'the *bitaxš* of the divine Artaxšaθr, son of the divine . . .'. While this reading is substantially correct, I cannot accept the second word (*bgy*), which in fact is *BRH* 'son'; all the published photographs (especially *Mtsxeta*, I, pl. XLIX, no. 1) indicate that the concluding letter of this word is *H*. After '*rthštr*' the photographs show merely an area of corrosion, then an isolated *p*, then a space of about four letters, then again the word *bth[šy]*. Doubtless more traces can be seen on the original, so we should follow Tsereteli in assuming that two words, each beginning with *b*-, stand after '*rthštr*'; as, however, the first *bgy* proved to be *BRH*, it seems likely that the second *bgy*, too, should be read as *BRH*,<sup>3</sup> in which case the other word beginning with *b*- may have been *b[thšy]*. The subsequent *-p* has been restored *p[p]ky* by Amiranashvili (this was envisaged first by Tsereteli), plainly because the father of 'the divine Artaxšaθr' (if this referred to the Persian king of kings)<sup>4</sup> was Pāpak. Having corrected *bgy* into *BRH* and thereby excluded a reference to the Persian king, we have no cause for adopting this restoration and, partly for reasons of space,<sup>5</sup> would prefer *[šh]p[whry]* instead. The whole name may therefore have been:

*p'pky bthšy BRH 'rthštr bthšy BRH (?) šh[whry] bthšy* 'Pāpak the *bitaxš*, the son of Artaxšaθr the *bitaxš*, the son of Šāhpuhr the *bitaxš*'.

The bowl-inscription thus yields a 'dynasty' of the *bitaxš*-s of Georgia during the first century of Sassanian rule. With the help of the Pahlavi inscriptions known to-day it can be supplemented, and approximate dates can be established for its members. In the list following here the second column

<sup>1</sup> In Arsacid times, the coin we call *tetradrachm* was presumably known under the name of *autēr* in Persia.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the drachm, therefore, must have been significantly below  $\frac{850}{213} = 4.009$  gm. (a difference of 18 thousandths of a gramme); provided, of course, that the weight of the bowl has not been materially altered by corrosion, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The ideal word here would be *spy*.

<sup>4</sup> It seems to me impossible that a Persian official should not have added *MLK'n MLK'* after the king's name in an inscription of this type.

<sup>5</sup> Which have induced Amiranashvili to read an additional letter (*R*-) before the next word (*R-bthšy*) and regard it as a preposition, a usage unknown to Pahlavi.



names the Persian king as whose servant the *bitaxš* is mentioned and the third column states the evidence (Shāpūr = Great Inscription of Shāpūr):

<i>Bitaxš</i>	<i>Persian king</i>	<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Approx. date</i>
Artaxšaθr	Ardashir	Shāpūr Pahl. 29	230-247
Šāhpuhr	Shāpūr	Shāpūr Pahl. 31; bowl	248-265
Artaxšaθr	—	Bowl <sup>1</sup>	266-283
Pāpak	Narseh	Paikuli; bowl	284-300

The function of the *bitaxš* of Georgia was presumably that of a Viceroy or 'Resident', who represented the Persian suzerain's interests and supervised the local ruler who was allowed to exist beside him. The name of the king of Georgia at the time of the Great Inscription of Shāpūr (about A.D. 262) is known: *Hamazasp*,<sup>2</sup> with the epithet *dastkirt-Šāhpuhr* (which by itself shows that he had been installed by Shāpūr); he is mentioned shortly before the *bitaxš* then officiating.

Between the owner's name and the determination of weight there intervenes a word that cannot be deciphered with certainty. The Georgian scholars sought in it the name of the country ('*bitaxš* of Iberia'). In Pahlavi, however, *bitaxš* was invariably used without a definition of the country over which he ruled; in the third century it was apparently understood that *bitaxš* ordinarily meant '*bitaxš* of Iberia'.<sup>3</sup> Apart from that, the forms read by the Georgian scholars do not agree with the actual Pahlavi name of Iberia, which was *vlwš'n*.<sup>4</sup> The most one can see in the published photographs is ](t) . . wn; relying on the drawing given by Amiranashvili, p. 156, one could perhaps read *tg(l)wn*.<sup>5</sup> The ending suggests a verbal ideogram: *TGLWN* may be the same as Book Pahlavi *TKLWN*- (Aramaic *ṭql-*), i.e. the past participle *saxt* 'weighed'. This, immediately preceding *'smyy* 'silver', would be suitable as introducing the determination of weight; cf. the related word *sang* 'weight' in other inscriptions of this kind.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also referred to Shāpūr Pahl. 34 (under Shāpūr), before his succession to the dignity of *bitaxš*, as 'Artaxšaθr, the son of the *bitaxš* (*bthškn*)'.

<sup>2</sup> His Parthian name indicates that he belonged to the Arsacid line previously ruling in Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> An exception is *Kitoleby ZY bthšy* (Shāpūr Pahl. 33), mentioned among the lesser dignitaries. He cannot well have been the *bitaxš* of Iberia, because under Shāpūr that official was *šhpwbr̄y ZY bthšy* (who, as is always the case with the Viceroy of Iberia, is named among the highest officials, immediately after the princes of the royal blood); even here no country is mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> That *Grzn* (a form inappropriate to the third century) cannot be read is shown by comparing *-zn* in *ZWZN*.

<sup>5</sup> If merely the bottom of the letter *-l-* was preserved.

<sup>6</sup> Only a re-examination of the object can show whether there was a word *before* the owner's name. From one of the photographs (*Mtszeta*, I, pl. XLIX, no. 3) one gains the impression that it was preceded by *t'sty* (?), which would be the appropriate word for 'bowl'. It occurs on a similar bowl mentioned by P. K. Kokovtsov, *Materiali po Arzeologii Rossii*, XXXVII, 1918, 82, *tašti Athromithr* (= *\*t'sty 'trwmtr*?). I owe my acquaintance with Kokovtsov's note to Dr. Bivar.

The mention of Pāpak the *bitazš* as owner of the bowl supplies its approximate date,  $\pm$  A.D. 290. It is difficult to see why Amiranashvili<sup>1</sup> attributes the bowl (p. 157) and indeed the whole tomb (p. 149) to the first half of the third century. As an *aureus* of Valerian was found in the tomb, inside the very bowl here discussed,<sup>2</sup> so early a date seems altogether impossible.

<sup>1</sup> Who recognized that this Pāpak was the one named in the inscription of Paikuli (of about A.D. 293). He was one of Narseh's principal supporters.

<sup>2</sup> *Miszets*, I, Russian ed., p. 51 B.

## PERSIAN POETICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TIME OF RŪDAKĪ

It may not be wholly inappropriate if in a volume dedicated to an eminent Persian scholar, whose contribution to the study of early Persian literature has been outstanding in range and quality, some account is given of certain manuscripts that, although insignificant in extent, full of gaps—one could almost say: consisting of gaps—and written in a non-Persian alphabet, have the great virtue of having been written at the very beginning of Persian literature, actually in the lifetime of Rūdakī himself. In a paper read to the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, I described one of these manuscripts, a fragment of a Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdisaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat); see *Akten des 24sten . . . Kongresses*, 305–7 (summary) and *Qadimtarīn nusxe-yi šī'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337<sup>1</sup> (full text in Dr Yarshater's translation). This fragment is presented here (I) for the first time, together with a later-discovered piece of a Persian Qaṣīde (II), also from the great collection of Manichaean manuscripts in the Berlin Academy.<sup>2</sup>

Before laying the texts before the reader, it will be useful to describe briefly the orthography used in Manichaean Persian.<sup>3</sup> It is both bizarre and erratic. The scribes, accustomed to writing Middle Persian (and Parthian and Sogdian as well), applied the old familiar spellings also to Persian words, however much their forms had

<sup>1</sup> Also in *Majalle-yi Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, V, 4.

<sup>2</sup> It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften and in particular to Professor Dr H. Grapow, the Director of its Institut für Orientforschung, for the permission to make use of the precious materials preserved in the Institut.

<sup>3</sup> The remarks following here are concerned with the whole of the Manichaean Persian material, not merely with the manuscripts published in this article.

changed, but did so without system and allowed adequate representations of current speech to stand beside antiquated forms. The Middle Persian disguise is sometimes so perfect that only an occasional Arabic word betrays the true character of the language. The word for "and", pronounced *u*, is still written 'wd (اود), the Idāfe-particle *f* appears as 'yg (عیک) or 'y, the abstract ending -*i* is -yh or -yyh, the 3rd singular of presents ends in -yd but was pronounced in -ād (or perhaps -ēd), words in final -e and -ā are still spelt in -g and -'g, and this on occasion even affects Arabic loan-words, e.g. *jwmlg* = جمله. Influence of Sogdian orthography may be detected in *x'n'g* "house" (for the expected *x'ng*), *kwn'nd* "they do" (beside *kwnnd*), *swz'ndg* "burning", and the like. Quite modern forms abound, e.g. *z-*, in *zw*, *z'yn* "from him, from this" beside 'c (and 'z) "from", *j'y* or *j'* "place" (MPers. *gy'g*), *b'* "with" beside 'b'g, *k'* = *ke* for MPers. *ka*, *ku*, and *kē*, etc.

In metrical passages the spelling takes little notice of the form of the words required by the verse: the metre is not meant for the eye. Thus 'wd 'yn gwj' (اود عین گوجا) suggests four syllables *ud in gujā*, but is proved to be trisyllabic (- - -) by the metre and thus has to be read *uīnguǰā* "and this which", = classical *uīnkuǰā* وینکجا, with a noteworthy voicing of *k* after -*n*-; contrariwise, *w'ncy* = *uānčē* represents the true speech-form. There are cases of the licence, occasionally found in classical Persian poetry, of combining the Idāfe-particle with a preceding -*e* into a single long syllable (-*ei* from -*e'i*), but the orthography is not conducive to their detection; e.g. *ryšg* 'yg (ریشگ عیک) "the root of" counts as a disyllable, *rīšei* (- -). This mode of spelling makes it virtually impossible to establish the metre in broken passages.

The history of Manichaean Persian was too brief to permit the fixing of spelling rules, such as are created by a long tradition of schooling. Each scribe, it seems, had a method of his own. There are thus some differences between the two texts published here. The one scribe writes *pd* for the preposition *pa* (later *ba*) and *ny* for the negative particle, the other prefers single letters, *p-* and *n-*, joined to the following words. The scribe of the Qašīde allows an occasional -*δ-* for postvocalic -*d-* (*ryδ* "he brings", *nbwδm* "I was not"), but mostly writes -*d-*; the other has -*d-* throughout. The verb "to open" is spelt with *g-* in the one text (*gwš'y*), with *k-* in the other: *bkwš'dmt* "I opened it for you" (which the metre shows to have been read as *bukšādamat*). The latter conforms to the general Central Asian (and

Indian) pronunciation of the word (*kušūdan*, etc.), yet *gwš'y* need not be considered a West-Persian form but may represent a late Middle Persian spelling (cf. *gwš'd* beside normal *wyš'd*).<sup>1</sup>

The alphabet used is the ordinary Manichaean one in its Central Asian form, i.e. the basic stock of 22 Aramaic letters, transliterated (in Abjad order) as ' b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ' p c q r š t, plus various accretions: β γ δ f j x (خ ج ف ذ غ ف). A letter previously found only in Manichaean Turkish is *k* or *q* with two dots, here used for Arabic *q*.<sup>2</sup> A new letter is 'Ain with two dots to represent Arabic 'Ain;<sup>3</sup> for this we write ξ. The scribe of the Qašīde, adhering to classical Middle Persian tradition, tends to disregard the letter *f* and render the sound *f* by *p*, but only in Persian words; for *f* in Arabic words he sometimes employs a *p* with two dots.<sup>4</sup> The Manichaean letter δ, which had been borrowed from Sogdian, had two values, δ and θ (ذ and ث); it is here sometimes used for Arabic θ, e.g. in *mδl*=*maθal* "proverbial saying", but ordinarily that sound is expressed by a double δ,<sup>5</sup> often with intertwined tops, which we transliterate as θ, e.g. *tθlyθ*=*taθliθ* "trine".<sup>6</sup> Finally, the enclitic -ē "one" is expressed sometimes by the numeral sign "1" (reproduced as "-I"), sometimes by the letter -y with two dots; this may also serve generally to render final -ē (occasionally -ai?) and to distinguish it from -ī, e.g. *ykÿ*=*yakē* "a single", *hmÿ* (also *hmyÿ*)=*hamē* "always", *wyÿ*=*wai* "he".<sup>7</sup>

Letters that are partially destroyed, faded, or otherwise doubtful are enclosed in round brackets ( ); those in square brackets [ ] have been added by me to fill gaps in the manuscripts.

#### I. BILAUHAR U BŪDĪSAF

The principal fragment (its reconstruction has been described in the paper mentioned above, p. 89) consists of a sheet (*Doppelblatt*)

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, the -*k*- may have been due to assimilation (*bukš-* from *bugš-*) and the spellings may reflect a genuine distinction (*gušāy-* : *bukšāy-*) in the living language, which by analogy led to the generalized Eastern form with *k*-.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that the letter *q* (without dots) expresses ordinary *k* (occasionally *g*); similarly *t* expresses *t* (sometimes *d*).

<sup>3</sup> Undotted 'Ain, of course, has the value of Alif before front vowels.

<sup>4</sup> One could infer from this that Arabic *f*, even in Persian pronunciation, was markedly different from Persian *f*.

<sup>5</sup> Double δ was already used in Sogdian, with preference for θ (but also for δ).

<sup>6</sup> It would be awkward to write *tδδlyδδ* instead.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps pronounced *wē*?

damaged at the bottom and outside margins; see Dr Boyce's *Catalogue* under M 581. Which of its two leaves (A and B) preceded the other it is in the nature of things impossible to say, except by the contents; in the same way the contents alone can tell which position the sheet occupied within its section (*Lage*), how many pages therefore are missing between the two leaves.

On the verso of A a chapter heading speaks of Bilauhar's separation from Būdīsaf and his return (next night). This I originally took to agree with p. 69 of the Bombay print, but in fact it corresponds far more closely with the similar passage Bombay p. 83, line 1 "on this they parted that night; then he came back to him next night (*al-qābilah*), greeted him, was greeted in return, and sat down"; which passage is followed immediately, in the Bombay text as in our fragment, by the question about Bilauhar's age. The preceding page is an elaborate version of Bombay p. 82, lines 11-15, admonitions to Būdīsaf to examine his mind and free himself from doubt. The whole of A thus corresponds with a single page of the Bombay print, 82 line 11-83 line 10. Leaf B refers to Bilauhar's personal spiritual experience (verse 14, cf. Bombay 89 pu.—91), sums up his discussions with Būdīsaf (verses 15, 19, 22, 23), advises him against rashness (24, 26), viz. in his plan to join Bilauhar as an ascetic, announces that he is on the point of leaving him (verse 20, cf. Bombay 123, line 2 sqq.) and entrusts the hope of meeting him again to God (20 and 21). These passages, unless I grossly misunderstand their purport (which in view of the broken text is perfectly possible), indicate that Bilauhar is speaking of his final departure (Bombay 135, line 12), certainly not of another meeting "next night", and therefore exclude the possibility of placing B before A. Thus B forms part of the long sermon that follows upon the question about Bilauhar's age, Bombay 86 sqq. A couple of sheets (=8 pages), perhaps a single sheet (4 pages), may suffice to cover the gap between A and B.

That this Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdīsaf* did not lack the tales that are so essential a part of the whole composition, is proved by an additional small fragment of the same manuscript (C) that Dr Boyce kindly brought to my notice (=M 9130). It is unfortunately too insignificant to allow of further inferences. It would be tempting to restore ](g)r byh[ (verse 32) to [j'dw]gr byh[wn]<sup>1</sup> and discover here

<sup>1</sup> *jādūgar Bihūn* would fit neatly into the verse.

the sorcerer whose name is spelt البهون in the Bombay text,<sup>1</sup> but this may be too adventurous and the verse in question more likely belonged to one of the tales.

A metrical fault is the case of *fā'ilātun* in the first foot of 16b, since otherwise *fā'ilātun* alone occurs. Elision of an unusual kind has to be assumed in 8 (*pa andīše 'ndarā* √-----√, or even *pa'ndīše 'ndarā* -----√, see below) and 27 (q.v.). Frequently a word beginning with a vowel is not tied with the preceding consonant, e.g. *hm 'c* 26 is measured as --, hence *ham 'az*, not *hamaz*. This, a matter of syllabification, is regarded as permissible; nevertheless, *pd 'yn my'n* 12 (the reading, however, is doubtful) as ---√ is intolerable; for this was surely pronounced *padīn* (*badīn*), not *pa<sup>d</sup> 'in*. A graver fault is the excessive use of ornamental *-ā* at the end of lines; while each separate case could be excused (thus *raušanā* and *andarā* occur in the *Šāhnāme*, and *-ā* after a 2nd sing. is fairly common, cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 152), it is impossible that a good poet should have employed such an artifice in three out of four successive verses (24, 26, 27). This by itself suffices to compel me to withdraw my altogether too hasty suggestion that Rūdakī might have been the author of our work. We shall have to attribute it to a contemporary imitator of him, and not too skilful a one at that.

This is a good opportunity to draw attention to the Manichaean character<sup>2</sup> of an important part of the "wisdom" of the book as it appears in the Arabic texts, in spite of superficial islamisation. Most striking is the prophetology in the Bombay print, pp. 60-1 (in Rehatsek's translation of the abridgement, *JRAS*, 1890, p. 140), where the very wording compellingly recalls authentic Manichaean writings:

انّ أصل دعوة الحق لم تنزل تأتي على مرّ الزمان ويظهر المحقّ مع انبياء  
الله ورسله في القرون الماضية الأولى على السنة متفرقة

and further on with regard to the deterioration of earlier religions:

من بقية ما في أيديهم من الكتب والفقهاء التي يقرؤون بها

<sup>1</sup> It has invariably been emended, cf. Kuhn, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> On the general question see the excellent introduction to D. M. Lang's *The Wisdom of Bahāvar*, 1957, especially pp. 24 sqq.

A *Recto*

- 1 t' [ny] b'šd rwšn 'nd](r)[ ]  
 cwn dylt šwd<sup>a</sup>) by-I-gwm[<sup>r</sup>n<sup>b</sup>] ]
- 2 'r qwnyy cwny(n) k' gw(f)[tyy]<sup>c</sup>) m[r mr' ?]  
 j'y gyryd<sup>d</sup>) xwd sxwn dyl(t)<sup>e</sup>) 'nd[r' ?]
- 3 by(x) [']wd ryšg 'yg<sup>f</sup>) d'nyš 'ndr d[yl bk'r]  
 p[s ? brwyd] nrd 'wd š'x u [brg u b'r]
- 4 hr sxwn [y]' pwršyš u jw[g<sup>g</sup>] ]  
 hr cyt 'yd zw gwm'n 'ndr [ ]
- 5 b'z pwršyš b'r 'yg [ ]  
 hr cy xw'hy(h) t' bgw[yy<sup>h</sup>] ]
- 6 wrt byrwn 'm[d ]  
 b' dyl 'y[g ]
- 7 nyk b(l)k[<sup>i</sup>] ? ]  
 b'r 'yg d[ ]

[1-3 verses missing]

(a) = *šud*.—(b) By mistake for *byhg-* = *bš-gum[ān]*.—(c) Or *gw(f)[tm] m[ ?—*  
 (d) = *girad*.—(e) Very feeble trace of *-t*, possibly merely *dyl*.—(f) = *rišei*.—  
 (g) Not *jw[<sup>r</sup>b]*! Poss. *jw[m]g 'yg jw'b*, and [*šawāb*] in b?—(h) Or *bgw[ym]*.—(i) *-l-*  
 almost entirely disappeared, but no other letter fits traces.

A *Verso* [Plate IV]

- 8 [ r](f)t byrwn 'c d[r](')  
 [ ](py)<sup>a</sup>) pd 'ndyšg '(nd)[r]'
- Heading in* [ ](lw)hr ('c)<sup>b</sup>) jwd'g (ornamentation)  
*coloured ink* [ ]b'z '(m)d(n) 'yg bylwhr (ornamentation)
- 9 [ ](h)<sup>c</sup>) 'c ps by'md nyz (b')z  
 [ ] qrd 'wd bwrđ ['wr' nm']z
- 10 [pyš 'yg wyy ?](bn)šyst<sup>d</sup>) 'wd bwdysfš<sup>e</sup>) (g)wft  
 [ ]r [ny]st br tw br nhwft
- 11 [ ] . . . 'wd jwz 'yn sk'l -  
 [ ] . g(w)[d](š)tg<sup>f</sup>) cnd s'l
- 12 [ ]-I pd 'yn m(y'n)<sup>g</sup>)  
 [ ] . . (zy)n zm('n)<sup>h</sup>)
- 13 [ ] . wy . . . (b)wyd<sup>i</sup>)  
 [ ]qwd(k) [š]w[y]d

(a) Possibly *-ft = xuft?* But then *pa 'ndiše 'ndarā?*—(b) Very doubtful.—(c) *pagāh* unlikely.—(d) Spelling: cf. Salemann, *Zum mp. Passiv*, 271 line 2.—(e) The principal tear between *d* and *y*, but these two letters quite certain.—(f) [š] not possible here, because its top would be visible; [z] out of the question.—(g), (h) Doubtful.—(i) = *butwad* or *butwid*.



*Translation*

- 1 Before it will be clear in . . . when your heart has become free of doubt . . . .
  - 2 If you do as [you] said [to me],<sup>1</sup> the word will take hold in your heart.
  - 3 [Plant] the root and stock of wisdom in [the heart, then there will grow its] trunk<sup>2</sup> and branch, [its leaves and fruit].
  - 4 Any saying or question and . . . . anything from which doubt comes to you in . . . .
  - 5 Again a question . . . . the fruit of . . . . whatever you want to say<sup>3</sup> . . . .
  - 6 If there has come out your . . . . with a heart of . . . .
  - 7 Good, rather . . . . the fruit of [wisdom] . . . .
- [Gap of 1-3 verses]
- 8 . . . . he<sup>4</sup> went out by the door . . . . he<sup>5</sup> [lay down] troubled in his mind.

*Heading:* . . . . Bilauhar parted . . . . the return of Bilauhar.

- 9 [At nightfall] thereafter he did indeed<sup>6</sup> come back, made . . . . and bowed to him.
- 10 He seated himself [before him] and Būdisaf<sup>7</sup> said to him: . . . . is not hidden from you.
- 11 . . . . and apart from this, consider<sup>8</sup> . . . . passed how many years?
- 12 . . . . a single . . . . meanwhile (?) . . . . from this period . . . .
- 13 . . . . will be . . . . becomes a child<sup>9</sup> . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or: as [I] said [. . . .]?

<sup>2</sup> *nard*, on which see *Sogdica*, p. 4, is a fairly uncommon word. Asadi quotes Kisā'i for it; it occurs in the *Šāhnāme*.

<sup>3</sup> Or: you want me to say.

<sup>4</sup> = Bilauhar.

<sup>5</sup> = Būdisaf.

<sup>6</sup> *niz* harks back to Bilauhar's announcement (= ed. Bombay, p. 82, lines 10-11) that he would leave but return.

<sup>7</sup> Strictly one should perhaps write *Bōdisaf*. I have generally avoided *majhūl*-vowels, partly because they serve to confer an outlandish look on quite familiar Persian words, and partly because their use has degenerated into a mere mannerism.

<sup>8</sup> *s(i)kāl* = later *sigāl*.

<sup>9</sup> Corresponding with *īfl* ed. Bombay, p. 83, line 4, therefore part of Būdisaf's remonstrance against Bilauhar's assertion that he was twelve years of age.

B *Recto* [Plate IV]

14	z'nk' d'nystm [	]
	'mdm nzdyk dy(dm)[	]
15	'wd 'yn gwj' <sup>a</sup> ) gw(f)[tm <sup>b</sup> ]	]
	k'yn (n)h'd(y)st(nd)[	]
16	s'n [']wd 'y(yn) [	]
	sxwn 'yg d(')[nyš	]
17	nw gwz(yn)'n d.[	]
	t' sxwn pd [	]
18	cwn (šwy)d <sup>c</sup> ) mr(d) [	]
	xwd (q)wn(y)[d] <sup>c</sup> ] q[	]
19	'yn (gwj') <sup>d</sup> ) gwftm '[	]
	w''n (cy) <sup>d</sup> ) m'nd (')c (k)[	]
20	rftm (')knwn rn(j) b(wr)d(m) [	]
	zwd m['n] <sup>e</sup> ) dyd'r b'y'd [	]

[1-3 verses missing]

(a) = *yīngujā*.—(b) Cf. 19.—(c) = *šawad, kunad*.—(d) Very faint, but hardly in doubt.—(e) A tear in the paper makes it difficult to estimate the gap; hardly *m[n]*.

B *Verso*

21	[	]yd yzd <sup>a</sup> ) zm'n
	[	]bwyd <sup>b</sup> ) dyd'rm'n
22	[	] 'yg mn d'nyy cy cyz
	[	] ny fr'mwšy <sup>c</sup> ) bnyz
23	[	p]'swx d'dmt
	[	]bkwš'dmt <sup>d</sup> )
24	[	]xwd r'yy' <sup>e</sup> )
	[	]y'd ''ry'
25	[	]bd dr mnyyš
	[	]y'bd ks bwnš <sup>f</sup> )
26	[	]by <sup>h</sup> k' xwd prhyzy'
	[	]('w)d hm 'c tyzyy'
27	[	] 's(xwn) <sup>g</sup> )? (m)ngwšn' <sup>h</sup> )
	[	s](x)wn pd (xrd) <sup>i</sup> ) (šw)[yd] xwd rwšn'

(a) = *izad*.—(b) = *buwad*.—(c) = <sup>o</sup>*fi*.—(d) = *bukš*.—(e) = *x<sup>o</sup>ad-rāyiyā* (-*ra'y-i-ā*).—(f) = *bun-iš*.—(g) Illegible, but no other reading probable (the last two letters suggest *-yd* or *-yr* at first sight).—(h) Hardly '*ng*'.—(i) Doubtful; feeble traces. Metrically *pa-xrad* with elision (cf. *ba-bhišt* in the *Šāhnāme*, Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 96, line 5) as in the (etymologically identical) compound *bixrad* "wise", which is apparently not meant here.

## Translation

- 14 Since I realised . . . . , I came close (and) saw . . . .  
 15 And this which I said . . . . ; for they (?) have established<sup>1</sup>  
 this . . . .  
 16 Fashion and custom . . . . the word of wisdom . . . .  
 17 Those newly chosen<sup>2</sup> . . . . until the word through . . . .  
 18 When a man becomes . . . . , he himself makes . . . .  
 19 This which I said . . . . and that which remained from . . . .  
 20 I am on my way now, I have undergone troubles . . . . Soon  
 [another] meeting will come<sup>3</sup> for us . . . .  
 [Gap of 1-3 verses]  
 21 . . . . God will [determine] the time [when] . . . . we shall see  
 each other [again].  
 22 . . . . [if] you know what is my . . . . you will never forget . . . .  
 23 . . . . I have given answers to your [questions], I have undone  
 your [puzzles] . . . .  
 24 . . . . [if] you are wilful . . . . you will call to mind . . . .  
 25 . . . . in disposition . . . . [no] one will reach its ground.  
 26 . . . . you should [seek] to restrain yourself . . . . also from  
 rashness.  
 27 . . . . speech [devoid of Reason] is guile and blandishment (?),<sup>4</sup>  
 . . . . just by Reason speech becomes luminous.

## C

First page<sup>a)</sup>

- |    |                  |                  |   |
|----|------------------|------------------|---|
| 28 | [                | ]z u x(m)[       | ] |
|    | [                | ](gw)š u (zb)['n | ] |
| 29 | ['z h]mg sxyh [  |                  | ] |
|    | (c')rg 'yg rs[tn |                  | ] |

<sup>1</sup> *nihādistan* (the ending is doubtful), a perfect with *-ist-*, a type of form that acc. to Maqdisi, *B.G.A.* iii, 334, 8-9, was peculiar to Nišābūr. It is common enough in classical Persian, but is usually read with *-ast-*. Cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 154, who quotes *nihādastī* from *Vis u Rāmin*.

<sup>2</sup> Hardly "those choosing the new".

<sup>3</sup> *bāyad* = *bi-āyad* rather than "it is required".

<sup>4</sup> No Persian word ending in *-ngwšn* is known to me; the first letter is uncertain, but was probably *m-*. Provisionally I assume that *mngwšn* = *mang-ū-šan* (*-au-* of *raulanā* need not rhyme), a collocation of *mang* "fraud", *ū* "and", and *šan*, a word that according to the lexicographers means *nāz ve kirišme* (the verse in Vullers is found in the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*). Or else "henbane and hemp" (meaning "poisonous nonsense").

- 30 d'st'n 'yg [ ]  
 hr (k)s-I r' (h)[ ]  
*Second page*
- 31 [ ](r)ft g'(h)[ ]  
 [ ]hr qs (k)[ ]
- 32 ] . hr sh g(w)[ . . ]<sup>b)</sup>  
 ]gr byh[ . . ]<sup>b)</sup>
- 33 ]bwd-I zw jwd'g  
 ]bš "[šn](')g<sup>c)</sup>

(a) The order of the pages cannot be ascertained.—(b) Of *tw* in *g(w)*[ only a tiny fraction is preserved, but enough to make all other letters improbable. The *h* of *byh*[ is drawn out, indicating that very little is missing at the end: one or two small letters, or a medium-sized letter and a small one at the most. Without knowing whether the vowel of *byh*[ was short or long, whether therefore *byh*[ is the penult or the antepenult, no safe restoration is possible; *sh*, of course, may be either short or long. One might consider, e.g., *gūn* : *Bihūn*; or *guwā* : *bī-hayā*, etc.—(c) No other word apparently fits; rhyme in mere *-ā* is permitted.

#### Translation

- 28<sup>1</sup> . . . . ear and tongue . . . .  
 29 The means of escaping . . . . from all hardships . . . .  
 30 The fable of . . . . for every one . . . .
- 
- 31 . . . . went at a time (?) . . . . every one . . . .  
 32 . . . . all three . . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 33 . . . . a jar (?)<sup>4</sup> separate from it<sup>5</sup> . . . . familiar [with] its . . . .

#### II. A QAŞİDE

This fragment of a *Qaşıde* in Manichaean writing may not merely claim a place among the many singularities in the Berlin collection,

<sup>1</sup> 28–30 may precede or follow 31–3. Thus 31–3 could be part of the fable announced in 30.

<sup>2</sup> witnesses? modes?

<sup>3</sup> shameless? sorcerer Bihūn?

<sup>4</sup> If [ ]*bwd*-I is the remains of [s]*bwd*-I (and not, e.g., of [q]*bwd*-I "a blue . . ."). *Sabūd* (strictly *sabōd*) is an old form (classical *sabūy*) used e.g. by Asadi. That its *-d-* is original is shown by the Armenian loanword (not hitherto recognized as such) *sap'or* (hence Old Iranian \**sapauda*).

<sup>5</sup> Of all the Barlaam stories there is only one into which these words fit: the fifth of the additional tales of Ibn Bābūye. As the fourth is already known in a Manichaean version (von LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 5–7), it is possible that these tales formed part of our Persian work. However, what is left of verse 32 fails to agree with this supposition (perhaps there were *three* thieves?).

but also deserves some notice as the earliest surviving Persian poem of its kind. Judged by the type of script, the fragment (M 786) appears to be even older than that of *Bilauhar u Būdisaf*, which I attributed to the first half of the tenth (Christian) century. Differently from that manuscript, its text is not set out in verse-lines, but written continuously like prose; in compensation, the ends of lines and verses were marked by punctuation dots and spacing. Only a single book-leaf, heavily damaged on the interior side, has survived. All except two lines are incomplete; several large holes disfigure the page and the writing has almost disappeared in some places. However, in spite of all the damage neither the nature of the text nor its metre is in doubt.

The metre is a common form of *Muḍārī'*: *maf'ūlu fā'ilātu mafā'īlu fā'ilāt* (with frequent "taskīn", viz. *maf'ūlu fā'ilātun maf'ūlu fā'ilāt*), i.e. ---o---o---o---o---o---; the rhyme is in *-ār*. Virtually all Persian poets have used this metre with this rhyme, from Rūdakī onwards (for whom see Nafisī, iii, pp. 998 sq., lines 214-15). In the handling of the metre there are clearly several irregularities, and although one can find parallels for each of them in the early Persian poets it would be impossible to find a parallel for the use of so many of them within so small a compass, only parts of thirteen verses having been preserved. Yet a work from the infancy of Persian poetry cannot be expected to conform to the rules gradually developed in the course of centuries.

Although at the first sight of a photograph of this manuscript I recognized the poetical character of its text and its metre, or intended metre, for several years I failed to get a clear idea of its contents. However I filled in the numerous gaps, the resulting sentences seemed devoid of meaning. If at last I have succeeded, to a certain extent, it was principally due to an assumption I made: that the poem had originally been written in Arabic script and was then transliterated into Manichaean script by a man who did not understand it properly. Such an assumption would account for the otherwise incomprehensible *cwzg'hyy* (line 20), for the omission of the *Iḍāfe*-particle (at least four times)<sup>1</sup> and the word for "and" (line 22) and the substitution of one for the other (line 12). With its help I have attempted a reconstruction of parts of the poem, which, although perhaps a little

<sup>1</sup> Throughout in positions where its presence or absence makes no difference metrically. It could be added also in, e.g., 1 b (*strāb-i*) and 6 b (*markab-i*).

fanciful, will, I hope, not be regarded as deviating unreasonably far from its basis. To enable the reader to form an opinion of his own, I am giving first the text as it stands, without embellishments; it is unbiased, except that in one or two places opinions may vary on the true reading of faded or half destroyed letters (enclosed in round brackets).

As reconstructed, the poem<sup>1</sup> appears to be an elegy put into the mouth of a man already in his grave. His spirit complains (verse 2) in general terms of the bad times (verse 3) and the spoiling of virtuous effort through evil forces (verse 5), but chiefly of the callous and hypocritical manner in which his companions have abandoned him to his fate and forgotten him (7-13). The whole abounds with Muslimic phrases and imagery (*Hārūn*, *Nūh*, *Yūsuf*, *Dhulfaqār*, *jawāb* in the grave). Yet although on the face of it no Muslimic censor could have found fault with it, we should remember that this is a Manichæan poem and realize that the apparent meaning conceals a hidden sense. Then the speaker becomes the *viva anima*, *grīw zīndag*, the "Living Soul", that is ever suffering through malice and neglect, cast aside and trampled on, a stranger in this evil world. So understood, the poem may be regarded as a witness to the adaptability of Manichæan propaganda, to its readiness to assume ever fresh disguises in order to meet the demands of the times. Just as in earlier centuries Christians and Buddhists had complained of Manichæan unscrupulousness, so the adherents of Islam were justified in being on their guard against crypto-Manichæan *zindīqs*, who concealed their true thoughts behind an impenetrable hedge of familiar phrases.

*Text*

*Recto* [Plate V]

- 1 [ . . . ]syyr'b 'bd'r oo oo rrd'<sup>a</sup>)
- 2 [ . . . ](š)t(g) k' pr[ . ] m'nyd 'z jw'b
- 3 [ . . . ](š)[ . ](l)pk'r . (k)l<sup>b</sup> gwš'y sxwn
- 4 [ . . . . . . . . . ] . r[ . ]' [ . ] 'z 'yn (z)m'ng
- 5 [ . . . . . ]hr (m)r . [ . . . ]n oo pry'd 'z
- 6 [ . . . . . ](m'ng) z(m)[ . ](n)g 'y sty[ . . . . . ]
- 7 [ . . . . . . . . . ] u . . (w'ry) . [ . . . . . ]

<sup>1</sup> It is a "qašide" only in form; in several ways it calls to mind the poetry found in the *Divān* of Nāšir-i Khusrau.

- 8 [ (h'rw)n<sup>c</sup> [ . . ](z)[ . . ]  
 9 [ ] oo b'd 'yg  
 10 hw(nr)<sup>d</sup> (p)y(š) 'y mn 'ryδ šr'b 'y  
 11 [ . . . . . ] smwm 'yg<sup>d</sup> [ ]  
 12 [ . . . . . k . ]st<sup>e</sup> zhr u m'r oo oo (hr)  
 13 [ . . . . . ] w'dm<sup>f</sup> d'nystm drws[ . . ]  
 14 [ . . . . . ]c(h')r mrkb byyzyn kwnnd  
 15 [ . . ]'dg<sup>g</sup> oo oo cwn nwḥ (mr) mr'  
 16 [ . . . . k . ]štyy pjwr o '(n)k'  
 17 [ ] prw m'ndgtr s[ . . ]dh<sup>h</sup> oo oo

(a) Mistake for *drd*.—(b) Two dots above first letter; (*k*) may have been the first or second letter of the word.—(c) or (*hyr*)*n*?—(d) Text up to *mn* on a thin, elongated tongue of paper showing just the letters. Words written above the line would have disappeared. Not certain, but probable that the line began with *hw(nr)* (the *R*-dot is not visible, so it could have been *]hw(nd)*). One can hardly read *hw'* instead.—(e) Either 'y + *g*[ . . ] or 'yg with the remainder of the line left blank.—(f) The bottom stroke of *k* only visible; the precise place of *k* (or, equally possible, *x*) cannot be determined.—(g) Or *]w(r)m*. The preceding letter either *p* or *s*.—(h) Or *]r*.—(i) Or *s[ . . ]r*.

## Verso

- 18 cwn ywsḗm pḥhr prwd 'bg[ . . . ]  
 19 pc'h o c'hyy k' br ny'[ . . . . ]  
 20 'w cwzg'hyy šm'r oo [oo . . . . . ]  
 21 zyrr 'y txt [ . ]rw xw'b[ . . . . o ]  
 22 k'pwr brg '[ . . ](w)rd<sup>a</sup> kw(n)[ . . . . . ]  
 23 [ . . ](m)n nḥ'r oo oo 'nb(')[ . . . . ]  
 24 [ . . . . . ] ng jwft mn k(w)[ . ](nd)[ . . . . . ]  
 25 [ <sup>1-2</sup> ](w)y 'y mn<sup>b</sup> ndh[ ]  
 26 oo oo brgštḡ[ ]  
 27 'z gwr mn pd drd oo mn (zyrr) 'yg  
 28 [ . . ](k)<sup>c</sup> frd ny ks[ ]  
 29 [ . . . ]<sup>d</sup> 'wrđg pwšt (swy) (')[ . . . . . ]  
 30 [ <sup>1-2</sup> ]wy 'y r'h d'dg m(d)<sup>e</sup> . . . . . ]  
 31 u pxrpwštḡ zr pnh'd<sup>f</sup> . . . . . ]  
 32 oo oo yk b(')rḡ<sup>g</sup> y' d[ . . . . . ]  
 33 kwn'nd bs u ''nk[ . . . . . ]  
 34 šwwm k' nbwḍm 'z by<sup>h</sup>h[ . . . . ]

(a) Or *]zrd*.—(b) *mn* added above the line.—(c) A dot visible above the first letter of this word.—(d) Perhaps merely punctuation marks.—(e) Or *m(r)*.—(f) Or *pnh'r*. NB. not *pnh'n*.—(g) Or *b(')r?*—(h) Perhaps *by(h)*?

Reconstruction<sup>1</sup>

- 1b --- -- -- -- -- -- -- <sup>~</sup> sirāb ābdār  
 2 dardā \*sirište[-ī] ke furū mānad az jawāb  
 \*bā ḍulfaqār[-ī]<sup>2</sup> 'aql gušāyī sax<sup>v</sup>an \*pa-zār<sup>3</sup>  
 3 faryād azin zamāne \*azin \*qahr[-ī]<sup>4</sup> mardumān  
 faryād azin zamāne zamāne-i<sup>5</sup> sitizgār<sup>6</sup>  
 4 --- -- -- -- -- -- --  
 --- -- -- -- -- -- --  
 Hārūn --- -- -- -- -- -- --  
 5 bād-i hunar [čū]<sup>7</sup> piš-i man āraḍ šarāb-i \*ḥaqq<sup>8</sup>  
 -- samūm-i - <sup>~</sup> - k.st zahr \*i mār<sup>9</sup>  
 6 har --- -- -- -- -- aswār-am dānis<sup>t</sup>am<sup>10</sup> durust  
 -- čahār markab bīzīn kunan<sup>d</sup> \*(f(a)sār<sup>11</sup>  
 7 čun Nūḥ<sup>12</sup> mar marā <sup>~</sup> - kaštiy-i pa-ḡaur  
 ānke --- -- -- -- -- furū-mānde-tar \*sanār<sup>13</sup>  
 8 čun Yūsuf-am pa-qahr furūd abganān<sup>d</sup> pa-čāh

<sup>1</sup> Square brackets here enclose words which the scribe left out by mistake. Words added by me to fill gaps in the manuscript are marked by an asterisk, if they are not sufficiently supported by evidence. Trifling restorations are left unmarked.

<sup>2</sup> The Idāfe-particle, omitted by the transcriber, seems wholly necessary; the object of *gušādan* should be *sax<sup>v</sup>an*, not *'aql*.

<sup>3</sup> The obvious restoration; what follows is indeed a "complaint".

<sup>4</sup> Idāfe-particle again omitted.

<sup>5</sup> -e + i as a single long syllable.

<sup>6</sup> The pronunciation with -k- is recent.

<sup>7</sup> Such a word may have stood above the line; see text.

<sup>8</sup> Or similarly.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. *zahr u mār*, which cannot be right.

<sup>10</sup> *dānistam* treated as ---, therefore pronounced *dānisam*? Less likely as *\*dāns<sup>t</sup>am*, cf. *parastār* once in the *Šāhnāme* as ---, i.e. *parastār* (acc. to Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, 97).

<sup>11</sup> On the metrical treatment of *kunan* see below n. 14. One could, however, restore *kunan* \*bār instead.

<sup>12</sup> Written like the Persian word for "nine". Manichaean orthography did not permit *h* (by origin = Arabic *ḥ*) at the end of words; it had to be replaced by *ḥ* (by origin = Arabic *h*).

<sup>13</sup> *s[ . . ]r* is best restored as *sanār*, a rare but well-attested word; *sanār* is less likely.

<sup>14</sup> Here, and similarly twice in verse 9, I have restored a 3rd pers. pl. in preference to a 2nd or 3rd sing., although either of these would fit more comfortably into the metre. The sense seems to demand an "impersonal" 3rd pl., such as occurs in verses 10 and 13. There is no serious difficulty metrically, since the use of -and as a simple long syllable (not -v) is well-established, see Nöldeke *loc. cit.*, 102.—*abgan-* old-fashioned spelling of *aβgan-*.



- čāh-ī ke bar-ney-āyam azū juz gāh-ī<sup>1</sup> šumār  
 9 --- zīr-i taxt furū x'ābanan<sup>d</sup> \*marā  
 kāfūr [u] barg-i mūr kunan<sup>d</sup> \*rūy-i man niθār  
 10 anbāz --- -ne juft[-i]<sup>2</sup> man kunand  
 --- sūy-i man ne-dihand ---  
 11 bargašte --- az gūr[-i]<sup>2</sup> man pa-dard  
 man zīr-i xāk fard ne kas ---  
 12 āwarde pušt<sup>3</sup> suy-ī \*to<sup>4</sup> suy-ī rāh-dāde mard  
 --- ū pa-xarpušte[-i] zar-nihāde<sup>5</sup> \*xār<sup>6</sup>  
 13 yak bār yā do bār --- kunand bas  
 uānke --- šūm ke ne-būdam az bi -<sup>7</sup>

*Translation*

- 1 . . . . sated with water and juicy.  
 2 Piteous [the creature] that is incapable of giving the Answer!<sup>8</sup>  
 [With the help of] the Dhulfaqār of Reason do open your speech  
 [in plaint]!  
 3 I cry for help against this age, [against this tyranny of] mankind.  
 I cry for help against this age, the age of quarrels and strife.  
 4 . . . . and pearls . . . . Aaron . . . .  
 5 [Whenever] the wind of Virtue brings before me the wine of  
 [Truth?],  
 The simoom of [Passion mingles with it illusion-creating] snake-  
 poison.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *cvzg'hyy*, incomprehensible as it stands, has been altered by me into *juz gah-ī*, which should have been written *jvz gh* 'y(g), or *g'h* with the usual neglect of metrical shortening in spelling. A meaning equivalent to *juz (dar) rūz-i hisāb* seems required.

<sup>2</sup> *Idāfe*-particle omitted in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> *pušt* treated as *puš*, cf. *dānist'am* above verse 6, and Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

<sup>4</sup> A word depending on *suy-ī* and consisting of a single open, short syllable is required. The restoration of *to* thus seems unavoidable, in spite of the awkwardness of a change in person, at least in form; for in sense *to* equals *man* in the preceding verses (cf. verse 2).

<sup>5</sup> MS. *zr pnh'd*. The line lacks both sense and metre, and has been emended drastically; *-e-i* (*-i* restored) again taken as a single syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Possible; the choice is small.

<sup>7</sup> If *by(h)*, one would have to restore as *bihār* = "Buddhist monastery" (usually read *ba-* or *bu-*, but originally *bi-*). The meaning eludes me.

<sup>8</sup> Demanded by the examining angels in the grave.

<sup>9</sup> Emended from "poison and snake(s)".

- 6 Ever [since] . . . . I was a horseman, I came to know for certain  
 . . . . they bridle (?) four horses unsaddled.<sup>1</sup>
- 7 [They put] me, Noah-like, into an ark<sup>2</sup> by force —  
 That (ark) which [is] . . . . more helplessly cast down [on]  
 shallows.
- 8 They throw me, Joseph-like, into the pit<sup>3</sup> with violence —  
 That pit whence I shall only rise at the time of (the last) reckon-  
 ing.
- 9 [When they] lay [me] to sleep down under the plank . . . . ,  
 They scatter [upon] me camphor and myrtle-leaves.
- 10 [No] companion . . . . they join with me,  
 Towards me they do not give . . . .
- 11 [The mourners have] returned from my grave in pain:  
 I (am) left alone under the soil, no one . . . .
- 12 (They have) turned their backs upon [you?]<sup>4</sup>, upon the man who  
 has been sent on his way<sup>5</sup>:  
 . . . . over the gilded crest of the tomb [brambles are growing  
 already].<sup>6</sup>
- 13 Once perhaps or twice they will [think of me]—that is all.  
 And he that . . . . an ill omen that I was not from . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Reference (possibly to the manner of carrying the coffin to the burial?) not clear (on the use of horses in funeral processions in Persia, see e.g. H. Massé, *Croyances et Coutumes Persanes*, i, 99-101).

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the coffin.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. the grave.

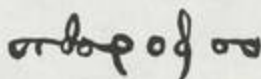
<sup>4</sup> An odd change of person.

<sup>5</sup> *râh-dâde* = "someone to whom the road has been given", usually = "allowed to enter, admitted".

<sup>6</sup> The line is not in order; meaning doubtful.

### A BACTRIAN SEAL-INSCRIPTION

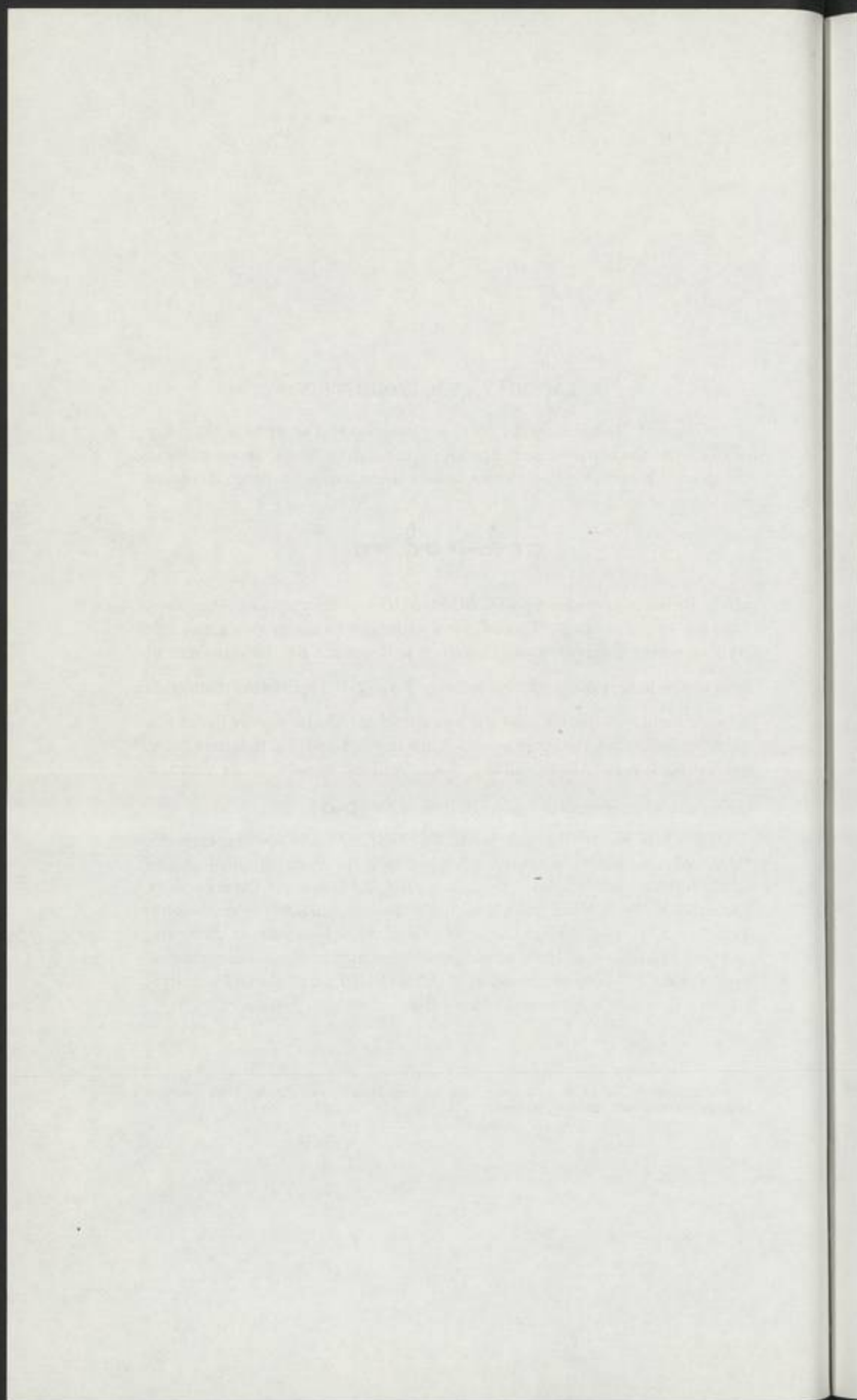
Professor O. Maenchen kindly draws my attention to a paper by B. Staviskiy (*Soobščeni'a Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža*, xx, 1961, 54-6) on a hitherto unpublished Kushan-type seal with a cursive inscription in Bactrian. It consists of a single word:



which Staviskiy transcribes as  $\alpha\beta\delta\alpha\beta\omicron$  and interprets as *Aspurabaχ*, "the seal-owner's name". There are two objections to the proposed reading: (1) it suppresses the down-stroke that clings to the second  $\beta$ ; this is the normal form of the letter  $\epsilon$  in the cursive script (  $\epsilon$  ); (2) it neglects the distinction between  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$  on the one hand and  $\omicron$  on the other: the former are joined to a following letter, but the latter is not. Thus the first and fourth letters are  $\alpha$ , but the sixth is  $\omicron$ . At the end one should read  $\delta\omicron$ , because in the group  $\alpha\omicron$  the second letter is generally attached from below (  $\alpha\omicron$  ).

The whole word, therefore, is  $\alpha\epsilon\beta\alpha\beta\omicron\delta\omicron$ ; the spelling expresses \**Asβārβiδ*. As has been noticed before,  $-\beta i\delta\omicron$  is the Bactrian representative of Old Iranian  $-pati$  'master' (Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian  $-byd$ ). And  $as\beta\bar{a}r$  is the Middle Persian word for 'horseman, knight' (OPers. *asabāra*, Pahl. *'swh'l*, Persian *savār*). *Asβār* is necessarily a loan-word in Bactrian;  $-\beta i\delta$  may be a loan-word but need not be, and that applies also to the compound as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The evident meaning of  $\alpha\epsilon\beta\alpha\beta\omicron\delta\omicron$ , 'chief of cavalry', suggests that this was the seal-owner's title rather than his name.

<sup>1</sup> The combination, as far as I know, was not used in Sassanian Persia (Arm. *asparapet* being generally considered as = *sparapet*).



## THE KURDISH ELM

*Dedicated to Dr. Bruno Schindler\*  
on the occasion of his 80th birthday*

Anyone who has ever taken an interest in the prehistory of the Indo-European nations is sure to have come across the Great Beech Argument: the Indo-Europeans (so it runs) possessed a common word for *Fagus silvatica* L., \*bhāgo-, and therefore lived where that tree grew in its wild state, hence to the west of a line from the south-eastern corner of the Baltic to the Crimea. Critics have invariably been disturbed by the fact that the beech is found also beyond the *Buchengrenze*, in north-eastern Turkey, in the Caucasus, and in the mountains fringing the north of Persia.<sup>1</sup> The assumption that it grew once also in some of the valleys joining the mountainous localities where it now subsists is a reasonable one, and is supported by the knowledge that over large parts of Western Asia all wild trees of any size have been exterminated as far as man could reach, sacrificed to the need for fuel and the activities of the charcoal-burner.

The chief criticism has been directed against the postulate of \*bhāgo- as a common Indo-European word; for if (as seemed to be the case) it belonged merely to the European branches of the Indo-European family of nations, its history would be of little or no concern to those who seek to determine the Indo-European *Urheimat*.<sup>2</sup> That postulate was essentially

\* This article arrived too late to be included in Volume IX, part 2.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Parsa, *Flore de l'Iran*, iv, p. 1332; H. Sabeti, *Diraxtān-i jangali-i Irān* [The native trees of Persia], p. 104. These authors quote a number of local names of the beech, among them *rāf* (Gilān, etc.), *alāf*, *ālāf* (Tāliš, etc.), *Ālhar*, *Ālar* (Nūr), *mīrs* (Mazenderan); none of them even faintly resembles \*bhāgo-. The Gilani *rāf*, which has now been adopted as standard Persian, presumably derives from *raḫš* "red" (as does *ālāf* which Wollaston gave as the Persian name of the beech in the large edition of his English-Persian dictionary, 1889), cf. *qizilayaj* "red tree" used in Kargānrūd, Germ. *Rotbuche*; the variation *r/l*, indicating original *l*-, supports the connection with Skt. *lākṣā*, etc.—Mazenderani *mi(r)s* was mentioned long ago by Melgounof, *ZDMG.*, xxii, 209, but with vague definition.

<sup>2</sup> The whole card-house would collapse if the Indo-Europeans had failed to distinguish between *Rotbuche* and *Weissbuche* verbally. In relying on the Persian botanists (see preceding annotation) we are guarding against any such confusion. For the hornbeam Sabeti, p. 88, gives three lots of local names: for (a) *Carpinus betulus* L., (b) *Carpinus orientalis* Mill., and (c) *Carpinus* generally (for such dialects as do not possess specific names for the various species). In the third group the Gilani term

—Continued on following page

grounded on a Kurdish word, *būz* "elm". Since its vowel plainly failed to agree with that of \**bhāgo-*, that form was conveniently altered to \**bhāūgo-* (with *ablaut* \**bhūg-*), in a spirit of accommodation that militates against conviction. A second defect: that the Kurdish word was the name of the *elm*, was easily smoothed out: in a country devoid of beeches the Kurds are supposed to have transferred the inherited name to some other large tree; one wonders uneasily why they should have dropped the inherited name of the elm simultaneously.<sup>3</sup>

A curious circumstance is that no one has recorded the Kurdish word either before or after Houtum-Schindler (a military man) noticed it. The numerous professional linguists who have studied the various forms of Kurdish have uniformly passed it by, and it is not listed in any dictionary (including those published by native speakers). This is not said in order to cast doubt on Houtum-Schindler's report; but rather to praise that gifted amateur's power of observation and eye for the important. His entry in full reads:—

*būz*, M[ukri], eine Art Ulme ohne Früchte; sehr hartes Holz; Schmuck der kurd. Friedhöfe; G[urani], L[uri], Z[angana] *wiz*; der im np. *qarahâyâc* genannte Baum (russ. *wjaz*, J[usti]).

One sees that he noticed the word in as many as four different dialects.

The relationship of *būz* and *wiz* is plain, except for the vowels: original Iranian initial *b-* does not become *w-* in those three dialects; but original *w-* is preserved in them and regularly turns into *b-* in Mukri. Therefore, this word began with *w-* originally and thus cannot be connected with an Indo-European term whose initial was *bh-*. This argument, which is conclusive, has been well put by Nehring,<sup>4</sup> and one would have thought it unnecessary to resume it, if *būz* did not continue to play its old rôle in the quest for the *Urheimat*.<sup>5</sup>

A proposal to separate *būz* from *wiz* etymologically cannot be seriously entertained in any case. These words are used in adjoining villages for the selfsame species of tree, the rare large tree gracing the local cemeteries and supplying material for the turner's craft. That the tree is an elm is ensured by Houtum-Schindler's expressions. In speaking of an "*Ulme ohne Früchte*"

*Continued from previous page—*

deserves notice: *faq/fig* (Sabeti actually wrote *faq/fig*, but presumably did not distinguish *q* from *γ*). Since I.-E. *bh* does sometimes appear as *f* in Iranian, and *-g(o)-* (not, of course, *-g̃(o)-*) normally results in *-γ-* in Persian dialects, it is not impossible that Gilani here continues a form ultimately related to \**bhāgo-*.—M. Sotoodeh, *Farhang-i Gilaki*, p. 170, has the word (with vague definition), spells it *faq* in Roman, but with *γ* in Persian letters.

<sup>3</sup> The situation is thus not parallel to that of *φηγός* in which a previously unknown tree (similar to the beech in having an edible fruit) is involved.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader-Nehring, *Realexikon*, i, 171 (with full references, here not repeated).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Thieme, *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache*, 1953, pp. 15 (with reference to a work by Wissmann, *Name der Buche*, which I have not seen), 30, 32.

he did not mean to announce the discovery of a botanical unicum, but simply echoed the villagers who may have told him *bār nā-dāra* (in Persian), i.e., "it has no fruit (useful to man)". His phrase *eine Art Ulme* suggests that it was not the elm that must have been familiar to him from his home-country; were it otherwise he would just have said *Ulme* or *die Ulme*. This might be taken as indicating that the tree in question was *Ulmus montana* Smith rather than *Ulmus procera* Salisb. (the two principal species of elm in Persia), the *wych elm* rather than the *common elm*; the Persian equivalent supplied by Houtum-Schindler, *qara-ayağ* "black tree",<sup>6</sup> may denote either (more often the common elm, see Sabeti, pp. 150-52).

There is plentiful information about the elm in the Middle East and many names are recorded for it in many languages. Unlike the beech, it figured as an item in the pharmacopoeia, a circumstance that ensured frequent mention. In literary Persian one reads often of the tree, not because its beauty stimulated the imagination but because its classical name, *nārvan*, provoked the pun-loving poets; for to the casual eye this seems composed of *nār* "pomegranate" and *van* "tree"<sup>7</sup>—what Persian poet could pass up such a heaven-sent gift? The following verse by Farrukhi is typical:—

tā na-buvaḍ bār-i sipidār sib  
 tā na-buvaḍ nār bar-ī nārvan  
 Till poplars bear apples  
 Till elms bear pomegranates.<sup>8</sup>

We have now cleared the decks to enable us to tackle the central problem posed by *būx*: its long vowel. To account for it is a prime necessity; without a satisfactory answer we cannot be sure that the claimed etymological identity of *būx* with *wix* is true, and thus cannot remove *būx* from the Great Beech Argument in a conclusive fashion. On the face of it no way leads from *ū* to *ī*, and none from *ī* to *ū*;<sup>9</sup> nor is there an obvious derivation of both from a third entity. If only Houtum-Schindler had produced the word without the circumflex, there would have been no difficulty; but to attribute negligence or incapacity to him now would be churlish and facile

<sup>6</sup> This name, as I learned from Dr. MacKenzie, is used also in various Kurdish dialects, partly (*qaradār*) or wholly translated (Soane: *ṛaṣadār*; Sul. *dāraṣaṣ*; Kurd. *ṛaṣ*=black).

<sup>7</sup> Western scholars have on occasion been deceived by the seemingly obvious. E.g., Wetzstein, in his edition of Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, translated Arab. *dauḥah* as *punica granatum*, because it was glossed *diraxt-i nārvan*; even E. G. Browne, in the translation of the *Tārīx-i Ṭabaristān* p. 16, rendered *bīḥe-i nārvan* "elm jungle" by "wild pomegranates". Radloff's remarkable "*Tempel des Lichtes*" should not be forgotten (see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [i], 52).

<sup>8</sup> P. Horn, normally so well-instructed, in a singular lapse translated the second half as "*so lange die Orange nicht auf dem Sauerkirschenbaum wächst*" (see his edition of Asadi, preface p. 36).

<sup>9</sup> The alternation *ū* : *ī* is, of course, common; and so is *ū* : *ī*.

as well. We have to abide by *būz* : *wīz* and to admit that with our present means there is no accounting for the difference: we need additional evidence.

It was only a few years ago that I actually produced that needed new evidence myself, without realizing its relevance to the *būz*-problem. In writing on plant-names that al-Biruni, in his book on drugs, had quoted from unknown or little-known Iranian languages,<sup>10</sup> I chose as an example his names for the elm, and added various related forms to them, gaining this series:—

<i>γuzbe</i> :	Zābulistān
<i>guzm</i> :	eastern Persian, <sup>11</sup> also Samarkand, Sistān
<i>vizim</i> :	Talish, Āstārā
<i>vizmado</i> :	Talishi dialect
<i>vizm</i> :	Ṭārom

to which we add now:—

<i>wīz</i> (= <i>vīz</i> ):	Gurani, etc.
<i>būz</i> :	Mukri (Central Kurdish).

Evidently, there was an element that followed upon *z* in the word, disappeared in some languages, but in disappearing could leave a lengthened first vowel as a trace of its former existence. That element which could become *m* or *b* or disappear or lengthen a vowel can have been only a consonantic *u*; *būz* thus represents earlier \**uizy*, developing through \**bizy* and \**buzy*.

The word thus contained the rare cluster Ir. *zū* = IE. *ǵū* (or *ǵ'ū*). For that we have a splendid case in the word for "tongue", the Iranian examples of which have been elucidated by E. Benveniste, in a brilliant note devoted to Old Persian *hizānam*.<sup>12</sup> It provides an even wider range of clusters (sometimes split by intrusive vowels), from *zb* (as in Parthian 'zb'n) and *zm* (Kurd. *zimān*, *azmān*) through *zv* (Sogd., Khvar. *zβ'k*) and *zy* (MPers. 'zw'n, cf. *Zaza zuwān*)<sup>13</sup> to *vz* (Oss. *āvzag*), perhaps also *uz* (Gazi etc. *uzūn*), and finally plain *z* (OP. *hizānam*) and *z̄* (Khot. *bišāa*).

<sup>10</sup> *Mitteliranisch* (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Iranistik*), pp. 84-6.

<sup>11</sup> *Lexica guzm* (prob. wrongly).

<sup>12</sup> *BSL.*, xlvii (1951), 22 sq.; cf. *Asiatica* (*Festschrift F. Weller*), 30 sq.

<sup>13</sup> To explain MPers. 'zw'n (supported by Pahlavi 'wzw'n) as reflecting an antecedent \**hizbān* is in my opinion impossible (whether *Zāzā zuwān* Gurani *zūān*, etc. can be so explained it is difficult to say). Yet it would be unnatural to claim differing original forms for 'zw'n and e.g. Parth. 'zb'n, \**hizuyānam* here and \**hizyānam* there. Why then should we assume that Ir. *zy* (and *sy*) should necessarily become either *zb* (*sp*) or *z* Khot. *z̄* (s Khot. *z̄* Wakhi *z̄*) and exclude the possibility of other developments? Even Sogdian *zβ* is not accountable to previous *zb*, because that would have resulted in *zβ*. Parthian 'stwn "iron" is a case in point. The modern Persian *sf* = *sp* seems to be confined to words with original *sy*: *safid*, *sifand*, *isfariūd*, *Isfariyān*, etc. (barring a few arabicized forms) and could be attributed to the influence of a dialect in which *sy* resulted directly in *sf* (parallel with *zβ* from *zy*).



If we can say with some assurance that the word for "elm" began with \**uizy-* in Old Iranian, we cannot safely determine its final: it may have been \**uizya-* (or \**uizyā-*), or \**uizy-* may have been the antesonantic form of \**uizu-* (or \**uizū-*). Who can doubt now that Justi recognized the truth when at first sight he compared Houtum-Schindler's Kurdish words with Russian *v'az* (в'аз) "elm"? Further related words from various Indo-European languages are listed by Pokorny, *Etym. Wb.*, 1177 under 'uig- und ueig- (uig-?) Ulme'.<sup>14</sup> In short, the English relative of Mukri *būz* "elm" (perhaps "wych elm") is *wych* (elm), not *beech*; which is not very surprising.

ADDENDUM. A student of mine at Berkeley tells me that she has learned from her husband, who hails from *Khunsār* (in Central Persia), that the tree known to Persians as *nārwan* is called *vizvā* in his dialect. This new form is perfectly consonant with the derivation proposed above.

<sup>14</sup> Iranian would tolerate the assumption of a nasal in the first syllable; the word for "tongue" should be compared once again.

It is a very common mistake to think that the  
only way to get a good result is to work  
hard and long hours. In fact, the best  
way is to work smart and use your  
time wisely. This means taking regular  
breaks and not overworking yourself.  
You should also make sure you are  
well rested and healthy, as this will  
help you to perform better.

Another important thing to remember is to  
stay organized and keep track of your  
work. This will help you to manage your  
time more effectively and avoid  
procrastination. Finally, it is important  
to stay motivated and focused on your  
goals. This will help you to achieve  
the best results possible.

## CORIANDER

And diff'ring judgements serve but to declare  
The truth lies somewhere, if we knew but where  
(Cowper)

Among the problems touched on by E. G. Pulleyblank in his comprehensive study of Old Chinese phonology is the origin of 胡荽 (*hu-suei* "coriander"),<sup>1</sup> long suspected of concealing an Iranian word and connected by Laufer with Middle Persian "gošniz", Persian "kišniz", "kušniz", etc.<sup>2</sup> The origin of that Iranian word, in its turn, has remained obscure; Pulleyblank has made some progress towards its elucidation with the help of H. W. Bailey and I. Gershevitch, who supplied some related forms, especially Armenian *ginj* and Baluchi *gēnič* (*kinič*), and proposed *gašnič* as the reading of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) term.

In view of Laufer's argumentation<sup>3</sup> it must be maintained that the correct Persian form is *gišniz*: the word is given with *g-* in all indigenous Persian dictionaries of repute, with *-i-* (rather than *-a-*) in most, and it is pronounced *gišniz* nowadays.<sup>4</sup> That the vowel of the first syllable was *-i-* from the beginning is guaranteed by the vocalization in the oldest Persian manuscript (*K. al-abniyah*, 46<sup>18</sup>, 87<sup>8</sup>, 14, 199<sup>10</sup>, 202<sup>10</sup>, 212<sup>5</sup>).<sup>5</sup> Beside *gišniz* an older or dialect form *gišnij* is occasionally<sup>6</sup> found, and for this some dictionaries do indicate *kišnij*: that pronunciation is doubtless due to Turkish influence; for the word was widely adopted and spread by speakers of Turkish who, as often in such cases, substituted *k-* for *g-*: hence<sup>7</sup> Turkish

<sup>1</sup> *Asia Major*, ix, 132 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Sino-Iranica*, 298 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *šüniz* (with its equivalent *būyanf*) = *Nigella sativa* should not have been mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Haim, Wollaston, and Schlimmer. There is a strong tendency towards replacing short *-i-* and *-u-* in unstressed syllables by *-a-* in modern Persian; *gašniz* is therefore secondary to *giš-*.—The Syriac lexicographer Bar Bahlūl (10th century) had, it seems, *gešniz*, cf. Löw, *Aram. Pflanz.*, 210.

<sup>5</sup> The single occurrence with *-u-* (202<sup>7</sup>) is probably due to the immediately preceding *kuzbarah*; three lines further with *-i-*.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *Muqaddamatu 'l-Adab*, 16<sup>8/9</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Characteristically, Achundow (whose mother-tongue was Azerbaijanian Turkish) in his German translation of the *K. al-abniyah* transcribed the Persian word as *Kesch-niz* (p. 258). E. Castellus, *Lex. heptaglotton* (1669), 459 sq., gave *gašniz/gišniz* as Persian (with citations from the Jewish translation of the Pentateuch) and, incorrectly, *gašnij/kašnij* as Turkish.

*kišniš*, *kišniš*, *kišniš* (Zenker), Russian *kišnec*, Kurdish *kišniš* (Jaba-Justi), Tajiki *kašniš*, *kašniš* (beside *gašniš*; Bertel's), Hindustani *kišniš* (Platts), and also Baluchi *kinič*. A genuine Persian dialect form, unaffected by foreign influence, is Rišahri *gešni*.

As the Persian word is *gišniš*, there is no good reason why one should interpret the Pahlavi (Middle Persian) spelling *gšnyč*<sup>8</sup> other than as *gišnič*. A short *-i-* would not be expressed in that situation; e.g., Pahl. *npštn* is universally read as *nipištan*, not *\*napaštan*. Pahlavi orthography is reticent, one has to call in outside evidence. It is clear that Baluchi *gēnič* (etc.) derives from the Middle Persian word, with simplification of the internal consonant cluster and balancing lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus we have only two mutually independent forms: Armenian *ginj* and Middle Pers. *gišnič*; all others descend from the latter.

To account for this opposition Arm. *ginj*: MPers. *gišnič* is by no means easy.<sup>9</sup> We should first discard the final of the MPers. term and recognize in it the common diminutive suffix *-ič*; the seeds of coriander are small enough to deserve such an enlargement. That leaves us with *ginj*: *gišn*. In loanwords from Iranian Arm. *-nj* (= *ndz*) generally reflects Middle Ir. *-nz*, which was presumably produced or apprehended as *-n<sup>d</sup>z* (with a gliding consonant). An example is Arm. *anjuk* "narrow", from Mlr. *\*anzūk*, testified to by Man. MPers. *hnzwg-* = *hanzūg-* and Parthian *'njwg-* = *anjūg-*;<sup>10</sup> here *-nz-*, unusual in Parthian, has been replaced by the common group *-nj-*, but there is no doubt that *-nz-* is original (Skt. *aṃhu*, Slav. *qzūkū*, cf. Av. *qzah-* etc.). A similar replacement has occurred in Persian in a series of words (*ganj* "treasure", *birinj* "bronze", *birinj/gurinj* "rice") where the Armenian loans (*ganj*, *plinj*, *brinj*) presuppose Middle Iranian forms with *-nz*.<sup>11</sup> Some of them are attested, notably *gnz*, possibly *brynz* and *gwrync* = *\*gurinz*.<sup>12</sup>

Of all such words there is only one that possesses cognates in which the sibilant precedes the nasal: that is Armenian *ganj* "treasure". Middle Pers. (etc.) *gnz* = *ganz* contrasts with Parthian (etc.) *gzn* = *gzn*. Indeed, the forms with *-zn-* are widely distributed; they are found, beside in Parthian, in Sogdian (*γzn-*), in the unknown Eastern Iranian language that was responsible for the name of *Ghazna*, and by inference, if H. W. Bailey's

<sup>8</sup> An unambiguous occurrence in *Pahlavi Texts* 30<sup>21</sup> (= *Khosrou and page* § 40).

<sup>9</sup> A noteworthy, but unsuccessful, effort was made by de Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 57. Bailey and Gershevitch, *loc. cit.*, considered a loss of *-š-* (similar to that in the Baluchi form). However, any derivation from MPers. would leave Arm. *-j* unexplained (MPers. *-ič* would appear as *-ič* in Arm.).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *BSOAS.*, x, 510.

<sup>11</sup> Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* 231 sq.; cf. Bolognesi, *Fonti dial. d. imprestiti iranici in arm.*, 49.

<sup>12</sup> See *Sogdica*, 39, 45. In an unpublished fragment of MS. *h* (pp. 38-39), M 4164, occurs *brync* = *ryz*[, clearly "rice" (cf. Sogd. *ryz'kh*, *BSOAS.*, xi, 724).

suggestion (*Asica*, *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 15) is accepted,<sup>13</sup> in Khwarezmian (*γzdk* "rich" with *-zd-* < *-zn-*) and Ossetic (*γāzduk*). *Ganz*, in contrast, belongs only to the western edge of the Iranian field. The distribution compels the assumption that *ganzn-* is the general Iranian form, but *ganz* a product of metathesis in some Western dialect. It is remarkable that both E. Benveniste (*J.A.*, 1935, 141 sq.) and H. W. Bailey (*Asica*, 15) have expressed precisely the contrary opinion. Possibly the great currency of *ganz-* and its derivatives in foreign languages has produced that presumption of its originality. It was caused by the adoption of *ganz-* into the language of the Achaemenian administration, by whose agency it migrated far and wide into almost all Semitic languages (*ganzā*, *ginzā*, *gazzā*, *kanz*, etc.), into Armenian, Greek (*γαζα*, *γαζοφύλαξ*),<sup>14</sup> Sanskrit (*gañja*), even as far as Krorayin (*gaññi* = *gañji*). One should consider the following points: (1) Sogd. etc. *γ-* attests ancient possession; (2) *-nz-* is not altered in Sogd. (e.g., *δβ'nz*, *'nz'n-*), where in the corresponding voiceless group *n* on the contrary tends to precede (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 66 § 435 on *-ns-* from *-sn-*); (3) *-nz-* in Parthian may be replaced by *-nj-* (see *'njwog-* above); (4) a metathesis of *-nz-* into *-zn-* is unknown in Iranian; (5) a metathesis of *-zn-* into *-nz-* is known, e.g., in Ossetic (Digor *γāvanz* : general Ir. *gavazn-*).<sup>15</sup>

The presence of *ganz* in Manichaean Middle Persian, dialectologically the purest type of "Persian", should not delude us into attributing the metathesis of *-zn* to *-nz-* to the Persian branch of the Western Iranian languages; for it is long established that in that branch Ir. *-zn-* appears as *-šn-*. Middle Persian naturally inherited the word from Old Persian, where *ganza-* must have been a loanword. As is well known, the administrative vocabulary of Old Persian was largely borrowed from Median. It is, therefore, likely that *ganza-* originated in Media. This conclusion was reached long ago by Hübschmann,<sup>16</sup> on the basis of far less evidence than we have now at our disposal; he rightly pointed to the name of the famous city of Atropatenian Media: *Ganzaca*.<sup>17</sup> We may, therefore, add the metathesis

<sup>13</sup> In *Mitteliranisch*, 109, n.1, I expressed dissent, on the ground that this word for "rich" was not confined to Ossetic; yet there is no reason why the development of *-zn-* to *-zd-* should not have been common to several Eastern Ir. languages.

<sup>14</sup> *γαζοφύλαξ* instead in the Greek text of the Great Inscription of Shapur I (line 66), doubtless under the influence of the Pahlavi version, in which *gnzubr*; here the Parthian version, too, has *gnzbr* (line 28), against *gznbr* in uninfluenced Parthian (*BSOS.*, ix, 83). On the alleged *gnz* in the inscr. of Paikuli see *Mitteliranisch*, 71 n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> And probably Dig. *anz* "year" from \**azna-*, see Miller, *Ossetisch*, 36 sq., Benveniste, *Ét. Oss.*, 42. The objections raised by Abaev, *Etim. Slov.*, are not cogent.

<sup>16</sup> *Pers. Stud.*, 232.

<sup>17</sup> Occasional forms with *-zn-* instead show that the metathesis was not universal in Media. M. Benveniste's assumption (*J.A.* 1935, 142) that Arab historians had been induced by *la célébrité de Ghazna* to generalize *-zn-* comme pour affirmer l'identité onomastique des deux capitales hardly accords with their mood. At the time when *Ganzak* was familiar to the Arab conquerors they had not heard of *Ghazna*.

-zn- > -nz- to the short list of special features of the ancient Median<sup>18</sup> language.<sup>19</sup>

An incidental advantage of positing *gazzn(a)-* as common Iranian is that the outcome of -zn- in most of the separate languages is well explored, thus Avestan -sn-, Old Pers. -šn-, etc. There can, therefore, be no doubt that we are entitled to claim classical Persian *gašn* (with a secondary form *gašan*) as the strictly Persian development of *gazzn(a)-*. True, *gašn* does not mean "treasure", but "plentiful, numerous" (so to say "a whole treasury full of"); yet this very deviation in meaning may account for its survival by the side of the imported *ganz*.

This excursus will, I hope, have justified itself now: the word for "treasure" is a guide to the history of the word for "coriander"; Arm. *ganj*: Pers. *gašn* as Arm. *ginj*: (M)Pers. *gišn(-)*. The common Iranian form of the latter must have been *\*gizn-*.

In order to restore the Old Iranian ancestral form of *\*gizn-* we have to bear in mind that *g-* may not precede a front vowel in Old Ir. Most likely would be *\*grzna-*; for an *r*-sonant later became -*ir* after velars (in most languages), and -*r-* tended to disappear before clusters of consonants: cf. e.g., MPers., Parth. *bašn* from OIr. *baršn-* for loss of -*r-*, and MPers. *gyšt* = *gišt* "he tied" from *\*grsta(graθ-)*<sup>20</sup> for *gi-* from *gr-*. The Avestan equivalent of *\*grzna-* would necessarily be *\*gərəsna-*, and that may confidently be allied with the actual word *zərəsna-*,<sup>21</sup> the initial sibilant of which has ever been regarded as adventitious and detachable by etymologists, who have compared with it such words as Persian *gird* and Sogd. *γwrs*. All these words mean "round", "spherical" rather than "circular". The word for "coriander" is thus a simple adjective by origin, "round",<sup>22</sup> i.e., "the round (seed)", or, more expressively, with a diminutive suffix (as in *gišnič*) "the little round (seed)". The name naturally envisages not the plant, but the seed; it is appropriate enough, for few things in nature are as determinedly spherical as the fresh fruit of coriander.

<sup>18</sup> Attention should be drawn here to the existence of -nz- in final position in the later language of Azerbaijan. Among dialect verses by the mystic poet *Maghribi*, of Tabriz, 2nd half of 14th century, there is a quatrain which has *anz* as rhyme-word. Its meaning is regrettably not clear to me (possibly = "origin", from *\*āzn-?*).—I owe my acquaintance with the *Maghribi* verses to the kindness of Professor H. Ritter; their language resembles that used by Shaikh Šafi (cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 176).

<sup>19</sup> *mzdyzn* (etc.) is, therefore, not Median in the narrow sense.

<sup>20</sup> *Le Muséon*, 50 (1937), 377.

<sup>21</sup> In view of the uncertainty of its origin (Bartholomae's explanation of its -sn- as from -tsn- being generally favoured), we must reserve the possibility that *\*grzna-* is secondary to *\*grsna-*, such voicing of -s(n)- being well-attested (e.g. Khot. *haynāta* from *frasnāta-*; Sogd. *zinčaryā*, Parth. *zinfi(h)r* from *srn-*, *BSOAS.* xiv, 447, n. 2; Pers. *zanōyidan* "to whine": Av. *snaōdant-*).

<sup>22</sup> In Middle Persian *\*gišn-* "round" collided awkwardly with *gišnak* "short, small" (read, almost correctly, *gašnak*, by Zaehner, *BSOS.*, x, 616 sq.), which is represented by *gyšng* = *gišng* in Man. Parthian and therefore cannot have yielded Median *\*ginz*.

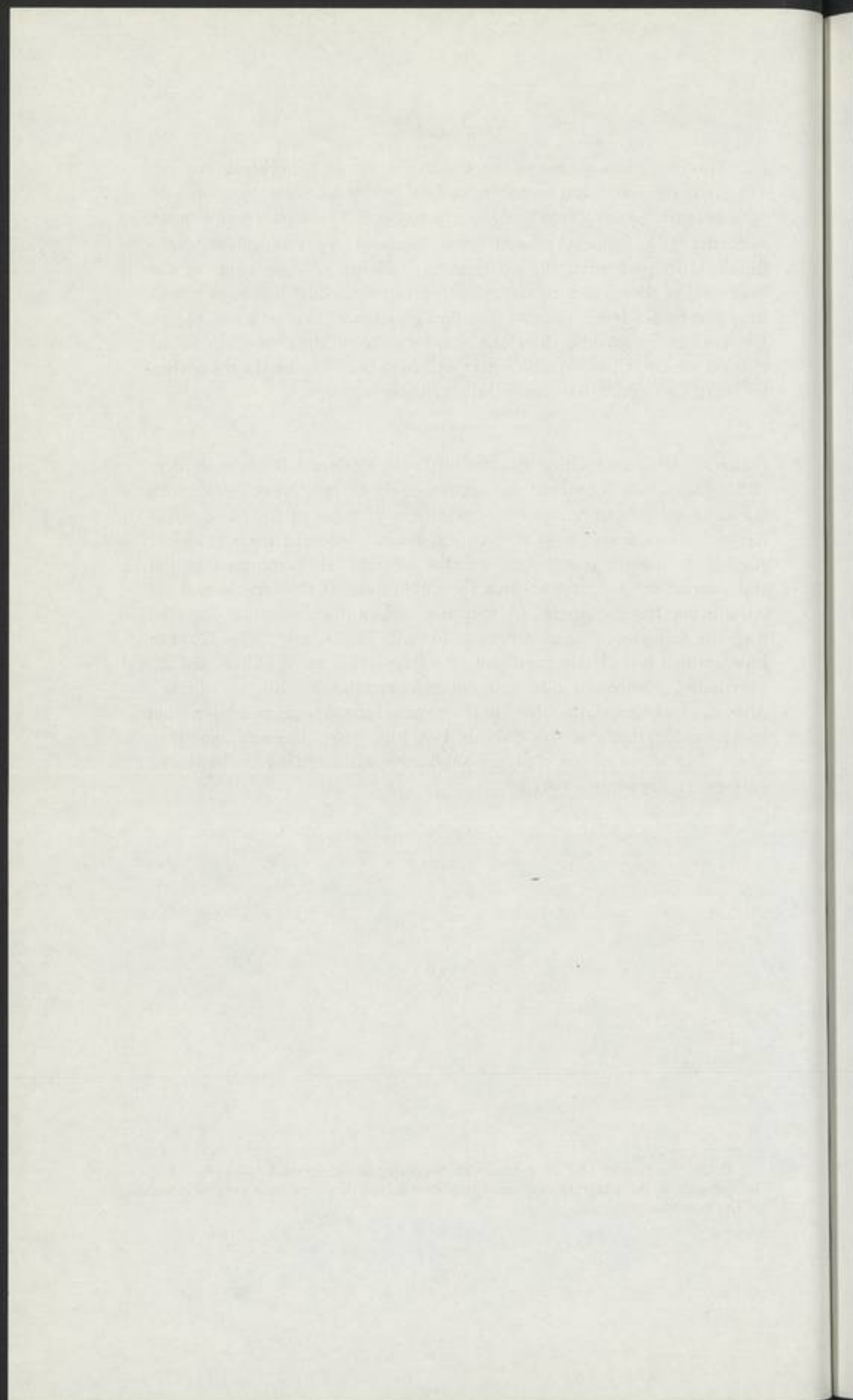
The immediate source of the Chinese word, as Pulleyblank, *loc. cit.* 133, justly remarked, was probably Sogdian. In that language *grzna-* should have become \**γəʒni* (Nom.), tending to \**γəzni*.<sup>23</sup> This agrees well enough with the Old Chinese pronunciation assumed by Pulleyblank (ḡh-snhwāδ). In particular, the existence of a cluster of consonants at the beginning of the second character has been confirmed; it had been postulated also by Karlgren, *Gramm. Ser. Rec.*, *g'o-sniwər* (49 a' or k', + 345 g). However, the posited Sogdian form shows no trace of the closing consonant claimed for Old Chinese; which may well have been lost by the time when the word for "coriander" entered the Chinese language.

---

*Postscript.* After completing this article I saw Professor Bailey's *Arya iv* (*BSOAS.*, xxvi/1, 1963), the first section of which (pp. 69-72) deals with the same subject-matter. Our interpretations of some of the basic word-forms differ in a seemingly trifling, but actually essential point (*gašn-* or *gišn-* ?), hence our conclusions are also different; this circumstance has emboldened me to proceed with the publication of this article without introducing fresh changes. (A similarly awkward coincidence occurred with my last-preceding contribution to *Asia Major*, x/1, "The Kurdish Elm", which was closely paralleled by a long article by W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer, "Kurdisch büz und die indogermanische 'Buchen'-Sippe", *Mitt. d. Anthropologischen Ges. in Wien*, xcii, 1962, 61-92; as I learn from Professor Mayrhofer it was published in July, 1963, the very month in which *Asia Major* x/1 was ready for publication, although it was distributed only on 11 September 1963.)

---

<sup>23</sup> On the fate of Old Ir. *r*-sonant in Sogdian see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 19 sq. On account of the uncertainty alluded to above p. 198 n. 21 we may have to expect *γəʒni* instead.





### The survival of an ancient term

Personal circumstances – chief among them a temporary lack of books – prevent me from writing for this volume a contribution that I could regard as a tribute sufficient to convey my feeling of admiration for G. Morgenstierne. His fine explanations of unknown or misunderstood Ancient Iranian terms from recondite modern dialect words would alone have secured him a place of honour among the leaders of Iranian studies; while in truth they form but a trifling side-line to his principal work. A casual annotation to his latest article (A Locust's Leg, *Studies* . . . Taqizadeh 208 n. 3 – the proofs of that volume constitute virtually the whole of the Iranistic literature at my disposal at present), in which the remarkable word *anya-zāta* 'a child begotten by a man other than a woman's husband' is added to the ancient Iranian vocabulary, furnishes a fresh and striking example of his powers.

In the same article, entitled "Feminine nouns in -a in Western Iranian dialects", Morgenstierne has the following entry: –

"Husband's sister: *vesita* Sagzābād; *fesida* Ibrāhīmābād; *v'isite* Tākistān, Vafs. – Etymology unknown. A reconstruction *\*vi/abisix/ftā* gives no useful associations" (205).

This strange word I had noticed once before, in the comprehensive material assembled by Dr. Yarshater on Tākistānī and the related dialects spoken to the south and south-east of Qazvīn, but had likewise not succeeded in finding its origin. A term of relationship of this rare kind would naturally be expected to yield its secret at the first glance: either it should continue an ancient word (which, however altered, would be immediately recognizable) or it should be a modern composition (which could not fail to be obvious).

It was only on meeting *visite* again in Morgenstierne's article that it suddenly struck me that the word could well continue the Middle Iranian *visduxt* 'princess', or rather its ancient equivalent *\*visa<sup>h</sup> duxtā*. Phonologically there is no difficulty: 'daughter' appears variously as *titi*, *tete*, *titiye*, *titia* etc. in that dialect group, and the expected compound *\*vistite* was likely to be simplified to *visite* (by the replacement of *-st-* by *-s(s)-* common in Persian dialects and elaborately discussed by Bartholomae in a long paper in an early volume of ZII). The difficulty lies in the development of the meaning: 'princess' and 'husband's sister'.

Before discussing that problem it may not come amiss to cast a glance at the semantic change that has affected certain derivatives of the *visduxt*'s brother, of *vispuhr* 'prince'. After *visa<sup>h</sup> puhra-* had melted into a single word, and almost certainly only at the early Middle Iranian stage, a *vṛddhi*-adjective<sup>1</sup> was formed

<sup>1</sup> In favour of the assumption that the capacity of *vṛddhi*-formation survived into Middle Iranian, *sāpistān* 'eunuch' from *sāpistān* 'harem' has been cited, see Mittel-

in Western Iran, \**vāispuθr*<sup>2</sup>, later *vāspuhr*. This occurs in the Pahlavi *Sūr Saxvan*, in the expression *pus ig vāspuhr* which designates the heir to the throne. It has been claimed that *vāspuhr* here means the same (or more or less the same) as *vispuhr*. That is impossible because the phrase would then mean either 'the prince's son' (which would be absurd) or (less likely) 'the son who (is) (a) prince' (which could not well be used to single out the crown-prince from the multitude of rival princes); moreover, in Sassanian practice<sup>3</sup> at least *vispuhr* was never used of the sons of the king while he was living, but only of his uncles, cousins etc. (the precise limitation being as yet unknown). Clearly, *vāspuhr* was an adjective and must have had a meaning of its own. The obvious meaning would be 'principal', in the sense of 'first in rank and importance' (*vāspuhr* : *vispuhr* as principal : *princeps*/prince). When a speaker at a formal dinner party, after praising the ruling king, lauds his 'principal son', no one will doubt that he is talking of the 'crown-prince'.

From *vāspuhr* 'principal' a further adjective, of relation or reference, in *-akān* (i.e. *-aka-* + *-ana-*) was formed, *vāspuhrakān*<sup>4</sup> (later *vāspuhragān*), which is common in Pahlavi and means 'special, particular'. This has further produced denominative verbs, *vāspuhrakān(ēn)itan*, best rendered by the old-fashioned 'specificate', and the corresponding intransitive-passive *vāspuhrakānihistan*. The natural habitat of all these words is the semi-philosophical language of certain ninth-century Pahlavi works. Although *vāspuhrakān*, in its ordinary meaning, has left the sphere of princeliness altogether, it is capable of returning to it in two instances; in both of them it appears 'substantivized'. Firstly, it may denote the 'special' friends of a king, his intimate associates; thus King Ardavan tells young Ardashir to go hunting with 'his sons and specials'. Here *vāspuhrakān* has universally been supposed to have the meaning of 'prince(s)' or 'sons(s)

iranisch 45<sup>5</sup> (my reading of the seal-inscription discussed there has been adopted by V. G. Lukonin, *Iran v epoxy pervix sasanidov*, 1961, 47 – he describes it as "analogical" to his own –, but the two terms have once again been confused with each other).

<sup>2</sup> I find it difficult to accept Eilers' contention (*A Locust's Leg*, 55 sqq.) that such a fused form could have existed as early as the 5th century B.C. and therefore could underlie Babylonian *ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú*. The creation of Aramaic *br-byt'* presupposes that the Iranian equivalent was still recognizable as a genitive-construction with two clearly separable elements. Furthermore, the second half, *-pi-it-ru-ú*, seems remote from the *-puθri* or *-puθriya* envisaged by Eilers (p. 60). By normal rules, such a Babylonian spelling, if rendering an Iranian term, would be expected to represent (approximately) \**hvōspidrā(va)*.

<sup>3</sup> Differently in Sogdiana. – The Sassanians presumably followed the model established in Persia in Achaemenian times. *Aršāma*, the *br-byt'*, e.g., was probably a grandson of Darius, a cousin to Artaxerxes I under whom he is first mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> It is on the whole less likely that this was directly derived from *vispuhr*, because the existence of two mutually independent *vrdhī*-formations from a single word is against probability. Nevertheless, it is possible, in view of the parallel Armenian *sep'akan* 'special' derived from *sepuh* 'prince' (from \**vsepuh* from \**visepuhr* with *-e-* from *-ah* as in Eastern Iranian), clearly on the model of *vāspuhrakān* : *vispuhr*. The correct explanation of *sep'akan* was, I believe, first presented by H. S. Nyberg in his *Texte zum Mazdayasnischen Kalender*.

of noble houses<sup>5</sup>, but actually the ordinary meaning 'special' applies here as everywhere else (that a king's 'specials' are usually noblemen is another matter). Secondly, *vāspuhrakān* is used for the 'special', i.e. 'private', property of the king; this explains the name *Vaspurakan* of a province in Persarmenia, which thus proclaims itself a royal demesne of the Sassanian crown. It is possible that this last-mentioned sense is intended in a famous passage in the inscription by Kartīr, which more than anything else has been responsible for the confusion in the study of this group of words: *PWN w'sputlk'n*<sup>6</sup> perhaps = 'as crown-land'<sup>7</sup>.

It may be regarded as a confirmation of the opinion presented here on *vāspuhrakān* that in early Islamic times the Arabic word *xāṣṣ* 'special' came to be used for both the ruler's intimates (in Persian usually *xāṣṣagān*, a hybrid plural of *xāṣṣe*) and his private property (Persian *māl-i xāṣṣ*). Evidently *xāṣṣ* is an adaptation of *vāspuhrakān* which it equalled in its ordinary meaning, the replacement of a clumsy, obsolescent term, and was introduced to describe institutions of the Iranian state that were new to the Arab invaders.

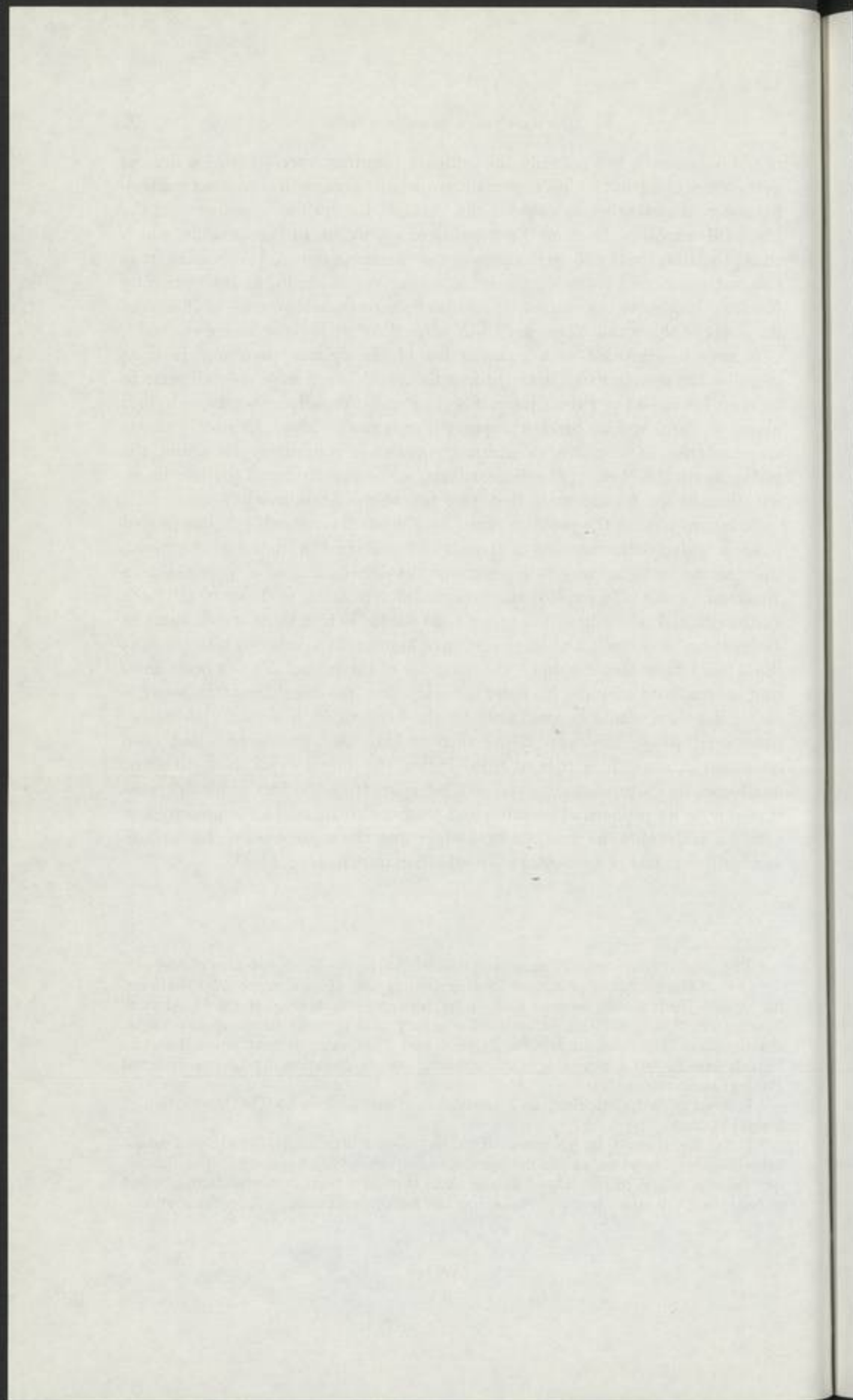
To return now to the problem posed by Tākistānī *visite*, while it has proved possible to derive the meaning of *vāspuhr* and *vāspuhrakān* from that of 'prince', there seems to be no way to account for the devaluation of a 'princess' to a 'husband's sister'. To explain the curious differentiation we have to fall back on the original meaning of the group *visa<sup>a</sup> duxtā*. Before those words came to designate a 'princess' – and this must have happened in Achaemenian times at the latest – they meant simply 'the daughter of the house'. To the bride entering her husband's family, his sister naturally was 'the daughter of the house' – *visite*; the term would be used only by the bride or by a person viewing her situation through her eyes. While all over Iran that phrase had long been restricted in sense to a title of royal ladies, the ancestors of those villagers, unaffected by cultural change and as if set apart from the flow of history, continued with its primordial meaning and preserved it intact to the present day, nearly a millennium beyond the time when both the ancient words for 'prince' and 'princess' had disappeared from all other Iranian languages<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The same misunderstanding as that which affected the interpretation of *vāspuhr*.

<sup>6</sup> One of the mistakes provoked by this spelling was the inference that the word for 'prince' itself should be read with *-ā-* in the first syllable (e.g. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschriften*, 354); and this in spite of contrary orthographs in many languages, among them Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. As was pointed out in *Mitteliranisch*, 46, a nonideographic spelling occurs occasionally in inscriptional Pahlavi itself (*wspwhly*).

<sup>7</sup> Instead of 'in particular', as I translated in the preface to *The Inscription of Naqš-i Rostam*.

<sup>8</sup> D. N. MacKenzie, in his recent *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, ii, 376sq., has established *bispōr* (*pisipōr*) as 'a child old enough to help about the house etc.'. This 'house-boy' who is a 'son of the house' at the same time is a further descendant of *visa<sup>a</sup> puθra*; here, too, the aboriginal meaning has maintained itself. – *Korrektur*note.



## A FORGOTTEN AVESTAN WORD

The principal witness for Bartholomae's rule that the Indo-Iranian voiceless palatal aspirate ( $\acute{c}$ ) became  $\acute{s}$  in Iranian was Avestan  $\acute{s}nəm$  "(etwa) Grabscheit", which he allocated to the Indo-Iranian base  $k'an-$  "to dig" and compared with Sanskrit  $khanitra-$  "shovel"; his other examples were either dubious or open to a different explanation (*Grundriss Ir. Phil.*, i/1, p. 8 § 12). The weakness of the rule was pointed out at once by Hübschmann in his review of Bartholomae's *Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen: Indogerm. Forsch.*, Anzeiger 6, p. 32.

The trouble with  $\acute{s}nəm$  is that such a word does not exist at all. What exists is merely a form  $\acute{s}nm$ , and that is found, not in any Avestan text, but only in the Avestan-Pahlavi glossary, *Frahang-i Oim*, ch. 5. Since no Avestan word may end in  $-nm$ , the first editors of that glossary felt impelled to improve on nature and gave a look of respectability to the form by inserting a vowel between  $n$  and  $m$ : hence  $\acute{s}nəm$ , Hosheng-Jamasp and Haug, *Zand-Pahl. Gloss.*, p. 59. The true spelling was restored by Reichelt in his edition (p. 21) and accepted by Bartholomae for his dictionary (col. 1708).

Not only the form of  $\acute{s}nəm$ , but its supposed meaning, too, was wrong. In the *Frahang-i Oim*  $\acute{s}nm$  is translated by Pahl.  $tēg$  ( $tēγ$ ): in saying that we have produced all the evidence there is for the meaning of that word. Since  $tēg$  does not designate digging tools, the meaning "Grabscheit" is baseless and consequently the combination with  $khan-$  cannot be maintained: so already Hübschmann, *loc. cit.* The double disappointment made Bartholomae print so restrained an entry for  $\acute{s}nm$  in his dictionary that the word has been lost from sight ever since.

The usual meaning of  $tēγ$  ( $tīγ$ ) in Persian is "sword", but originally it must have been "the blade (of the sword)".

The derivative *tēγe* (*tīγe*) does indeed mean "blade"; *tēγ* (*tīγ*) is now used also of a "razor". In earlier days the word designated a cutting edge generally, cf. Av. *bitaōγa-* "two-edged". In Middle Iranian it referred with preference to the sharp edge of the lance or spear: that is indicated by the Armenian loanword *tēg* "spearhead" and was justly assumed for Pahlavi by the late J. C. Tavadia in his work on the *Šāyist-nāšāyist*, x 8, p. 129.

It may then be regarded as established that the glossator of the *Frahang-i Oīm* attributed to *šənm* the meaning "cutting edge/blade/spearhead". While one has to bear in mind the possibility that the glossator obtained the word from an Avestan text now lost, it is not necessary to make such an assumption. We have already seen that *šənm* is not a correct Avestan word: yet it is perfectly possible as *part of a word*. It is well-known that the ancient interpreters of the Avesta frequently differed from their modern successors in the division of words; the *Frahang-i Oīm* is particularly full of cases of that kind. Indeed, *šənm* can only be understood as an incomplete word: "emending" it merely destroys the recognition of the truth.

If we look now for an Avestan passage from which *šənm* can have been abstracted, we shall find it at once; and we shall also find that there is but one such passage in the whole of Avestan scripture: that is Mihr Yasht 24 :-

*nōiṭ dim arštōiš huxšnutayā*

*nōiṭ išaoš para. padwatō*

*ava. ašnaoiti šanmaoyō....*

The glossator, or his authority, had a variant reading \**šənmaoyō* (which is permissible, cf. Bartholomae, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i/1, p. 173 § 298 i/1 a) in his text, which, it must be remembered, preceded the date of our Yasht manuscripts by many centuries, and divided it, wrongly from our point of view, into *šənm* and *oyō*.

Applying a meaning consonant with Pahl. *tēγ* to *šanmaoyō*, as recommended by traditional scholarship, one obtains the following translation of the lines in the *Mihr Yasht* :—

“No one will hit him—

With the edge(s) of the well-whetted spear (head),

With the edge(s) of the barbed (?) arrow (head).....”.

Hitherto, in the absence of other evidence, translators have had to rely on guessing from the context, aided by the murky light of etymology; none of the various proposals (thrust, throw, blow) seems to have brought entire satisfaction, see the discussion by I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 178 sq., 183, 192. However critical one may be towards the Tradition, as contained in Pahlavi translations, there is no denying that it has often preserved the true meaning of word-stems even where it failed (as it did here) in the grammatical analysis. Purely on the basis of experience I should claim that a Pahlavi translation sets up a presumption of verity that holds until it is displaced by argument. The sovereign attitude advocated by P. Thieme, *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 270, seems to me to leave too much room for individual preference.

The mind of the prospective victim of a spear (or arrow) is understandably fastened on the razor-sharp edge of its warhead: *arštōiš \*šanmana* (*šanmaoyō*) corresponds precisely with the common Armenian phrase *i tēg (tēgs) nīzaki (nīzakac')*. The epithet of *aršti*, *huxšnuta*—“well-whetted”, shows already that the author was thinking more of the spear-head than of the spear as a whole; cf. also verse 130 in the same *Yasht*, where *aršti*—is accompanied by *brōidrō-taēza*—“sharp at the cutting edge”, which conveys a similar idea.

It is an axiom that questions of etymology must not be broached till meaning be established. On *šanman*—Bartholomae (*Air. Wb.*, s.v.) confined himself to pointing out that *-nm*—reflected earlier *-dm*—. That was sound and should have been retained; but it was neglected by all proponents of etymologies, including (I regret to say) myself (*Sogdica*, p. 24). Initial

ṣ- normally represents earlier  $\hat{k}\check{s}$ - = Sanskrit  $k\check{s}$ -. Thus, if one were to construct a Sanskrit equivalent of  $\check{s}anman$ -, one would obtain  $*k\check{s}adman$ -. It is pleasurable to discover that no asterisk is needed for that form: it exists and has a meaning close enough to that of its Avestan counterpart. The word was evidently as obsolescent in India in ancient times as it was in Iran; it is confined to the Rigveda. In the Avesta  $\check{s}anman$ - is a part of a spear or arrow; in the clearest of the three Rigvedic occurrences of  $k\check{s}adman$ -, i 130, 4, it elucidates the nature of a supernatural weapon, Indra's terrible *vajra* :—

*dādr̥hāno vajram indro gabhastyoh  
kṣadmeva tigmam asanāya sam-śyat*

“Holding the vajra firmly in both hands  
Indra whetted it for throwing,  
Sharp as a *kṣadman* .....”.

Translators give “knife” or “carving knife”. The *vajra*- becomes, so to say, *huxṣnuta*-. As  $\check{s}anman$ - was defined by  $tēγ$  in the Pahlavi translation, so  $k\check{s}adman$ - is described by the related word *tigma*- “sharp” in the Rigveda.

*Addendum.* Too late I discover, through a notice by I. Gershevitch, *BSOAS.*, xxvi/1, 1963, 196, that H. Humbach in *Die Kaniška-Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal*, 26 (a book I must confess I did not read beyond its first pages) has already drawn a comparison between Av.  $\check{s}anman$ - and Vedic  $k\check{s}adman$ - (on purely etymological grounds). It is a pleasure to find myself for once in agreement with the German scholar, with whom otherwise I seem to have little common ground.—Gershevitch, *loc. cit.*, doubts the proposed equation on account of Ossetic *äxsädyn*. Yet that Oss. verb (“to winnow, weed, clean”) and the Sanskrit verb  $k\check{s}ad$ - (“to eat or drink, feed”) are remote from each other in their meanings; and the meaning of  $k\check{s}adman$ - (usually derived from the Sanskrit verb by semantic artifice) is remote from either.



## A GRAIN OF MUSTARD

*In memoriam*  
*Dr. B. Schindler*

## I.

Some years ago the strange-looking Sogdian word *šywšpōn*, a *hapax* occurring in a fragment of the *Padmacintāmañidhārañi-sūtra* (ed. F. W. K. Müller, «Sb. P. A. W.», 1926, p. 4 line 29), was identified with 白芥 «white mustard» and compared with Khotanese Saka *śasvāñ*, «B.S.O.A.S.», xi, 724<sup>1</sup>. Further study has brought to light an apparent cognate in the Parthian language; it is found in a hitherto neglected Manichaean fragment, T ii D 162<sup>2</sup>: one of its two pages (i) is published here in full, in order to give a clear idea of the context in which the word stands. The page has as headline: (verso) *hnjft jydg'n* (recto) *sxwn*, probably «Completed: the discourse on the lives»<sup>3</sup>; it thus contains the closing portion of a chapter or homily.

T ii D 162 i

(recto, 1st col.)<sup>4</sup> (1) 'wd 'c tmyg 'dwr

[A line left blank]

<sup>1</sup> *ryz'kh*, discussed there, has now been confirmed as 'rice', see «Asia Major», x, 196 n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Now numbered M 6020, see M. Boyce, *Catalogue*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *jydg* occurs several times, as a rule in hendiadys with *jywhr*; cf. Av. *fiti-*, Ardabīlī *žyr*, «Tr. Phil. Soc.», 1954, 176 n. 4. There is, however, an ornamented point just above *-d-*, which recommends reading *jyrg'n* instead (as indeed assumed by Dr. Boyce, loc. cit.); yet *jyrg* 'wise' has not been met with elsewhere, in Parthian.

<sup>4</sup> (Uncertain letters), [restored letters].

(2) ['wd hw mrdwh]m ky pd (3) [dyn]'bryft 'štyd 'wd<sup>sic</sup> (4) z'nyndyĥ kw cw'gwn (5) 'stym pd rw'n [. . . .] (6) hw 'sp's,cy 'w (7) dyn'br'n pw'g'n kryd (8) oo 'wd z'nyndyĥ hw b'r (9) cy 'c d'hw'n z'yyd (10) 'b'w kd hmg qdg (11) zrnyn 'wd mwrgr'ydyyn (13) bwyndyĥ 'wš rw'n r'd (13) dhyndyĥ 'b'wš ny (14) c'r 'bxš'h'd oo ['wd 'g?] (15) 'wĥ kwš pyd cy [pd] (16) tnb'r 'st ngn p[wxt] (17) kyrd šhyndyĥ 'w(š) [pd] (18) wxybyĥ dst fr[jnyndyĥ] (19) 'wš 'w dy[n'br'n] (20) dhyndyĥ [(21) c'r z'n'[d (22) cy p[ (23) šh[

[Remainder of column lost]

(recto, 2nd col.) (24) pwnw'r 'st'nyndyĥ (25) cw'gwn qwf 'yw wzrg (26) 'wš bwj'd šhyndyĥ (27) 'b'wš wxrd c'r oo hm (28) wxd bwxsyd 'wd 'w (29) hw[yc] (b)wjyd kyš pwnw'r (30) d'd oo 'wd 'by wzynd y'dyd (31) 'w (b)g'n r'm oo oo (32) 'wd ky pwnw'r 'st'nndy<sup>sic</sup> (33) cwnd šyfšd'n 'yw š (34) bwj'd ny šhyn[dyyĥ] (35) 'b'wš 'frdr (g)[. . . .] (36) 'wd nw[ (37) 'dw(r) [

[Remainder of column lost]

(verso, 1st col.) (38) ky wxybyĥ twxmn pd (39) hz'r 'db'g wynd'h

[Two lines left blank]

(40) 'wd hw mrdwhm ky (41) kryd drwg pġ (bwt) ('wd (42) fryštġ 'wd dyn 'nd'syd (43) 'wd cxš'byd '(m)zyyd (44) pġ wzrg šrm 'wd trs (45) w'st bwyd prw'n (46) [d'db]r r'štygr 'wš (47) [. . .].yd 'rws'd oo 'wš (48) ].tw 'yy (49) ]sxwn

[Remainder of column lost]

(verso, 2nd col.) (50) tnb'r wxrd oo 'wš (51) b'd b'd gwš frjnynd (52) 'wš b'd [b'd] ('z)[b'n] (53) pšqsg ' hnjy[nynd oo] (54) pd hm 'bdyn wysp (55) [hnd'](m) frjnynd oo 'wš (56) b'd b'd rwd (w)dxtg 'w (57) rwmb t'cynd u 'swn (58) tftg wxrdn dhynd 'wd (59) 'swyn myx 'w gwš (60) jnynd oo 'wd ky šhyyd (61) w'xtn 'spwr bzg (62) gst tn(n)g u dyjw'ryft (63) cy wyd'ry(d) hw dwšfr (64) ['wd] 'w'wryg mrdwhm (65) [ky dy](n) (p)w'g 'gwdyd oo oo (66)

\* Possibly two words, *pf qsg*.

[byc?] frwx hw mrdwhm (67) [ky dy](n) pw'g u cxš'byd (68)  
 [. . . . .] 'spwr d'r'h oo (69) ](m) cy ny (70) ]ny y'wd'n (71) ](p)wn  
 qryd (72) 'w]rjwg (73) ]yd

*Translation*

«. . . . .and from the fire of Hell.

And the man<sup>1</sup> who is in the Dēnāvāriyya<sup>2</sup> should<sup>3</sup> know how the service that he performs for the pure Dēnāvārs<sup>4</sup> ultimately [accrues?] to the Soul; and should understand the fruits that are born out of the gifts: then, even if his whole house were of gold and pearls and he gave it (to the Church) for the sake of the Soul, he would not necessarily receive forgiveness. And [if it were] so that he could [bake] the flesh that is on his body into bread and would [cut] it with his own hand and give it to the Dēnāvārs, . . . he should know . . . what. . . .<sup>5</sup>

*[Half a column missing]*

. . . [he who] would take \*alms-food as (much as) a big mountain and could redeem it, should eat it: he himself will be saved, he will also save him who gave him the \*alms-food, and it<sup>6</sup> will reach the home of the gods unharmed. And he who would take

<sup>1</sup> The *auditor* (lay member of the church).

<sup>2</sup> The (Eastern) Manichaean church.

<sup>3</sup> Preceded by 'wd 'and', which may be an error for 'wh' 'so'.

<sup>4</sup> The *electi* (clerics).

<sup>5</sup> The passage illustrates the Manichaean ἀπὸ θρωπία (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, I, 1465 C): not even the greatest gifts or sacrifices extinguish sins against the «Living Soul» (i.e., the divine substance scattered in the world). Actions are followed by retribution, which is governed by a mechanical law of cause and effect. Yet Mani found himself compelled to allow several exceptions: joining the Manichaean church cancelled all previous sins (merely suspended them in case of relapse); and up to four fifths of the minor sins committed by laymen could be forgiven in return for faithful service (see *Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 12 sq.; *Kephalaia*, 231 sqq.). In chapter 115 of the *Kephalaia* Mani even concedes the effectiveness of prayers for the souls of the dead, provided they are accompanied by generous gifts to the church.

<sup>6</sup> Or: he. The implied subject is probably the «Living Soul» contained in the food.

\*alms-food as much as a single \*grain of mustard but could not redeem it, then...better for him...fire...

[Two thirds of a column missing]

...who will find his seed-grain multiplied a thousandfold<sup>1</sup>.

And the man who breaks faith<sup>2</sup> with the Buddha and Apostle and leaves the Church and violates<sup>3</sup> the commandments will be led, in great shame and fear, before the Just Judge, and he [cannot] turn [aside]. To him [the Judge will say:] you are... the word...

[Two thirds of a column missing]

...to eat his body. And time and again they cut off<sup>4</sup> his ears, and time and again they hack<sup>5</sup> his tongue (?) into \*slices, and in the same manner they cut all his limbs. And time and again they pour molten copper into his mouth and give him glowing-hot iron to eat and drive iron nails into his ears—who can wholly describe the wicked, horrible distress and suffering which that unfortunate unbeliever who soils<sup>6</sup> the pure religion must undergo?

<sup>1</sup> 'db'g (a new word), cf. Khwar. δβ'γ, 'δβ'γ 'fold' (mostly preceded by numerals, as sy-δβ'γ 'treble'). Hence, Sogd. wyδβ'γ 'exposition' means 'unfolding' by etymology, in best accord with wyδβ'ys- 'to unfold (as a flower)' (BBB., p. 87). Skt. dhvaja- 'flag' may belong here (as something that can be folded and unfolded), and Av. -dwaža- may mean 'fold and unfold' in Yt., 14, 45, just as well as «flattern».

<sup>2</sup> Lit. «who does lie(s) (drōy) in/at», with an ancient turn of phrase.

<sup>3</sup> 'mz- at last supplies the present of the common Parthian verb 'mštn «to break». Cf. Orm. maz-: mašt-, Khwar. māz-: mat-, etc., see Z. Velidi Togan Vol., 435.

<sup>4</sup> The close agreement in meaning with Old Persian frajan- is noteworthy.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling of hnjj[n]- = MPers. hnzyn- («Z.I.I.», ix, 202<sup>25</sup>) = Pers. anjin-: anjid 'cut into pieces' disproves the derivation from īi-. The meaning does not favour connection with OIr. jyjā- 'diminish, end'. More likely from zyā- 'deprive, violate' (zīnā-: zīta-), with secondary -nj- as explained in «Asia Major», x, 196.

<sup>6</sup> 'gud- (another new word) should mean 'to soil' and constitute the present of 'gwst, which hitherto has been translated as 'suspended' (like MPers. 'gwst, Pahl. 'kwst); but in Parthian 'suspended' is actually 'gwxt (''gwxt). The true meaning of 'gwst is shown by the abstract 'gwstgyft, the sixth of the

Fortunate is the man that can completely keep...the pure religion and the commandments...because not...not ever... he does *puṇya*...lust....».

## II.

We have first to determine the meaning of *puṇw'r*, which occurs here three times (lines 24, 29, 32), but nowhere else. It appears to be a special term for the principal part of the gifts which the Manichaean laymen had to supply to the clerics. Those gifts, generally referred to as 'soul-work, soul-service' (*ravā-nagān*, Turk. *üzütlüg iş*, cf. « J.R.A.S. », 1944, 143 n. 6) or 'alms' (as Turk. *puṣī*) or just 'gifts', consisted of (1) food, (2) clothing, and (3) shelter. *Puṇw'r*, it seems, is restricted to the «food», which the laymen had to select and prepare with great care and to serve to the cleric with some circumstance at his sole daily meal, at nightfall; in the Coptic Manichaica we have sometimes τροφή for this, in the Sogdian confession book the Middle Persian term *xw'nyzd'n* 'God's table'<sup>1</sup>.

Only that was selected as fit food which was deemed to be full of the «Living Soul»—especially those cucumbers Mani so frequently mentions with evident tenderness; for the «Living Soul» in the ground, ever striving upward, used the vegetation as avenue of escape from bondage and concentrated at the tips of the branches in golden fruit. It was the function of the Manichaean cleric to complete the good work by eating the fruit: in his own person he was, as it were, a filter, capable of separating

twelve dark *šahrdārīst*: it corresponds with *l'impureté* in the Chinese *Traité*, Chavannes-Pelliot 540 [44], line 10. The word also existed in Sogdian: "γυστῆ Dhyāna 397, which, as F. Weller has shown, translates 𐰽𐰺𐰍 'muddy, dirty' (not to be confused with "γυστ- 'to cover', pres. "γυστ- to which "γ'ωδ belongs as noun, cf. *BBB.*, p. 76). We can now recognize MPers. 'gwh- 'to soil' (wrongly explained «Z.I.I.», ix, 169) as the MPers. equivalent of Parthian 'gwd-.

<sup>1</sup> The origin of *puṇw'r* is obscure. Conceivably a compound of *puṇ* = *puṇya* and *w'r* 'food' (which, although not attested in Parthian, may be safely presumed), with simplification of the resulting three-consonant cluster (*nux*; similarly in Parth. *dyjw'r*; cf. also *nišwār*, the arabicized form of Pers. *nišwār*); the meaning would be 'merit-food' (food given to acquire merit).

the last impurities and sending the «Living Soul», together with his prayers, up to the higher regions, to its place of origin.

The task of thus «redeeming» (or «releasing») the «Living Soul» embedded in his food could be accomplished by the cleric only if he himself was a fit vessel: if he was not, but nevertheless accepted the proffered gift, he was guilty of the gravest crime; for he became the instrument of turning the «Living Soul» back from its ascent, just when after cycles of suffering it was about to throw off the shackles of restraint. The Manichaean layman was considered an accomplice in that crime, and thus tended to exercise circumspection in his charity (thereby providing the enemies of his creed with ammunition). The responsibilities and considerations involved are known from other texts, see especially Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, 573 [77], 582 [86] sq.; von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 29; Turk. *Xwāstwānīft*, ch. xi, and Bang's note «Le Muséon», xxxvi, 215; *Kephalaia*, 217; *Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 16, 41, 50 sq.; Baur, 286-88.

The amount of the *pwmw'r*, our text tells us, is of no true importance: what matters is the purity of the recipient. Here we find contrasting statements of quantity: «as much as a big mountain» on the one hand, «a single *šyšd'n*» on the other. Evidently *šyšd'n* functions as «the smallest measurable thing»; from ancient times, that was popularly held to be, with preference, a grain of mustard. Mark 4, 31 ὡς κόκκῳ σινάπεως . . . μικρότερον ὢν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Alcoran xxi 48 «We shall make ready true scales against the day of resurrection that none suffer injustice in anything: and if it be the measure of a grain of mustard-seed we shall bring it and suffice as accountant». Even in Chinese Buddhist works, in the formula «who puts the smallest imaginable relic of the Buddha into the smallest imaginable *stūpa* etc.», we sometimes find the «grain of mustard» (for the relic); thus F. W. K. Müller in his *Zwei Pfahlschriften*, 1915, p. 14, quoted two passages, both texts translated from Sanskrit, one in A.D. 557, the other still in Han times (in each 芥子). A verse by the Persian poet Sa'dī (13th century):

*z-ān ganjhā-yi ni'mat u xarvārḥā-yi māl*  
*bā x'ēštan ba-gōr na-burdand xardal-ē*  
 «Of those treasures of wealth,

those ass-loads of riches,  
not one grain of mustard-seed  
have they brought into their graves<sup>1</sup>.

### III.

The meaning being established, we can now confidently compare *šyfsd'n* with Sogd. *šywšpōn* and Khot. *šasvān*. The Parthian manifestly contains *-dān* 'grain', which is reflected in Sogd. by *-dn*, with regular shortening, and in Khot. by *-ān*, with loss of *-d-* in (former) intervocalic position<sup>2</sup>. Hence, 'mustard' by itself was *šyfs-*, *šywšp-*, and *šasv-* respectively. Essentially, these words consist of two identical sibilants and a labial: plainly we can associate with them Sanskrit *sarṣapa-*<sup>3</sup>, which is distinguished merely by an additional *-r-*, an element of lesser import. These words are not necessarily cognates in the usual sense, as sharing a common origin in Indo-Iranian; nor is any one of them a loanword borrowed from any one of the others.

Sogdian indicates that the labial in Iranian was *-p-*, Khotanese that it was once preceded by a vowel; thus the second syllable was *-sap-* (disregarding the nature of the sibilant), agreeing with Sanskrit. In Parthian, the vowel of the second syllable was lost, through the effect of a stress accent on the first, so that contact between the sibilant and *-p-* was established, and *-šp-* was transposed into *-fš-* (*\*šššap > šišp > šifš*). This type of transposition, sibilant + labial (plosive): labial (spirant) + sibilant, is common in many Iranian languages, in either direction. E.g., Oss. *āfsān*

<sup>1</sup> *Mawā'iz* ed. Furughi (1320), p. 78 line 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1952, 64, quotes *šānṣvān* 'hemp' as from *\*šānadāna-*, so that *-dān* would be represented by *-vān*. There is no need for such an assumption in the case of *šasvān* where a labial was present in any case. If the proposed meaning of *šānṣvān* is confirmed, one would compare Persian *šā(h)dāne* 'hemp-seed' in the first place.

<sup>3</sup> Also used in Sogdian, in translated texts of Indian origin (*P* 14, 5; = *Padm.* 43); Pers. *saršabf*, hardly used outside of Indian Persian, is a very recent lw. from Skt.

'iron': Khwar. *ispani* < \**ansuan(i)-*<sup>1</sup>; Pers. *xus̄p* 'sleep': Av. *x<sup>o</sup>afsa*; Sogd. 'rdyšp' 'banner': Av. *drafša-*; Khwar. *spr̄m* 'shame': Av. *fšarəma-*<sup>2</sup>. On occasion it is not easily possible to say which the original group is; an example is the Sogdian word for 'wedding', which appears with both *-šp-* and *-pš-* in one and the same language<sup>3</sup>. To account for the sibilants we have to assume earlier initial dental *s-* which became palatal through the effect of a front vowel and assimilated the second sibilant: hence \**sisap/* *sišap*, or the like, may provisionally serve as the prototype from which the three Iranian forms descended.

Those belonged to languages spoken to the east (or north-east) of the Caspian Gates. To the west, in Persian, we find *sipandān* for 'mustard'. It is used also for «*Lepidium sativum*» (garden cress, garden pepper-grass) which the Persians regarded

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kuchean *eñcuwo* 'iron', *eñcuwāññe* 'of iron' (with *eñc-* from \**ens-*). These have already been compared by H. W. Bailey with the Iranian word, which he posits as \**asūanya-*, «B.S.O.A.S.», xix, 55 sq., and further allied with Sogd. 'ynkwync (and a Khot. term), which is found but once in an obscure context (*P* 8, 119). One doubts whether *krt* there can mean 'knife'; for the text speaks of the preparation of an eye-lotion. Until further evidence comes to hand, I prefer taking 'ynkwync as an adjective of substance from \**ynkw = \*ingu* from OIr. \**hingu*, which was borrowed by Skt. as *hingu-* and became *angu-* in Mir. by normal development (Pers. *angu-šād*, *angu-yān*). In that word, however, Bailey assumes \**angu-* as the original Ir. form, «B.S.O.A.S.», xx, 50. On the gradual importation of *hingu-* into India, from Jāgūḍa = Zābul, its country of origin, see Sylvain Lévi, «J.A.», 1915, 1, 82-89. On the use of «*Asa foetida*» in eye diseases (as recommended in the Sogdian text) cf. Muwaffaq, 95 pu. (*āb andar šas̄m* 'cataract').

<sup>2</sup> MPers. *hšpyrd* was derived from *fšar-* 'shame' by C. J. Ogden, «J.A.O.S.», 58, 331 sq., but seems to mean 'pressed, compressed' and thus is the ancestor of Pers. *afšurd*. A present comparable to *hšpyr-* existed in Persian, too, although dictionaries and grammars know only *afšār-* (Pahl. *hafšār-*); e.g. Nāšir-i Khusrau, *Wajh-i Dīn* (Berlin 1343), 87 line 10, *angūr-rā čun biyafširand 'ašir azū birūn āyad* «when they press grapes, the juice comes out». Whether *hafšird* descends from *ham + šar* (as proposed «Z.I.I.», ix, 181) or *ham + fšar*, cannot be inferred from that form by itself; Oss. *āfsār-* is hardly decisive. According to Bailey, «B.S.O.A.S.», xxi, 542 sqq., 'press' and 'shame' belong to the same base *fšar-*. Benveniste, «J.A.», 1954, 303, favoured *šar-* (for Pers. *afšurd*) and pointed to Pahl. Ps. *nš'lsny*, which would prove *šar-*, provided the translator, in unvocalized text, mistook Syr. *kuβšā* 'footstool' for *kubbāšā* 'pressure, suppression'.

<sup>3</sup> βγ'n'yšp-, βγ'nyšp- etc. It is hoped to discuss this elsewhere.



as a kind of mustard<sup>1</sup>; for that we meet occasionally with the deminutive *sipandānak*<sup>2</sup>. Beside *sipandān* there existed *ispandān* (thus al-Beruni), in accord with wellworn analogies, and either could be spelt with *-f-* in the Arabic fashion. There was further a short form, *sipand* (*isp-*, *sif-*, *isf-*), which occurs principally in a compound with the adjective 'white', evidently to describe the variety of mustard most familiar to us, «*Sinapis alba*», which was comparatively little known and used in the countries of the Middle East<sup>3</sup>. Muwaffaq spells it سبيد اسفند *sapēd-īsfand*, 107<sup>15</sup>, 1087, and defines it as *xardal-i bābilī* «*Babylonian mustard*». In the *K. Malikī*, ed. Bulaq ii 527<sup>10</sup>, we find the following series<sup>4</sup>: بزر فلاسفس وهو الحرف وهو الاسفيد اسفيد اى الخردل الابيض البابلي «seed of θλάσπις, which is *ħurf*, which is \**isfīd-īsfand*, viz. white Babylonian mustard». The author of *Tuħfe-yi Ĥakīm Mu'min* says briefly «they call the white kind of mustard *īsfand-safīd* (read *isfīd-sifand*), which is white *ħurf*»<sup>5</sup>.

## IV.

We are now prepared to consider the question whether mustard was mentioned in the Avesta. It does not occur in our present text, but unless the Pahlavi translators made a bad mistake it

<sup>1</sup> Thus Maidānī (*As-sāmī fi'l-asāmī*) gives *sipandān* for *ħabb ar-rašād* («*Lep. sat.*»), *sipandān-i gandā* 'evil-smelling mustard' for *ħurf* (a «*Lepidium*»), *sipandān-i xurd u x'aš* 'small and fine (?) mustard' for *xardal*. Al-Beruni, too, has *ispandān-i xvaš* as the Persian equivalent of *xardal* (mustard).

<sup>2</sup> Thus in *K. al-abniyah* 87<sup>5</sup>, = *ħurf* = *ħabb ar-rašād*. Muwaffaq in addition gives an otherwise unknown Persian name, *tavan-tarre*. Its second half, *tarre*, does occur elsewhere in this sense, see Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 397, and a (relatively) recent Persian term, *tarre-tizak* or shortened *tartizak*, has often been defined as «*Lepidium sativum*» (although strictly it is considered the equivalent of Ar. *jirjir* «*Eruca sativa*» Lamk., 'rocket'). To infer that *tavan* should share the meaning of *tiz(ak)*, i.e. 'sharp', may be rash (perhaps 'hot', from *tap-*?).

<sup>3</sup> The variety there preferred is universally described as 'red'. Laufer dealt with the introduction of the white kind into China, *Sino-Iranica* 380. Cf. also E. H. Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 151 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the spellings are corrupt; cf. Löw, loc. cit. 396.

<sup>5</sup> There is great confusion about *ħurf* in the books on pharmacology; see e.g. Maimonides, *Asmā'u 'l-'Uqqār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, No. 163.

should have stood in a well-known passage of the lost *Dāmdāt-Nask*. When the Primordial Bull died, various useful plants sprouted from his remains: the *Nask* contained a detailed list, in which plants were paired with parts of his body, and that list is reproduced, at least in part, in the *Bundahishn* and *Zātspram*. « From his lungs, we read, (grew) mustard (*sipandān*)<sup>1</sup>, for the healing of lung-diseases of cattle (*gōspandān*) », *Zsp.*, 32<sup>8-9</sup> (= ix § 5 West). In the *Bundahishn* (*Gr. Bd.*, 93<sup>14</sup> = *Ind. Bd.*, 28<sup>11-12</sup>) the strange etiology is omitted: it is clearly the work of the Pahlavi translator who (as so often) relied on the similarity of words. Since mustard was never regarded as a specific for lung-troubles (as far as I know), nor has any other discernible relationship with lungs, why then did the Avestan author pair the lungs with mustard, of all things? The obvious answer to that question is that his mind worked in the same way as the Pahlavi translator's mind, in other words: that he had found that the terms for 'lungs' and 'mustard' resembled each other in his language. 'Lungs' being *suši* in Avestan, the probability becomes considerable that the designation of 'mustard' was not unlike the Eastern Iranian words previously discussed here. Taking our cue from Sogdian *šywšp-*, we could then restore the line of the *Dāmdāt-Nask* in this way:

*hača sušibya siušapō.*

It is disconcerting to find that all modern scholars, with rare unanimity, have interpreted this text differently and discovered a reference to the « wild rue » here. By mischance the names of that plant and of mustard are almost indistinguishable in Persian: *sipand* (*sif-*, *isp-*, normal form now *isfand*) « *Peganum harmala* ». For almost two hundred years, from Anquetil (as I see from Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 174, who built a whole romance on it) to B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-ākāsīh* (1956), 117, this interpretation has been settled dogma<sup>2</sup>. Yet the objections to it are overwhelming. To start with, *sipandān* is not the same as *sipand*, and if *-ān* is to be the plural ending we are beset with difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> So only *Ind. Bd.*; in *Gr. Bd.* and *Zsp.* *gōspandān* here too.

<sup>2</sup> Justi's edition of the *Bd.* is not accessible to me.

Some translators, indeed, offer us 'rue-like herbs' or 'kinds of wild rue', although there is only the one «*Peganum harmala*» in Persia<sup>1</sup>; moreover, this would be a lone plural in a string of plant-names in the singular. All of them, differently from the 'wild rue', are names of common cultivated plants, such as may be found in a farmer's kitchen<sup>2</sup>. But the gravest objection is a religious one: the proper place of the wild rue is in witchcraft, which the Zoroastrian church ever combatted; its seeds are thrown into the fire to excite fat black smoke—a truly Ahrimanic practice<sup>3</sup>. That a seal of approval was set on this sorcerer's favourite in the Avesta itself by the attribution of semi-divine origin, should not be assumed so readily.

That is not to say that we need reject the common derivation of *sipand* 'wild rue' from *spənta-*, for which 'sacred' is a broad equivalent<sup>4</sup>; for to a *daēvayasna* or devil-worshipper the plant was indeed 'sacred'. But such an etymology cannot be urged

<sup>1</sup> In the most elaborate work on the botany of Persia, A. Parsa, *Flore de l'Iran*, vol. i pt. 1, p. 1489 sqq., only a single further species is listed, the Caspian «*P. crithmifolium*», but proof of its occurrence in Persia is lacking.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the cultivated cousin of the 'wild rue', the 'garden rue', Persian *sudāb*, is mentioned in the *Bundahishn* as one of the *tarrakihā* 'kitchen herbs' *Gr. Bd.* 117 line 15: *satāp, karafs, gišnīč, kihkīčak, [gandanāk]*. The list of *tarre-hā* in a Persian work ascribed to Fakhr-i Rāzi, Nicholson «*J.R.A.S.*», 1899, 28, includes all these, . . . *gišniz, gandanā, karafs . . . sudāb, kihkiz . . .* (for *šyt* read *šibit*); *kihkīč(ak) > \*kihkīč/kihkīč* (whence *kihkij* in Persian, as well as *kihiz*) equals Arab. *jirjir* 'rocket'. In late times *sudāb* was admitted to Zoroastrian ceremonies, probably as a substitute for *isfand*, in a concession to popular superstition, see Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 172, 322 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Massé, *Croyances et Coutumes*, index s.v. *sēpend*. The *fête de la rue sauvage* (i 162) may be due to misunderstanding. Pietro della Valle (*Viaggi*, Rome 1658, *La Persia* ii 108), in his letter of April 4, 1620, places it on February 15 and remarks that differently from the generality of feast-days it was fixed in the solar calendar, viz. when the sun had passed 25° of Aquarius. That is the same as saying that it was the 35th day from the end of the year, hence the first of *Isfend(ārmuδ)* of the Jalālī year (541), which corresponds with Saturday, Feb. 15, 1620 (greg.): the name of the month was confused with that of the plant.

<sup>4</sup> Pashto *spēlanai* causes difficulty. Pahl. *spand* 'wild rue' is often cited, but no reference (other than to our *Bd.* passage, as e.g. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 277) is ever supplied. H. W. Bailey in «*B.S.O.S.*», vii, 290, accurately gave *spandān* only, presumably also from our passage.

for *sipandān* 'mustard'; there is nothing sacred (in any sense) about mustard. On the model of Parthian *šyfsd'n* one would rather assume that *sipandān* consists of \**sipan* 'mustard' and *dān* 'grain'. In \**sipan* we can then recognize an inversion of the word familiar in Greek since hellenistic times, σίναπι. Once \**sipan* was established in Persian<sup>2</sup>, and *sipandān* had received currency, the words were influenced in their forms by the indigenous *s(i)pand*, especially in their initials, also in the final<sup>3</sup> of *spēd-ispan* «*Sinapis alba*».

## V.

The idea that *sipandān* could be dissected as *sipan* + *dān* and associated with the western term *sinapi(s)* is seemingly shattered when one notices the following entry in Bezold-Götze, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, 217: «*sappandu* (weisser) Senf (?)».

The question-mark alone allows one's crushed spirit to rise again. The meanings of the obscurer Akkadian words have sometimes been determined with the help of later languages, especially Syriac or the other forms of Aramaic. And here the Persian term

<sup>1</sup> Once it had entered general use, *sipandān* could be applied also to the plant (as e.g. *mustard* can be, although it is originally a designation of the prepared condiment); it then became possible to say *sipandān-dāne* 'grain of mustard', *Tafsīr-i Rāzī*, 2nd ed., ii 400 line 18; or *tuxm-i sipandān* «*J.R.A.S.*», 1899, 29.

<sup>2</sup> If that happened after the voicing of intervocalic voiceless plosives, there would be less difficulty. Otherwise one might expect \**sib-*, as there is *sab-* from *sap-* (*sabad* beside *savad* < *sapat*; *sabuk*, but Pashto *spuk*; *sabūy*, *A locust's leg*, 98 n. 4; *saval* but also *sapal*, 'camel's hoof': Khwar. *sbō* or *sbd*? 'horse's or camel's hoof', but cf. *Morgenstierne I.I.F.L.*, ii, 250 b). Yet I know of no safe example for OIr. *sip-*; the isolation of \**sipan* would ease its assimilation to words with *sip-* from *sp-* (for Pers. *sabūs(e)*, but also *sapūs(e)*, 'bran', there is an earlier form with *si-* in Talm. *syḡwsg*, Levy iii 569, 726; the origin of *sibārī*, but also *sipārī*, 'stubbles', from Jewish Pers. *sβ'r*, in dialects *sevāl*, *suvōl*, often with *-m-*, *semār*, 'straw' is not clear; *Morgenstierne*, «*N.T.S.*», xii, 266 assumed here *sp-*).

<sup>3</sup> The alternation *-nd-*: *-n(n)-* in various dialects may have helped; it occurs even at the ends of words, e.g. Manich. MPers. *bn* = *ban(n)* against Pahl. or Pers. *band*.

does figure in Syriac dictionaries, as *spd'* or *spyd'* « *Sinapis alba* »<sup>1</sup>, so if that was the source for the meaning attributed to *sappandu*, we should be moving in a circle if we now regarded the Akkadian word as the ancestor of the Persian.

In search of expert assistance I turned to Dr. Anne Kilmer, of the Chicago Oriental Institute, at present teaching Assyrian at Berkeley, who with the greatest kindness not only assured me that that was even so, but also brought to my attention an important note on mustard by Landsberger (B. Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, *Practical Vocabulary of Assur*, « Archiv f. Orientforschung » xviii/2 (1957-58), 337 sq. on line 83). The eminent Assyriologist, who incidentally states that *sappandu* is an odoriferous tree (338 under *g*), has proved in it that the true Babylonian word for mustard was *kasī* (standard Bab. *kasī* plurale tantum; Neo-Bab. *ka-si-ia*; Neo-Ass. *kasūtu*)<sup>2</sup>. The chief gain of his note is to show how anciently established and widely used mustard was in Babylonia<sup>3</sup>. One of the adduced passages recalls a familiar advertisement of the London Underground, proclaiming that meat needs mustard: « the poor man . . . if he finds meat, he does not find mustard; if he finds mustard, he does not find meat ».

Babylonian *kasī* resembles Ossetic *qyc'y* 'mustard' (Miller-Freiman i 472), doubtless primarily a loanword from a Turkish language. Radloff (ii 792) knew *qyfy* only from Redhouse who gave as meaning « name of various biting, bitter<sup>4</sup> herbs; as mustard, cress, nasturtium, etc. », while Zenker (*qfy* and *qčy*) has straightforwardly 'mustard'. Although the word is better established nowadays—Kāšyārī has it, iii 180 line 4, as *qyčy*<sup>5</sup>—it is not sufficiently widely distributed in Turkish to exclude the possibility that it is ultimately a loanword. Whether the resemblance is due to coincidence is open to question.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Löw loc. cit., 134; it is not clear which half of *spēd-(i)spand* the Syriac is supposed to represent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also von Soden, *Akk. Hdwb.*, 5, 1963, 455 *kasū* ii.

<sup>3</sup> The persistent qualification of *Sinapis alba* as *bābīlī* in Muslimic works on pharmacology may be significant; cf. above p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> This calls to mind Arm. *ku* 'bitter, pungent'.

<sup>5</sup> See also Ibn Muḥannā p. 181: *qyfy* = *xardal*; *qjy* as *turkī* in *Tuhfe-yi Ḥakīm Mu'min*.

Here we may refer to a further Persian word, *āhūrī* 'mustard'<sup>1</sup>). The pharmacologists, better informed than the lexicographers, knew that this was of Indian origin. Rhazes, in the first years of the 10th century, wrote «there are two kinds (of mustard), the white and the red; the latter is *aṣ-šināb* (in Arabic), *اهوری* in Indian». Al-Beruni (middle of 11th century) gave *ای* as *hindīyah*, and ascribed *اهری* (prob. = *āhūrī*) to the language of Mūltān; the former is found in Hindustani dictionaries (*rā'i*), but not the latter<sup>2</sup>. From Western India *āhūrī* entered Pashto where we meet with *āwrai* (Bellew), *aoraey* (Raverty), *auráy* (Zudin).

## VI.

We have gained a series of words that are held together by resemblance in form and identity in meaning:

Skt. <i>sarṣapa-</i>	*Av. <i>siuṣapa-</i>	Gr. <i>σίναπι</i> (with Lat.
	Sogd. <i>šywšp-</i>	<i>sināpi(s)</i> , Arab. <i>šināb</i> <sup>3</sup>
	Parth. <i>šyfš-</i>	etc.)
	Khot. <i>šaśv-</i>	Pers. <i>siṣan-</i>

A narrow meaning, such as 'mustard', constitutes a preponderant tie. One is not surprised to find that a connection between Skt. *sarṣapa-* and *sināpi* was postulated long ago, by Th. Benfey<sup>4</sup>, who thought that from India, the mother of all culture, the word, altered in the course of its passage across-Iran, had spread to the West, together with the article. While, as we have seen, there is no need to go so far East to look for mustard<sup>5</sup>, it is true that

<sup>1</sup> The verse cited by M. Mo'in in his edition of *B.Q.*, s.v., is in the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*.

<sup>2</sup> If it designates the prepared condiment (as seems to be the case), it may have been derived from Skt. *ahura-* 'the fire in the stomach' (Monier-Williams).

<sup>3</sup> S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fw. im Arab.*, 36 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen*, on *Senf*.

<sup>5</sup> There is even less call for surmising «eine austro-asiatische Quelle (malaisch?)», see J. B. Hofmann, *Etym. Wb. d. Griech.*, s.v. *vārvu*.

our new Iranian forms support his basic contention—that there was a connection. Except for the centre of the words, Iranian and Greek are in consonance: *si...ap*.

The interior difference could be accounted for by positing a Proto-Iranian form with *-ns-*, which, if the nasal was maintained, resulted in *-nh-*, if not, in *-š-* with nasalization of the preceding vowel. Thereafter, *\*sinhap-* may have been simplified to *\*sinap-*. However, some non-Iranian language, possibly in Asia Minor, may have been responsible for the development of *\*sinsap-* to *\*sinhap-* and ultimately *\*sinap-*, which migrated into Greek<sup>1</sup> probably in Macedonian times and, independently, into Persian (transposed into *\*sipan*) at a date we cannot determine.

It has been supposed that a nasal before any Iranian sibilant lost its status as consonant and merged as nasalization with the preceding vowel; since nasalized vowels were not « phonemic » in most Iranian languages, the nasalization either disappeared<sup>2</sup> (leaving on occasion a lengthened vowel<sup>3</sup> or a doubled sibilant) or was resolved again into a consonant. The details are obscure through insufficiency of material; Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> was indecisive on whether the supposition applied to the Indo-Iranian or Proto-Iranian or later stage, even whether it covered all Iranian languages<sup>5</sup>. A special difficulty obtains with original (*I.-E.* or equivalent) *-s-*. The Avestan occurrences indicate that in the required situation that sibilant was treated as if the nasal did not exist, therefore became *-š-* after vowels other than *-a/ā-*; this is so also in

<sup>1</sup> The long vowel may be due to the influence of *vāpυ*.

<sup>2</sup> The words for 'tongue' and 'elm' could be examples for (Ir.) *\*-ins<sup>h</sup>u-* being simplified to *-izu-*. Cf. «Asia Major», x, 72 n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the Ir. words for 'iron', which have variously *ā-* and *ā-*, demanding earlier *āsu-* from *ans<sup>h</sup>u-* (if the etymology given above p. 36 n. 1 is correct). Such lengthening would account also for *visati* 'twenty' as from *\*vinsati*, which the agreement of Digor *insāi* with Skt. *viṃśati* recommends. O. Szemerényi, judging differently, regards the nasal in Skt. as « obviously an innovation », the one in Digor as « secondary » (*I.-E. System of Numerals*, 53 sqq.). It seems to me, on the contrary, that this nasal is a highly archaic feature: the *-d-* of *\*d<sup>h</sup>nti*, lost elsewhere, was preserved in Indo-Iranian but, owing to its awkward position, replaced by its homorganic nasal.

<sup>4</sup> *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i, 26 § 62 and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Chiefly on account of Ossetic; in Sogdian, too, *-ns-* and *-nz-* are common. Some remarks on *-nz-* in «Asia Major», x, 196 sq.

Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>. No trace of the nasal is discernible in the Avestan outcome of original *ins*, which is simply *iš* (or *īš*); yet as this is safely attested solely at word-finals<sup>2</sup>, some expression may have been given to it in interior position. In the similar group *rn(s)* a *u*-diphthong arose in Later Avestan, *-ru(š)* or possibly *-řu(š)*, as in *nərřuš* from *nřns* or *strřuš* from *střns*<sup>3</sup>. Such forms render it possible that *ins*, too, produced *iuš* (or *īuš*), which kept its diphthong only before a vowel in the middle of words. These considerations have emboldened me to propose *\*siušapa-* as Avestan; they account for the strange *-w-* of Sogd. *šywšp*, which is otherwise inexplicable<sup>4</sup>.

## VII.

Many pages would be required to argue in detail how Iranian *\*sinšapa-* and Sanskrit *saršapa-* could be interrelated. Evidently, the correct cognate of *\*sinšapa-* should be *\*šimšapa-*

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Wackernagel (*Lautlehre*, 231 § 203). Bartholomae rejected the phonological explanation and advanced a complicated set of analogies (loc. cit., 132 § 228, 2 a).

<sup>2</sup> Claimed contrary cases are *jihāš*, a variant on *jahāš* (= *jayhāš*, cf. *Vd.* 2,22) 'it shall come' *Nyāyīš* 1, 1, preferred by Bartholomae, loc. cit., 194 § 320; *čistā* *Y.* 51, 5 as from *činahmi*, with *-inst-*, acc. to Bartholomae 175 § 299; *čīšdī* *Y.* 44, 16 as from the same, with *-inzd(')*, acc. to Humbach, *Gathas*, ii 87, who rejects *čistā*. A cluster of three consonants would promote the elision.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling has given rise to much speculation. To say \*an attempt to express nasalization in writing\* is plainly unsatisfactory. What other alphabet has so many symbols for nasals? Any one of them would have been better. Moreover, there was the model of Gathic Av. where one of them was in fact employed. Bartholomae ultimately resigned himself to assuming \*wahrscheinlich eine Verschreibung\* (*apud* Reichelt, *Aw. Elem.*, 33). A pragmatic approach is preferable.

<sup>4</sup> A parallel case may be seen in Sogd. *fšy'ws* ('βšy'ws) 'master, *dihqān*' (now also Mugh *kty-βšy'ws* = Pers. *kad-xudā*), if directly = Av. *fšuyqs*, see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 311, 429. If *-u-* was reduced, in accord with normal rules, and therefore no longer available for metathesis, *-'ws* = *-aus* would reflect former nasalized *-a- + -s*. That assumption would merely be strengthened if the etymon was *xšayqs* instead (*fš* from *xš* occurs, very rarely, in Sogd.). Cf. also Persian *nus* from Sogd. *n(n)s*, \*B.S.O.S. §, x, 100 and, possibly, Av. *haosafnačna-*. The general movement of *-m-* to *-u-* or *-y-*, in Sogdian etc., is distantly related.



in Skt.; the problem of the agreement in the first vowel of *sarṣapa* with Khot. *śaśv-* also needs to be considered.

The following hypothesis may serve to cut across all such difficulties: the word for 'mustard' was approximately *s'ens'ap*, and belonged to a non-Indo-European language, whence it was adopted by Iranians and Indo-Aryans, severally, at a remote date, at the time of their immigration, and inducted into the phonological systems of their languages; thus, e.g., the brief *e*, alien to either group, came to be replaced variously by *i* or *a*<sup>1</sup>.

One would be more hesitant to put forward such a hypothesis if it were not possible to adduce another word of similar make-up and similar fate, which by its meaning almost compels the assumption of «substrate» origin: that is the Indo-Iranian word for 'lion', which may be assumed to have been *s'engha* at the outset. It is reflected in Sanskrit by *siṃha*, in Iranian ideally by Khwarezmian *sary*. Here, too, *sin-* and *sar-* correspond with each other<sup>2</sup>, but the distribution is reversed—what could indicate more clearly that these words were adopted from a third language of basically different phonologic structure?

It is not proposed to discuss here the various etymologies that have been proffered for *siṃha*<sup>3</sup> and *sary* (etc.), which, as far as I know, have never been seen as related to each other<sup>4</sup>. Even within Iranian it has never been possible to posit a satisfying

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *siṃśapa-* 'Sissoo tree', which evidently flowed from the same source, is unfortunately not represented in Iranian itself; for, as I. Gershevitch has shown in a brilliant note, that was the tree called *yakā* in OPersian. Yet that name existed in Elamite (6th century B.C.) and there indeed had *-e-* in the first syllable: *še-iš-šá-ba-ut* (= *šeššap-*), see Gershevitch, «B.S.O.A.S.», xix, 317 sqq.; xxi, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Occasional substitution of a nasal for foreign *-r-* has been attributed to Middle-Indian influence by Pagel, «Z.I.I.», i, 246 sqq. Such a consideration cannot apply to *siṃha*, which belongs to the most ancient layer of the Sanskrit vocabulary.—Some scholars regard *puṃs-* (*pumāns-*) and *puṃśa* as interrelated.

<sup>3</sup> Arm. *inc* 'panther' (etymologists prefer the alternative, probably inferior, spelling *inj*), cited since the days of Fr. Müller, is a highly speculative comparison, owing to the multiplicity of its possible descent. A panther is not a lion; for the latter Armenian has *arivc*.

<sup>4</sup> It would be desirable to ally with them Tokharian *šišāk*, Kuchean *šecake*, but a way to do it remains to be discovered. One of them was borrowed by Chinese, acc. to Pulleyblank, «Asia Major», ix, 109, 226.

base form; such difficulties dissolve when we assume varying adaptation of a substrate term. Thus, in some Iranian languages the word begins with *š-*, hitherto obscure, in view of the lack of a palatalizing agent<sup>1</sup>; however, original *-e-* could have palatalized the sibilant and still been inducted as *-a-* into the borrowing languages. The Iranian forms are: Khwar. *sary*, Khot. *sarau*, Sogd. *šryw*, *šryw*<sup>2</sup>, Parth. *šarg*, MPers. *šagr*, Persian *šēr*.

*Sary* need not have been confined to Khwarezmia; it will have been common to many languages of adjoining territory. The actual form occurs only as late as A.D. 1000. At a slightly earlier stage it was *\*saryi*. In ancient times it was *\*saryǝ* (perhaps even *\*sargǝ*) in the nominative. E. H. Schafer recently wrote an interesting chapter on the lion in China<sup>3</sup> and remarked that the oldest name for it in Chinese, « a word sounding like *\*suangi*, . . . came from India to China before the Christian era ». As *-an* in ancient rendering represents foreign *-ar* as often as not<sup>4</sup>, we may prefer to regard 狻猊 *suan-i* (M. Chin. *suân-ngiei*, Anc. *swân-ngieg*) as reflecting Iran. *saryǝ* (or *sargǝ*) rather than Skt. *siṃha*. It may then claim to be one of the first, perhaps even the first<sup>5</sup>, of the Iranian words that found a home in China.

#### Addenda

P. 36 n. 1. Positing the Old Iranian name of «*Asa foetida*» as *\*hingu* finds further support in al-Beruni's attribution of هينك

<sup>1</sup> Another case of both *š-* and *s-* in Iranian, but dental *s-* in Skt., is Sogd. *šykt*, Man. MPers. *sygd*, but Skt. *sikatā* (cf. Morgenstierne, *I.I.F.L.*, ii, 245 b).

<sup>2</sup> Beside Man. Sogd. apparently also Chr., if *apud* Hansen, *Berl. Sogd. T.*, ii, 879 line 13, the incomplete word *.r.y* is to be restored as [š]r[w]y. The story there (somewhat misunderstood by the editor) runs « when we came to a river, my father left me at the bank, picked up my brother, and took him across the river. And while he was returning to fetch me, too, a lion came out of a cave » etc.

<sup>3</sup> *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963), 84-87.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. recently Pulleyblank, «*Asia Major*», ix, 228 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> A precise date for the first appearance of the word is a desideratum. Karlgren, *Gramm. Ser. Rec.*, 129, on 468 *d'*, mentions «*Chou time*», but doubts the identification with the lion.

(*hynk*) to the *Sajzī* dialect, i.e. the language of Sīstān; thus in *aṣ-Ṣaidanah*, Arabic text fol. 31 a, s.v. *anjudān*.

P. 42. An additional Iranian word for 'mustard' is Khwarezmian 'ṣ'n (\**ažān*), given as the equivalent of *šināb* (= table-mustard) in the *Muqaddamat ul-Adab*, p. 24 line 4; also 'ṣ'n-*rnk* « mustard-coloured » = *šinābiyy*, p. 38 line 4.

CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject. It discusses the importance of the study and the scope of the work. The author also mentions the sources of the material and the method of the investigation.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It discusses the various aspects of the subject and the results of the investigation. The author also mentions the conclusions of the study and the suggestions for further research.

The third part of the book is devoted to a summary of the results of the study. It discusses the main findings of the investigation and the conclusions of the study. The author also mentions the suggestions for further research.

The fourth part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the results of the study. It discusses the various aspects of the subject and the results of the investigation. The author also mentions the conclusions of the study and the suggestions for further research.

The fifth part of the book is devoted to a summary of the results of the study. It discusses the main findings of the investigation and the conclusions of the study. The author also mentions the suggestions for further research.

The sixth part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the results of the study. It discusses the various aspects of the subject and the results of the investigation. The author also mentions the conclusions of the study and the suggestions for further research.

## A SOGDIAN GOD

### I

The argument to be presented here proceeds from the analysis of a Sogdian word of uncertain orthography and disputed meaning. It first occurred, as *by' / npsqty*<sup>1</sup> (apparently with word-division),<sup>2</sup> in *Soghd. Texte*, I, 39.4, in a translation of Luke xii, 36, corresponding with Syriac *bēθ meštūthā = (ēκ) τῶν γάμων*; Müller gave '*Gastmahl*', with an asterisk to denote his doubt. Later I published two Manichaean passages.<sup>3</sup> One, in the text I titled 'A Job story', speaks of a man who makes his way in the world and becomes rich and "takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great *by'n'yšp / [']krty*": the context demands 'marriage-feast', in agreement with the Greek of Luke. The other is a Sogdian version of a Middle Persian verse, the original having been preserved by good fortune, 'Hail to you, bridegroom, who hast made a marriage-feast for the sons': here *by'ny / pšk'kw* renders MPers. *wdwdg'n* 'wedding'. The meaning of *wdwdg'n*, which has a long lineage from the most ancient layer of Indo-European down to Modern Persian,<sup>4</sup> cannot be disputed;<sup>5</sup> its direct descendant, *bayōgān(i)*, is still found in any Persian dictionary (Vullers: *nuptiae*). The wording of the MPers. verse causes one to conjecture that its author had in mind a gospel text such as Mark ii, 19, *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν*; the Syriac version, which he presumably used, has *gnūnā* here. If this conjecture is correct, it becomes likely that *wdwdg'n* meant not merely 'wedding' in general, but also specifically 'wedding-room' or 'bridal chamber', and this may apply equally to the Sogdian word; in support one can cite *wydwtky* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which again renders *gnūnā*. Finally, in the Christian Sogdian texts published by O. Hansen<sup>6</sup> we meet the word in successive lines, spelt differently each time: *by'nypš / qt* (line 17) and *by'nyšpqtty* (line 18); Hansen gave '*Festmahl*' here (with a query), and E. Benveniste (who improved the translation in other points) has '*festin*' (*JA*, CCXLIII, 3, 1955, 312). That passage, too, is translated from the

<sup>1</sup> Abandoning further resistance I shall henceforth adopt the common practice of transliterating, in Christian Sogdian, *teth* by plain *t*, and *tau* by *θ*.

<sup>2</sup> In the light of later-published material one wonders whether this is not misreading of *by'[n]ypšqty* (*y* and *n* resembling each other in that position).

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 486 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See recently E. Benveniste, *Hittite et Indo-Européen*, 33-40.

<sup>5</sup> Spelt *wydwtk'n* in Pahlavi. In the horoscope *Gr. Bd.* 51.10 it corresponds with *femmes*, *JA*, 1915, I, 17 (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā) = *nisā'*, *Mafāṭih al-'ulūm* 227.15, with 'wives, concubines, matrimony and nuptials' in al-Beruni's *Taḥḥim*, see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 328 sq. (in the Persian *Taḥḥim*: *zanān u surriyatān va zanānū'i u 'arūsi* . . . , p. 429, ed. J. Huma'i).

<sup>6</sup> *Berliner soghdische Texte*, II, 884.

Syriac, but the original has not been identified. However, that is no obstacle to understanding; for it palpably alludes to the parable of Matthew xxii, 2-10, so that *by'nyšpqt̄y nwyštyt'* corresponds with *τοὺς κεκλημένους εἰς τοὺς γάμους* = *la-mzammnē l-meštūbā* (xxii, 3).

Every one of the Sogdian passages is satisfied with 'wedding', in a sense sufficiently wide as to connote the place where it is celebrated: *gnūnā* ~ *νυμφών*. Yet all the scholars concerned have attributed a different meaning to the Sogdian word, and H. W. Bailey, in an entrancing series of notes,<sup>8</sup> has developed the opinion that it should be understood as 'house of beer-drinking' (or 'beer-feasting'). The reason for this divergence is easily perceived: it lies in the Syriac equivalent *bēθ meštūbā*, apparently 'house of drinking', since *meštūbā* is a derivative of *štū* 'to drink'. These appearances are deceptive: although that is an admissible translation, in fact *meštūbā* as often as not means 'wedding'. Brockelmann cites more passages for 'nuptiae' than for 'compositio, symposium', and has *συμπόσιον* and *νυμφών* impartially for *bēθ m°*; a notable phrase is *gnaβ meštūbāh*, literally 'he stole her m°', in the sense of *defloravit*. This usage is not confined to Syriac; thus in the Babylonian Talmud *meštūbā* 'das Trinken, Gelage; insbesondere: Hochzeitsmahl' (Levy, III, 292); cf. Hebr. *mištūh* 'das Trinken, Getränk, Gelage, συμπόσιον; zumeist jedoch: Hochzeitsmahl' (ibid., 291).

It might be opined that the translators, faced with the ambiguous *m°*, persistently chose the wrong meaning. This is in itself unlikely. Those translators possessed a highly competent knowledge of Syriac, which was probably their mother-tongue, and particularly so far as gospel texts are in question, where a well-established tradition existed, the chance of a misunderstanding is remote. It is put out of court through the Manichaean passages, neither of which admits a meaning other than 'wedding'.

Even though the Sogdian word may connote 'bridal chamber', and in spite of the persuasion exercised by Syr. *bēθ-* (in one passage only), one is reluctant to admit that its final part *-qt(-)* etc. is the word for 'house'. Here again the Manichaean texts guard us against rashly assuming that the compound was merely a *calque* of the Syriac in the Luke text, an invention perhaps of Christian missionaries produced in response to translators' needs. The compound existed in the Sogdian language beforehand and was put to employment by Christian authors as well as others. We are free to judge it on internal evidence: the Manichaean scribes spelled *'krty* beside *-kt'kw*, thereby indicating earlier *-krta(ka-)*; in Chr. Sogd. both earlier *-krta-* and *-kata-* appear as *-qt-*. However, although the orthography was ambiguous, there was a clear distinction in the language: the one was *kt-*, the other *kat-*. This difference, which is normally marked in most systems of Sogdian writing, persisted throughout the history of the Sogdian language and still survives in Yaghnohi, *ikt-* 'to make': *kat*

<sup>7</sup> *nwyštyt* in the edition is probably misprinted.

<sup>8</sup> *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 133 sqq., 154; *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli, Sez. Ling.*, I, 2, 1959, 133-44.

'house'. By writing 'krty' the Manichaean tells us that he pronounced *-kt-*; we should respect his opinion.

## II

As already mentioned, H. W. Bailey assumed that the first part of the Sogdian word (*bγ'nyšp*- etc.) meant 'beer-drinking' or 'beer-feasting', to consist of \**bγ'ny* 'beer' and \**šp / pš*,<sup>10</sup> reflecting a verbal base 'to sate oneself, to feast', both otherwise unknown to Sogdian.<sup>11</sup> The word *meštūbā*, by itself, gives no hint of the potable involved, but the passages adduced in full in Jacob Levy's dictionary invite the inference that wine was *de rigueur* at any occasion that deserved that name. It may be dangerous to generalize, but there is plentiful evidence to show that the Iranians, before Islam (and long after it as well), were a nation of wine-drinkers.<sup>12</sup> Almost all the documents we have from Parthian times (Nisa, Awroman) deal with wine and vineyards. Strabo speaks of the wine of Areia (Herāt), which was good enough to keep for three generations, and praises the vines of Margiane and Hyrcania (C 73, 516). The Sassanian child prodigy could rattle off a list of vintages as well as any wine waiter and was ready to dilate on the requisite accompaniment (*Pahl. texts*, 32 sq., §§ 56-9, 66). Where is beer so much as mentioned? Some years ago I located a passage in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag*<sup>13</sup> in which a kind of beer (*wašak*) is referred to<sup>14</sup>: 'they had no wine, but brought beer forward...'; which suffices to show that beer was considered a poor substitute.

Sogdiane was a wine-land even in Achaemenian times. Choriene, at his surrender, could give a sufficiency of wine to every man in Alexander's army and still had ten times as much in his cellars, and that after a siege (Arrian, IV, 21, 10). From Sogdian lands<sup>15</sup> viniculture spread across Central Asia to China.<sup>16</sup> Sogdiane came to be the first centre of classical Persian poetry, which is drenched in wine; Persian *mul* 'wine', an emotion-laden word of the devotee's, coexisting

<sup>9</sup> The prosthetic vowel (*akt-*), which is commonly marked in Man. orthography, is expressed here only because the scribe began a fresh line with the final part of the compound; it is naturally absent when the final is joined with the main body.

<sup>10</sup> *Annali*, I, 2, 1959, 137. As arises from the preceding annotation, *-šp-* does not exist.

<sup>11</sup> H. W. Bailey regarded Sogd. *'sp'nē-* (MPers. *aspinj*, Pers. *sipanj* etc.) as a distant relative. However, that may be a derivative of MPers. *asp-* (Man. *hasp-*) 'to rest', *aspin* (Man. *haspyn*) sbst. 'rest' (in Pahl. e.g. *Dd.*, 36.17; *DkM.*, 161.3; in Pazend *SGV*), so that *sipanj* would mean 'rest-house' even by etymology. The Mugh material has now shown that *spnēyrespn* consists of *spnēy* + (*'*)*respn*; the alternative spelling *spynē'repn-[y]* of *ST*, I, 84, 5, indicated that already.

<sup>12</sup> I can do no better than refer to H. W. Bailey's masterly paper 'Madu' (*Silver jubilee volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyūso, Kyoto University, 1954*).

<sup>13</sup> *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 603 sq.

<sup>14</sup> The other passage discussed there (*PT*, 113.4) is too involved in various difficulties to be relied on.

<sup>15</sup> 'Les gens de ces diverses principautés [of Sogdiane] aiment le vin', T'ang-shu ap. Chavannes, *Doc.*, 134. The Mugh documents abundantly confirm that observation, see e.g. Mugh B 2 (Freiman, *Problemi Vostokovedeniya*, I, 1959, 120 sq.).

<sup>16</sup> See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*; Bailey, 'Madu'; E. H. Schafer, *Golden peaches*, 141 sqq. Laufer was the first to suggest that Chin. *p'u-t'ao* represented 'a dialectic form of Avestan *mašav*' (p. 225); I thought the dialect was Sogdian, *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, p. 98, n. 3.

with the etymologically identical but more sober *may*, was a loan from Sogdian.<sup>17</sup> Beer, on the other hand, was lowly regarded. Asadi says it causes belching.<sup>18</sup> According to Rhazes, beer made of barley damaged the nerves, produced headaches, etc. Muwaffaq went further and claimed that beer, apart from causing borborygmus, sickness, and the like, was responsible for nothing less than leprosy.<sup>19</sup> If in an old wine-land, as Sogdiane was, a rich man, at the acme of life and power, had given his guests a 'beer-feast' on the occasion of his children's marriage (as in the 'Job story'), would they have cheered him and praised his name? He would have deserved the dismal fate that lay before him.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes that roamed the steppes to the north of the Iranian settlements perforce had to make do with beer. Their political ascendancy and cultural penetration led to acquaintance with new types of beverage, and their names entered Iranian languages. They range from Sogdian *zwtk*, of Scythian origin,<sup>20</sup> to Tajiki *būza*, from Kirgiz *boza*. To this category belongs Khwarezmian *bkñy*, which is necessarily<sup>21</sup> loan-word from Turkish, where *bāk(i)ni* is well-established. Ossetic *bāgāni* and *mazsmā* are equally best considered borrowings from Turkish neighbours.<sup>22</sup> With Oss. *bāgāni* and Sogd. \*βγ'ny H. W. Bailey combined Khot. *bvīys(a)na*, which occurs only in a list of three presents, (1) *haurā*, (2) *b°*, (3) *ha'mi'tcī*.<sup>23</sup> Even if the first is, as claimed,<sup>24</sup> an alternative spelling of Khot. *hurā* (an alcoholic drink), we need not take it for granted that the other items, too, must be drinkables. When three gifts are named of which one is wine (or the like), the other two are apt to be (a) meat and (b) bread. The ambassador sent by Arshām to Egypt was to receive (a) a lamb and (b) two kinds of flour, in addition to beer.<sup>25</sup> King Shapur made grants, to sacred fires, of daily gifts of (a) a yearling lamb and (b) bread, in addition to wine.<sup>26</sup> Chorienes, in the passage quoted above, distributed *στρόν τε καὶ οἶνον . . . κρέα τε ταριχηρά*. In the light of such parallel situations one could interpret the two unknown items differently, namely (a) *ha'mi'tcī* as a kind of pickled (raw) meat,<sup>27</sup> a famous Sassanian delicacy called *hāmīč* in Pahlavi, which was widely borrowed;<sup>28</sup> and (b) *bvīys(a)na* as finely extracted flour,

<sup>17</sup> *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, 98.

<sup>18</sup> S.v. *ārūy*, p. 57.13, ed. Horn; see his preface p. 13, n.

<sup>19</sup> *K. al-abniyah*, 189 (where Rhazes is cited).

<sup>20</sup> *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 719 sq. It owes its frequency to having been employed as translation-equivalent of Skt. *madya*.

<sup>21</sup> It is impossible to construct an Old Iranian form from which it could descend.

<sup>22</sup> According to Bailey, *Annali*, 1, 2, 1959, 136, both are primarily loan-words in Ossetic, but ultimately of Iranian origin.

<sup>23</sup> *Annali*, 1, 2, 1959, 133 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere, *haurā* is the ordinary word for 'gift' in general.

<sup>25</sup> G. R. Driver, *Aram. doc.*, No. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Great inscription of Shapur, Pahl. lines 25, 27; cf. *Jackson mem. vol.*, 42 sq.

<sup>27</sup> H. W. Bailey assumed 'barley-yeast' instead, later (*BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 28) 'a drink made of fermented barley'.

<sup>28</sup> *Pahl. texts*, p. 30, §§ 33-5, and p. 33, § 66. Persian *xāmīz* (used also in Arabic, in Tha'ālibī's *Ghurur*, 707.2). For other languages see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 96, s.v. *amič*; Talm. 'wms', explained as 'raw meat' Levy 1, 41, should be added. The persistent definition as 'raw meat pickled in vinegar etc.' speaks for the derivation from *āma-* (*xām*) 'raw'.



remounting to *vi* (*abi*?) + *vaičana*,<sup>29</sup> cf. Persian *parvīzan* 'sieve' from *pari-vaičana*-. However, so long as the meaning of those words cannot be established more directly, their origin is bound to remain in the realm of conjecture.

## III

If our Sogdian word in truth means 'wedding', how can we explain it? The various ways in which the scribes divide it in writing indicate that it consists of three parts: *βγ'ny*, *pš/šp*, and *'krty* (etc.). The central portion poses the greatest difficulty. Original *fš* may become *šf* or, in final position, *šp* in Sogdian,<sup>30</sup> but no case is known of former *šf* (*šp*) being transposed into *fš* (*pš*) in that language.<sup>31</sup> Hence it will be prudent to regard *pš* as original in the unusual alternation *pš/šp*. There must have been once a vocalic element to separate the consonants: *\*pəš* became *pš*, which could be transposed into *šp*. The reduced vowel of *\*pəš* should represent a full vowel in Old Iranian, preferably *-u-* or *-i-*, and *-š-* may reflect several OIr. consonants and clusters.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, there is a variety of Old Iranian words, existing and reconstructed, which would have produced *\*pəš* in Sogdian. Guided by Sogd. *wyšpšyy*, *βγpšyy* etc., I once compared *\*pəš* with *puθra*- 'son'.<sup>33</sup> However, that may not convey the sense we need for the compound. Accordingly, I would now connect the word with Av.

<sup>29</sup> A special study on the Khotanese preverbs is an urgent desideratum. The distribution of *vi*, *abi*, *ava*, *apa*, *upa*, and *pai* in particular is in need of clarification. Etymologists increasingly operate with OIr. *pa-*, a counsel of despair. We have seen that in Sogdian, e.g., every apparent *pa-* reflects antecedent *apa-* or *upa-* (or, rarely, *pai-*). It is an error to rely here on Armenian, where *pa-* was first recognized as a separable element, in Iranian loan-words, by A. Meillet, *REA*, II, 1922, 6; cf. E. Benveniste, *Ét. langue oss.*, 99 sqq., who has several fresh examples but takes a different view from mine. That surely reflects Iranian *upa-*, with loss of initial *u-* in accord with a well-established rule, from which case-forms and derivatives of monosyllables alone are exempt. Naturally this applies only to the oldest layer of loan-words; for later on initial *u-* was replaced by *a-* in Western Middle Iranian (hence, e.g., *apart'an*). A telling example is Arm. *pašar-k'* 'device' where *u* in the Ir. original is directly attested through Aram. *'wəpər* (see my 'Mitteliranisch', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, 1958, p. 39, n. 4). Arm. *pət-k'* 'need' is identical with Parth. *'byd*, both from *upēt-* (cf. MPers. *'by-*, ever derived from *upa-i-*). Further *paran* 'lassoo' from *upa-dāna-* (cf. *abi-dāna* 'bridle' and *pari-dāna* 'saddle', *JRAS*, 1944, p. 140, n. 1); *pazrē* 'χοῖμα', Sogd. *prxyy*, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 468, n. 5, from *xri-* 'buy'; *pašar* 'blanket', evidently = Av. *upastarəna-* (rejected by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 222); *parēt* 'ἔφορος' from *upadēt-* (cf. Arm. *dēt*); the words adduced by Meillet and Benveniste; and several uncertain ones. Clear examples of loss of initial *u-* are *zəpōš* 'circumspect' from *uzgauša-*, and *zrau-* 'terminate', from *uz + rəu-* (as in Pers. *raftan*), cf. Man. MPers. *'zric-* 'go out, end' (e.g. *k' cr' h' . . . 'zruwyd* 'when the lamp goes out'; *dušux 'duryy 'y ny 'zruwyd* 'hell-fire that never comes to an end'); the last-named was judged differently by H. W. Bailey, *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1953, 37.

<sup>30</sup> See Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, §§ 314, 441.

<sup>31</sup> This does occur in other Iranian languages.

<sup>32</sup> *-θy-* must be struck off the list; for *γδp-* is now confirmed through the Mugh letters, and *pš'βr*, in spite of occasional *pyš-*, had originally *-a-* as first vowel, therefore cannot belong to Av. *piduā-*: that is proved by Arm. *pašar*, which reflects a contracted form, *\*pašār*.

<sup>33</sup> *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 486, n. 1. The word for 'bridegroom' mentioned there is far more likely to read *pyš'k* (than *pyš'k*), thus hardly enters into consideration (its resemblance to Arm. *p'esay* may be coincidental). The wording of the Middle Persian verse (above, p. 242) may yet be held to favour retention of the connexion with *puθra*: *puθryy (r'y) wduwǰ'n qyrd* (hence *wduwǰ'n = βγ'ny*, *puθr = pš*, *qyrd = 'krty*).

*pisra*.<sup>34</sup> 'welding, the place or instrument of welding'. Whether a wider meaning ('joining, uniting, fusion') has been specialized in Avestan, or a narrow meaning ('welding') widened by metaphorical use (cf. Engl. weld = 'to unite closely or intimately'), is a question that need not detain us.

In considering *βγ'ny-* we should not lose sight of its obvious association with *βγ'nyk* 'divine', from which it is distinguished merely by the lack of a *k*-suffix, not to be expected in a longish compound in any case. With its help we can proceed to a phonetical reconstruction of the word: *βγᾱnī-pāš-aktē*,<sup>35</sup> with reduced vowels subject to elision, hence also *βγᾱnīpš-*, and by metathesis *βγᾱnīšpaktē*. We further gain an etymological meaning: 'divine-union-making', which may be considered not unsuitable to expressing the idea of a 'wedding'.

Such a basic meaning will at once provoke a doubt: it would imply that the Sogdians believed that 'marriages are made in Heaven', than which nothing could be more unlikely. Here we may find the reason for the reluctance of scholars to connect our word with *βγ'nyk*. Nevertheless, it will supply the true etymon. *βγ'nyk* is an adjective formed from *βγ-* 'god', and, since it has cognates in Parthian (*bg'nyg*) and Middle Persian (*by'nyg*), must be of ancient vintage. While *βγ-* ordinarily was an appellative, it did, however, also exist as the individual name of a divinity, then corresponding with the Indian god *Bhaga* (= Iran. *Baga*). The hypothesis I wish to put forward is this, that in the Sogdian compound *βγ'ny-* means not simply 'divine', but 'referring to, associated with the god *Baga*'.

'Baga-union' is not surprising as a term for 'marriage', if the Iranian *Baga* in the least resembled his Indian counterpart, whom Geldner, in introducing the hymn addressed to him, RV, VII, 41, briefly described as 'personified happiness, and the god of happiness'. Böhtlingk and Roth stated that *Bhaga stiftet Liebe und Ehebindniss... sein Nakṣatra sind die späteren (uttara-) Phalgunī, die sich zu Eheschliessungen besonders eignen...'*, and gave, among the meanings of *bhaga-* n., 'Liebesglück, Liebeslust, Liebe, Zuneigung', with such clear R̥gvedic passages as I, 163, 8; x, 11, 6. In hymns concerned with married life, such as the song of the married couple, VIII, 31, and the wedding psalm, x, 85, *Bhaga* has a leading rôle. As a genius of domesticity he was closely associated with *Aryaman*, cf. P. Thieme, *Fremdling*, 124, 142.<sup>36</sup> We may thus assume that

<sup>34</sup> On Sogd. *š* from *sr* see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 371.

<sup>35</sup> On 'krt'y (etc.) see above, pp. 243-4. The modes of spelling the word-final (Man. -*ty*, -*t'k*; Chr. -*ty*, -*t*) are self-contradictory; they both demand and exclude -*š* from -*ak*. One may question the reading in *Bln. sogd. T*, II, 884, 17, which would necessitate regarding -*y* as a case-ending and -*k* as a mistake. The precise form of *kar-* cannot be determined securely. Apparently *krt'a-ka-*; *krt'i-* (Sogd. 'krt'yh, Man. 'kty', Chr. *qty*) Beveniste, *JA*, CCXLVII, 1, 1959, 131 sq.) should have fem. -*h* in Sogd. script and never appears as -*kt*, see Gershevitch, *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 141.

<sup>36</sup> M. G. Dumézil sees the distinction between *Aryaman* and *Bhaga* as parallel to that between *personae* and *res*: 'sous Mitra... Aryaman s'occupe de maintenir la société des hommes arya... et *Bhaga*... assure la distribution et la jouissance régulières des biens des Arya' (*L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*, 1958, 68; in greater detail *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, 1952, 47 sqq., esp. p. 54). This view does not sufficiently account for *Bhaga*'s interest in marriage, the very foundation of society.

*Bhaga* was regarded as a promoter and protector of marriage even in the Indo-Iranian period. A fresh piece of evidence, supporting that assumption, can now be presented.

## IV

Thanks chiefly to the efforts of V. A. Livshitz, great progress has been achieved in recent years in the study of the Sogdian documents that had been discovered, in 1933, on Mount Mugh, some 80 miles to the east of Samarkand. Under his hands the find turned out to be more important even than one had been given reason to suspect; his decipherment is throughout trustworthy, in marked improvement on earlier efforts. One of the documents Livshitz has made available is the 'Marriage contract', which illuminates social conditions in Sogdiane at the last moment of her independence (beg. of the eighth century) and ranks as one of the most interesting monuments of the ancient Iranian civilization. It was first published in *Sov'etskaya Etnografiya*, No. 5, 1960, 76-91; I. Gershevitch contributed some useful remarks to its interpretation, *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII, 2, 1962, 90-94; finally it was included, with an elaborate commentary, in Livshitz, *Yuridičeskie dokumenti i pis'ma*, 1962, 17-45.

The 'Marriage contract' consists of two separate documents, preserved together by a kindly fate: the contract proper, and the subsidiary 'bride's script (*pustk*)', in which the bridegroom, speaking in the first person, addresses the head of the bride's family ('you' or 'Sir') in order to state his obligations. Here we meet the following sentence (No. 4, R 10-12):

rtβy ZKn βyy ZY ZKn mydr' nβ'nty L' pr'yδ'nk'm L' np'kh L' wn''kh L'  
''pty kwn'mk'm

'And, Sir, by Baga and by Mithra! I shall neither sell her nor pawn<sup>37</sup> her, nor<sup>38</sup> . . .'

A verbal form ('I swear'), although not strictly necessary, may be considered implied from the preceding sentence 'And then to you, Čēr, I thus profess and accept . . .'. Mithra has been recognized here, but not Baga, it having been supposed that βyy meant 'Sir' (as it commonly does in the Mugh documents) and referred to Čēr, the representative of the bride. Yet to couple a mere man with the ancient god Mithra, who watches over the sanctity of agreements, would be highly incongruous, and to invoke the 'party of the other part' as witness, against custom; moreover, since Čēr is already mentioned as (rt-)βy ('and,) Sir' within the sentence and as *tw'* (. . . *mnz'nw*) ('to) you (I profess)' immediately before it, such a further reference would be tautological. The postposition *nβ'nt*, which generally means 'in the company of, together with, by the side of', should be rendered as 'by' here, as e.g. in the comparable passage of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (1208) to which Gershevitch, loc. cit., 92 has justly drawn attention; German *bei* is a perfect equivalent.

<sup>37</sup> Thus rather than 'hostage': *np'k-* has both meanings, as has Pers. *narz*, which should be added (Khwar. *nb'k* = Arab. *rahn*).

<sup>38</sup> The remaining words are not wholly clear.

The appellative *baga-* 'god' came to be applied to the Great King of Kings of the Persians initially. Later it suffered a social decline, which was most marked in Sogdiane. The local king adopted it, then the kinglet, then the owner of a castle, finally any gentleman laid claim to it. Yet at the same time Sogd.  $\beta\gamma$ - continued as designation of the ancient divinities, and the representatives of monotheistic religions, as the Christian missionaries, used it of 'God' with a capital letter. This situation is mirrored in the Mugh documents, in which religion ordinarily plays no part and  $\beta\gamma$ - almost exclusively is used of men of some social standing; as Livshitz has observed, it is often hardly better than a circumlocutory way of saying 'you'.<sup>39</sup> Here too, on occasion,  $\beta\gamma$ - means 'God'.<sup>40</sup> Thus twice in the remarkable letter which the Arab Emir 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Šubḥ addressed to King *Δēwāstīč* (Livshitz, p. 111). Above that letter stand the words *prn'm βγγ δ'mδ'nk* (?) 'in the name of God, the Creator', a form of the *Bismillāh*,<sup>41</sup> and the address is followed immediately by 'sp's *ZK<sup>n</sup> βγγ* = *al-ḥamdu lillāh* = Pers. *sipās xudāyārā*, words without which no good Muslim would begin his letter. Livshitz supposed that the second  $\beta\gamma$  was to refer to the Sogdian king. Actually, the Arab Emir carefully avoided thus addressing a human being: he just said 'you' (*tyw, tw'*, etc.) throughout that letter of 23 long lines, in which a native author would have written  $\beta\gamma$ - at least a dozen times. This avoidance, which the recipient must have felt to be a breach of good manners, was calculated: the Muslims strongly disapproved of that Sogdian idiomatic usage, and, although they were aware of its nature, were not above twisting it, on a later occasion, into the charge of self-deification, against Ḥaidar, the prince of Ušrūšana.

## V

After all that has been written in recent years on Mithra as the god of agreements and treaties we need not waste words over his appearance in an actual contract. What is noteworthy is his close association with Baga, who, as Bhaga, was an old companion of Mitra's in the *Ṛgveda*, but one of minor rank. His

<sup>39</sup> See Livshitz, pp. 41, 81.

<sup>40</sup> Passages where that meaning is applicable are: A 17, line 1; V 15, lines 6 and 7 (cf. Livshitz, pp. 162, 169). Less clear is  $\beta\gamma$  in A 13, line 2 (Livshitz, p. 69; cf. M. N. Bogolyubov and O. I. Smirnova, *Xozgaystennic dokumenti*, 1963, p. 71). Neither can *ZY βγγ* be the same as *ZYβγγ*, nor can  $\beta\gamma$  function as an accusative after *kw* (should be  $\beta\gamma\epsilon$ ). The word following  $\beta\gamma$  has been variously read as *pr'w*, *pβ'w*, and *pryw*; of these, the second and third may be discarded as misreadings ('beloved lord' in the address of a letter would also be an oddity), but the first, producing an impossible sequence, *pr'w rty c'akw*, is no better (*rty* is not = *ZY*). The only way out of this desperate situation is to propose a fourth reading: *prnw* (which is technically unobjectionable), and take  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ -*prnw* (distributed on successive lines) as the acc. of a personal name,  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ -*prn*, which occurs precisely so in the *Mahrāmag*, line 87 (in Manich. script naturally  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ -*prn*). The letter was thus addressed to *Trγ'n* and  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ -*prn*, two persons, as required in any case to account for the plural form of the verbs. *Tarxān* and *Bagēfarn* were bankers, and the letter is a bank draft. I do not recall expressing the opinion attributed to me by Livshitz, p. 69, n. 29, concerning the word read *cnkw* by Freiman (in line 5).

<sup>41</sup> So also in a fragmentary letter, Livshitz, p. 221.

prominence in the 'Marriage contract' may be ascribed primarily to his special interest in marriage as a social institution. Yet this does not fully account for his being given the first place, in the invocation, over his ancient overlord. Similar placing and pairing could be detected in the Eastern Iranian name \**Bag(a)mīhr* (*Vakamihira* at Mathurā),<sup>42</sup> if it were to be understood as '(given by, or devoted to) Baga and Mithra'; for names of similar structure, as *Ršnwmtr* 'Rašnu and Mithra' in Parthian,<sup>43</sup> or *Tīr-mīhr*,<sup>44</sup> *Mīhr-ōhrmazd*, *Māh-ōhrmazd*, *Mīhr-māh*, etc., in the West, indicate that the god Baga, not the appellative, forms part of it.

These questions take us back to an old controversy into which I entered, twenty years ago, with a paper on the magophony.<sup>45</sup> In it I argued against the exaggeration of Marquart's view that *Baga* (or *baga*) was just another name for Mithra, but saw myself forced to admit that the equation was true, in a limited sense, if restricted to Sogdiane and Khwarezm. It is clear now that even that concession was unnecessary. In Sogdiane, at any rate, Baga and Mithra were not 'identical' with each other, but rather a pair of close companions, perhaps competitors for popular favour, and of the two Baga came to be more highly esteemed. Thus it came to pass that the feast of Mithra which was called *Mīhrakāna* in Persia was dedicated to Baga in Sogdiane and hence named \**Bagakāna*; which then supplied the name of the seventh month in Sogdian (*βykn*). In the designation of the day sacred to Mithra, the sixteenth of each month, Mithra's name was kept in Sogdiane generally;<sup>46</sup> but Baga's replaced it in Khwarezm, also in the Sogdian calendar list found among the Mugh material,<sup>47</sup> which, however, shows strong Khwarezmian influence.<sup>48</sup>

It would take us too far afield to give more than casual heed to the question of the impact of Zoroaster's teachings on the native paganism of Sogdiane. The situation in the eastern uplands, in Buttamān and Ušrūšana, will have differed markedly from that obtaining in the city states of the West, where higher civilization, nourished by international traffic, was flourishing, and where all the religions of Asia had a foothold of sorts. In the Mugh documents we meet both the *mwγpt*- 'chief magus' and the *βγnpt*- 'lord of the temple', indicating a dichotomy comparable to that in Persia (*Mōbed* : *bšnbyd*) or Armenia (*mogpet* : *bagnapet*).<sup>49</sup> Typically Zoroastrian words often turn out to be borrowings, sometimes fairly ancient ones, as Zoroaster's name (*Zrušē*), *Aryān-waiān*<sup>50</sup> (a popular distortion of *Aryana-Vaējah*), and, more importantly, the *Amōšā*

<sup>42</sup> cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 422; H. Lüders, *Mathurā inscriptions*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, 95.

<sup>43</sup> I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshitz, *Dokumenty iz Nisi*, 1960, 24.

<sup>44</sup> cf. *BSOAS*, xxiv, 2, 1961, 191, where I suggested '(trusting in) a contract of alliance with Tīr(i)' (which could be applied also to \**Bag(a)mīhr*).

<sup>45</sup> *JRAS*, 1944, 133 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> *Orientalia*, NS, VIII, 1939, 95.

<sup>47</sup> Livshitz, loc. cit., p. 63, n. 37.

<sup>48</sup> As arises from the enumeration of the lunar mansions, see *JRAS*, 1942, 242.

<sup>49</sup> Used by Grigor Magistros (*Nor bargirk'*); hitherto overlooked.

<sup>50</sup> *BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 68 (line 26).

*Spōnta* (*mrδ'spnt*); but there is a seemingly indigenous word for the Gāthās (*pnco γ'δh* 'the five G.'). Of the *Amāšd Spōnta*<sup>51</sup> two are never mentioned (*Vohu Manah* and *Xšaθra Vairyā*) and two are used in a sense we cannot determine: *hrwot mrwot*,<sup>52</sup> compared with the Islamic angels *Hārūt Mārūt* and the Armenian flower-names *Hauraut Mauraut*.<sup>53</sup> *Z'yy spnd'rmt* is the 'Genius of the Earth' in Manichaeism, but *sp'nt'rmδz'y* in a Buddhist fragment is simply 'earth';<sup>54</sup> here Khot. *śśandrāmatā*<sup>55</sup> and Arm. *Sandaramet* indicate that the meaning 'spirit of the Earth' is older than Zoroaster. A similar claim may be made for *Aša vahišta*: the Manichaean elements (ether, air, light, water, fire) are in Parthian *'rd'w frwrdyn, w'd, rwšn, 'b, 'dwr*, but in Sogdian *'rt'w frwrtyy, w't, 'rtxwšt, 'p, 'tr*, so that *'rtxwšt* replaced 'light' rather than 'fire', as one would expect.<sup>56</sup> The adoption of the 'Young-Avestan' calendar, which together with its nomenclature had been imposed by decree of the Achaemenian government, does not imply conversion to Zoroaster's creed.<sup>57</sup> Actually, the Sogdians allowed themselves some latitude, substituted names of their own for most of the months, and invented fresh ones for the epagomenae;<sup>58</sup> which shows little regard for the *Amāšd Spōnta* and lack of familiarity with the Gāthās.<sup>59</sup>

It seems that the *βγnpt-* was more important to Sogdian life than the *μwγpnt-*. He alone figures in the 'Ancient Letters', which precede the Mugh documents by 400 years, and the temples (*βγn-*) in which he officiated abounded in Sog-

<sup>51</sup> Not counting their appearance as day-names.

<sup>52</sup> *Sogdica*, p. 16, line 16, and p. 19, where Stackelberg, *WZKM*, xii, 1898, 244, should have been cited. On *'rctprn-* cf. *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 737; now *'rctprnc* also at Mugh.

<sup>53</sup> Agathangelos, p. 325, line 13, ed. Tiflis, 1914.

<sup>54</sup> *smgr γry 'wy' sp'nt'rmδz'y cγntr tyat* 'he enters into the earth of Mount Sumeru' P 16, 36; cf. Khwar. *spnd'rmδ* = Arab. *arḍ* 'earth'.

<sup>55</sup> H. W. Bailey, 'Languages of the Saka', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv, 1, 1958, 134.

<sup>56</sup> The problem is twofold: (a) why did the Manichaeans not use *ruwšny'k* 'light' here, as they did elsewhere (the answer supplied by Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Manich. Dogm.*, 564 sq., does not carry conviction); and (b) if they wished to avoid *ruwšny'k*, why did they choose *'rtxwšt*, which, if it was regarded as 'Genius of the Fire' in Sogdian, too, was particularly unfitted for service as 'light' in a list of elements that included fire?

<sup>57</sup> cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Av. hymn to Mithra*, 19.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Beruni has two separate series (*Chron.*, 47.1-3), both corrupt. In the Mugh material a single name occurs, *'rtxwšt ruc* A 4, R 2, 4 (the edition by Bogolyubov-Smirnova, loc. cit., p. 60, follows the reading proposed in *Orientalia*, NS, viii, 1939, 90, without acknowledgment). Freiman originally identified it with the fifth day of Series A, which I accepted. However, the resemblance to al-Beruni's form is too slight altogether. I would now assume that at Mugh the ordinary day-names (1-5) were used also for the epagomenae, so that *'rtxwšt ruc* of the 'month' *MN-wp'nc'k* was the 363rd day of the Sogdian year. A name allegedly belonging to Series B (No. 3), *srδyert*, has been read by Bogolyubov-Smirnova, p. 43, whose edition of Mugh B I has been justly criticized by Livshitz, 219 sq., who reads *myδyekt* (as a personal name). Such a mixture of calendar systems would be highly unlikely in any case.

<sup>59</sup> Other points deserving attention include: the absence of *yozata-* (*yzt'* *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 737, on 185/6, is doubtful); the function of *fravaši-* (*prwrt* in a Manich. text as 'soul' or part of a soul, *JRAS*, 1944, p. 137, n. 7; but in Christian Sogd. *frwrt* = 'grave', *frwrt-qty* = 'tomb'; Manich. *'rt'w frwrtyy* as element merely reflects Parth. *'rd'w frwrdyn*); \**bagadānaka-* 'altar'; *šwky/šr'wkyh* as 'bloody sacrifice' (like Arm. *zoh* against Av. *zaoθrā*, see Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 183; etc.

diane.<sup>60</sup> Most of the divine beings that constitute the Iranian pantheon are represented, some only through personal names: from Ahura-mazdāh ('*γωermzt-*, *zurmzt-*) and Zrvān ('*zrw'*), Miθra (*mysy*, *mśy*) and Vərəθraγna (*wśγn-*), Naryasāha (*nryśnα*) and Māh (*m'γ*, *m'x*), Aši-vaəuhi ('*rtγxw*)<sup>61</sup> and Druvāspa (or Druvāspā? *δrw'sp*),<sup>62</sup> Haoma (*γwm*)<sup>63</sup> and X'arənah (*prn*), Tištriya (*tyś*)<sup>64</sup> and Yima (*ymyh*),<sup>65</sup> down to the water-sprite Gandarva (*wp'p-γntrw*).<sup>66</sup> The greatest of all divinities, it seems, was Nana(i) the Lady,<sup>67</sup> whose presence, like that of Druvāspa = *Λροοασπο*, constitutes an important link with the Bactrian religion as known through the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka; she was also the city-goddess of Panjikant.<sup>68</sup> In addition, there were some gods that are not readily identifiable, such as *rywzś/ryw'γś* (*Rēwazś?*),<sup>69</sup> who resembles the

<sup>60</sup> cf. W. Barthold's remark on the frequency of place-names ending in *-fayn* (*Turkestan*, p. 120, n. 6) = Sogd. *βγn-*. One of them, *xšw-fγn* 'the six temples', is apposite (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 64). Arm. *bagin* excludes \**bagana-*, \**baganya-*, etc., and demands \**bagina-*, which meets all requirements (incl. those of Mathurā *bakanapati*, recognized by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 420 sq., which reflects a form with reduced vowels, \**βαγνα-*, \**βαγνα-*); it has been approved by Wackernagel-Debrunner, II, 2, 352.

<sup>61</sup> '*rtγxw-βntk*, 'Ancient Letters', II, 35, *BSOAS*, XII, 3-4, 1948, p. 607, n. 5, = 'the slave of A.'. A misunderstanding has been caused by *βntk* elsewhere. Livshitz, p. 54, n. 6, claimed that in an inscription he had published in *Izv. Old. Obsč. Nauk AN Tadž. SSR*, 14, 1957, 101 sq., a word which was 'clearly' (*ясно*) *βntk* had been wrongly read *βn-snk* by me in 'Mitteliranisch', p. 130. However, I have never even seen the cited article and have no access to the periodical in question. The inscription I referred to had been published, three years earlier, by A. M. Belenitzkiy, whose photograph shows a plain *-s-*, markedly different from *-t-* in the preceding line; in shape it resembles the *-s-* in the SCE.

<sup>62</sup> *δrw'sp-βntk* 'the slave of D.', 'Anc. Lett.'. Cf. Arm. *Druasp* (shortened name, like *Hormizd*, *Bahrām*, etc.).

<sup>63</sup> *γwmδ't* (Mugh); on the plant (*zwm*) see 'Mitteliranisch', 85.

<sup>64</sup> *Tiśfarn* (Mahnāmag), *Tiśdāt* (Mugh), and others, cf. Livshitz, p. 63.

<sup>65</sup> *BSOAS*, XI, 1, 1943, 74.

<sup>66</sup> *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 482, n. 3.

<sup>67</sup> In a Manichaean fragment published in *JRAS*, 1944, 142-4 (cf. also p. 137), *Nnδβ'mbn* 'Nana the Lady' mourns somebody's death on a bridge, in spectacular fashion. An undated Chinese memorandum (about A.D. 600?) on the customs of the people of K'ang, translated by Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 133, n., may be called upon to identify the cause of her sorrow: it was the death of Adonis-Tammūz. 'Ils ont coutume de rendre un culte au dieu céleste et l'honorent extrêmement. Ils disent que l'enfant divin est mort le septième mois et qu'on a perdu son corps... les hommes chargés de rendre un culte au dieu... revêtent tous des habits noirs... vont pieds nus, se frappant la poitrine et se lamentant;... des hommes et des femmes... se dispersent dans la campagne pour rechercher le corps de l'enfant céleste; le septième jour, (cette cérémonie) prend fin'. This is a fair description of *Adonia*, which took place at the height of the summer: the seventh (Chinese) month began at the end of July or in August. The possibility that 'Kūyāne, the son of Ahriman' was a Sogdian version of Adonis should now be considered. Sacrificing on a bridge: cf. Herod., VII, 54; Ammian-Marc., XVIII, 7, 1; cutting off ears: cf. Sūrah, IV, 118; laceration of faces: al-Beruni, *Chron.*, 235.10, at the Sogd. equivalent of the *Frawardīgān*.

<sup>68</sup> *Pncy nnδβ'mbnk* on coins, see O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodišča Pendžikent*, 1963, Nos. 356-463. This reading (which inevitably is obvious to the editor of the Manichaean fragment mentioned above) has also been recognized by O. I. Smirnova, acc. to a hand-written note in her *Katalog*. It is a pity that the discovery came too late to help in the attribution of the coins; they may belong to *Δεωάθις*, whose absence from the coinage of his country it would be difficult to understand. The reading of several other names appearing on the coins ('Amogyan', 'Vidyan', etc.) will also have to be revised.

<sup>69</sup> *Rēwazś-yān* 'gift of R.' (Mahnāmag, Mugh).

Bactrian *Απαειχο* (*Απαειχο*); *Taxsīc* (*tax'syc*), known through a Chinese report (*Tak-siet*)<sup>70</sup> and a personal name in the 'Ancient Letters';<sup>71</sup> possibly *δ'p't* (*δapat* ? *lapat* ?).<sup>72</sup> Finally, we should mention the wind-god, who is called *w't'rt'w* 'righteous wind' as in the Avesta (*vātahe ašaomō*) and in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag* (*wād ardā*); a remarkable psalm,<sup>73</sup> a Yasht in miniature, is addressed to him, as 'the son of the chief god', in the *Nawa-puste*, the work of the 'Magi of Sughd'.<sup>74</sup>

In such surroundings the survival of Baga as an individual god need not cause surprise, all the less so as even the Daēvas maintained themselves as divinities, at least in a part of Sogdiane. True, in all written Sogdian, native, Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian alike, *dyw* does mean 'demon' as elsewhere; even in the Mugh material *dywy'kh*, the abstract of the adjective *dyw* which may be from *daiwya-*, denotes some disapproved quality.<sup>75</sup> Yet, the Mugh proper names preserve the primordial meaning. *Snkdyw* or *S'kdyw* (Nov. 1, R 22) may not be certain enough to come into consideration, but *dywγwn* (*\*daiwagauna*) should surely be interpreted as 'heavenly' (A 9, V 28); in commenting on it, Livshitz, p. 104, mentions *dyw'kk* on an unpublished seal. Most importantly, the name of the king from whose chancellery the Mugh documents emanate: *Δεωάσιτις*, to the superficial view = 'devilish'; it is identical with the adjective *dyw'styc*, which in Manichaean Sogdian contrasts with *xwrmetyc* 'Ahuramazdian', but the king himself and his people will have understood it as 'divine'. He was the ruler of *Panč* (for a few months also king of Sogdiane) and, as the investigations of O. I. Smirnova have shown, his proper dominions lay to the east of his capital, *Pančēkanθ* 'the city of *Panč*' (Panjikent), and comprised the mountainous country along the upper course of the Zarafshan river. There we would localize the Sogdians that retained *dyw* in the sense of 'god'. The district adjoining immediately to the north was *Us(t)rūšana*. A prince of that country, who served as a general in the caliph's army towards the end of the ninth century, was called Abu'l-Sāj Dīwdād b. Dīwdast, and his grandson,

<sup>70</sup> Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 139, n. 3 (cf. p. 312); 'le p'o-lo d'or' is a golden banner (*palā*).

<sup>71</sup> *Taxs'yc-βnik* 'the slave of T.', II, 53, 59. Not, of course, 'T., the slave'. The author of the letter, *Nny-βntk* ('the slave of Nanai'), is speaking of his own son. One could draw the inference that Nanai and *Taxsīc* were associates (but T., a rapacious god, whose statue required daily sacrifices of 5 camels, 10 horses, and 100 sheep, was no Adonis). There is no reason, other than partial surface resemblance, for connecting this Sogdian god with the Turkish tribal name *Tuzsi* (V. Minorsky, *Hūdūd*, 300). His famed sanctuary may be sought at *Taxsī(δ)* in the district of Abghar (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 132), some 20 miles to the north-west of Samarkand; it may have been regarded as part of nearby *Istīzan* = 'Western Ts'ao'.

<sup>72</sup> cf. *Sogdica*, 7. The resemblance of *δ'p'tyryh* to *nny-šyryh* etc. suggested that *δ'p't* was the name of a divinity (cf. now also *δ'p'tšyr*, Mugh). Yet, as Chr. *d'p't* (*ST*, 1) has been confirmed since ('Passion of St. George', 266, see I. Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 183), it becomes possible to understand the name as 'truly good'. The other name formed with *δ'p't* (*δ'p'tsyry[h]*, cf. *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, p. 737, n. 1) may favour that opinion. The exclamation could be analysed as meaning 'with (the word of applause) *āpāt*'.

<sup>73</sup> E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, 68 sq. (P 3, 203-19); cf. also *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 714, 729.

<sup>74</sup> cf. 'Mitteliranisch', 85.

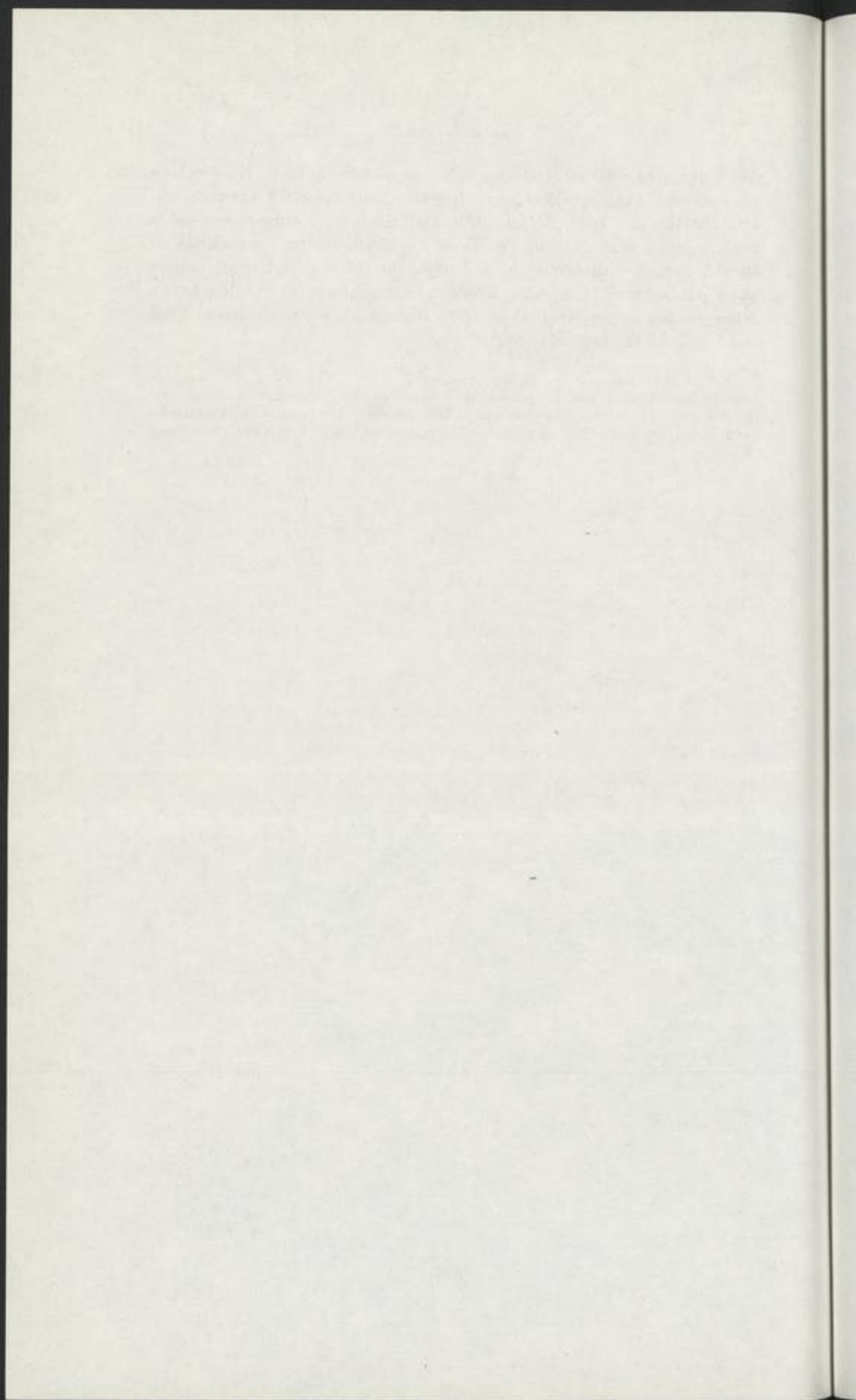
<sup>75</sup> cf. Livshitz, 125.



too, bore the name Dīwdād, the son of Muḥammad the Afšīn.<sup>76</sup> Nöldeke long ago remarked on that appellation, strictly *dēwδād*, and interpreted it as *Θεόδωτος*, with *dīw-* (*dēw*) = 'god' (*ZII*, II, 1923, 318). His father's name was probably *dēwδast* (rather than *dēwδast*), i.e. '(having) god (as) creator', a variation on *dēwδād*, formed with *δast* as in Al-Beruni's list of the Sogdian day-names (corresponding with Av. *dathušō*). Nowhere did ancient words and beliefs have a better chance to survive than in those inaccessible mountain lands, *Panč* and *Ustrūšana*, the back of beyond.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 37, 506; Justi, s.v.

<sup>77</sup> In Mazendaran, in similar conditions, the 'White Dēv' maintained himself as a god, see Nöldeke, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xviii, 1915, 597-600. The history of *daiva-* in Iranian has been correctly seen and clearly represented by H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, 90 sq.



## Surkh-Kotal und Kaniska

Nachdem der Inhalt der Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal durch meinen im Jahre 1960 erschienenen Artikel<sup>1</sup> festgestellt worden war, hat die Forschung dank den von E. BENVENISTE vorgelegten Neufunden<sup>2</sup>, worunter zwei frühere Versionen der Inschrift, bedeutende Fortschritte gemacht. Dazu haben mehrere Gelehrte, besonders BENVENISTE und I. GERSHEVITCH<sup>3</sup>, das Verständnis durch gewichtige Einzelbemerkungen gefördert.

Statt der behutsamen Vertiefung unseres Wissens sieht der Fernerstehende jedoch bloß ein Bild heillosen Verwirrung. Die Schuld daran trägt die von H. HUMBACH in einem Buch<sup>4</sup> und vielen späteren Artikeln zu Tage geförderte Hypothese, nach welcher der Text der Inschrift ein pseudo-gäthisches Gedicht zu Ehren des Gottes Mithra sei. Diese Hypothese ist so abwegig, sowohl im Ganzen wie in allen Einzelheiten, daß sogar eine Diskussionsbasis nicht erkennbar ist, und ich würde auf sie auch hier nicht eingehen, wenn sie nicht M. MAYRHOFER in einem in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Artikel<sup>5</sup> mit der iranistischen Erklärung in Parallele gesetzt hätte, und zwar in einer Weise, die den Leser veranlassen mag, zu glauben, es lägen hier zwei gleichberechtigte, gleichwertige, gleicherweise mögliche Interpretationen vor, zwischen denen die Wahl freistehe. Demgegenüber muß energisch betont werden, daß die Inschrift in einer mitteliranischen Sprache geschrieben ist und daß die auf dem mitteliranischen Gebiet Sachverständigen die HUMBACHSche Hypothese einmütig ablehnen.

Ein Umstand, der wohl geeignet wäre, dem Zweifelnden die Augen zu öffnen, ist weder von MAYRHOFER noch von einem der anderen Gelehrten, die über diesen Gegenstand geschrieben haben, zur Sprache gebracht worden. Nach der von mir gelieferten Erklärung ist es der Hauptzweck der Inschrift, die Erinnerung an die Erbauung eines großen Brunnens wachzuhalten, der wegen des Versiegens des natürlichen Wasserzufflusses nötig geworden war<sup>6</sup>. Als sich mir dies als Hauptinhalt ergab, studierte

<sup>1</sup> The Bactrian inscription. *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 1960, 47—55.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions de Bactriane, J. A.*, 1961, 113—152.

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxvi, 1963, 193—96.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Kaniska-Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal. Ein Zeugnis des jüngeren Mithraismus aus Iran.* 1960.

<sup>5</sup> Das Bemühen um die Surkh-Kotal-Inschrift. *ZDMG*, 112, 1963, 325 bis 344.

<sup>6</sup> Ein solcher Inhalt wird niemanden überraschen, der eine auch nur flüchtige Bekanntschaft mit den Inschriften der Kuschanzeit besitzt. Sie berich-

ich alles, was die Archäologen über die Ruinen und ihre Ausgrabungen geschrieben hatten, fand aber kein Sterbenswörtchen über Brunnen, Kanäle, Aquädukte oder dgl. So fest aber war ich von der Richtigkeit meiner Erklärung, in der das Wort für „Brunnen“ (σάδο) naturgemäß eine wichtige Rolle spielte, überzeugt, daß ich sie trotz dieser Enttäuschung veröffentlichte. Während mein Artikel gedruckt wurde, erreichten die Ausgräber den Grund der riesigen Treppe und fanden — den großen Brunnen<sup>7</sup>.

Man wird daher kaum M. MAYRHOFER beistimmen wollen, wenn er am Schlusse seiner Ausführungen (S. 343) von dem „Rätsel der Inschrift“ spricht und dem „Geheimnis“, das sie noch nicht preisgegeben habe. Dieses Rätsel ist längst gelöst. Freilich sind noch viele Einzelfragen zu beantworten; einige von ihnen sollen hier besprochen werden.

### 1. μαλιζο

Daß dieses Wort etwa „Akropolis“ bedeutet, ist kaum fraglich, dagegen ist seine Herleitung strittig<sup>8</sup>. Ich hatte angenommen, daß ein Kompositum mit altiran. *dizā* „Festung“ vorläge<sup>9</sup>, ohne mich über die erste Hälfte des Wortes zu äußern. Seither ist von verschiedenen Seiten Vergleichung mit soghd. *mzyn* „gerüstet“ (\**hama-zaina-*) empfohlen worden<sup>10</sup>. Eine entsprechende Ableitung, von \**hama-diza-*, hatte ich zwar erwogen, aber aus zwei Gründen als unwahrscheinlich angesehen: erstens weil ein Adjektiv resultieren würde; und zweitens weil statt des ursprünglichen *-a-* in der Kompositionsfuge *-o-* erscheinen sollte. Jedoch ist keiner dieser Gründe von großem Gewicht; einerseits könnte ein Adjektiv, „ganz

ten häufig vom Versiegen des Wassers, der Erbauung von Brunnen, der Restaurierung von Tempeln u. dgl.; dagegen von einem „König des Rauschtranks“, „Fürsten des Rinnsals“, „Herrn des Bilsenkrauts“ oder jemandem, „der die Tropfen erstrahlen ließ“, ist in ihnen, soweit ich sehe, nicht die Rede.

<sup>7</sup> Dies erfuhr ich zuerst von dem leider so jung verstorbenen A. MARICQ, als er wegen der Kanishka-Konferenz im April 1960 London besuchte. Mein Artikel war Anfang Februar 1960 erschienen.

<sup>8</sup> Zu dem von R. N. FRYE, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v, 1962, 243, Beigebrauchten möchte man bemerken, daß weder ein arabisches noch ein buruschaskisches Wort im 2ten Jhd. in Baktrien zu erwarten ist. Dazu ist das angebliche arab. *maliz* nur ein Fehler für *malid*, das seinerseits eine Vulgärform (*Imāla*) von *malāḍ* darstellt. Shughnī usw. *mālā* „Herrenhaus“ geht natürlich auf arab. *maḥalla* zurück (vgl. die Bedeutung des Wortes im Pashto). <sup>9</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 49.

<sup>10</sup> H. W. BAILEY und O. SZEMERÉNYI, vgl. MAYRHOFER l. c. 328A. 6, wo ungenau behauptet wird, ich hätte „an eine Bildung von iran.  $\sqrt{dai}z$ “ gedacht, während bei mir nur von dem Worte *dizā* „Festung“ die Rede war.

mit Festung(smauern) (umgeben)<sup>11</sup>, leicht substantiviert werden, andererseits könnte der Verlust der ersten Silbe die Erhaltung des *-a-* nach sich ziehen.

Dafür, daß *\*hama-diza-* nicht nur eine theoretisch mögliche Vorform, sondern ein wirklich schon im Altiranischen existierendes Wortgebilde ist, läßt sich der Nachweis führen. Westlich von Paykand, "at the very edge of the steppe was the fortified village of *Amdīza*"<sup>11</sup>. Daß diese Ortschaft, wie bei ihrer den Angriffen räuberischer Steppeneinwohner ausgesetzten Lage nicht anders zu erwarten, wohlbefestigt war, wird von Muqaddasī (Maqdisī) ausdrücklich erwähnt<sup>12</sup>. Er schreibt den Namen *'mdyzy* (امدیزی), *Yāqūt* dagegen *'mdyzh* (امدیژ), vokalisiert *Amdīzah*, so daß man ihn als *\*Amdīzē* restaurieren würde. Für Kürze des zweiten Vokals spricht die Nebenform *\*Amze* (امزه), die als Name der ersten Station auf einem der Wege von Bukhara nach Khwarezm vorkommt<sup>13</sup> und von DE GOEJE mit *Amdīza* identifiziert worden ist<sup>14</sup> (*Amdīze* > *Amd'ze* > *Amze*).

Der Name repräsentiert altiran. *\*hama-dizaka-*, welches von *\*hama-diza-* nur durch ein zusätzliches *ka-* Suffix verschieden ist. Dieser Zusatz hat aber die Akzentverhältnisse gründlich verschoben: *\*hama-diza-* wurde *\*hamāddīz*, die längere Form dagegen *\*hāmādīzak*; die weiteren Veränderungen sind im Einklang mit bekannten Regeln.

## 2. καραλαγγο

Schon A. MARICQ erkannte, daß dies der Titel eines hohen Beamten ist. Er konstruierte sich ein altiran. *\*kāra-dranga-*, das als ersten Bestandteil altpers. *kāra-* „Heer“ enthalten solle<sup>15</sup>. Das ist aber nur eine jener Routine-Etymologien, deren wir im Iranischen einen Überfluß haben. Demgegenüber schlug ich vor<sup>16</sup>, das neue Wort mit dem sassanidischen Titel *Kanārang* (Καναράγγης) zu verbinden, der als Bezeichnung für die Statthalter der nordöstlichen Grenzlande bekannt ist. Der Vergleich von *kanārang* mit *\*karārang* führt zur Annahme einer Vorform *\*kanār-δrang* bzw. *\*karān-δrang*, wobei die Variation im Vorderglied durch das Nebeneinandervorkommen von *karān* und *kanār* im Persischen genugsam erklärt ist. Als etymologische Bedeutung ergibt sich „Grenzhalter“ oder „Grenzfestiger“, in schönstem Einklang mit der bezeugten Funktion des *Kanārang*.

<sup>11</sup> W. BARTHOLD, *Turkestan*, 118. <sup>12</sup> 282 Z. 4 (*lahā hišn*).

<sup>13</sup> Ebenda 343 Z. 6. <sup>14</sup> Cf. BARTHOLD l. c. 154.

<sup>15</sup> Zu *-dranga-* s. H. W. BAILEY, *JRAS.*, 1955, 14 sq.; I. GERSHEVITCH, *Av. Hymn to Mithra*, 266 sq.; vgl. auch den altpers. Eigennamen *wydrng*.

<sup>16</sup> I. GERSHEVITCH hatte unabhängig dieselbe Ansicht erreicht, wie ich anmerkwungsweise erwähnte (*BSOAS.*, xxiii, 51 A. 2).

Bei dieser Sachlage berührt es merkwürdig, in MAYRHOFERS Aufzählung von HUMBACHS „Treffern“ das Folgende angeführt zu sehen: „Für *καραλαραγγο* „*kanārang*“ bietet HUMBACH, MARICQ fortführend, wohl die bessere Etymologie als GERSHEVITCH und HENNING“ (S. 342); denn hier wird unsere Verbindung mit *kanārang* am Ende abgelehnt und am Anfang angenommen. Es ist zwar anzuerkennen, daß sich HUMBACHS Übersetzung hier der Wirklichkeit nähert, aber sein Beitrag besteht bloß aus einer unglücklichen Verquickung der beiden kontrastierenden Vorschläge. Ganz zu schweigen von den sich dabei ergebenden phonologischen Schwierigkeiten (*καρα-* statt *καρο-*; *kanā-* aus *kāra-*), ist es doch zu beklagen, daß das hundertjährige Bemühen der Historiker, über den Wissensstand im 6ten Jahrhundert (als die byzantinischen Gelehrten jeden persischen Titel als *στρατηγός* deuteten) hinauszukommen, wegen einer aus der Luft gegriffenen Etymologie unbesehen beiseitegesetzt werden soll.

Wenn ich jetzt zu diesem Gegenstande zurückkehre, geschieht es nur, um die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine ältere Form des persischen Titels zu lenken. In der von R. N. FRYE in *Mélanges Fuad Kōprülü*, 165 sqq., beschriebenen Gelehrten-geschichte von Nasaf und Isfijāb findet sich an drei weit voneinander getrennten Stellen eine Genealogie, die auf Ghūrak, den König von Samarkand, der im Jahre 711 zur Regierung kam, zurückgeführt ist. Ihre letzten Glieder sind (S. 167): *طرخون بن کنادرنگ* . . . *بن غورك* So an zwei der Stellen. An der dritten aber steht *بنایمور* statt *کنادرنگ*, ein Umstand, der die Annahme nahelegt, daß das eine der Wörter Eigenname, das andere Titel ist. Die Wahl fällt nicht schwer, und in der Tat hat FRYE *kanādrang* (wie wir lesen dürfen) sogleich mit *kanārang* verglichen<sup>17</sup>. In Sogdiane hat sich also eine abweichende Form,

<sup>17</sup> Ob der Eigenname richtig überliefert und punktiert ist, kann nicht leicht entschieden werden. Er ähnelt (*B. . . ēur*) dem Namen des im J. 731 als König von Māimary vom chinesischen Hof bestätigten *Mo-cho* (*M. . . ēur* ?), der mit dem von Ṭabarī für a. H. 110 (= 728/9) genannten *al-Muhtār* verknüpft worden ist. Da aber *Mo-cho* auch Name des türkischen Großkönigs Qapayan qaγan ist (welcher sicher auf *-ēur* endigte), ist zu bezweifeln, daß er als Transkription von (arab.) *Muhtār* gelten könne. Dazu hat O. SMIRNOVA *Mo-chos* Namen auf Münzen als *Mtēyr* lesen wollen (vgl. R. N. FRYE, *Harvard J. A. S.*, xiv, 1951, 120 sq.; da ihr Artikel mir nicht zur Hand ist, kann ich die Lesung nicht prüfen). In dem kürzlich erschienenen Werke über die Münzen aus Panjikant (O. I. SMIRNOVA, *Katalog monet s gorodišča Pendžikent*) ist aber an der zu erwartenden Stelle (S. 30) davon keine Rede, so daß die Lesung vielleicht seither aufgegeben worden ist; *mt-* stimmt natürlich nicht mit *mo* (*māk*) überein. — Wir kennen jetzt *Tarxūn* als Namen von drei Personen aus dem soghdischen Königshause: 1. von dem im J. 710 (Ende März oder Anfang April) abgesetzten König, 2. von einem Bruder des Ghūrak (*Al-qand fi tarix Samarqand*, allerdings eine Quelle zweifelhaften Wertes), und 3. von dem hier genannten Enkel.

die dem ursprünglichen \**kanārdrang* noch ganz nahe stand, bis ins 8. Jh. erhalten<sup>17a</sup>.

### 3. Verschiedene Titel

Die im Baktrischen gebräuchlichen Beamtentitel stammen überhaupt der Mehrzahl nach aus Persien; manche sind direkt entlehnt, andere mehr oder weniger angepaßt, Nachahmungen des Fremden. Allerdings ist die Hauptquelle unseres Wissens hier eine Reihe von Siegelaufschriften, deren Datierung gemeinhin schwierig, oft unmöglich ist. Viele stammen gewiß erst aus sassanidischer Zeit, als persischer Einfluß vollends die Oberhand gewonnen hatte. Der umgekehrte Fall, Wanderung von Ost nach West, liegt nur bei einem einzigen Worte vor: bei pers. *xidēv*, das freilich erst viel später, in muslimischer Zeit, in die persische Literatursprache eindrang. Meinen Nachweis des baktrischen Ursprungs dieses Titels,<sup>18</sup> der dem Europäer besonders als Bezeichnung der ägyptischen Vizekönige, *Khedive*, bekannt ist, hat man leider allgemein unbeachtet gelassen.

Auf die königlichen Titel brauche ich hier nicht einzugehen, da A. MARICQ sie ausreichend besprochen hat<sup>19</sup>. Die Inschriften haben, abgesehen von *καραλαγγο*, welches als lokal begrenztes Äquivalent von *marzbān* ursprünglich parthisch sein dürfte, den *ζηνοβιδο* „Waffenmeister“ erbracht<sup>20</sup>. Dagegen ist es verfehlt, aus dem Eigennamen *Αστιλογανσειγι* (var. *Υαστιλογανζ[ε]γιο*) mit HUMBACH<sup>21</sup> einen Titel *γανσειγι* herauszudestillieren, der dann als \**ganziika* „Schatzmeister“ oder gar „Schankwirt“ bedeuten soll — eine papierne Konstruktion, deren Falschheit schon durch die Schreibung mit *sigma* erwiesen wird, ganz abgesehen davon, daß im Baktrischen „Schatz“ als *γαν*<sup>22</sup> erscheinen sollte. Ebensowenig überzeugend ist übrigens der von W. EILERS<sup>23</sup> gemachte Vorschlag, jenen Namen als „Tochter des *Αστιλο*“ zu verstehen, im Hinblick auf soghd. *knč(y)k* „Mädchen“. Wie schon das danebenstehende *Κοζγαβκι πουρο* „Sohn des K.“ dartut, wäre ein Wandel von Tenuis zur Media nur bei

<sup>17a</sup> [Die Schreibung des Titels *kanārang* in den Pehlewi Papyri scheint nicht weiterzuhelfen: *kn'ing*, Pap. Berl. ed. HANSEN 27, 4; wahrscheinlich 58, 8, s. J. DE MENASCE, *J. A.*, 1953, 193 sq.; A. PERIKHANIAN, *Vestnik Drevn. Ist.*, 1961, 3, S. 92 (trotz HANSENS Lesung *kw'dr*- wird man kaum *kn'dl*- einsetzen dürfen). — Das angebliche *QUNARNK* auf einem Siegel (GHIRSHMAN, *Archaeologica Orientalia*, 108 sq.) ist mir unannehmbar (vgl. zur Aufschrift *Mitteliranisch*, S. 53). — Korrekturnote].

<sup>18</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 51.

<sup>19</sup> *J. A.* 1958/4, 372 sqq.

<sup>20</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 50 A. 9. Die dort vorgeschlagene Verbesserung der früheren Lesung (*σηνοβιδο*) ist allgemein akzeptiert worden, meistens ohne Verweis.

<sup>21</sup> *L. c.*, 43.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. *Asia Major*, x, 1963, 196 sq.

<sup>23</sup> Bei MAYRHOFER I. c. 339 angeführt und als „brillanter Einfall“ (auch „schlagend“ S. 341) bezeichnet.

einem altererbten Kompositum zu erwarten, aber nicht bei einer Zusammenfügung der lebenden Sprache; sogar bei βαγοπουρο, das schon längst in ein Ganzes zusammengeschmolzen war, ist die Tenuis erhalten. Dazu kommt, daß sich eine Frau in einer Liste kuschischer Würdenträger wunderlich ausnimmt, und endlich, daß die angeführte soghdische Vokabel gar nicht „Tochter“ heißt. Denn, um eine von A. MARIQ bei anderer Gelegenheit gewählte gute Formulierung<sup>24</sup> anzuwenden, es ist dies ein Wort qui met plutôt l'accent sur la notion d'enfance que sur celle de descendance, et qui ne précise pas le sexe. Wird doch im Soghdischen selbst das Wort von dem kleinen Seth, dem Sohne Adams, gebraucht, an einer Stelle, wo man am besten „Kindlein“ übersetzt; Anwendung verwandter Formen auf männliche Kinder, bes. in pejorativem Sinne, ist häufig genug im Iranischen, vgl. etwa pers. *king* „Lustknabe“ (aus \**kanika*-), welches auf jeder Seite von 'Ubad-i Zākānīs *Latā'if* zu finden ist; s. auch unten zu *Kanishka*<sup>25</sup>. Wahrscheinlicher ist Ασπιλογανσειρι eine Nisbe gewöhnlicher Art, mit \**-šik*<sup>26</sup>, von einem Ortsnamen in *-ān* oder *-gān* (aus *-kān*)<sup>27</sup>, dergleichen es Hunderte gibt<sup>28</sup>.

Den Siegelaufschriften verdanken wir die Kenntnis des ασβαροβιδο. Dieses Wort, welches etwa „Kavalleriegeneral“ bedeutet, steht allein, ohne einen Eigennamen, auf einem Stein der Eremitage<sup>29</sup>, der daher wohl als Amtssiegel gelten muß; vielleicht darf man auch schließen, daß es jeweils nur einen Beamten gab, der diesen Titel führte. Die Aufschrift auf einem von R. B. WHITEHEAD gefundenen Siegel<sup>30</sup> ist kaum sicher genug, um in Anschlag zu kommen: vielleicht μαλολαρο (?), welches mit dem

<sup>24</sup> L. c. 380.

<sup>25</sup> Zur allgemeinen Bedeutung von *kan-* vgl. H. W. BAILEY, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 21 sq.

<sup>26</sup> Daß *sigma* im Baktrischen auch für iran. *š* (bzw. *c*) verwendet wurde, ist zuerst in *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 49, angenommen worden; es gilt bereits als „selbstverständlich“.

<sup>27</sup> Etwa \*(*H*)*astilugān* oder (*H*)*astilgān*; die abweichende Schreibung beweist schon die Haltlosigkeit der Verknüpfung mit av. *asti-*. Solche Eigennamen sollte man wirklich in Frieden lassen.

<sup>28</sup> Nicht ein Titel ist ferner das auf ζηροβιδο folgende, von ihm durch das Relativpronomen getrennte Wort der Palamedes-Inschrift, welches mit αβρο [ zu beginnen scheint. Da der obere Teil der beiden letzten Buchstaben verloren ist, ist die Lesung zweifelhaft. Dies gilt besonders von dem für *iota* angesehenen Zeichen, welches unten einen uncharakteristischen Abstrich nach links hat. In Version A der Hauptinschrift hat τ meistens, γ mehrfach, aber nie einen solchen Zusatz. Daher kommt in erster Linie αβρο [ in Frage. Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Patronym; möglich ist auch, daß das voraufgehende *iota* dazugehört und αβρο [ ein Wort oder der Anfang eines solchen ist. Über die Phantasien, die das angebliche αβρο [ hervorgerufen hat, schweigt man besser.

<sup>29</sup> S. *BSOAS.*, xxv, 1962, 335.

<sup>30</sup> *Numism. Chron.*, 1950, 232 No. 28.



parthischen *mdwdr* „Mundschenk“<sup>31</sup> vergleichbar und dann wohl als Lehnwort, angepaßt durch Ersetzung von  $\delta$  durch *l*, anzusehen wäre. Ähnlich begegnen wir *l* für  $\delta$  im Titel des Großviziers, *οαζορχο προμαλαρο*, dessen Herkunft aus dem seit der Gründung des sassanidischen Reiches bezeugten, trotzdem vielleicht schon parthischen *Vazurg-Framadār* über jeden Zweifel erhaben ist; er findet sich auf einem Siegel der Carter Collection, deren Veröffentlichung wir A. D. H. BIVAR verdanken<sup>32</sup>. Vor dem Titel steht hier der Eigenname, ebenso bei einem Amethyst der Eremitage: *Οαρυρανο βαυραβο* „Varahrän der Satrap“<sup>33</sup>, mit der in Persien üblichen, ursprünglich parthischen Form *šahrab*, gegenüber veraltetem *ksatrapa*, das in den indischen Grenzlanden weiterhin in Gebrauch blieb. Möglicherweise findet sich *šahrab* auch auf dem ebenfalls von A. D. H. BIVAR ans Licht gezogenen Siegelabdruck des Ashmolean (auf den ich unten noch zurückkomme), doch ist die Lesung ganz ungewiß; sicher ist wohl nur *βαυρ*<sup>34</sup>, also *šahr* „Macht/Machtbereich“ oder eine Ableitung davon.

Auf einem von STAVISKIY zugänglich gemachten Stein<sup>35</sup> steht deutlich *οαζαροχτο*, wieder ohne Eigennamen. Die Schreibung drückt *hazāruxt* aus. Dieses reflektiert *hazāruft*, den Titel eines der höchsten Beamten des persischen Reiches, der in dieser Form zuerst unter Ardaschir bezeugt ist (parth. *hzrwpt*, mpers. *hzrwpt* in Inschriften<sup>36</sup>; *‘Αζαρέφθης* etc.). Das Verhältnis von *hazāruxt* zu *hazāruft* ist nicht klar. Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine Vulgärform; *-xt* ist hier ja auch im Armenischen bezeugt (*hazarawuxt*)<sup>37</sup>. Derselbe Titel, aber in ausführlicher Form, findet sich weiterhin auf einem Siegel, welches nach A. D. H. BIVARS Schätzung erst dem 4ten Jh. angehören soll<sup>38</sup>; nur ist *-α-* in der zweiten Silbe durch *-ο-* ersetzt worden. Die Legende<sup>39</sup> ist: *φαρνο[ ]σταχο κηδαιρο οαζοροχτο*. Den Eigennamen, der beschädigt ist, wird man am besten zu *Φαρνο[οι]-σταχο* ergänzen. Also „*Farnwistāx*“<sup>40</sup>, der *kēdārische Hazoruxt*“, oder sagen wir „der Premierminister von *Kidāra*“; denn *κηδαιρο* ist gewiß

<sup>31</sup> *Mitteliranisch* (= *Handb. d. Orient.*, iv/1), 65 A. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *J. Numism. Soc. India*, xxiii, 1961, 320 sqq.

<sup>33</sup> S. ebenda S. 321.

<sup>34</sup> Das *-ρ-* (welches in den darunterstehenden Buchstaben mündet) ist allerdings auch nicht so klar, wie man wünschen würde; doch wird man kaum *βαυο* („König“) lesen dürfen.

<sup>35</sup> *J. Numism. Soc. India*, xxii, 1960, 103 sqq.

<sup>36</sup> *αζαροπτ* ist bloß Transliteration, daher von bescheidenem Wert.

<sup>37</sup> NÖLDEKES Annahme, *-xt* sei erst armenische Ersetzung (*Tabari*, 76 A. 2), hat sich also nicht bewährt.

<sup>38</sup> *Numism. Chron.*, 1955, 209 sq., No. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Die Abbildung bei C. W. KING, *Hdb. Engr. Gems*, 1885, Taf. vii/2, ist nach wie vor nützlich.

<sup>40</sup> Ein ursprünglich parthischer Name, welcher „auf das Glück vertrauend“ deutet.

ein analogisch nach bekannten Mustern (*-ārya* > *-āir*) von \*Κηδαρο (= Κιδαρο) gebildetes Adjektivum.

#### 4. Kaniška

Seit Beginn der modernen orientalischen Studien ist dieser Name des großen Eroberers immer wieder diskutiert worden, weil man hoffte, durch seine Analyse die ethnische Zugehörigkeit seines Volkes, der Kuschan, erkennen zu können. Da der König selbst auf seinen Münzen sich einer mittelpersischen Sprache, die ich „baktrisch“ genannt habe, bedient, liegt der Verdacht nahe, daß sein Name in eben jener Sprache seinen Ursprung fand. Ableitungen aus dem Iranischen sind jedoch auf Zweifel gestoßen, und zwar im Wesentlichen weil ein Suffix *-iška* dort ungebräuchlich ist; denn daß es sich um ein Suffix handelt, ist durch die Namen der Nachfolger des Königs (*Vajhiška*, *Huviška*) gesichert.

Nun hat H. W. BAILEY schon 1942 nachgewiesen, daß im Khotan-Sakischen der Name des Königs und das Wort für „kleiner Finger“ gleichermaßen als *kaṇaiška* (mit dentalem *-s-*) erscheinen, und dazu die Vermutung geäußert, daß der Name vielleicht eigentlich „the little one“ bedeute; die absonderliche Schreibung könne sich durch Anpassung an die Orthographie des einheimischen Wortes für „kleiner Finger“ erklären<sup>41</sup>. Eine genau entsprechende Form existiert übrigens im Mittelpersischen, *knysk-* in Inschriften<sup>42</sup>, allerdings mit der Bedeutung „Sklavin“. Dieser Unterschied ist jedoch für die Etymologie belanglos, da, wie schon oben berührt, der Stamm *kan-* ursprünglich „klein/jung“ bedeutet, woraus „kleiner (Finger)“ ebenso leicht fließt wie „kleiner (Mensch/Junge/Mädchen)“ (und Sklavinnen waren sozusagen *ex hypothesi* jung); diese Bedeutung war ja schon indo-iranisch, wie Skt. *kaṇīyas* „jünger, kleiner“, *kaṇiṣṭha* „jüngst, kleinst“, *kaṇiṣṭhā* „kleiner Finger“, *kaṇīnaka* „Knabe“, *kaṇyā* „Mädchen“ usw. zeigen. Warnen möchte ich hier vor der Lesung *knysk-* „Magd“ im Pahlavi-Psalter, die scheinbar das gesuchte *-šk-* liefert; denn wie schon früher bemerkt<sup>43</sup>, muß sie durch *knysk-* ersetzt werden (die Schrift macht keinen Unterschied zwischen *-ysk-* und *-yšk-*). Es ist also klar, daß eine Form, die mit dem Namen des Königs, in dem *-šk-* (im Indischen *-šk-*) sicher ist, übereinstimmte, tatsächlich nirgendwo vorliegt<sup>44</sup>.

Zu diesem Gegenstand ist H. W. BAILEY 1954 mit einer kurzen Bemerkung bei Gelegenheit seiner Besprechung von *Kavāta* zurückgekehrt:

<sup>41</sup> *JRAS.*, 1942, 250.

<sup>42</sup> E. BENVENISTE nimmt dagegen abnormale Entwicklung von *-s-* aus *-ṣ-* an (*Vessantara Jātaka*, S. 91, zu 162). <sup>43</sup> *BSOS.*, ix, 825 A. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Späte Formen in fernliegenden Dialekten, wie z. B. kurdisch *kaṇišk* „Mädchen“, kommen hier nicht in Betracht.

*Kaniška*, von *kan-* „jung, klein“, bedeute „most youthful in vigour“<sup>45</sup>. Aber das dort gegebene Versprechen, eine ausführliche Erklärung dieser Annahme zu veröffentlichen, ist m. W. nicht eingelöst worden. Dagegen hat SIR HAROLD eine solche Erklärung, freilich in kurzer Form, in seinem Beitrag zur Londoner Kaniška-Konferenz (April 1960) geliefert. Er ist zwar bislang leider ungedruckt geblieben, aber da er weithin verteilt worden und vielen der an diesen Fragen interessierten Gelehrten zugänglich ist, darf ich mich wohl hier auf ihn beziehen. Laut diesem Beitrag sieht BAILEY in den Namen „laudatory adjectives formed by the suffix *-iška-* (*-iška-*) from verbal bases“, und zwar im einzelnen 1. *Kaniška* = „most vigorously youthful“ von *kan-*, 2. *Huviška* = „having most *huv-* quality“ von *\*huv-*, wozu *\*hvai-* (repräsentiert durch av. *hvōišta-* „best, ältest“, khot. *hvāšta* „best“ usw.) gehöre, und 3. *Vajheška*, für iran. *vaziška-* oder *vāziška-*, etwa „most vigorous, energetic“, von *vaz-* (in *vazarka-* „groß“ usw.)<sup>46</sup>. Auf den ersten Blick scheint diese Theorie uns der erstrebten Sicherheit gar nicht näher zu bringen: mit dem leidigen Suffix *-iška*, nach wie vor isoliert, bleiben wir bei unserm Ausgangspunkt stehen; die ihm zugeschriebene Bedeutung ist spekulativ, und die nach seiner Abstraktion verbleibenden Elemente (*kan-*, *huv-*, *vajh-*) könnten vielen Sprachen zugeschrieben werden. Und doch bin ich davon überzeugt, nicht nur daß BAILEY auf dem richtigen Wege war — sonst hätte ich natürlich diesen ungedruckten Beitrag nicht erwähnt — sondern daß er auch beinahe am Ziel angelangt war. Nur noch ein kleiner, allerdings wesentlicher Schritt muß getan werden, um es ganz zu erreichen.

Als die ersten Inschriftenbruchstücke aus Surkh Kotal bekannt wurden und ich in der nur dreizeiligen Palamedes-Inschrift βαγολαγγο als eine Worteinheit erkannte<sup>47</sup>, fiel mir gleich die in den mitteliranischen Schriftsprachen sonst ungewöhnliche Entwicklung des *-aka-* Suffixes auf. Während in ihnen der Konsonant allmählich verschwindet, so daß *-aka-* zu *-ai-*, *-ē-*, *-e* wird, ist hier der Konsonant erhalten, aber der ihm voraufgehende Vokal ausgestoßen: *-dānaka-* > *-lāngo*<sup>48</sup>. Die Hauptinschrift hat dann ge-

<sup>45</sup> *Transactions Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 146.

<sup>46</sup> Dies ist selbstverständlich bloß eine schwache Andeutung des von BAILEY viel besser Vorgetragenen, beschränkt auf das für unsere Zwecke unumgänglich Nötige.

<sup>47</sup> Ich bediene mich dieser Ausdrucksweise nur, weil J. HARMATTA, *Acta or. Hung.*, xi, 193, schlankweg behauptet hat, daß „Curiel ... dissected it [= die 2. Zeile der Palamedes-Inschrift] into κερδομ βαγολαγγο, ascribing to it the meaning 'Βαγολαγγο was made by me' ...“. Davon ist bei CUREL (*J. A.*, 1954, 196—97) nichts zu lesen.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. *BSOAS.*, xviii, 1956, 367; A. MARICQ, *J. A.*, 1958, 408. Von den modernen Dialekten entspricht hier am genauesten das Waxi (wo z. B. *δeng* aus *dānaka-*).

zeigt, daß diese Entwicklung die Regel war: -μαργγο aus *-mānaka*<sup>49</sup>, αβαβγο aus *apāpaka*-, βαργγο aus *bāraka*-, -γαργγο aus *-kāraka*, sogar βαρουργο aus *harwaka*-, ιωγο aus *aiwaka*; durch Analogie -γο als patronymisches Suffix in Φρειχοαδηγο „Sohn des Φρειχοαδη“<sup>50</sup>. Wenn wir uns nun die Frage vorlegen: wie würde sich der um *-ka*- erweiterte Superlativ *\*kaništaka* (dessen Schwesterform *kaništaka*- ja tatsächlich im Sanskrit existiert) im Baktrischen entwickelt haben, so ist die Antwort klar: zunächst zu *\*kaništko*, woraus durch Vereinfachung der Konsonantenhäufung *kaniško* werden konnte<sup>51</sup>. Im Verlaufe dieses Hergangs kann sich leicht eine Veränderung im vorhergehenden Vokal eingestellt haben, und zwar sowohl Öffnung wie Dehnung, so daß die stehende Schreibung mit -η- (Κανη|χο, -χι<sup>52</sup>) entschuldigt wäre. Allerdings könnte der Vokal seinen Ursprung auch dem Einfluß des verwandten Namens Οση|χο (-χι, -χε) = *Huwiška* verdanken, in welchem *-ē*- etymologisch berechtigt ist; denn daß dieser aus *Huvaišta-ka* > *\*Huwēštka*, d. i. av. *hvōišta*- + *ka*-, herzuleiten ist, dürfte jetzt offenbar sein. Ebenso ist *Vajheška*, dessen erster Vokal wegen *Vāsiška* als lang anzusehen ist, als *\*Vāzeško* (*\*Oαζη|χο*) aus *vāzištaka*- zu erklären, am einfachsten zu av. *vāzišta*-, angeblich „der förderlichste“, + *ka*-.

Diese Erklärung hat einen zweifachen Vorteil. Einerseits können wir dem seltsamen Suffix *-iška*- endlich den Abschied geben: es zählt tatsächlich unter die gemeinsten indo-iranischen Ableitungsformantien. Andererseits brauchen wir keine Wörter kunstvoll zu rekonstruieren: alle benötigten Vorformen existieren bereits im Indo-Iranischen. Dazu erlangen wir die Gewißheit, nicht nur daß die Namen der Kuschan-Herrscher wirklich iranischen Ursprungs sind, sondern sogar daß sie einem bestimmten Dialekte zugehören, eben der baktrischen Sprache, in der wir ihre Muttersprache erkennen dürfen.

<sup>49</sup> MAYRHOFER l. c. 332 A. 1 fälschlich *\*mana(s)ka*- (das *-s*- läßt sich doch nicht durch Einklammern beseitigen).

<sup>50</sup> Da das von MARICQ auf Siegeln erkannte Φρειχοαδηγο gewiß Eigenname ist, vgl. auch soghd. *pryxtw* in den „Alten Briefen“, hätte ich für Φρειχοαδηγο nicht appellativische Bedeutung annehmen sollen; das Richtige steht also in der Anmerkung, *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 50 A. 5. Als Patronym-Suffix kommt übrigens -γο in Siegelaufschriften mehrfach vor.

<sup>51</sup> Welcher Konsonant in einer derartigen Gruppe ausgestoßen wurde, läßt sich nicht vorhersagen; in νοβιχο aus *nipixšta*- ist auch der mittlere Konsonant (freilich *-š*-) verschwunden. Im Waxī dagegen ist z. B. bei *detk* nach Morgenstierne, *I. I. F. L.*, ii 470 sq., *-š*- verlorengegangen (*\*dištika*-); das Schicksal von *-št*- im Waxī ist ebenso schwer in Regeln zu fassen wie im Baktrischen.

<sup>52</sup> E. BENVENISTE legt mit Recht Gewicht auf diesen Punkt, *J. A.*, 1961, 152.

## 5. Candra Kaniska

Hier möchte ich auf die unter den Schätzen des Ashmolean befindliche, schon oben berührte *bullā* zurückkommen, die A. D. H. BIVAR im Jahre 1955 veröffentlicht hat<sup>53</sup>. Ein Siegelabdruck ist gemeinhin schwieriger zu entziffern als ein Siegelstein, und auch das vorliegende Exemplar setzt der Lesung seiner zweizeiligen Aufschrift hartnäckigen Widerstand entgegen. Dr. BIVAR, dem die baktrischen Studien so manchen wichtigen Fortschritt verdanken, hat eine gute Zeichnung geliefert, die sich als sehr nützlich erwiesen hat<sup>54</sup>. Aber auch mit ihrer Hilfe ist es mir nicht gelungen, der Inschrift viel Sinn abzugewinnen. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß man ohne eine Untersuchung des Originals, die mir derzeit nicht möglich ist, eine zufriedenstellende Lesung wird erreichen können; angesichts der Wichtigkeit der Aufschrift steht zu hoffen, daß sie bald von anderer Seite unternommen werden wird.

Die Wichtigkeit, die diesem Stückchen Wachs zuerkannt werden muß, erhellt nämlich aus den Anfangsworten, die glücklicherweise klar lesbar sind:

Μαυο Κανηηκο ι ζα(γ)οο ι ηαυ(ρ). . . .

Auf den Eigennamen folgen also Qualifikationen, die durch das Relativpronomen ι voneinander getrennt sind, vgl. aus der Surkh Kotal-Inschrift Νοκονζοκο ι καταλαγγο ι Φρειχοαδηγο „N. der Markgraf, der Sohn des F.“ Zu ηαυ(ρ). . . . siehe oben S. 81. Bedeutsamer ist das erste, wohl hauptsächliche Epithet: ζα(γ)οο, etwa *zaywo* oder *jaywo*; möglicherweise nahm aber BIVAR zu Recht als dritten Buchstaben ι an, also ζα(ι)οο, etwa *zaywo* oder *jaywo*. Welche dieser beiden Lesungen auch die richtige sein mag, auf jeden Fall handelt es sich um den Titel, welcher auf den Münzen des Begründers der älteren Kuschan-Dynastie Kujula Kadphises (bzw. Kadaphes)<sup>55</sup> in der Form von ζαοοο in griechischen Legenden, als *yāia-* und *yavuga-* in Kharoṣṭhi vorkommt. Jener Titel ist aber seit langem mit *yabyu/jabyu* und besonders mit dem aus chinesischen Quellen bekannten *hi-hou* verglichen worden<sup>56</sup>. Nach ihnen gab es zunächst fünf *hi-hou* in Tocharistan, bis es Kujula K., dem *hi-hou* von Kušān, gelang, die vier anderen zu beseitigen und das Reich unter sich zu vereinen. Seither gab es also nur einen *hi-hou*, eben Kujula, der nach den griechischen Legenden seiner Münzen diesen

<sup>53</sup> *Numismatic Chron.*, 1955, 203 sqq.

<sup>54</sup> Seine Transkription ist dagegen z. T. veraltet; die Regel für die Unterscheidung von α und ο in der Kursivschrift findet man in *BSOAS.*, xxv, 1962, 335.

<sup>55</sup> Die für die gegenwärtige Aufgabe gleichgültige Frage, ob es sich um einen oder mehrere Herrscher handelt, soll damit nicht präjudiziert werden.

<sup>56</sup> Nach S. Konow, *Khar. inscr.*, gehört auch *yāia-* in der Taxila Copperplate Inscr. (Nr. xiii, S. 28 Z. 4) hierher. Zur chines. Wiedergabe vgl. E. G. PULLEYBLANK, *Asia Major*, ix, 1962, 95.

Titel allein (ζαου) weiterhin führte<sup>57</sup>. Wenn sich nun in etwas späterer Zeit ein Fürst diesen Titel anmaßte, so muß er wohl denselben Rang wie Kujula K. innegehabt haben. Er muß also zum mindesten König von Tocharistan gewesen sein.

Der Name des Siegelbesitzers, Μανο Κανηρικο, scheint jedoch bisher als Name eines Königs der Kuschanzeit nicht bekannt zu sein. Aber der Schein trügt hier. Bei μανο (wofür er *moho* las) hatte BIVAR an skt. *mahā* „groß“ (welches nicht in Frage kommt) und das Äquivalent von khot. *muhu* „wir“ (welches, da es \**māh* sein sollte, allerdings technisch möglich ist) gedacht<sup>58</sup>, nicht aber an das Wort für „Mond“, welches in eben dieser Form in den von ihm entdeckten und veröffentlichten Inschriften von Uruzgan<sup>59</sup> vorkommt (wo μανο neben μυρο „Sonne“ steht), sonst allerdings μαο geschrieben wird<sup>60</sup>. Nun mag zwar die Annahme, daß Μανο-Κανηρικο als „Mond-Kaniška“ zu verstehen sei, auf den ersten Blick unwahrscheinlich aussehen, und doch ist sie unbedingt richtig.

Schon lange hatte man sich um die in gewissen chinesisch-buddhistischen Texten für den Großkönig Kaniška bezeugte Bezeichnung *Chan-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a* bemüht, bis es endlich H. W. BAILEY gelang<sup>61</sup>, in einer skt.-khot. Bilingue die Vorform *cadra-kaṇaiskā* (*cadrra-kāṇaiskā*) aufzufinden<sup>62</sup>. Er restaurierte die sanskritische Form als *candra-kaniška* und betrachtete es im Hinblick auf ein schon früher von F. W. THOMAS ans Licht gezogenes Wortspiel mit *zla-ba* „Mond“ im tibetischen *Mahārājakanika-lekha* als wahrscheinlich, daß *candra* im Sinne von „Mond“ zu nehmen sei. Im Verfolg seiner Forschungen kam jedoch BAILEY von dieser Meinung ab und erwog zunächst skt. *caṇḍa* „gewalttätig“<sup>63</sup>, später einen iranischen Titel \**čandan*<sup>64</sup>. Jetzt aber, da die Namensform als \**Māho-Kaneško* „Mond-K.“ in Kaniškas Muttersprache vorliegt, wird

<sup>57</sup> Nach den kharoṣṭhi Legenden allerdings auch königliche Titel.

<sup>58</sup> BIVAR versuchte die folgende Übersetzung: "Son of the Great Kanishka, NN, (official of such-and-such a grade), a Kushan". Übrigens scheint mir *košo*-keineswegs gesichert zu sein (statt *-go koš-* ist vielleicht *-γανο ρ-* zu lesen).

<sup>59</sup> *JRAS.*, 1954, 112 sqq.

<sup>60</sup> Die Schreibungen verhalten sich zueinander wie *ραο* zu *ραο* „König“, wie übrigens bereits von HUMBACH, *Kušān und Hephthaliten*, S. 29, festgestellt worden ist. Ob das zweite Wort der Uruzgan-Inschriften zu dem oben besprochenen Titel zu stellen ist (wie auch HUMBACH annimmt), ist wegen der Unsicherheit der Lesung leider zweifelhaft; es scheint aus fünf Buchstaben zu bestehen. Daß μανο hier = „Mond“, hatte ich gleich bemerkt (s. bei BIVAR, S. 116); allerdings könnte μανοζιτιγο (?) Patronym sein (Sohn des Μανοζιτι = Mähzini „in des Mondes Obhut“ ?); die Lesung ζιτι ist verfehlt.

<sup>61</sup> *JRAS.*, 1942, 16 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> Der ganze Text später bei H. W. BAILEY, *Khotanese Texts*, ii, 107 sq.

<sup>63</sup> *JRAS.*, 1949, 2 sqq.

<sup>64</sup> *BSOAS.*, xiii, 1951, 926 sqq.

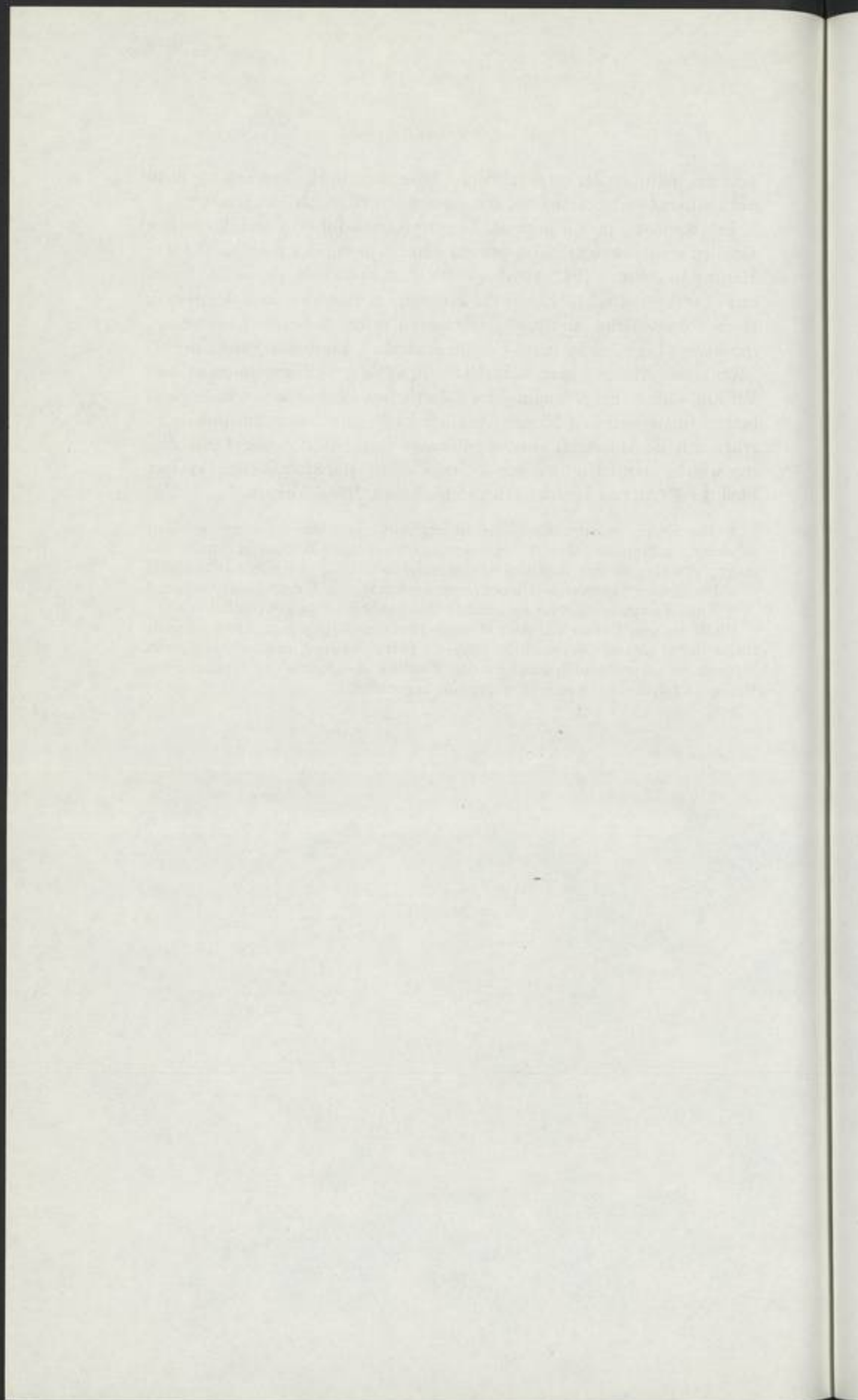
man zweifellos zu der ursprünglichen Ansicht zurückkehren wollen; denn  $\mu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$  stimmt vollkommen mit skt. *candra* und tibet. *zla-ba* überein<sup>65</sup>.

Der Kontext, in welchem die längere Namensform in buddhistischen Quellen steht, bezieht sich stets auf den Ursprung des Königs. Die von BAILEY in *JRAS.*, 1942, 19 übersetzte khotan-sakische Stelle ist durchaus charakteristisch: "... in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhāristān, there arose, in the family of the imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king ... by name *Candra-Kaniška*". Da dieser Fürst aber als „König der Könige“ bloß *Kaniška* heißt, so deutet dieser Umstand darauf hin, daß er bei Erlangung der kaiserlichen Würde seinen unbequem langen ursprünglichen Namen verkürzt hat<sup>66</sup>. Mit dieser Annahme verträgt sich die Aufschrift unserer *bulla* aufs beste: als das Siegel geschnitten wurde, stand Kaniška am Anfange seiner Machtentfaltung, er war bloß der Fürst von Tocharistan und hieß noch *Māho-Kaneško*<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Die Frage, warum Kaniškas Eltern ihm einen uns vielleicht seltsam scheinenden Namen gaben, führt über die Grenzen des Wißbaren hinaus. Sie mögen ihn als „kleiner (Liebling) des Mondgottes“ oder „kleinstes (Ebenbild) des Mondgottes“ verstanden haben, aber wie kann man dergleichen beweisen?

<sup>66</sup> Eine Namensänderung bei solcher Gelegenheit ist ja gewöhnlich.

<sup>67</sup> Ob die von BIVAR aus dem Monogramm des Siegels gezogenen Schlußfolgerungen (*Num. Chron.*, 1955, 202—5) zwingend sind, muß dahingestellt bleiben. Es ist wohl auch möglich, daß Kaniška ebenso wie die Titulatur des Vima Kadphises auch sein Monogramm übernahm.





## THE CHORESMIAN DOCUMENTS

### I

It is pleasant to be able to report that good progress has been made with the decipherment of the indigenous Choresmian script. The work, initiated by I. M. Diakonoff and completed by V. A. Livshitz, owes much to the recent discovery of fresh material – inscriptions on ossuaries found at *Toq-qal'a*, a ruined city on a hill (*Toq-tau*) 14 km to the NW of Nukuz, therefore in the northern part of Choresmia. The language of the inscriptions using the indigenous script, which like Sogdian, Parthian, etc., descends from the Aramaic script, has a good claim to being called *Choresmian* without further epithet; but so has the later language written with Arabic letters, for which the Soviet scholars have coined *Arabo-Choresmian*, a clumsy term. I shall use *Choresmian* for either, adding "old" or "late" whenever a distinction is needed.

The Choresmian material in which the indigenous script is employed falls into four categories:

(1) Coins with Choresmian legends. Vast numbers have been found in excavations in the course of the last thirty years, but few have been published in a satisfying manner. Hardly any of them are available in collections outside the Soviet Union; complaints about the withholding of the material have had little response. Our chief source remains an article by S. P. Tolstov in *Vestnik drevney Istorii*, 4 (5), 1938, 120–145; substantially reproduced in *Drevniy Xorezm*, 1948, 173–195. The illustrations accompanying *Drevniy Xorezm* (pl. 84 and 85) show a remarkable collection of ill-favoured, badly photographed and poorly printed specimens. S. P. Tolstov's readings of some of the legends have been discussed on earlier occasions.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Inscriptions from *Topraq-qal'a*, a royal palace that was abandoned shortly after A.D. 300, according to Tolstov, in favour of *Pil-qal'a* (*Fir*). The inscriptions consist of a large number of well-written and splendidly preserved wooden tablets; and a small number of fragmentary documents on leather. Some of the latter bear dates in an unknown era, ranging from 207 to 231 (or 232).<sup>2</sup> Of this rich material, which was discovered in 1948 and 1949, little has been made accessible to the public. In the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mitteliranisch* (= *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, iv, 1), pp. 57 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Tolstov, *Problemy Vostokovedeniya*, 1961, 1, pp. 54 sqq.

volume of the *Trudi Xorezmskoy Arxeologo-Etnografičeskoj Ekspedicii* (1958) two of the leather documents and a single specimen of the wooden tablets (= *Topraq-q.* No. 10) were published (pp. 208 sqq.), accompanied by unsatisfactory reproductions (fig. 97).<sup>3</sup> They were re-published, with improved readings and reproductions, in S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim del'tam Oksa i Yaksarta*, 1962, 217 sqq., where a second wooden tablet (= *Topraq-q.* No. 8) is added; it is a misfortune that in the illustration this important document has been so strongly reduced that some of the letters can no longer be distinguished with assurance. In the same book there is a reference to a fresh find of documents at a fort called *Yakke-Parsan*, p. 257, and one of them, containing the beginnings of seven lines, is reproduced, fig. 165; those documents are attributed, on unknown grounds, to the 8th century.

(3) The ossuary inscriptions of *Toq-qal'a*. One notes with gratification that, thanks to the infusion of fresh blood into Soviet Choresmian studies, their publication has been tackled on the heels of their discovery; they were found as recently as 1962. In an article by S. P. Tolstov and V. A. Livshitz that appeared in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1964, 2, 50-69, nine of those inscriptions are edited; an English version, printed in the *Acta Antiqua Ac. Sc. Hung.*, xii, 1964, 231-251, is provided with a plate that is wholly satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> At the same time the excavator of the site, A. V. Gudkova, published a report (*Tok-kala*, Tashkent 1964) which on seventeen plates brings an additional mass of material.<sup>5</sup> It is a great pity that Mme Gudkova's noble effort at thus making the material readily usable has been partly spoiled in the printing, by selection of too wide a "screen", which blurs the delicate distinctions of letters, severs connected letters, and even causes them to disappear without trace on occasion. Many of the ossuary inscriptions are dated in an unknown era; the earliest year is 658, the latest 753.

(4) A few inscriptions on silver vessels. Most of them are depicted in Smirnov's *Vostočnoe Srebro*; since his monumental work appeared (in 1909), two further specimens have been published, see *Toq-q.* 233 [52] n. 12. As Livshitz has justly observed, several of the inscriptions are dated, viz. Smirnov No. 42: a. 570; No. 43: a. 700; Bader-Smirnov, *Srebro Zakamskoe*<sup>6</sup>: a. 9 (= a. 709, presumably); Bader, *Kamsk. Eksp.* fig. 50: a. 714 (?).

<sup>3</sup> Better reproductions are available in articles printed outside the Soviet Union. Thus the dated leather document (= *Topraq-q.* No. 4), unusable in *Trudi*, is clear enough in Tolstov's article in *J. As. Soc. Bombay*, 33, 1960, fig. 2c. The difference is caused by more advanced printing technique.

<sup>4</sup> The article is quoted here as *Toq-q.* with the page of the English version, followed by the page of the Russian text in square brackets.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Otto Maenchen most kindly brought this book to my notice and lent me his copy.

<sup>6</sup> The readings suggested *Mitteliranisch*, p. 58, must be withdrawn now.

## II

The material reveals the existence of an indigenous Choresmian era of long duration; its initial term is in dispute and must be discussed first. Al-Beruni, indeed, had spoken of an indigenous era, but he attributed it to one *Afriy*, the legendary founder of the royal house of Choresmia, and placed its beginning in A.D. 304. Clearly, al-Beruni was wrong, for once. That is not surprising; for he himself states that the old era was abandoned after the conquest by Qutaiba (A.D. 712) and replaced by Muslimic dating. Living about three hundred years later, he was forced to rely on inaccurate reports<sup>7</sup> in which the era was wrongly associated with the alleged ancestor of the family whose members enjoyed the dignity of kingship still at the time of his youth.

Tolstov seeks the origin of the Choresmian era in the Kushan era introduced by Kanishka, which in its turn, following older practice, he identifies with the Indian Śaka era (beg. A.D. 78). The latest dates then would be: Topraq-qal'a a. 231 = A.D. 308; Toq-qal'a a. 753 = A.D. 830. Severally, these are disconcertingly late; they would be even later, by fifty years, if we adopted the dating of Kanishka favoured by the majority of historians nowadays (A.D. 128). There are many reasons speaking against the assumption of so late dates, among them considerations of palaeography, the spread of Islam in Choresmia, and the statements of al-Beruni.

The necropolis of Toq-qal'a was violently destroyed by war: it is natural to attribute that destruction to the "second campaign" which was undertaken by command of Qutaiba to avenge the murder of his nominee.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, Toq-qal'a a. 753 preceded A.D. 712, and the foundation of the era cannot be later than 42 B.C. On that assumption the earliest and latest dates are:

Topraq-qal'a	A.D. 165-189
Toq-qal'a	A.D. 616-711
Silver vessels	A.D. 538(?); <sup>9</sup> 658-672.

The "older era" of Northwestern India is too early for our purposes if, with Konow, we attribute its beginning to 84 B.C.; even the Vikrama era (beg. 57 B.C.) is on the early side. Presumably the Choresmian era owed its inception to some event of Choresmian history, perhaps a gaining of some measure of independence. Its immediate model may have been the Arsacid era.

Tolstov himself appears to have been uneasy at the result of his calculations; for he also mentions (only to reject it) the Christian era as a candidate

<sup>7</sup> If al-Beruni had possessed any direct knowledge of such an era, he would surely have made some use of it in his work; yet even in dealing with Choresmian history he has recourse to Seleucid dates.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> One is bound to suspect an engraver's mistake (570 for 670). On these dates see Livshitz, *Vestnik Drevn. Ist.*, 1964, 3, p. 160.

for consideration. Since that era did not come into use before the 6th century, it need not detain us; however, the opportunity is welcome to point out that Tolstov's supposition of the existence of large Christian communities in Choresmia, at the time of al-Beruni, is based on unsafe premises.<sup>10</sup>

The date gained, with the help of Toq-qal'a, for the documents of Topraq-qal'a, A.D. 165-189, is consonant with all that has been made known about that site. I fail to find any clear evidence in favour of Tolstov's attribution of the documents to the 3rd and 4th centuries. The palace of Topraq-qal'a itself, however, doubtless continued to be occupied for some decades after A.D. 189, yet hardly beyond the middle of the 3rd century. The coins found there are mostly of the 1st and 2nd centuries, among them a small number (22) of Kushan coppers (Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Vasudeva);<sup>11</sup> some of those were discovered in the top layer of the ruins,<sup>12</sup> hence were still in circulation at the time when the site was abandoned. It is doubtful whether any of the indigenous issues owe anything to the imitation of certain Sassanian coins.<sup>13</sup>

It seems to me that Tolstov has made insufficient allowance for the influence which the rising power of Sassanid Persia exercised upon its neighbours. Higher civilization had come to Choresmia in the first two centuries of our era. It had already some modest achievements to its credit - Tolstov understandably overrates their value - when it suddenly came to a full stop. Everything ceased abruptly, the country relapsed into primitivity whence it had barely risen. If Tolstov's investigations have shown one thing, it is this complete break in the development. It began closely to the beginning of the Sassanian state; as soon as the Sassanians collapsed, civilization resumed its march on the Oxus. We cannot join Tolstov and view the development in Persia and Choresmia as unconnected.

<sup>10</sup> In *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1946 (2), 87 sqq., Tolstov sought to demonstrate that the name of the Christian (orthodox) New Year's day supplied by al-Beruni, "kalandas", must have come to Choresmia through Southern Russia, carried to the land of al-Beruni by a wave of Orthodox migrants travelling the northern route. In truth, al-Beruni's spelling, *qlnd's*, *q'lnds Chron.* 292<sup>17</sup> sqq., merely represents the Syriac rendering of Lat. *calendae*: *qlnds*, *q'lndus*, *qlndys*, etc.; Payne Smith s.v. even cites *qlnd's* in Arabic script. Al-Beruni adduces the term as an integral part of a full calendar list, every single item of which is Syriac; and he says in the clearest possible words that he is describing the calendar of the Syrian Melkites ("the Syriac months" 288<sup>1</sup>; "the months of the Syrians" 288<sup>15</sup>). In a flourishing trade centre, such as the capital of Choresmia was in al-Beruni's day, the presence of a handful of Syrian merchants and artisans need not cause undue surprise. On orthodox Christians in Central Asia see B. Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen (Handb. viii/2)*, 154 sq.

<sup>11</sup> *Problemi Vost.* 1961, 1, 57.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevne-xorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, 1948, 165 sq.

<sup>13</sup> The resemblance of the crowns of "Artamux" and Shapur I (cf. *Problemi Vost.* 1961, 1, 60) is only partial; the helmet of the beardless head (allocated by Tolstov to "Artamux"'s wife) clearly recalls Arsacid models. All the older silver issues bear, like Arsacid coins, debased Greek inscriptions.

The Sassanians were notoriously harsh towards the small kingdoms on the periphery of the dominions they claimed; they were either incorporated as provinces (or nominal "kingdoms"), or subdued and ruined. That was the policy laid down by Ardashīr and put into effect by himself and, most energetically and successfully, by his son Shapur I. How can one suppose that Shapur, who took possession of Transoxiana up to Tashkend and the limits of Kashghar,<sup>14</sup> overlooked the existence of little Choresmia on his flank? He did not; for Choresmia had been disposed of before. Tabari mentions a campaign in which Ardashīr conquered Choresmia as well as Gurgān, Marv, etc.<sup>15</sup> Thanks to the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>16</sup> we know that a second defeat, a crushing blow, was inflicted on the Choresmians by Shapur in the first year of his rule, *i.e.*, A.D. 239/40.<sup>17</sup> That should be the true date for the abandonment of Topraq-qal'a; no coins were struck in Choresmia thereafter, until the dissolution of the Sassanid empire in the 7th century.<sup>18</sup> Clear proof of the loss of Choresmian independence is provided by the inscription of Paikuli (A.D. 293) in which the king of Choresmia (*hwzmn MLK*?, Parthian line 42) is mentioned among the subject rulers, after the *Kušanšāh* (himself a Sassanian prince).

### III

The ossuary inscriptions of Toq-qal'a generally open with the dates, in which the words for year, month, and day are expressed ideographically, by *BŠNT*, *YRH'*, and *BYWM* respectively. Those ideograms, together with the indigenous names of months and days (which follow the model of the "Younger Avestan" calendar), have supplied a secure basis for the decipherment. After the date, the words "this (ZNH) ossuary" (*tnβryk*<sup>19</sup> according to Livshitz) are followed by the name and father's name of its occupant (sometimes also further designations) and the whole is on occasion concluded by a pious wish.

Some of the calendar terms have assumed strange shapes. Thus the name of the 1st day and 10th month, convincingly read by Livshitz as *'hwrym*, compared with al-Beruni's *rēmazd* or *rīmazd* (MSS. with *-š-*). Of the basic form, *ahurahe mazdā* in Avestan, the first half is splendidly preserved, so well indeed that the spelling is only attributable to the principle

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 1947, 54.

<sup>15</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 64, "... Šāpōr, ein Mann von sehr harter Natur. Im ersten Jahr hatte er einen Krieg mit den Chorasmiern und den Bergmedern und besiegte sie in einer gewaltigen Schlacht. Von dort zog er weiter und unterwarf die Gelen, die Dailemiten und die Hyrkanier ... Alle Welt fürchtete sich vor ihm ...".

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Asia Major*, vi, 1957, 119.

<sup>18</sup> The reading of *'ptwrg = Afriy* is not acceptable. Cf. *Mitteliranisch*, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> In order to strengthen the link with the late Choresmian orthography, and also to clarify certain points, I shall use *β γ δ* and *x* in the transliteration of indigenous words, in the place of *b g d* and *h*, reserving those for ideograms.

of historical orthography; while the second half is unaccountably reduced to a mere *m-*. Al-Beruni's *rēmazd*, on the contrary, is more consonant with our expectations; *-h-* was an unstable consonant, and short vowels at the fringe of words could be lost successively, especially in longish terms, hence *rē-* from *ahurahe* (*ahurahya*); and *mazd* from *mazdā* is normal. It seems to me that the only way to account for *'hwrym* is by understanding it as a conventional scribal abbreviation (as we may write *Sept.*).

Some of the letters coincide in form altogether (thus R, D, and 'Ain); some others resemble each other so strongly that there is no reliable distinction (as Y and W; or B and N). As a consequence, the reading is apt to be uncertain, in some points, as soon as we leave the safe precincts of the dating formulae. It becomes then all the more important to observe, in the strictest manner, certain scribal conventions that arise from the material, in particular the rules of linking and separating letters. It seems to me that by refusing any licence in such matters we can improve the security of reading. A similar situation exists in Pahlavi, where many letters are indistinguishable from each other, but well-established rules of linking powerfully assist the reader; he would indeed be lost without them. Attempts have been made from time to time to arrogate to oneself some licence, so as to assert: "in this word *W* has been connected to the left"; in the long run they have invariably been rejected. I am conscious of the difficulty of writing on a subject where a part of the material (some of it essential to my argument) is not available to me, and shall not be surprised if some of the suggestions I am about to make will be found wanting; however, it may be useful to open a discussion, which is likely to lead ultimately to a clarification of points as yet obscure.<sup>20</sup>

A case in point is the reading *'zt*, believed to mean "son", in *Topraq-q*, Nos. 8 and 10, for a group of letters that to all appearances should be read *'yt*. The letter *G* has not markedly changed from its Old Aramaic shape – an angle with its point at the top. In Chor. the angle has turned a little to the left, so that its first side approaches the vertical, its second side the horizontal. The Chor. scribe made the second side last, and since it went towards the left would join the next letter to its end. That is how *G* is produced still in the later material: *βγγ* (an excellent reading we owe to

<sup>20</sup> One has to bear the risk of being reproached for ignorance of the material by those who retain it for their private use. Thus I find myself reproached (*Toq-q*, 236 [54] n. 19) for not realizing that certain late coins which, as I had claimed, bear the king's name in *Sogdian* letters on the obverse, nevertheless have *Choresmian* inscriptions on the reverse. Apart from the question of access, one must observe, firstly, that my remarks had been directed against Tolstov's allocation of the Sogdian inscriptions to a non-existing late form of the Choresmian script; secondly, that the reproachful annotation constitutes an admission that I was right about their Sogdian nature; and thirdly, that my remarks were expressly confined to the inscriptions on the obverse ("die Namen der Könige . . . auf dem Avers vor dem Königskopf", *Mitteliranisch*, 57).

Livshitz) on Smirnov No. 42, and  $\gamma w \delta t$ , Toq-q. No. 52, are good examples; and that is precisely how the second letter of the disputed word is formed.

The assumption that one could substitute  $'zt$  for  $'yt$  is moreover not in accord with the few certain examples of *Z*. Notably *ZK* in Topraq-q. Here *Z* is a slightly wavy vertical, standing by itself (No. 8) or leaning to the next letter, but not deliberately linked (in the sense of being formed without lifting the pen from the writing material). If it were to be linked, it would naturally be linked at its lower end, and so it is in *ZNH*, frequent in Toq-q. Yet the old separate form persists in another ideogram, *ZWZN'*, common on the silver vessels.<sup>21</sup> The ideograms, which the later scribes could no longer analyse,<sup>22</sup> are admittedly an unsafe guide, and here they give contradictory information; yet we may infer that the letter was linked, if at all, from its bottom, very differently from the letter in the alleged Topraq-q.  $'zt$ . For *z* in Iranian words there are no wholly clear cases in Toq-q. We find  $'ztyk$  No. 52, interpreted as "son", but the letter and the place of junction are smudged;<sup>23</sup> the word apparently recurs, Gudkova pl. xvi, 1 b line 2, where the junction is certain and the letter resembles the *Z* of *ZNH* (or *N/B* generally). In  $'zyt$  (?), No. 39, also explained as "son", no junction is discernible, but that inscription is not sufficiently well preserved to give a decision. Dubious readings, such as  $'zrw m'y-n$  No. 52 line 4, a patronymic ( $'zrw m'y$  "having magic power from *Zrvan*"?) do not come into account.

To return to Topraq-q., I fail to find convincing cases in which an apparent *G* must be read as *Z*. I do not count  $'ym'ztk$  among them, a personal name derived from \**Ahuramazdaka*, with the help of al-Beruni's *rēmazd* (on which see above p. 170). Since five hundred years later, at Toq-qal'a, one still spells not only  $'hwry-m.$ , but also  $'hwrk = *Ahuraka$  ( $'hwrk$   $'zrwyn'ny$  "son of *Azruwēn*"?) Gudkova pl. xvi, 2), so early a shortening seems improbable; moreover, the redundant  $'z$ - would by itself shake our confidence in the proposed explanation. Adhering to the identity of *G*, we obtain a good name with ease:  $'zrm'ytk = rzm-āyatak$ <sup>24</sup> "he who has come to the battle-line".<sup>25</sup>

While it may be difficult to define the meaning of  $'yt$ , "son" and "free" (as has also been proposed, on the basis of  $'zt$ ) seem equally excluded. If,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Livshitz, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1964, 3, p. 160 n. 34.

<sup>22</sup> The various misspellings of *ZWZN'* (*ZWZN*, *ZZN'*) show that clearly.

<sup>23</sup> The independent photograph *apud* Gudkova, *Toq-q.* pl. xiv, favours the presence of full junction.

<sup>24</sup> *Rzm-* also in No. 8 line 22  $'zrm\beta ytwrk$  "(as forceful as a whole) myriad in the battle" or  $'zrm\beta yw\delta k$  "a fury in battle".

<sup>25</sup> The illustration does not allow us to express more than hesitant opinions on names occurring in No. 8. In lines 2 and 5 names beginning with  $\gamma'w-$  seem likely (5  $\gamma'w-prnk?$ ); line 17 prob. ends  $-\beta ytk$ ; line 27  $Ptn-\beta y'wk$  "increase of fortune". In No. 10 line 10  $'prt-\gamma rywk$  deserves consideration.

as Tolstov assumes, the wooden tablets contain lists of the members of families arranged according to their status (from householder to slaves), a kind of census reports, then  $\gamma t$  appears (on the last line of Doc. No. 8) after the name of a slave<sup>26</sup> belonging to the category "son of —".<sup>27</sup> Applied to persons,  $\gamma t$  lit. "having come" could mean either "adult" (as e.g. Arabic *bālīy*, Pers. *rasīde*) or "present" (in accord with the Late Chor. abstract  $\gamma dk'wk$  "presence").

## IV

We cannot be wholly certain about the distribution of *G* and *Z*; for the great lapse of time, from Topraq-q. to Toq-q., makes it possible that scribal practice thoroughly changed. Thus in Sogdian, for example, the letters *z* and *y*, once linked, came to be written separately at various late stages, for the purpose of recapturing their lost individuality. We should be more reluctant to assume such scribal vagaries within homogeneous material emanating from the same time and place. Such vagaries have been claimed for the letter *W* in the inscriptions of Toq-qal'a.

Ordinarily, both *W* and *Y* are left unconnected; that applies to ideograms (e.g. *BYWM*) no less than Iranian words (e.g. *'rw'n*, *'hwrym*, *γwšt*, *βwrtm*, *tyšy'n*). An important, and certain, case of *W* is *nwš γrdm'n* (No. 25) "eternal paradise". There is, however, a recurrent word which appears in the transliteration as *nwšy*, but in which the 2nd letter is linked to the following and in fact looks like another *n* or *β*. I hasten to add that Livshitz (*Toq-q.* 244 sq. [61]) was fully alive to the incongruity and himself remarked that *BNSY* or *NBSY* would be "more justified", yet ultimately settled on *NWSY* and, moreover, gave serious consideration to *NYŠY*. For my part, I should say that *BNSY*, *NBSY*, *NNSY*, or *BBŠY*, any one of those would be preferable, because they constitute potentially possible readings; while *NWSY* and *NYŠY* are warranted impossible, whether or not they supply a semblance of harmonious meaning.

*Nβšy* — to adopt provisionally the least unlikely reading — has a side-form *nβšy'*, which is found associated with *y'*, the feminine article,<sup>28</sup> as

<sup>26</sup> *'BD-n'* may be the best of the various readings suggested for this word.

<sup>27</sup> There are two compounds of ideograms, both distorted in the scribal tradition. One of them may have been originally *\*BRY-BRTYH* (cf. *'NTTYH* "woman"), i.e. "son (and) daughter" = "children"; the other perhaps *\*BRY-'MTYH* = "son (of) slavegirl". The latter stood in the line preceding the last of Doc. No. 8. It would make no sense to add "son" or "free" after the name of a person placed in the category "slaves—son of slavegirl".

<sup>28</sup> We may hardly assume that *ZNH* served as ideogram for *y'*, cf. *Toq-q.* 243 [59]; the order of the words (*ZNH tβryk* against *t. y' . . .*) by itself disproves the suggestion. *ZNH* should be a demonstrative pronoun, = *nī(n)* in Late Chor., where *nī(n)* before a noun produces a verbless sentence, but after a noun is a demonstrative adjective. Accordingly, *ZNH t.* "this is the ossuary", *t. ZNH* "this o.", *t. y'* "the ossuary of (the woman) . . ." (lit. "the ossuary of her who is . . ."). There is no "post-positive article" in Chor.



*nβšy* is with *'y*, its masc. equivalent. Hence, *nβšy* may be an adjective capable of possessing a feminine form, yet to judge by Late Chor. such adjectives do not ordinarily end in *-y*. This consideration causes one to suspect that *nβšy* may be an ideogram. As such the obvious choice would be **𐎧𐎠** *nafšī* (lit. "my soul, my self"), which may have been used in the same way as Pahl. *NPŠH* "own", to which it would be related as *BRY* "son" is to Pahl. *BRH*. The postulated meaning, which would be "own, belonging, property", fits well enough;<sup>29</sup> in some inscriptions we read *ZNH tnβryk nβšy 'y* . . . "this is the ossuary belonging to . . .", there are also short ones (as Gudkova pl. viii, 2) consisting merely of the words *ZNH tnβryk NN. nβšy* "this ossuary belongs to NN." (lit. "this is the o. belonging to NN.").

If that is the true meaning of *nβšy*, we are compelled to alter the reading of that word and replace it by *NPŠY*; for the question whether the Aramaic was once uttered with *-f-* or *-p-* is immaterial for the orthography. With this we have arrived at the principal defect of the decipherment: the absence of *P*. In the 35 lines of Toq-qal'a inscriptions published by Tolstov and Livshitz *P* figures only a single time, or since I cannot accept that particular reading<sup>30</sup> I should say it occurs never at all. That is hardly compatible with the structure of Middle Iranian languages, in all of which *P* is among the most frequent consonants. In orthographic systems adhering to historical principles *P* should be particularly frequent, as reflecting not only actual *p* but also *b* (deriving from Old Ir. *p*), perhaps also *f*. We shall have to assume that the letter *P* had merged (or largely merged) into a single shape with *N* and *B* (and, at least in part, *Z*).



In the more ancient documents of Topraq-qal'a the form of the letter *P* cannot be easily ascertained either. In the transliterations the three letters *P*, *S*, and *X* (*H*) appear in competition for two-stroke letters, but there is no truly convincing reading with *P*. Thus *βywersrk* (myriad + head) or *βywδsrk* (fury + head), a personal name (No. 8 line 18), seems as good as *-prk*; and *pt'ywrk*, approved *Toq-q. 235 [53]* and quoted as exemplifying *-'y-* for short *-i-*, is questionable just because of the unsuitability of so late an orthographic feature and should be read *st'ywδk* = *Sat-āyōdak* or *Satāyu-δak* (from OIr. \**satāyu-dā-*, cf. Av. *satāyu-*). A more likely-seeming

<sup>29</sup> It is not intended to discuss here all the passages, some of which are a little obscure.

<sup>30</sup> *pr'ny'ty* (No. 25 line 5) "may he be sent" should probably be read as *m'ny'ty* (*m'ny'ty?*) "may he rest, stay" (Late Chor. has *m'ny-* "stay, live", but does not know *pr'ny-*, which would not be expected to have passive meaning in any case); the first letter does not differ significantly from *m* as in *yrδm'n*.—*L* does not necessarily mean "towards". Its Iranian equivalent was (as elsewhere) presumably the descendant of Old Ir. *abi* "towards", Late Chor. *fi*, which however developed the meaning "in" in addition to "into, towards"; ultimately *fi* mostly = "in". The ideogram inevitably would follow the meaning of its Iranian equivalent.


name is *whwmnp't*, quoted *Toq-q.* 235 [53], unfortunately from an unpublished document.

Two varieties of two-stroke letters occur in the name of the king whose coins have been found in masses at Toq-qal'a, most of them in a single hoard. The specimens illustrated by A. V. Gudkova p. 113, fig. 33, show

its normal form as ; the central letter is sometimes (fig. 33 Nos. 3 and 6) open or almost open at the SW corner ().

The 2nd and 5th letters are *W* or *Y*; the 4th is *R*; the 1st and 3rd are candidates for *S/P/X*. The name was originally read by Tolstov as "Xangiri", *xnyry* or *xnkry*,<sup>31</sup> of which *ny* and *nk* are equally unacceptable. Following the indications supplied by the Soviet scholars on Topraq-qal'a, I at first assumed that the name was *Sypry*, which would agree neatly with *Sibri* (*Sbry*, vocalised *Sibri* in one MS.), one of the kings of the 7th century in al-Beruni's list. However, this cannot be maintained; for the first letter is *prima facie X* (as indeed Tolstov had claimed), while the 3rd is proved to be *S* by another coin legend; that is also in agreement with the Toq-qal'a *S* as read by Livshitz. The name thus was *Xwsrw* = *Xusraw*.<sup>32</sup>

The decisive legend belongs to *Šāwāšfan* (middle of the 8th century), one of the kings who issued coins with bilingual inscriptions, cf. above p. 171, n. 20. On the obverse *š'wšprn* in Sogdian letters,<sup>33</sup> on the reverse, as has become clear now (see *Toq-q.* 251),<sup>34</sup> *sy'wršprn* in Choresmian script. To judge partly by the specimens published,<sup>35</sup> partly by the drawing given by Tolstov,<sup>36</sup>

the Chor. lettering is  (*sy-'w-r-š-pr-n*). The first letter is consonant with the *S* of *Xwsrw* above, and, most importantly the letter *P*, joined with *R* in *pr*, is a simple right angle turned to the left, not

<sup>31</sup> *Drevniy Xorezm*, 191 b.

<sup>32</sup> It is unlikely that that Persian name was used so early in appellative sense in Choresmia (so that the coins would bear but three titles, *xwsrw MR'Y MLK'*), yet no king of that name is known. It is, however, possible that al-Beruni failed to mention the name of the king ignominiously murdered by his compatriots in A.D. 712 ("Askajamūk" was probably the king ultimately appointed); his reign may have been of short duration. According to Gudkova, p. 114, many of the "Xangiri" coins are overstrikes of the coins of 'Abdullāh (who however belongs to the early part of the 9th century). I have shown long ago (cf. *Mitteliranisch* 57 sq.) that the coins attributed to 'Abdullāh are in fact those of "Askajawār", who was either the murdered king or, more probably, his immediate predecessor. If we assume the latter and place Xusrāw in about A.D. 710-712, all difficulties will be resolved.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Mitteliranisch*, p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> The readings are not given in the Russian version (p. 68).

<sup>35</sup> *Drevniy Xorezm*, pl. 84 Nos. 14, 16, 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 188a. The 2nd letter is badly represented and induced me to seek *MR'Y* in the first half of the name (*Mitteliranisch*, 57 n. 3); actually, both *MR'Y* and *MLK'* follow the name in the legend.

materially different from *N* (or *B*). That is precisely the shape we had to postulate for *P* in *NPŠY*. We note that Tolstov (*loc. cit.*) transliterates *sy'wršpn*, adhering even now to his erroneous supposition<sup>37</sup> that *P* was a two-stroke letter. It seems to me on the contrary that even in Topraq-qal'a *P* was barely distinguishable from *B*, cf. e.g. *'wpyštk* No. 10 line 11; *pšk* *ibid.* line 4; *wšršpk* *ibid.*, line 20; and the names for which readings have been proposed above p. 172, n. 25. Possibly *P* possessed a heavier beginning than *B*, and had a fairly well-marked angle. Whether those features separated *P* from *B* (and *N*) still at the later stage is doubtful. At Toq-qal'a we should read *P*, e.g., in *tnp'r* (*tnβ'r* being very improbable); one wonders whether (even if *βrwrtn* is the true reading) one should not substitute *prwrtk*<sup>38</sup> for *βr-*.

Ultimately I discovered a splendid word in which every one of the troublesome letters *S*, *P*, and *X* occurs, yet which can be read with perfect assurance. It forms part of an uncommonly short inscription of a silver jug, Smirnov No. 84; Livshitz recently drew attention to it (*Vestn. drevn. ist.*, 1964, 3, 160). It concludes with the usual determination of the weight of the object (*Z[W]ZN'* + figures, see Livshitz *loc. cit.*), which is preceded merely by the owner's name and our word:



similar Pahlavi inscriptions on silver ware have long shown how such texts are constructed: the short form consists of owner's name + *NPŠH* ("own") + determination of the weight. Therefore, the word we seek to read must be the equivalent of Pahl. *NPŠH*, yet our expectation to find *NPŠY* here is disappointed. Nevertheless, it is as it were the soul of *NPŠY*, the Iranian word itself which otherwise was expressed by that ideogram. In Late Chor. that was *xbsk* = *xubisk*,<sup>39</sup> and as its *-b-* reflected OIr. *-p-* (Av. *x'aēpaiθya-*) it was necessarily spelt just as it is, *xwpsk*.

## V

Similar argument can be offered in the case of *R*, which letter is never linked to the left (e.g. *'hwrym*, *'rw'n*) yet has been supposed to be so linked for the purpose of reading *tnβryk* "ossuary". It seemed an attractive as well as convincing word and one regrets having to part with it, but there is no legitimate way of retaining it. It is written most clearly in Toq-q. No. 26, where it stands immediately above *k'k'ny*,<sup>40</sup> the juxtaposition showing the perfect identity of the alleged *R* with interior *K*; in several of the Iranian

<sup>37</sup> Exemplified by his earlier readings of this very name (*pr'rxšn*, *pr'rxzrn*, etc.).

<sup>38</sup> For late Chor. *hrwd'c* (etc.), Toq-q. 249 [66], read *hzwr w'c* (two words) "good things". If preceded by "son", *prwrtk* may mean "adopted" (lit. "nourished"; Late Chor. *prwr-*, not necessarily loan-word from Pers.).

<sup>39</sup> *Mitteliranisch* 113.

<sup>40</sup> Fortified by *k'k* Topraq-q. No. 8 line 26, and *k'k'nsk* Topraq-q. No. 10 line 9.

forms of Aramaic script *K* and *R* resembled each other strongly and were kept distinct only by some artifice. We have now to reconsider the two letters intervening between *t-* and *-kyk*. From No. 26 and some other specimens one may gather the impression that the first of the two letters possesses a trace of that heaviness and angularity in which the specific quality of *P* resides, but other, more carelessly written examples hardly support that; on the whole, one would be inclined to prefer *tpnkyk* or *tpnkwk* to *tnpk-* or *tnβk-*.

The Choresmian script being too ambiguous to afford a decision, related forms in other languages have to be called on for help; they speak unquestionably in favour of *tpnkwk* = *tapankök*. Nearest is classical Persian *tabangöy*, variously explained by the lexicographers, but chiefly as *šandūq* "box, chest", often as one made of earthenware. If one wants to describe the ossuaries of Toq-qal'a, as depicted by A. V. Gudkova, fig. 25, p. 91, "chest" is probably the first word that will come to mind; they are made of stone, alabaster, or pottery. Persian *tabangöy* represents precisely earlier *tapankök*, a derivative (with slightly diminutive sense)<sup>41</sup> of *tapan*, which first occurred within Iranian in a Sogdian tale, as *tp'n* or *tpn'*.<sup>42</sup> When I edited it I made a great effort to establish its meaning from the context, arriving at "coffin", but could have saved myself trouble by recalling the Armenian loanword *tapan* "large chest, coffin".<sup>43</sup> In Buddhist Sanskrit, too, *tapanā* came to be used, in the sense of "a box or basket in which infants are enclosed and thrown into a river".<sup>44</sup> The first derivative of *tapan* was *tapanak*, which exists not only in Armenian (as "a box or chest of moderate size") but also in Pahlavi, there possibly in a slightly developed form, *tapang*, if the spelling can be trusted (*Pahl. Vd.* vii 48, p. 93 line 9 Sp., *ka andar tpng* [i] *rōyēn nihād* "if placed within a metal box").<sup>45</sup> It is part of the essential meaning of the word in all its forms that it refers primarily (sometimes exclusively) to receptacles for the disposal of human remains,<sup>46</sup> yet "ossuary" seems too uncompromising and direct.

Some consequent changes will have to be introduced into the reading. Thus *'rw'zd* (?), No. 39, begins with *'kw-* or *'ky*; and *t'b'n'n'k* (?), No. 52, may be *tknp'n-'k* (?). Since *K* was linked to the left, apparently unlinked *K*

<sup>41</sup> *tapan* : *tapanak* : *tapankök* as MPers. *nēw* : *nēwak* : *nēwkök* (Pers. *nē* : *nēk* : *nēkō*).

<sup>42</sup> *BSOAS.*, xi, 479.

<sup>43</sup> The agreement was also noticed by E. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1951, 120 sq.

<sup>44</sup> So Edgerton *s.v.*; cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xxvi, 85.

<sup>45</sup> Parthian *tng* does not belong here. It probably means "image, prototype", originally "mould", and is connected with Syr. *tpnk*, Pers. *tabang*. The Parthian term is found in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 118 (*R* 1). However, a genuine derivative of *tapanak* exists in Pashto *tawang*, *tawangai* "band-box; reed-basket for the clothes of women". Yidgha *tovunyo*, *Morgensterne*, *IIFL.*, ii, 257, is allied with Persian *tabangöy*.

<sup>46</sup> The association was loosened in Christian Armenia, severed in Islamic Persia.

becomes in its turn suspect. One of the strong points of the Toq-qal'a decipherment is Livshitz' recognition of the form and function of *H*; in shape it is barely distinguishable from unlinked (or final) *K*. Accordingly we should read *hy NPŠY* "his own" for *kw nwšy* in No. 69; and probably *hy'n-* in the place of *kw'n(y)* in No. 25. The latter may constitute an admittedly strange spelling of the Gen. Pl. of the enclitic pronoun *-hy*, and thus correspond with Late Chor. *hīna*.<sup>47</sup> If *kw'n(y)* cannot be maintained, *GD* (an attractive reading) is unfortunately thrown into doubt in turn and may have to be replaced by prosaic *'D*, a conjunction familiar from Pahlavi. Its Chor. equivalent was probably *dā* (cf. Pahl. *tā*, Man. MPers. *dā*) or its emphatic form *d's*. The Toq-qal'a phrase resembles a certain Late Chor. sentence in its structure, *viz.*, *mk'mn'h 'y mr'dh : d'sh θbrkk 'β'c* "we have fulfilled her wish : may it then be blessed for her"<sup>48</sup> (*dās-hi* as *'D-hy'n-*).

A curious circumstance remains to be noticed relating to the linking of letters: its suspension before certain vocalic endings. This affects even the Alef at the end of ideograms. Thus in *ZWZN'* (silver vessels) and *MLK'* (frequently on coins) *N* and *K* appear in their final forms, with long tails, and the Alef stands by itself.<sup>49</sup> A single example in the Topraq-qal'a documents, *'BDn'* (of doubtful analysis, cf. above p. 173, n. 26), suffices to show that the practice was of long standing in Choresmia. In Toq-qal'a the letter expressing the final vowel is generally much reduced in size, compared with the rest of the script, and in fact often has the aspect of a vocalization mark. Several different shapes may have to be distinguished, thus a tiny *-'* (deprived of its tail) as in *hy'n-* and *tknp'n'-k*<sup>50</sup> (No. 52); a rounded form reminiscent of an Arabic *ḍamm* as in *tyšy'n'n-w* (No. 25) and *wxwnt'n-w* (No. 69), both possessives functioning as patronymics; elsewhere apparently *-y*.<sup>51</sup> Further exploration of the unpublished material is needed to bring clarity here.

<sup>47</sup> The following *'y 'rw'n* would then necessarily be pluralic, if not in form at least in sense, and similarly the verb (on which see above p. 174, n. 30). Its ending is unfortunately not clearly written; objections can be raised equally against *-'ty*, *-'ty* and *-nty*. A plural form *-nty* would constitute a considerable dialectological difference from Late Chor. (which has only *R*-plurals), yet it would find a close parallel in the differences separating Sogdian from Yaghnobi, its only surviving dialect (the proper name *tyšy'n*, against Late Chor. *cyry*, is best explained as a loan from Sogdian). If the verb is formally singular, we may compare the handling of *ravān* "soul" in Pahlavi. E.g., in *Ardā Virāf* ch. xii sqq. the souls of groups of persons are introduced, but *ravān* is stubbornly singular, as *um . . . dīd* [not *dīd hēnd*] *hān-i vādān ravān kē brāzdāg raft* [not *r. hēnd*]. . . *um guft ku nēwk tō* [sic] *kē rādān ravān hē ēdūn azabar-i abārīg ravānān* ["other (groups of) souls",] *um burzīšnīg sahist . . .*

<sup>48</sup> Glossed by Arabic *ja'alnā murādahā : jalyakun dā-barakatin lahā*.

<sup>49</sup> The dissimilarity of *K* to *R* is not decreased in that situation, *R* being cut off abruptly.

<sup>50</sup> Only example with an additional consonant (perhaps a noun built on a case-form).

<sup>51</sup> It is not certain that these distinctions were actually intended by the scribes.

The following is a specimen of the readings I would favour:

Toq-qal'a No. 25

- 1 BŠNT vii C vi YRH'
- 2 βrwrtñ BYWM βrwrtñ ZNH tñkwk
- 3 NPŠY 'y srwywk tyšy'n'n-w 'rw'n
- 4 'D hy'n-' 'y 'rw'n 'L nwš γrdm'n
- 5 m'ny' (?)ty

Translation

"In the year 706, on the 19th day of the 1st month. This chest is the property of the soul of *Sraw-yōk*, the son of *Tiš-yān*. May their<sup>52</sup> souls rest in the eternal Paradise."

This inscription, which is probably the most interesting of those published, may also serve to show that the various alterations proposed in this article hardly affect the essentials of Livshitz' decipherment. In my opinion, his work is not merely competent, but even inspired; the more closely I have studied it, the more have I come to feel that it deserves admiration.

The late Dr. Schindler, who softened my inclination to harsh criticism, would have been glad to know that remembering him had driven my thoughts to a subject where I could readily praise.

<sup>52</sup> The pious wish encompasses also the dead man's father. Cf. Muslimic formulae.

## Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen \*

Waidranga<sup>1</sup>, der langjährige persische Oberkommandierende an der Südgrenze Ägyptens, führt in einem in das 8. Jahr des Darius (= 416 v. Chr.) datierten Dokument, zusätzlich zu seiner Bezeichnung als »General« (*Rab-Hailā*), den sonst unbekanntem Titel *Hphlpl'* (חפחפח) <sup>2</sup>. Nach der berühmten Beschwerdeschrift, die die Juden von Yeb (Elephantine) wegen der Zerstörung ihres Tempels an Baguwahya<sup>3</sup>, den Gouverneur von Judäa, richteten, bekleidete er aber das Amt eines *Frataraka* im 14. Jahre des Darius (= 410)<sup>4</sup>. Mit Recht hat man aus dieser Abfolge geschlossen, daß die Veränderung eine Beförderung bedeutete<sup>5</sup>. Es darf als feststehend erachtet werden, daß der *Frataraka* in der Rangordnung dem Satrapen zunächst stand; wenn also der Satrap ein Land, der *Frataraka* eine Provinz regierte, so dürfte der *Hphlpl'* der Vorsteher eines Kreises gewesen sein.

Abgesehen von der Gleichsetzung des Wortendes mit dem überaus häufigen altiranischen *pati* »Herr« sind zur Erklärung des neuen Titels (der durch zweimaliges Vorkommen vor dem Verdachte der Verschreibung gesichert ist) bisher nur negative Bemerkungen geliefert worden. B. Geiger bei Kraeling (S. 228): »but then, *hphl-* can hardly be connected with *hapta* 'seven', on account of the guttural«; W. Eilers (AfO 17, 12, S. 333): »*haftax'a* 'Siebentel' wäre sinnlos«<sup>6</sup>. Es scheint jedoch, daß der Titel noch zu Beginn des 3. nachchristlichen Jh. in Persien in Gebrauch war; um das erkennen zu können, ist freilich ein etwas kühner Sprung vonnöten.

\* Der Verfasser ist am 8. 1. 1967 verstorben.

<sup>1</sup> Die stete Schreibung mit -y- empfiehlt diese Lesung trotz elam. *Mi-ut-ra-an-ka*, worin E. Benveniste, J. A. 1954, S. 306, diesen Namen erkannt hat. Viell. haplogisch aus \**Waida-dranga-* »das Wissen befestigend«.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, Nr. 8 Z. 2 und 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dies ist die richtige Aussprache für *Bigwai*/Βαγώαζ im Altpersischen, vgl. meine Bemerkungen zu *Ztwhy*, *'rtwhy* und *Wrwhy* bei G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C., abridged edition, S. 57, 71, 75.

<sup>4</sup> A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Nr. 30 Z. 5 (vgl. Nr. 27 Z. 4 und mit Artikel, *ptrk'*, Nr. 31 Z. 5).

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Kraeling, a.a.O., S. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Weitere Bemerkungen sind mir nicht zu Gesicht gekommen.

In den *Res gestae* (*Kārnāmag*)<sup>7</sup> des Begründers des sassanidischen Reiches, Ardaschir S. d. Pābag, ist viel von einem Fürsten namens *Haftānbuxt* die Rede, der das südliche Küstengebiet der Persis beherrschte und Ardaschir viel zu schaffen machte; er hatte sich einen Drachen oder »Wurm« (*kirm*) zugelegt, der den Grund seines Daseins bildete und göttliche Verehrung genoß. Wenn uns auch *Haftānbuxt* als Eigenname entgegentritt, so haben wir doch angesichts der steten Verwirrung von Name und Titel in der iranischen Tradition ohne weiteres das Recht anzunehmen, daß es sich ursprünglich um einen Titel handelte. Dafür, daß H. seit langem unbesehen als Eigenname gilt, ist gewiß die »sprechende Etymologie« der Wortform mitverantwortlich: als »Von-den-Sieben [d.h. Planeten]-erlöst« kann sie in gefälliger Weise als Ausfluß des »altorientalischen Gestirndienstes« gebucht werden.

J. Marquart, der Hauptkritiker der Quellen der iranischen Geschichte, hat als einziger erkannt, daß die überlieferte Form falsch ist. »Ursprünglich wohl«, so schrieb er kurz in einer Anmerkung<sup>8</sup>, »*Haftānpāt* 'von den Sieben (Planeten) geschützt', woraus sich auch Firdausis هفتواد am leichtesten erklären ließe«. Marquart, der also im Banne der obenerwähnten Etymologie blieb, machte diesen Vorschlag gewiß in erster Linie wegen der in der persischen Sekundärüberlieferung<sup>9</sup> gebräuchlichen Form, *Haftwād* (oder *Haftwād*), die in der Tat in Betracht gezogen werden muß; denn wenn in jener Version des Kn., welche den persischen Werken zugrunde lag, *Haftānbuxt* gestanden hätte, so wäre kein Mensch auf den Gedanken verfallen, anders als geradeso zu lesen. Dazu kommt, daß die arabische Umsetzung bei Ṭabari<sup>10</sup>, wenn auch hoffnungslos verderbt, immerhin noch zeigt, daß das Original nicht auf *-buxt* endigte.

Marquart war zwar auf dem richtigen Wege, jedoch stand die für das U<sub>1</sub>-*Kārnāmag* vorauszusetzende Schreibung dem Überlieferten näher als er dachte; statt *-p't* endete sie auf *-b't*, welches (da *-'* und *-h-* im Pehlewi identisch sind) sich von *-bwht* nur durch Wegfall von *-w-* unterscheidet.

<sup>7</sup> Abgekürzt Kn. Gemeinhin gebe ich doppelte Zitate: Kapitel (römische Ziffer) und Paragraph nach der Ausgabe von D. P. Sanjana, Seite und Zeile nach der von E. K. Antia. Nöldekes Übersetzung (Bezenbergers Beiträge, Bd. IV) ist mir z.Zt. nicht zugänglich.

<sup>8</sup> J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 44 A. 1, mit Hinweis auf handschriftliche Verwechslung von *bwht*, *bht/b't* und *p't* in einem andren Namen.

<sup>9</sup> Firdousi, *Mujmal at-Tawārix* (S. 60 ed. Bahar), *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (übers. LeStrange S. 138) etc.

<sup>10</sup> I 817 Z. 5, ann. b (die Schreibungen mit Hilfe der ihrerseits verderbten Kn.-Form zu emendieren ist verlorne Liebesmüh'; zu beklagen ist, daß in dem Kairiner Neudruck, II 39 Z. 14, nur die künstlich hergestellte Form, unter Fortlassung der Varianten, erscheint). Vgl. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 11 A. 1.



1. Überliefert	𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮	<i>Haftānbuxt</i>
2. Marquart	𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮	<i>Haftānpāt</i>
3. Echte Form	𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮	

Daß aber Nr. 3 die echte Form darstellt, ergibt sich aus einer im Kn. selbst implicite enthaltenen Volksetymologie: H. hatte *sieben Söhne* (VI 14 = S. 287). Obwohl ebendiese Etymologie im Schahname explicite zu finden ist (*Haftwād* hieß, so »weil er sieben Söhne hatte«)<sup>11</sup> und einen überklugen Lexikographen die nichtexistierende Vokabel *wād* »Sohn« in das persische Wörterbuch einzutragen verführt hat<sup>12</sup>, ist ihr Mitspielen im Kn. nicht klar erkannt worden, weil das Pehlewi-Wort, das dem Verfasser des Kn. vorschwebte, früher nicht sehr geläufig war: nämlich *'wb't* (Pehl. Psalter), *'wb'tk* (Buch-Pehl.) »Generation, Nachkommen«. Allerdings kennen wir nicht seine genaue Aussprache<sup>13</sup> (*ōbāt?* / *ōβāt?* *aβāt?*). Ob aber der ganze Name bzw. Titel *Haftōbāt* oder *Haftōβāt* oder *Haftaβāt* (später mit *-βād/-vād*) war, ist von geringem Gewicht: Dieser Art war jedenfalls die Form, die der Verfasser des Kn. beabsichtigte<sup>14</sup>. Das persische *Haftwād* ist ihre vollkommen richtige Fortsetzung.

Marquart hat auch zur Lokalisierung der im Kn. erzählten Ereignisse wichtige Beiträge geliefert<sup>15</sup>. Haftobat (wie ich der Kürze halber schreiben werde) war ein Räuber- und Piratenhäuptling, der

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Tehran VII S. 1948 V. 496 (bei Firdousi hat H. auch noch eine Tochter, aber »Töchter rechnete er nicht als jemanden«).

<sup>12</sup> Ein noch weniger vertrauenswürdiges Wort ist *buxt/būxt* »Sohn«, worauf sich Darmesteter, *Ét. Ir.*, II, 82 verließ; wie man z. B. aus dem *Farhang-i Rašidi* sehen kann, ist es aus *Buxt(-i) Našsar*, der Verballhornung von Nebukadnezar, abstrahiert worden.

<sup>13</sup> Schon im Mittelalter war sie in Vergessenheit geraten, wie Neryosengs Fehlesung *'nb'tk* beweist, vgl. *Šhand-gumāni-vazār* XIV 7, S. 196, ed. de Menasce (mit Stellennachweis); dort zufällig im Kompositum mit *haft* »sieben«, *haft-anbādaa*, dessen Pehlewi-Schreibung, in Wests Ausgabe S. 247 geliefert, abgesehen vom *-h* mit der oben gegebenen Form Nr. 3 identisch ist.

<sup>14</sup> Man darf nicht außer acht lassen, daß unser Kn.-Text auf einer einzigen Handschrift beruht; alle umlaufenden Hss. sind Abschriften jener noch existierenden alten Hs. (die als *MK* bekannt ist): die sog. Varianten in den Ausgaben sind daher nur als Schreibfehler zu bewerten.

<sup>15</sup> Aus ihr ergibt sich aufs klarste, daß die Geschichte von Haftobat und seinem *hirm* nicht (wie das die etymologiefreudigen Perser unvermeidlicherweise späterhin annahmen) als Ätiologie des Namens der östlich angrenzenden Provinz *Kirmān* gedacht war. Im Kn. bezieht Ardaschir aus jener Provinz, sowie aus *Makuristān* (später *Mukrān*) und *Pārs*, seine Truppen (vor dem Auftreten des H.) IV 12 = S. 22<sup>9</sup> und schickt dorthin eine Armee zum Kampf gegen die *Bāriz* (nach seiner Beseitigung) IX 2 = S. 40<sup>11</sup>. Von einem Zusammenhang mit Haftobat, der VI 3 = S. 26<sup>10</sup> ausdrücklich nach *Pārs* verlegt wird, ist noch keine Rede.

den südlichen Teil der Persis und die Küsten des persischen Golfes unsicher machte; bis nach dem Indusgebiet schickte er seine Leute auf Piraterie (*pad hēnīh*<sup>16</sup> VI 4 = S. 26 pu.). Sein (ältester) Sohn, der *Irahistān*<sup>17</sup>, das Hinterland von Sirāf (*hodie* Tāhirī), dem nachmalig berühmten Haupthafen von Persien, für ihn verwaltete, brachte ihm im Notfalle Hilfstruppen von Arabern und Omanitern<sup>18</sup> auf dem Seewege. Er selber hauste in einer in einem unidentifizierbaren Gau<sup>19</sup> gelegenen Festung, deren Namen ebenfalls strittig ist<sup>20</sup>. Sie lag jedenfalls nicht sehr weit von der Küste ab; denn dorthin (*bār-i drayāb*, VI 25 = S. 31<sup>9</sup>) gerät Ardaschir auf der Flucht nach einem mißlungenen Eroberungsversuch. Von da erreicht er »das Dorf, welches man *Mānd*<sup>21</sup> nennt« (VII 1 = S. 31 u.), wonach die bei den islamischen Geographen erwähnte Wüstenei *Māndistān* sowie heutzutage der sie begrenzende Unterlauf des alten *Sikkān*<sup>22</sup>, *Rūd-i Mānd*, benannt sind. Ardaschirs Operationsbasis ist das offensichtlich sehr nahe gelegene *Ardašīr-xurreh* (*hodie* Firūzābād), das naturgemäß häufig erwähnt wird, zweimal (VIII 18 = S. 40<sup>3</sup>, IX 1 = S. 40<sup>9</sup>) auch unter seinem, ursprünglichen Namen, *Gōr*<sup>23</sup>; sogar das von A. gegrabene Flußbett welches das Wasser aus dem Talkessel von Gōr ableitete und dem *Sikkān* zuführte, ist genannt, *Rūd[-i Wa]rāzag* (IV 17–18 = S. 237<sup>8</sup>) = *Rūd-i Burāze* im Fārsnāme des Ibn Balxī. Man darf daran erinnern, daß in der sassanidischen Provinzialeinteilung das ganze Ge-

<sup>16</sup> Für die Einengung des Sinnes auf Seeräuber vgl. armen. *hēn*.

<sup>17</sup> *ylst'n* VI 15 = S. 28<sup>10</sup> für *ylst'n* siehe Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, S. 43f., der eine unnötig starke Änderung wollte; vgl. Pehl.-Vendidād III 23 (S. 13 Z. 19 ed. Spiegel) *zuzr rōstāg ēgōn ylst'n* »ein tiefliegender Distrikt wie z. B. *Irahistān*«.

<sup>18</sup> *Myēnyk'n* VI 15 = S. 28<sup>11</sup> für *Myēwn-*, siehe Marquart (ebd.), dessen Emendation angesichts *Myēwn* Gr. Bd. 208<sup>5</sup> wieder zu weit geht.

<sup>19</sup> Marquart, a.a.O., S. 44. Viell. ursprünglich *Gōšīhrān/Gōzīhrān*, d.h. Gebiet eines Γωσιθρης (vgl. Nöldeke, Tabari, S. 4–7).

<sup>20</sup> Pehl. *Gulār*, Tabari *ʾl'r*, siehe Marquart, a.a.O. A. Egtedāri (Iqtidāri) hat in seinem nützlichen Werke *Lāristān-i kuhan* (»Das alte L.«), 1955, S. 46, auf den gegenwärtigen Ortsnamen *Gilār* hingewiesen, der gut *Gulār* fortsetzen könnte. *Gilār* liegt nach dem *Fārsnāme* 1½ *jarsax* südl. v. *Bidšahr*, welches selbst 6 *fars*. sw. von *Gūyūm* liegt; nach dem *Farhang-i Juyrāfšyāʾi* 54 km. von *Gūyūm*.

<sup>21</sup> Dieser für das Verständnis der Vorgänge wichtige Name ist sogar Marquart entgangen.

<sup>22</sup> In dieser Form nicht nur bei Plinius (*Siccanas*) und Arabern, sondern auch in Pehlewi, *Sk'n* Gr. Bd. 88<sup>12</sup> (von Marquart, *Wehrot*, S. 177, anders aufgefaßt). Vgl. W. Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, S. 60.

<sup>23</sup> Verschieden *Gubʾl*, statt *Gubl* (daß es sich um *Ardašīr-xurreh* handelt, ist von Marquart, a.a.O., S. 146, zwar erkannt worden, trotzdem suchte er den Namen anders zu erklären). Dies ist die richtige Schreibung für *Gōr* aus *Gaβr* »tiefliegendes Tal« (vgl. manich. mpers. *gbr*; die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist »Gebärmutter«); *Gwl* dagegen (vgl. Marquart, *Provincial Capitals*, S. 19 § 44) ist von der späteren Aussprache beeinflusst.

biet bis Sirāf und bis in die Nähe von Lār zum Distrikt Ardašir-xurreh gerechnet wurde. Mitten in seiner südlichen Hälfte, genau im Zentrum des Dreiecks Sirāf-Lār-Jahrum, befindet sich heute das große Dorf *Haftovān*<sup>24</sup> (*Haftavān*), in dessen Namen<sup>25</sup> gewiß die Erinnerung an *Haftobāt* (*Haftvād*) fortlebt; es ist auf allen besseren Karten markiert<sup>26</sup>, aber, weil abseits der Karawanenstraßen, in den älteren Quellen nicht erwähnt.

Es bedarf dieses Blickes auf die Lokalgeographie, um den Grund für die unverhältnismäßige Ausführlichkeit der Haftobat-Geschichte, ja für ihre Erwähnung überhaupt, verstehen zu können. Am nördlichen Rande des Kreises, in dem H. sein Wesen trieb, lag nämlich der Sitz des heiligsten Feuers des Sassanidenreiches, des *Ādur-Farnbāg*. Gewiß, so dürfen wir annehmen, war der Verfasser des Kn. ein Magier jenes Hauptfeuers der zoroastrischen Priesterschaft. Nur so erklären sich die im Vergleich mit allen anderen Quellen einzigartige Vertrautheit des Kn. mit der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft sowie das religiöse Moment im Kampfe gegen Haftobat, in dessen Gebiet durch seine Beziehungen zum indischen Küstenland wohl ein Nāga-Kult, der den Magiern ein Dorn im Auge war, eingedrungen war. Nicht umsonst auch berichtet uns das Kn., daß Ardaschir, ganz am Anfang seiner Laufbahn, sowie er auf der Flucht vor dem parthischen Großkönig die Meeresküste und damit Sicherheit erreicht hatte<sup>27</sup>, als Allererstes sich zum »Hofe« des Farnbāg-Feuers begab, um seine Huld zu gewinnen<sup>28</sup>.

Über die Örtlichkeit, die das heilige Feuer beherbergte, das Dorf *Kāriyān*, hat eigentlich schon G. Hoffmann (vor 85 Jahren) alles Nötige beigebracht<sup>29</sup>. Das noch heute existierende Dorf liegt nach Muqaddasī eine Tagesreise, nach dem *Farhang-i Juṣṣāfiyā*<sup>30</sup> 42 km sw. (wahrscheinlich wnw.) von *Gūyūm*; die Entfernung von dem oben ge-

<sup>24</sup> So nach Egtedari, a.a.O., S. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Wohl Kürzung von *Haftobātān*/*Haft(o)vādān* »dem H. gehörig«. Vgl. Namen wie *Burāzjān* (von *Burāze*, s. oben), *Kirmānšāhān* usw.

<sup>26</sup> Auch bei Wilson, Persian Gulf. Nach The Times Atlas 27<sup>o</sup> 46' n. Br., 53<sup>o</sup> 18' ö. L.

<sup>27</sup> Um diesen Augenblick zu verewigen, gründete er dort die Siedlung *Buxt-Ardašir* (IV 8 = S. 21<sup>12</sup>), d.h. »A. ist gerettet«, die naturgemäß an der Küste der Persis zu suchen ist (es war A. prophezeit worden, daß er, sobald sein Auge auf die See fiel, vor dem Parther nichts mehr zu fürchten hätte). Der Name ist zweifellos der Ahnherr des heutigen *Būšir* (Bushire, Bushehr), wenn auch dieser (ebenso wie andre Kn.-Namen) sonst in den älteren Quellen nicht vorkommt. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, S. 42, verlegte freilich *Buxt-A.* an die gegenüberliegende Seite des Meeres, was den Sinn der Kn.-Geschichte zerstört.

<sup>28</sup> Diesen Punkt hat G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer* (1880), S. 287f., mit Recht hervorgehoben.

<sup>29</sup> A.a.O., S. 284ff.

nannten *Haftovān* dürfte 70 km (in der Luftlinie) kaum überschreiten<sup>30</sup>. Sogar die Lösung der einzigen ernstlichen Schwierigkeit, der Behauptung des Ind. Bundahischn, daß Vištāspa das Feuer nach Kabul gebracht habe und es »noch jetzt dort weile«, hat Hoffmann richtig vorausgeahnt<sup>31</sup>. Das Auftauchen der vollständigen Version des Bundahischn (*Gr. Bd.* 125<sup>2-3</sup>) zeigte zwar, daß »*Kāvulistān*, das Land *Kāvul*« verderbt war, aber der neue Text bot gleichfalls Schreibungen, die nicht leicht zu verstehen waren<sup>32</sup>. Einzig und allein die Mutter-Handschrift (*TD*) des *Gr. Bd.*<sup>33</sup> hat das Richtige:

*rōšn-kōf īg pad K'lnyk'n<sup>34</sup> deh*

»Berg *Rōšn*<sup>35</sup>, der beim Dorfe *Kārnīkān* (liegt)«; daß *Kāriyān* (viell. eig. *Kāriyān*) das ältere *Kārnīkān* (urspr. »dem *Kāren* gehörig«?) fortsetzt, steht außer Frage.

Wir können nun untersuchen, wie aram. *Hphpt'* und Haftobāt sich zueinander verhalten. Bei dem letzteren sind wir keineswegs verpflichtet, dem Verfasser des Kn. in der Schriftanalyse Glauben zu schenken; denn wenn er auch um die richtige Aussprache Bescheid wußte, so folgte er in der Orthographie einem seit Jahrhunderten schulmäßig festgelegten Schriftbild, dessen Ursprung ihm unbekannt war: er sah es als *hpt-'wb't* an, wir aber dürfen getrost annehmen, daß es ursprünglich als *hpt'hw-b't* gemeint war. Damit gewinnen wir den Anschluß an die aramäische Form, die dementsprechend aus dem von Eilers verworfenen \**haftax<sup>u</sup>wa-* »Siebentel« (Aw. *haftahva*, Altpers. \**haftauva-*) sowie *pātā*, Nom. sg. von *pātar-* »Schützer, Wächter«<sup>36</sup>,

<sup>30</sup> Genaue Distanzen kann ich nicht liefern, weil die Geographen erst kürzlich die Lage von *Gūyum* (von der *Kāriyān* abhängt) geändert haben: auf allen früheren Karten lag es ein gutes Stück westlich vom 54. Längengrad, aber 1959 hat es seinen Platz östlich von ihm gefunden (und ist gleichzeitig südlich verlagert). The Times Atlas gibt an: 28° 3' n. Br., 54° 2' ö. L. (*Kāriyān* ist nicht markiert, wohl aber das ihm ganz nahe *Hārm*, 28° 13' n. Br., 53° 43' ö. L.). *Gūyum* (arabisiert *Jūyum*, besser *Juwaim*) darf nicht mit dem gleichnamigen Ort nördl. v. Schiraz verwechselt werden; wohl urspr. \**gau-dam-* »Kuh-hausen«.

<sup>31</sup> A.a.O., S. 286.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, S. 165.

<sup>33</sup> Diese kann ich dank dem freundlichen Entgegenkommen von Mrs. Meherbanu B. Anklesaria und der Großzügigkeit meines früheren Schülers Peshotan K. Anklesaria benutzen.

<sup>34</sup> Man sieht leicht, wie \**šavārvand* und \**šanārang* aus *k'lny-* zustande gekommen sind.

<sup>35</sup> Viell. entsprechend dem *Kūh-i Yāsīn*, an dessen Abhang *Kāriyān* nach dem *Fav.-i J.* liegt.

<sup>36</sup> Ein ziemlich sicheres Beispiel von *pātā* in אִתְּפִי aus altiran. *tāyu-pātā* (Nom. sg.) »der die Diebe bewacht (auf sie achtgibt)«, vgl. mein Manichäisches Bet- und Beicht-Buch, S. 90 Anm. 1, Anders hierüber H. W. Bailey, *Annali* (Ist. Univers. Or., Napoli) 1, S. 115.

zusammengesetzt ist. Aus \**haftaxwāpātā*<sup>37</sup> wurde beim Übergang zum Mittelpersischen zunächst \**haftaxwāpāt*, worin *-p-* früh stimmhaft wurde<sup>38</sup>, also \**haftaxwāt*, welches von der Pehlewi-Schreibung repräsentiert wird. Daß daraus in der späteren Aussprache \**haftaubāt*, schließlich \**haftōbāt* o. dgl. wurde, kann auf verschiedene Weise erklärt werden<sup>39</sup> und ist auf jeden Fall im Einklang mit der Tatsache, daß mittelpersische Bruchzahlen gegenüber altiran. *-ax<sup>w</sup>wa-* bloßes *-ō-* (oder *-ū-*) aufweisen<sup>40</sup>.

Wenn nun der achämenidische Kreishauptmann den Titel »Schützer des Siebentels« führte, so darf man wohl annehmen, daß die Einteilung der Provinzen in *sieben* Kreise als der Normalfall angesehen wurde; sie mag ein Vorbild in der iranischen Kosmologie, nach welcher die Welt in sieben Erdteile (*karšvar-*) zerfiel, gehabt haben. Ganz ähnlich teilte man in spätsassanidischer Zeit das ganze Reich in *vier* »Richtungen« (*pādḡōs*), deren Verwalter *pādḡōsbān* »Schützer<sup>41</sup> des P.« heißen, und dementsprechend die Provinzen in »Viertel« (*tas(s)ōg*), deren jeweilige Anzahl freilich häufig dem Namen Hohn sprach<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Bloßes *h* für *x<sup>w</sup>/x<sup>w</sup>* ist eine Kürzung, die wir dem aramäischen Schreiber nicht verdenken können; vgl. übrigens *hrzmy* (חַרְמֵי, zweimal bei Cowley) »Choresmier«, von *X<sup>w</sup>wārazmi-*, vgl. H. H. Schaeder, Iranische Beiträge, S. 68 [266].

<sup>38</sup> Dies ist allerdings schwer zu beweisen, weshalb denn die von Marquart restaurierte Schreibung auf den ersten Blick anziehend erscheint (vgl. oben S. 139). Für die Konsonantengruppe *-xw<sup>p</sup>-* weiß ich kein andres Beispiel. Stimmhaftwerden in der Kompositions-fuge wird in der Orthographie manchmal angezeigt, z.B. bei *'ndym'ng'ln* statt *-h'ln* (vgl. mein Mitteliranisch, S. 45). Vgl. *Μασαβάρης* gegenüber aram. Mspt (מספט), vgl. meine Anmerkung bei G. R. Driver, a.a.O., S. 81.

<sup>39</sup> Z.B. durch Konsonantenhäufung.

<sup>40</sup> In Pehl. *haftōtak* (oder *haftūtak*) »Siebentel« ist, wie *srišōtak* im Vergleich mit aw. *θrišva* zeigt, *-tak* ein zusätzliches Element, so daß *haftō* = aw. *haptahva-*; ebenso *panjōtak* »Fünftel«, *āštōtak* »Achtel«. Außerhalb des Pehlewi mit *-ka-*Suffix, manich-mpers. *pnjwg* = *panjōg* »Fünftel« (JRAS, 1945, S. 149 Recto Z. 1) und *tswg* = *tas(s)ōg* »Viertel« (ebenda Verso Z. 23; Sogdica S. 24 Z. 6, vgl. S. 25; daraus arab. *ṭassūj*, pers. *tasū* usw.). Nirgends ist eine Spur des altiran. *h/x* erkennbar, welches ja auch in den (nur elamitisch bezeugten) altpersischen Formen nicht sichtbar wird, daher viell. in einem Dialekt der Persis ausgefallen war (mpers. *whyšt'w*, selten *whyšt<sup>w</sup>*, »Paradies«, das mit *dūšw<sup>x</sup>* »Hölle« kontrastiert, verdient besondere Beachtung). Das mittelpers. Material ist bei der lebhaften Besprechung der altpers. Bruchzahlen vernachlässigt worden (vgl. zuletzt O. Szemerényi, Stud. Indo-Eur. Num., S. 75 Anm. 40; K. Hoffmann, KZ 79 (1965), S. 247 ff.; G. Cameron und I. Gershevitch, JNES 24 (1965), S. 183 ff.). Nach *tswg* ist elam. *ša-iš-ma-kaš* = *šāṣuvaka-* (nicht = *čašu-*); *pnjwg* entspricht elam. *pan-su-ma-[kaš]*, nicht aber *pan-su-kaš*.

<sup>41</sup> Nominalformen von *pā-* »schützen« wurden für territoriale Amtsbezeichnungen bevorzugt, wie ja schon *xšaθrapāvan-* »Satrap« (wörtl. »Landesschützer«) zeigt; schon deshalb ist *pātar-* wahrscheinlicher als *pati-* in *Hptḡpt'*.

<sup>42</sup> In Babylonien z.B. hatten die Provinzen bis acht »Viertel«, gelegentlich auch bloß drei (vgl. M. Streck, Die alte Landschaft Babylonien, I, S. 14 ff.).

Dereinst aber hatte man jedenfalls in der Persis die achämenidischen Gepflogenheiten beibehalten, als das Land nach der griechisch-makedonischen Eroberung seine Freiheit wiedergewann. Daher finden wir in der Persis, der Hochburg des religiös-politischen Konservativismus, jene nur aus Oberägypten bekannten achämenidischen Titel, den *Frataraka* und den *Haftax<sup>w</sup>wapātā*, beide innerhalb der arsakidischen Periode, den einen ganz an ihrem Anfang, den andern in ihren allerletzten Tagen<sup>43</sup>.

Nur zögernd bringe ich hier zum Schluß eine Art Beweis dafür, daß vielleicht noch im 6. Jh. der erste Teil von Haftobat richtig als »Siebentel« aufgefaßt wurde; freilich fließt er aus einer Quelle, auf die der Historiker sich noch weniger gern verläßt als auf das Kn. In einer dem Fabelbuch *Kalila wa Dimna* beigefügten Geschichte, die, wie Nöldeke gezeigt hat<sup>44</sup>, ursprünglich auf Pehlewi geschrieben war, begegnet ein König, in dessen Namen \**Hawtaβād*<sup>45</sup> wir unschwer unseren Haftobat wiedererkennen. Das Schloß dieses Fürsten lag beim Berge *Anōšag-bād*, und

»am Fuße des Berges ist ein Loch, und ein Siebentel des Windes dieser 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Regionen kommt aus dem Loche . . . «<sup>46</sup>.

Es verlohnt sich nicht, hier weiter auf diese höchst seltsame Geschichte einzugehen. Wir dürfen aber die Vermutung äußern, daß sie im wesentlichen aus einer Volksetymologie des Namens, *Siebentel* + *Wind* (Pehl. *wāt*, später *wād*, pers. *bād*), herausgesponnen worden ist. Es ist interessant zu beobachten, welche Mühe sich die Perser gegeben haben, sich das ihnen Sinnlose sinnvoll zu machen.

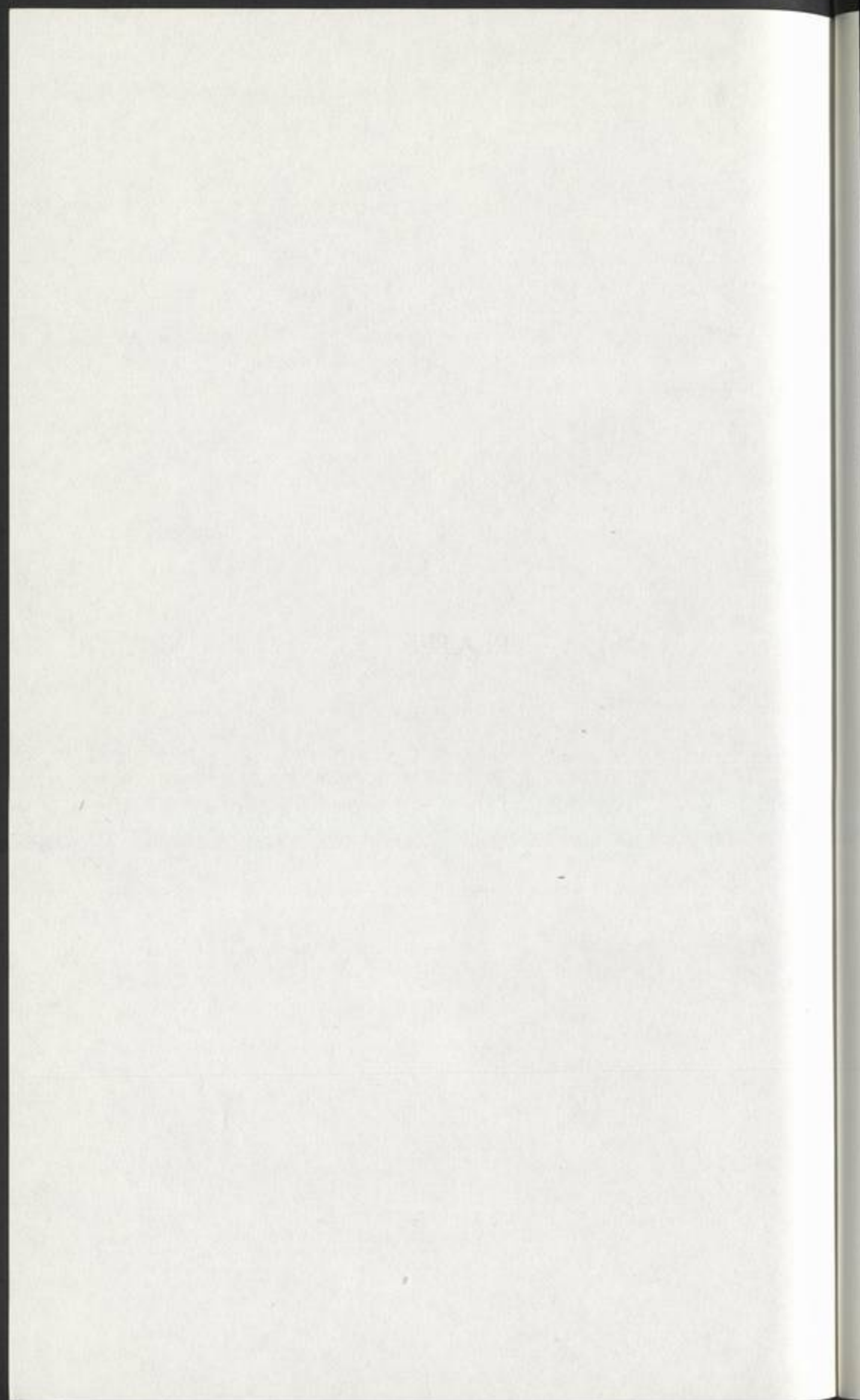
<sup>43</sup> Der Umstand, daß die christliche Kirchenprovinz Persis in sieben Bistümer zerfiel (vgl. E. Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, S. 58), könnte eine früh-sassanidische Siebenteilung widerspiegeln.

<sup>44</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern*, 1879.

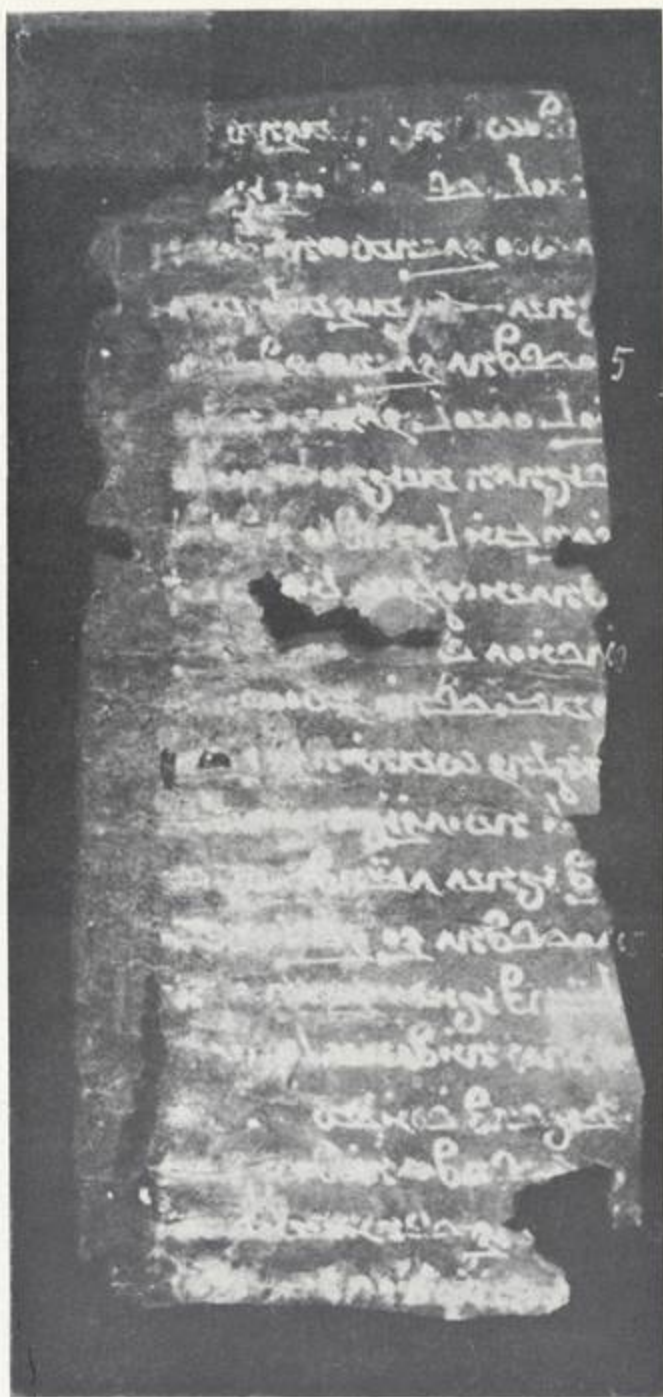
<sup>45</sup> In der alten syrischen Übersetzung *hwf'ā*, daneben *hwf'b'd*, *hwf'bt'*, auch *hwf'bd* (Schulthess, *K. u. D.*, 2, S. 241 Anm. 628). Das, wie es scheint, nur in einer einzigen Hs. der arabischen Versionen vorliegende *hwf'br* (weshalb Nöldeke, a. a. O., S. 8, *hw-tabār*) hat m. E. keinen unabhängigen Wert; es ist wohl erst aus dem Syr. transliteriert.

<sup>46</sup> Nöldeke, dessen Übersetzung des Syrerers S. 24 hier zitiert ist, bemerkte, daß der Verfasser nur die Hälfte der aus sieben *harivar* bestehenden Welt als bewohnt zu betrachten scheine. Im Arabischen: »sein Siebentel aller Winde, so in den 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Regionen der Welt wehen «.

PLATES



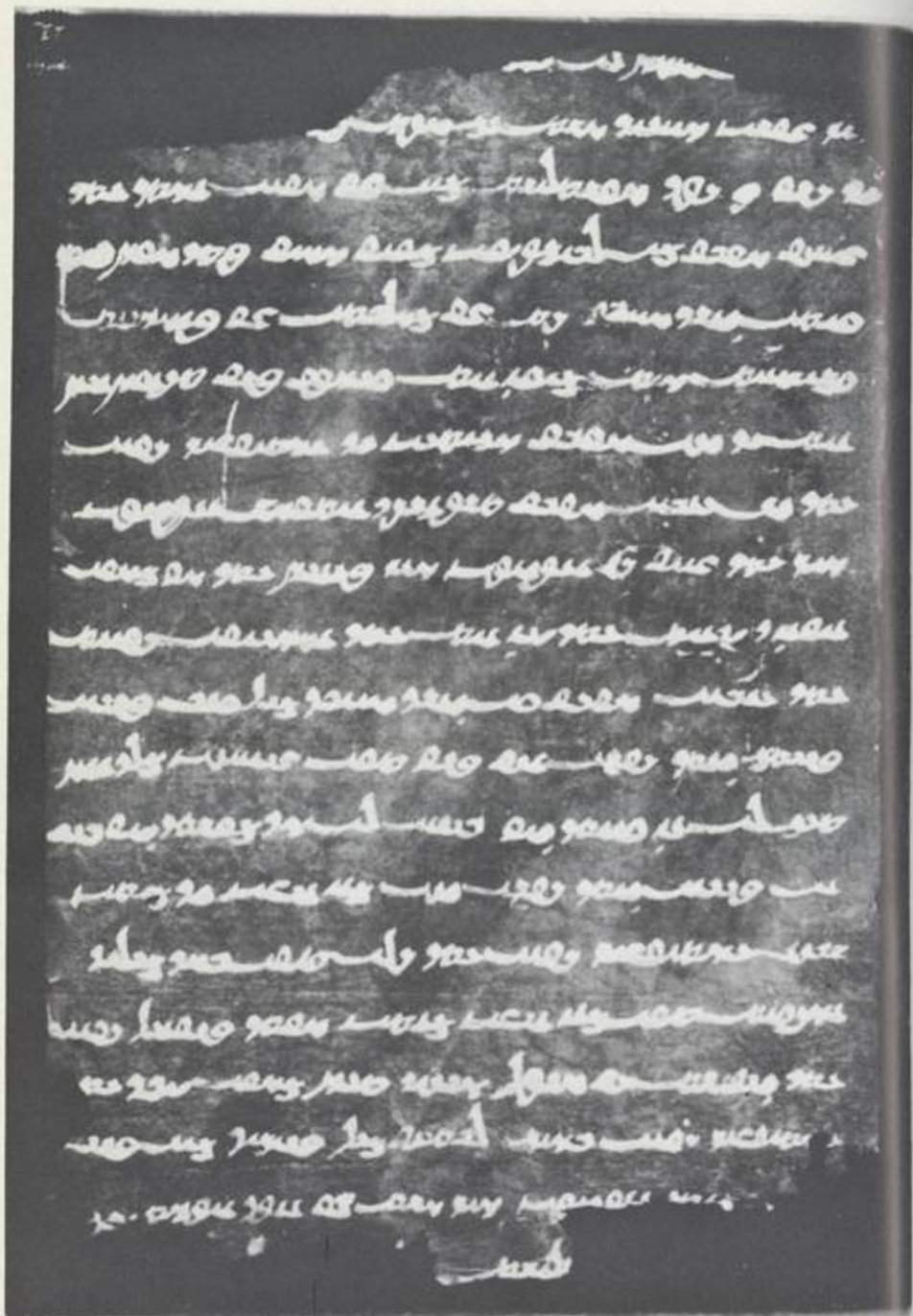




p. 472]

THE MERCHANT AND THE SPIRIT.  
(Verso page.)

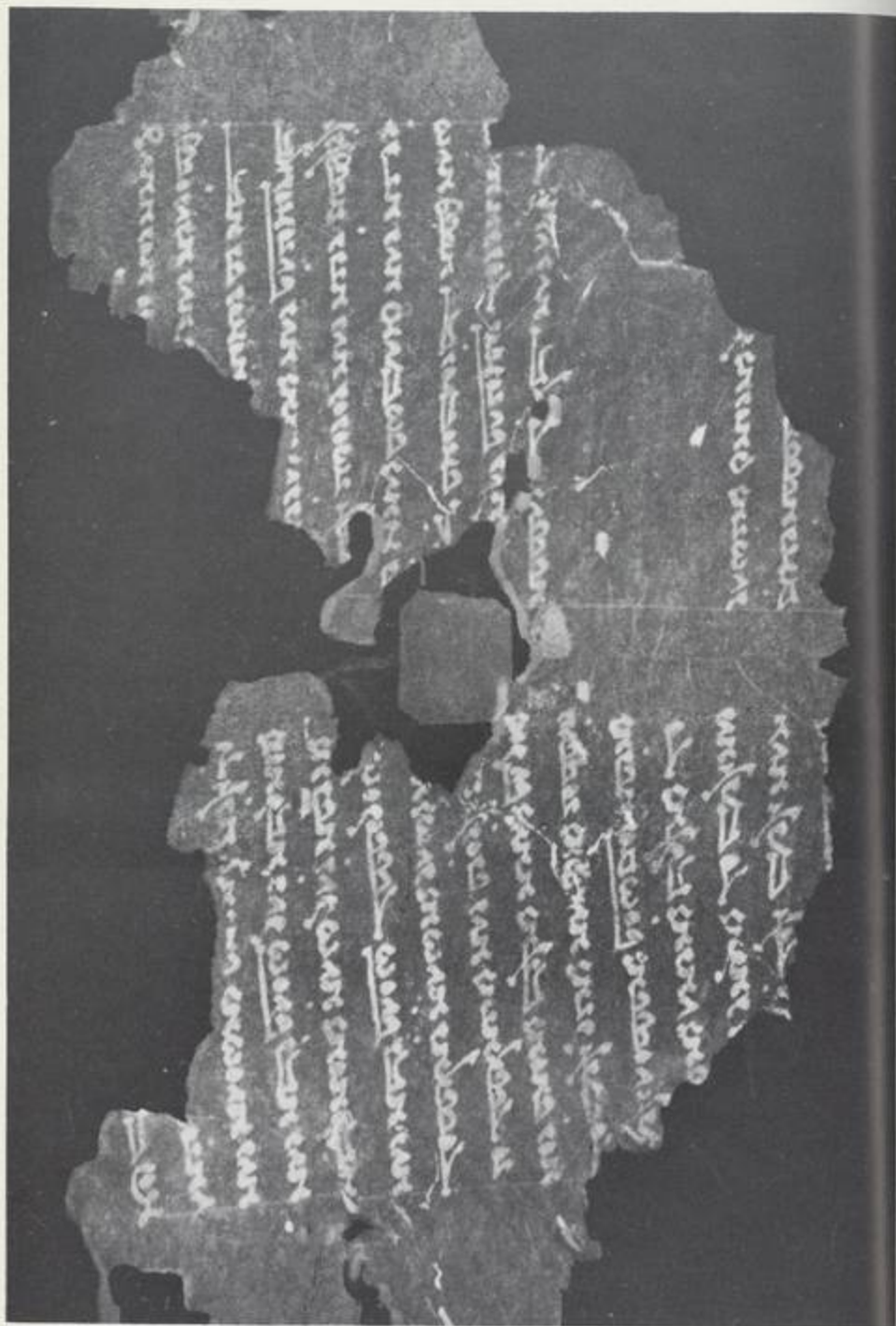
[nat. size.





A TABLE OF THE MANICHEAN FASTS  
T ii D 66 (a), *Recto* page.

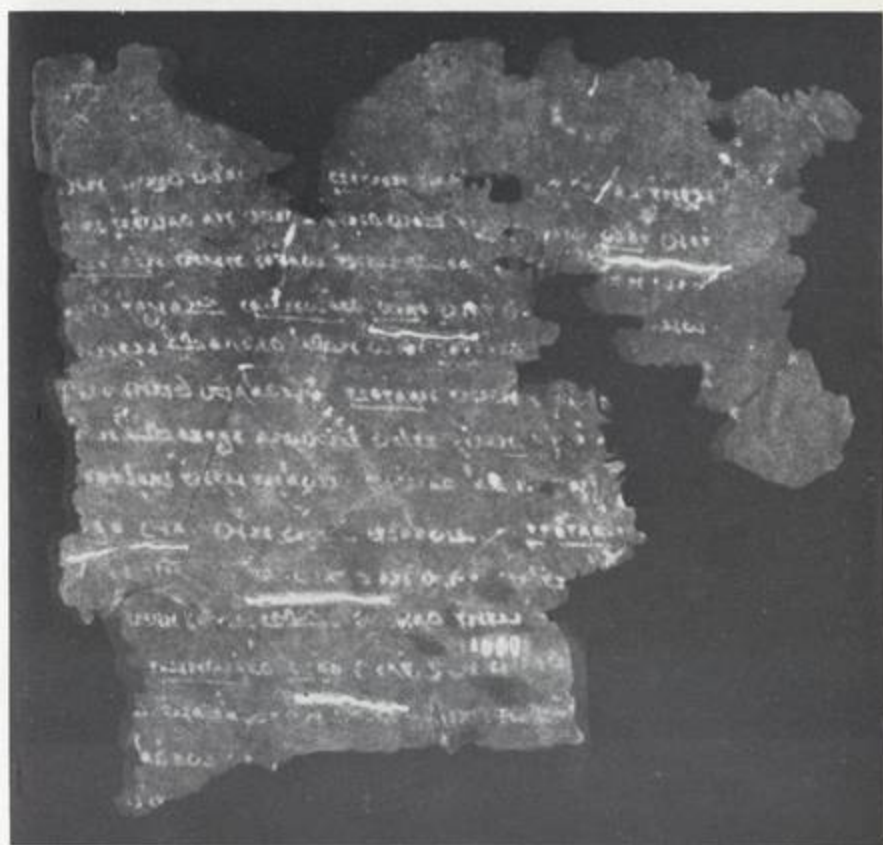
[1 nat. size



p. 38]

MIDDLE PERSIAN SPELLS  
(M 781 i R and ii V)

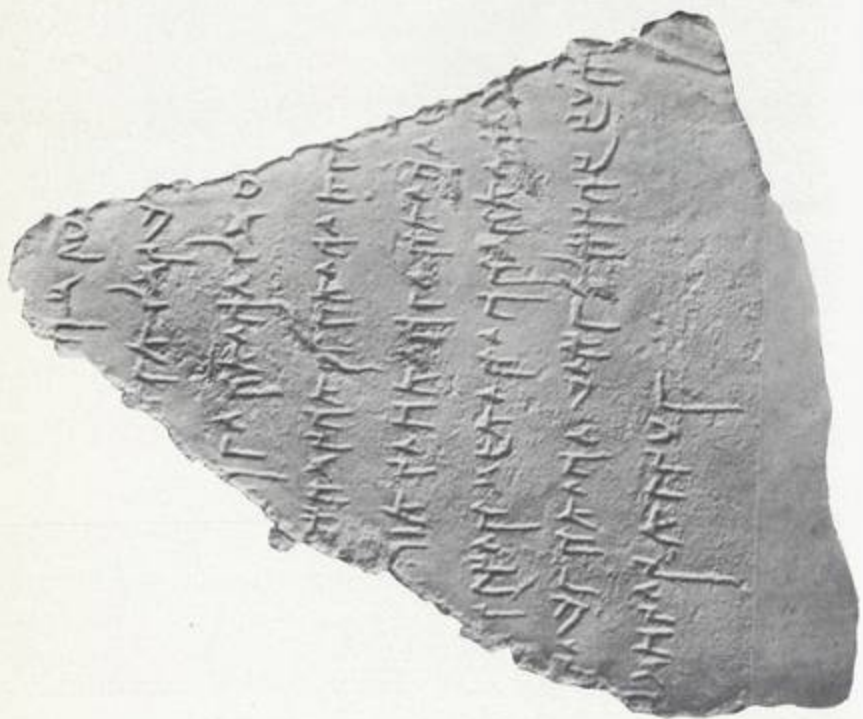
[nat. size

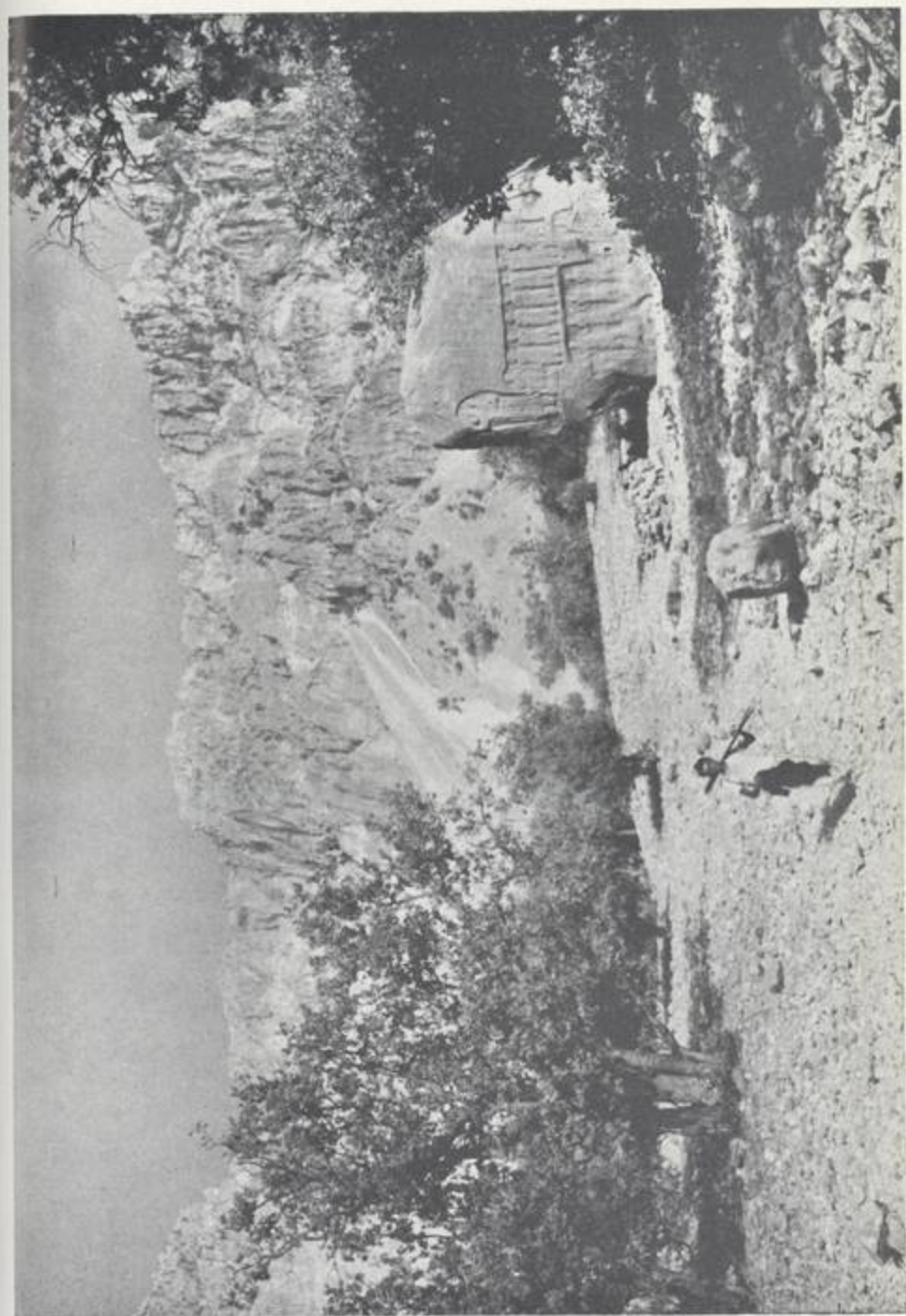


p. 39]

A PARTHIAN AMULET  
(Verso page)

[nat. size



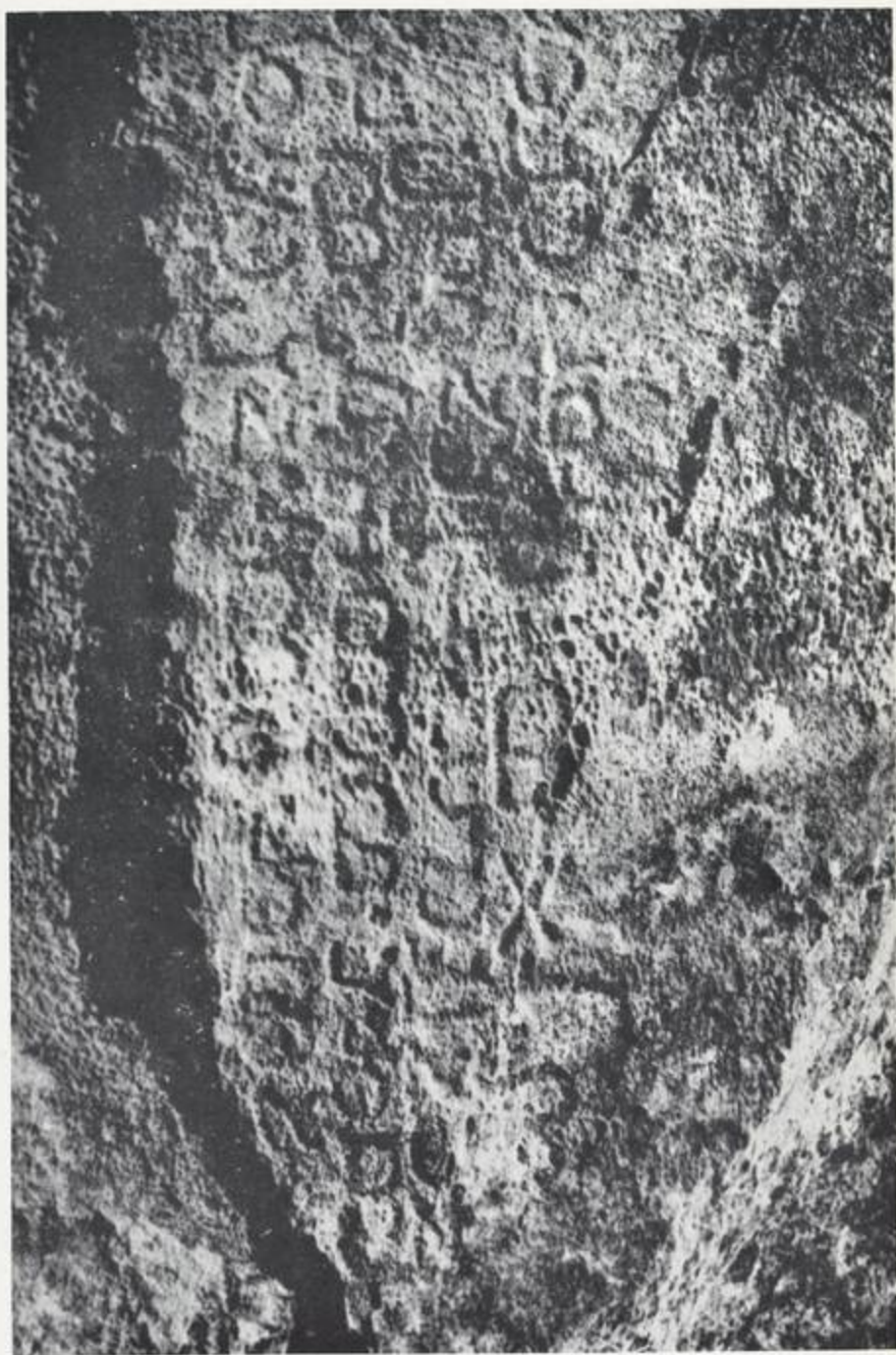










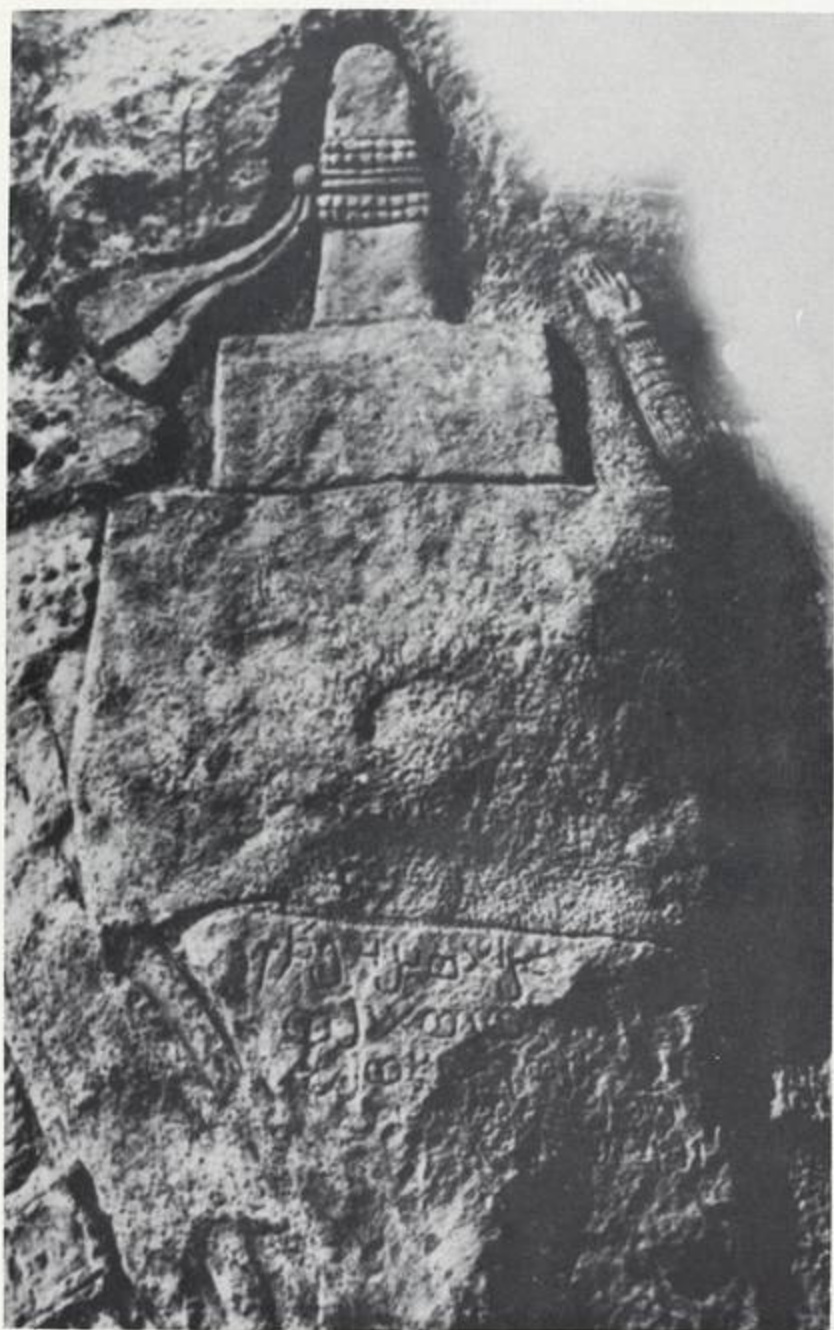






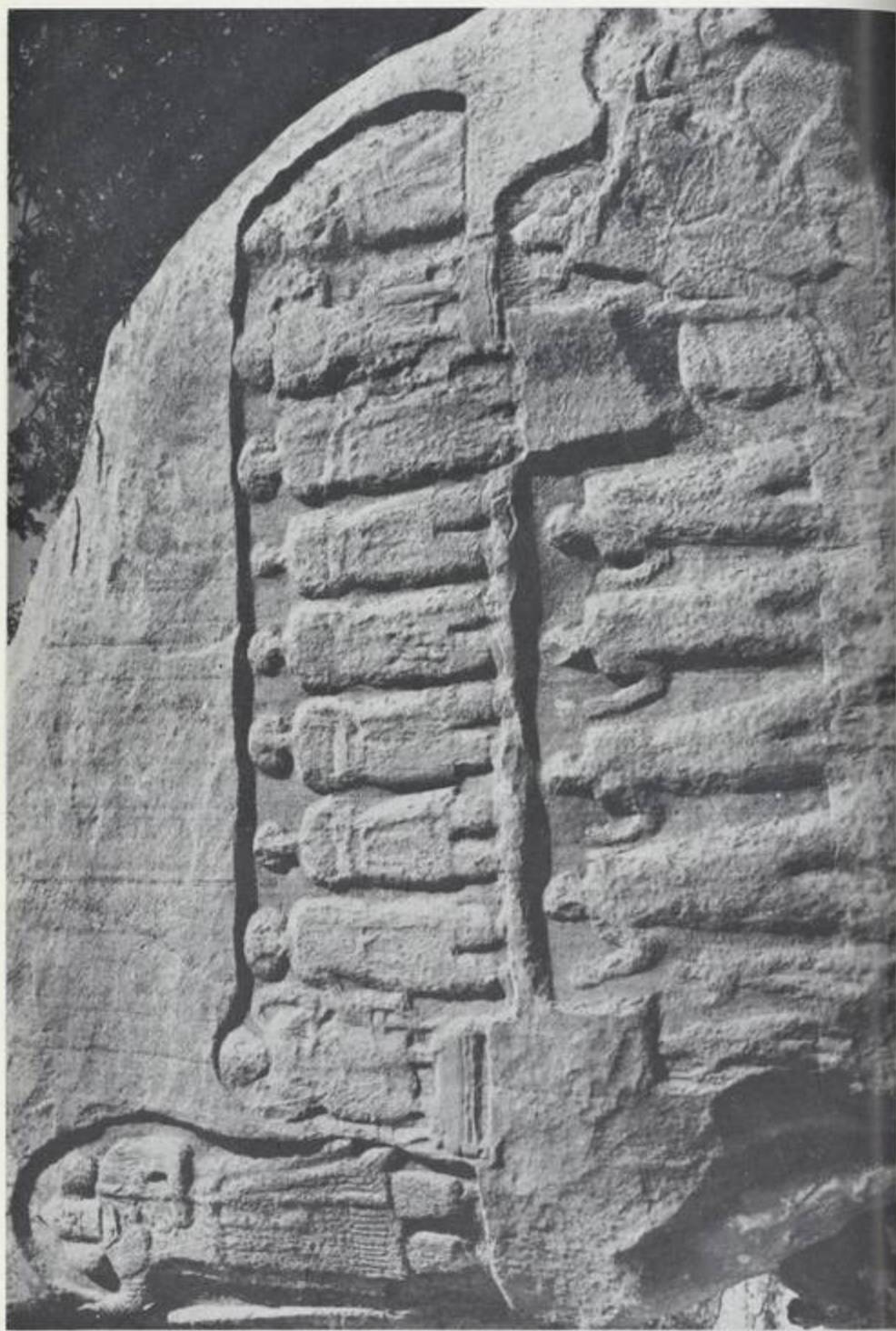






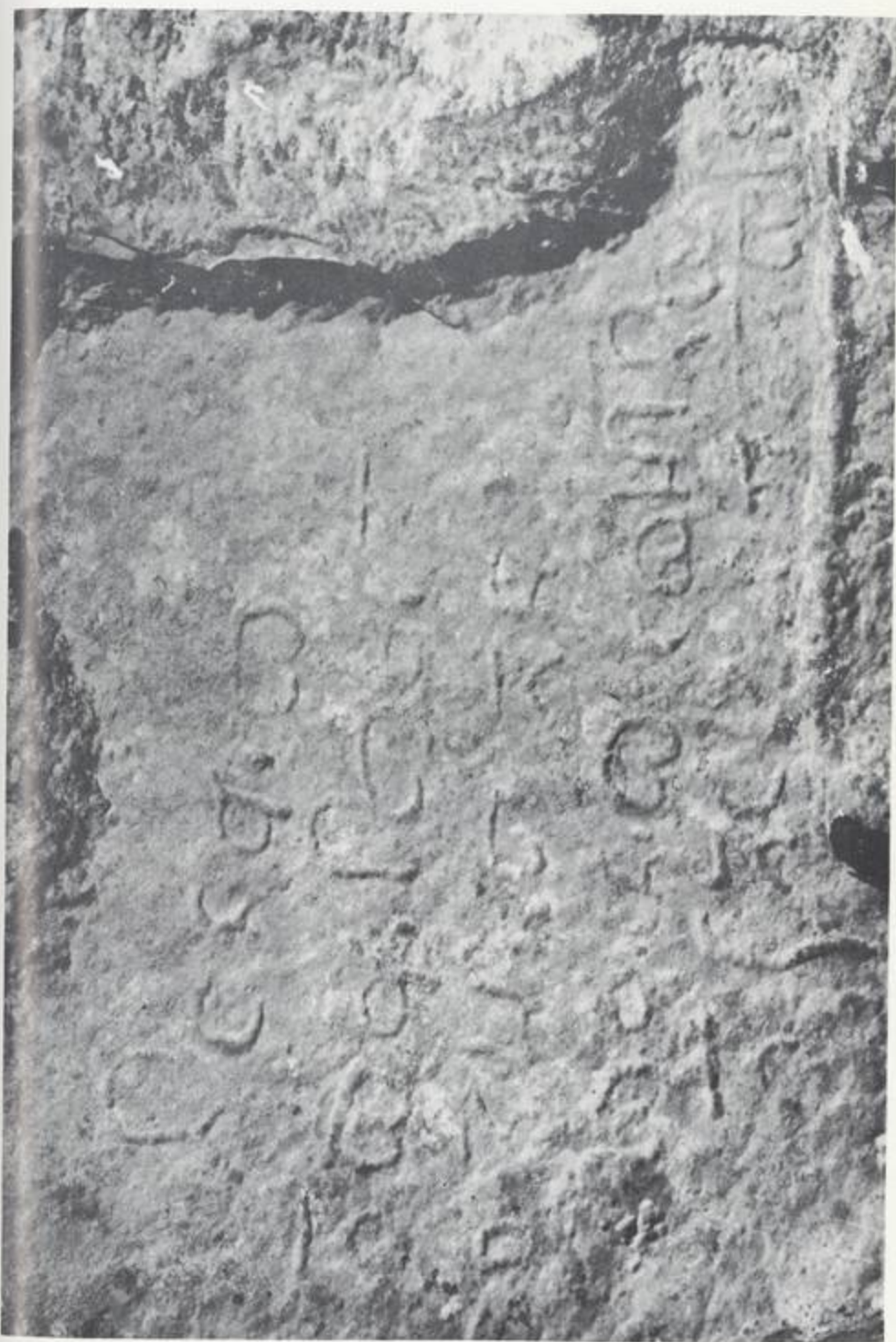




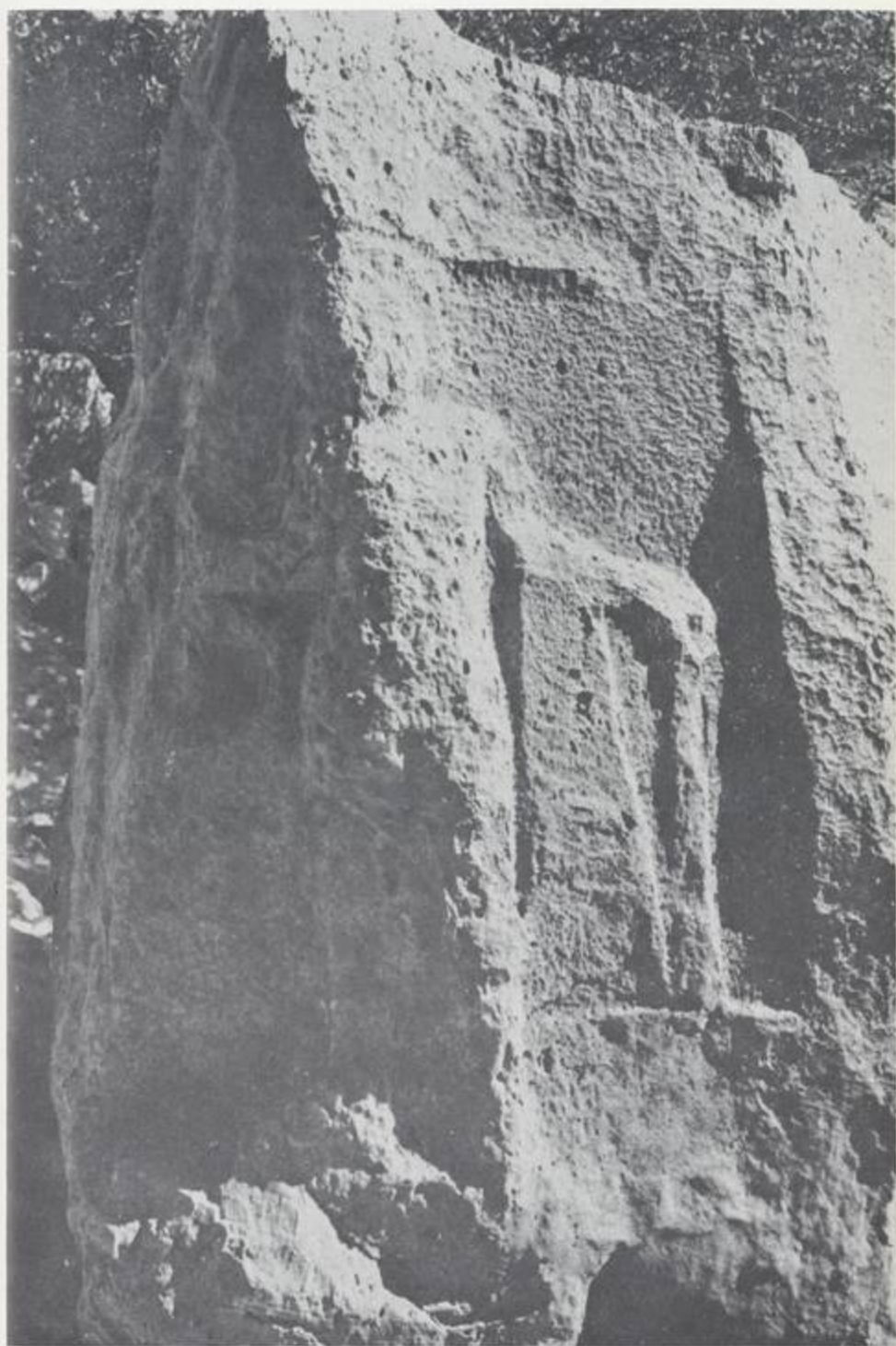


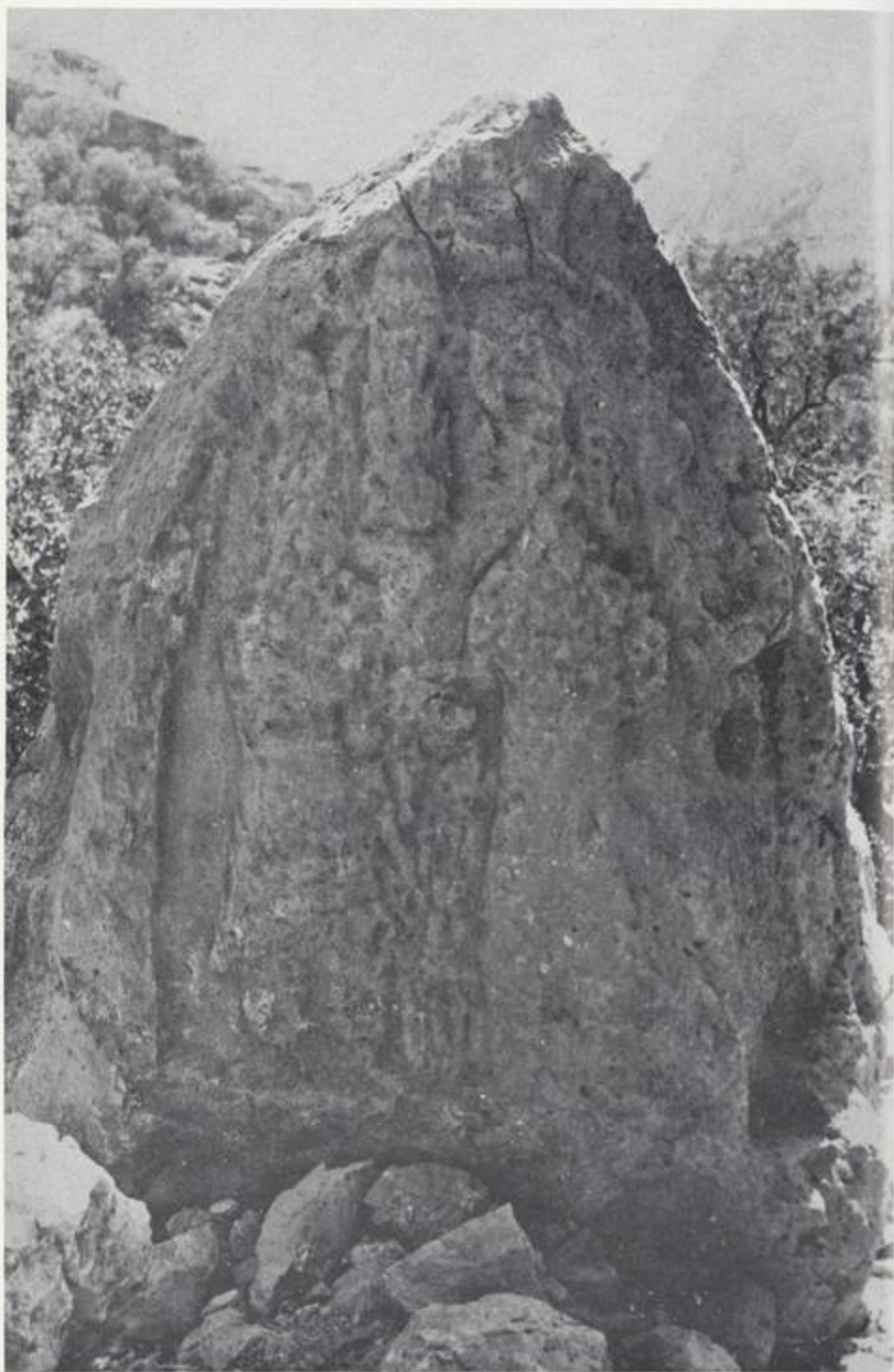








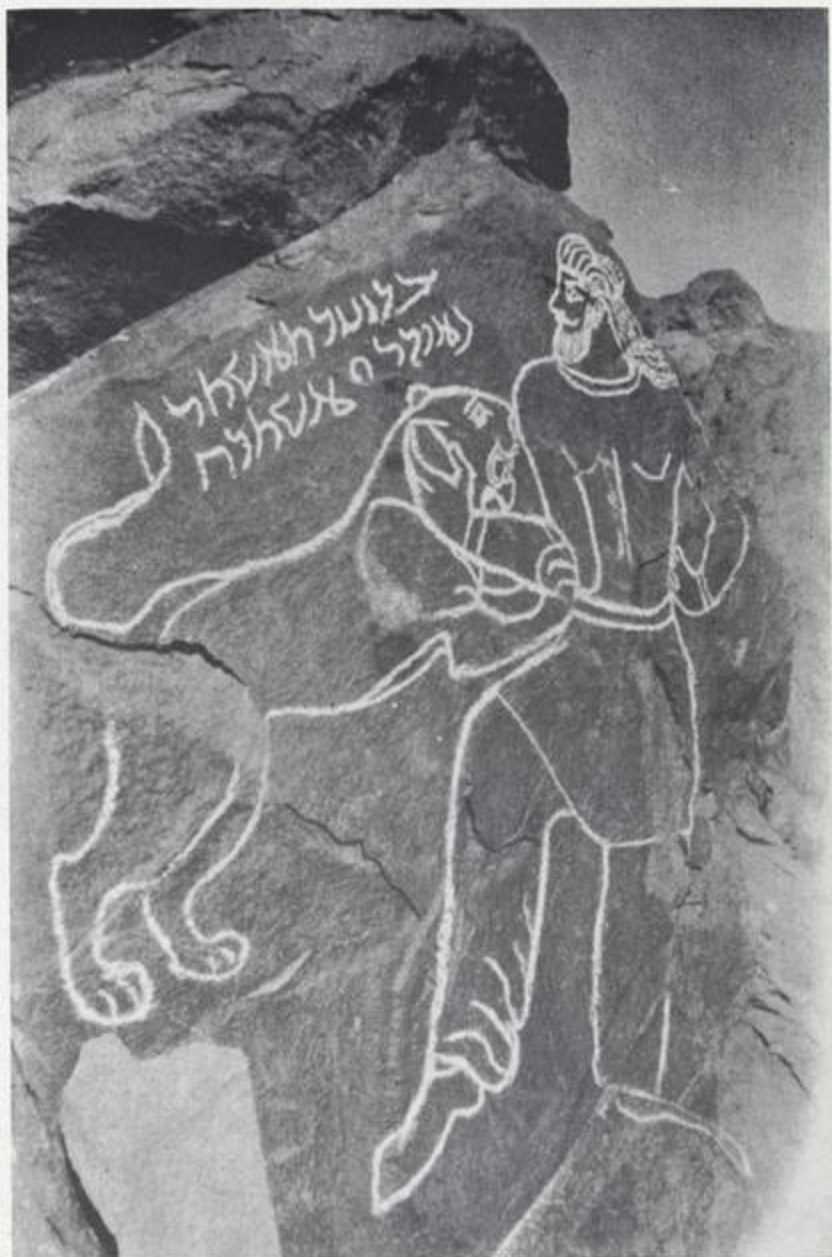




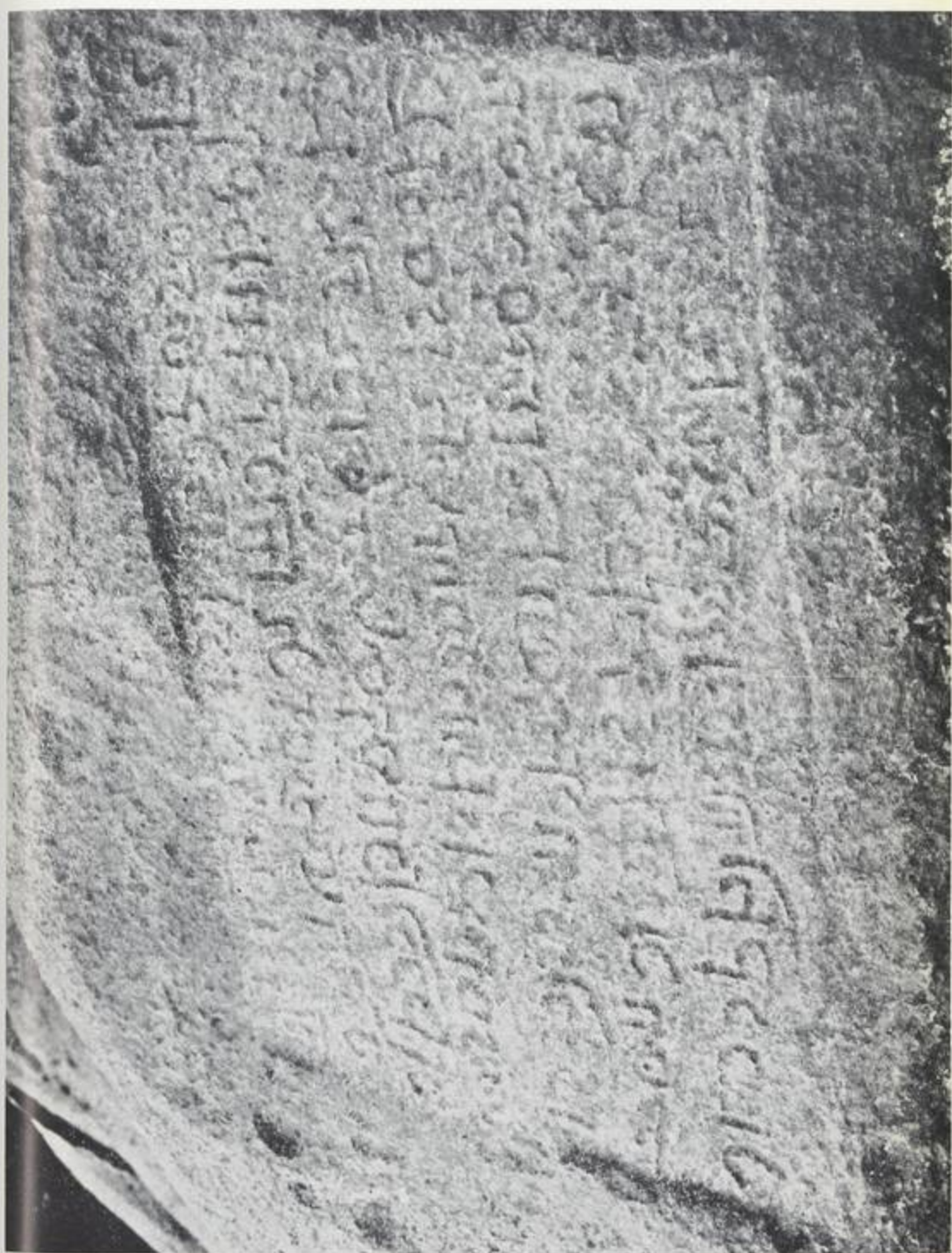


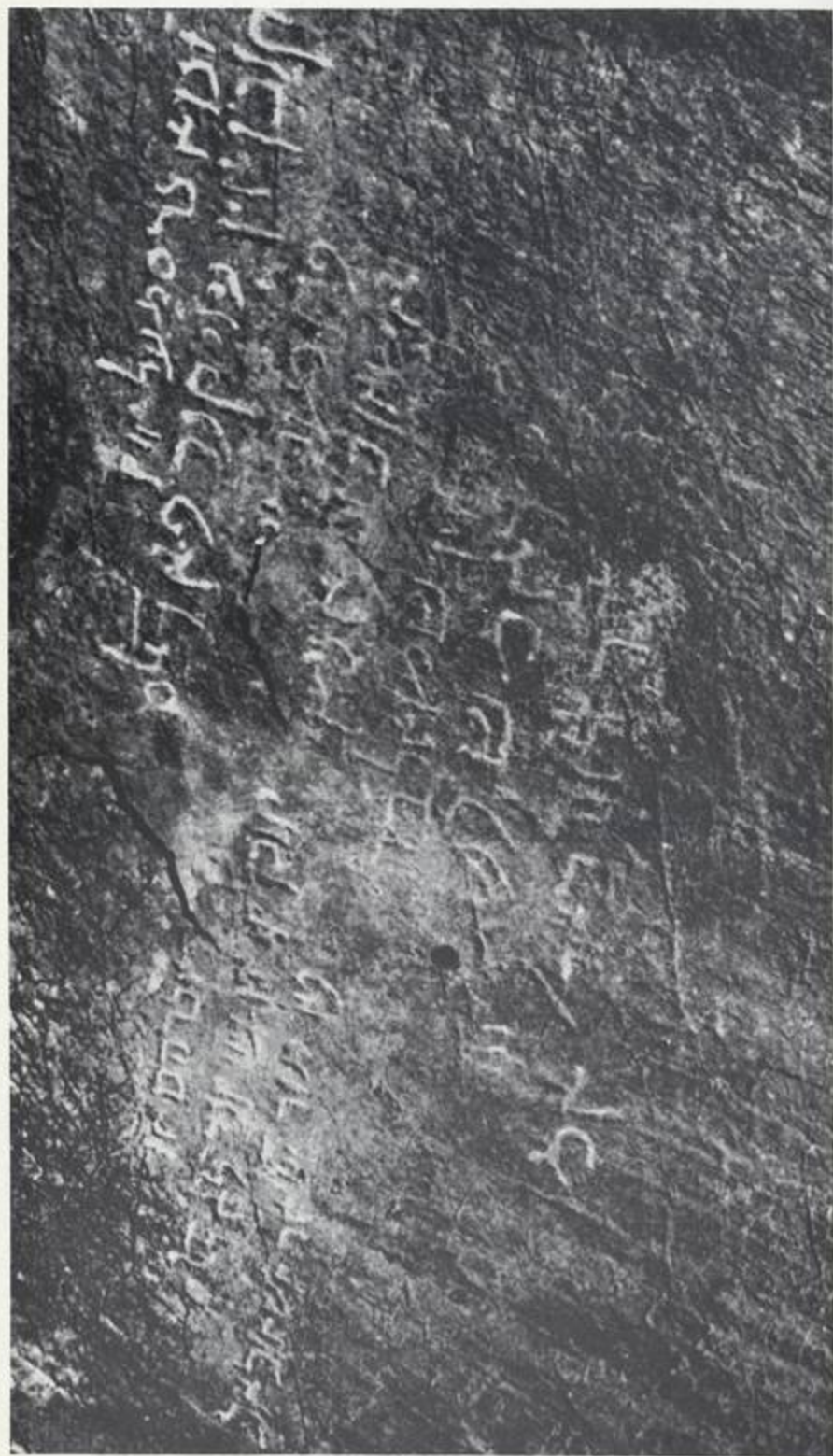






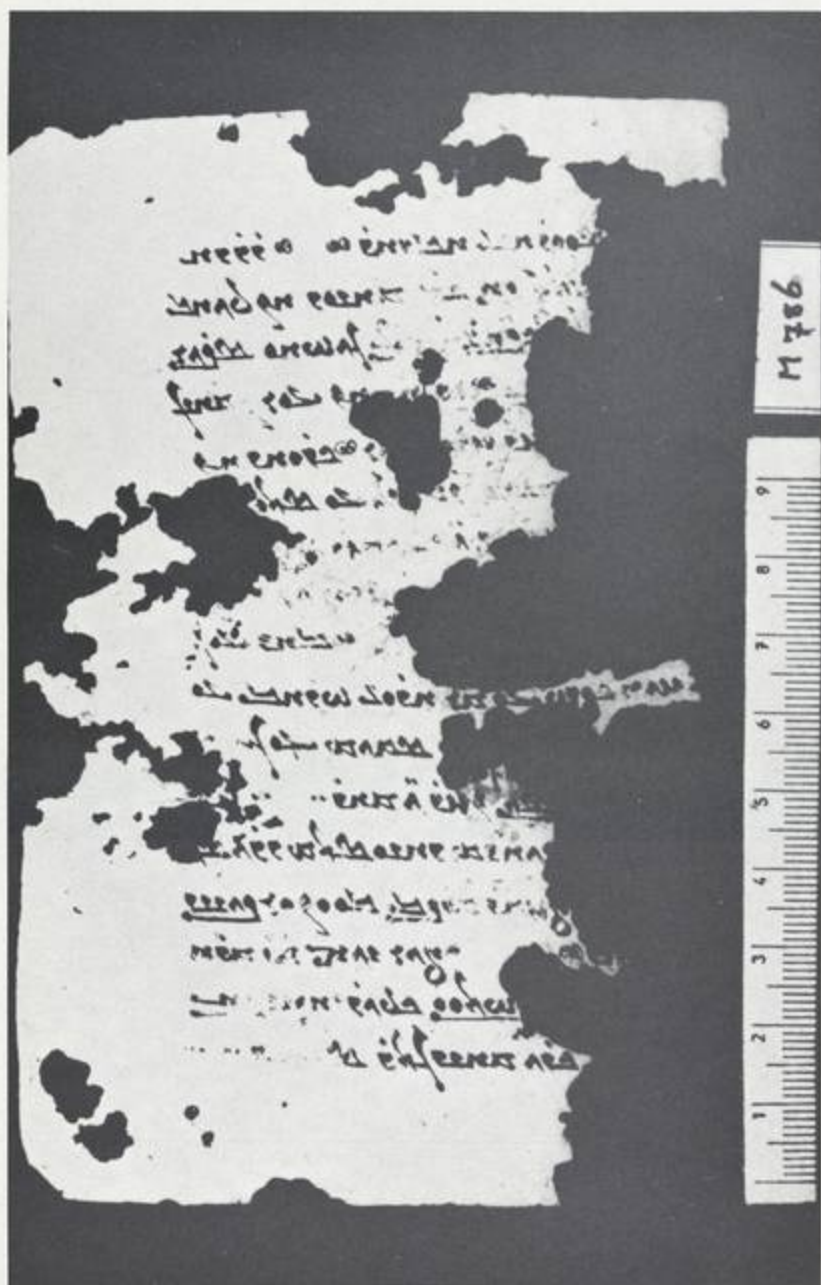






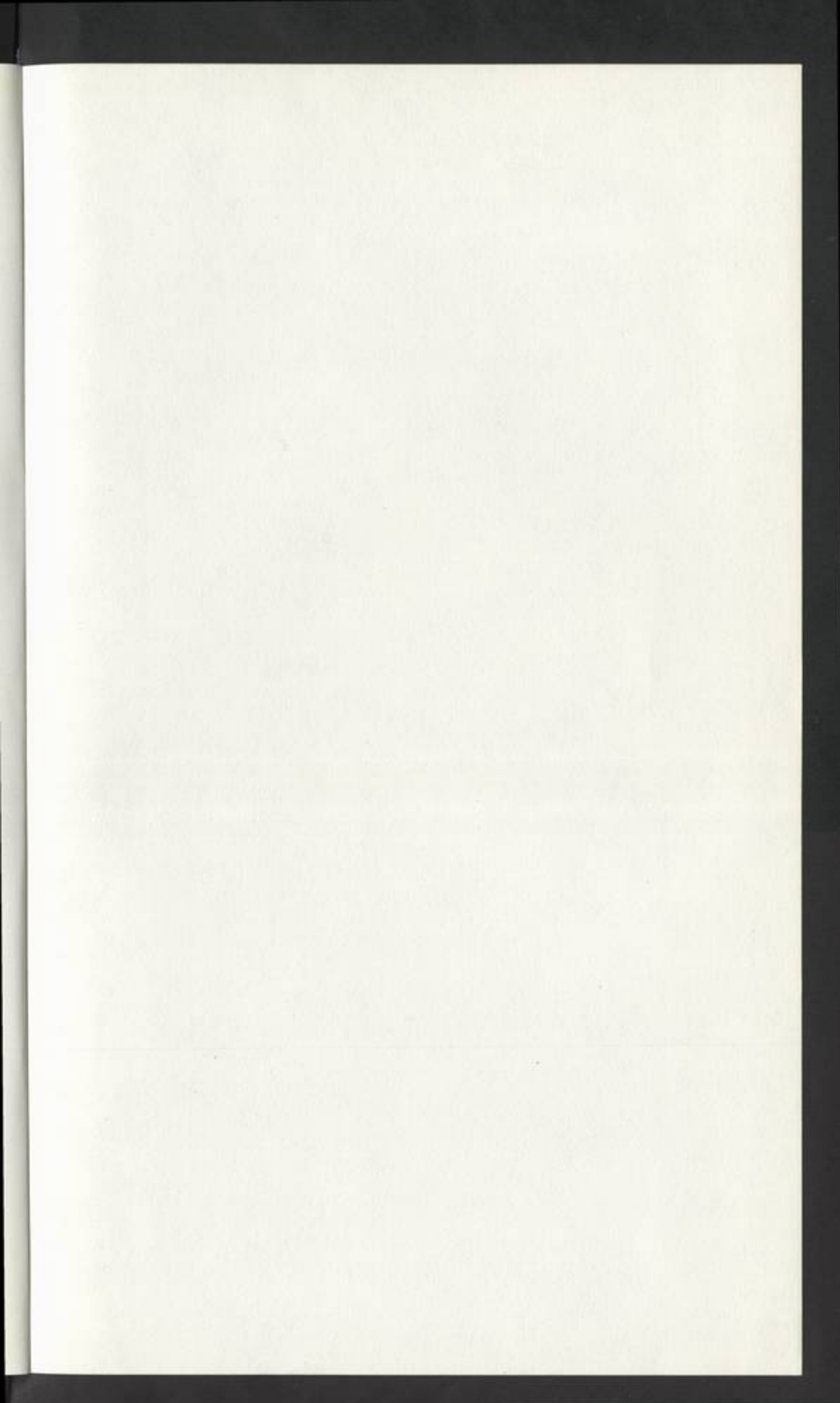


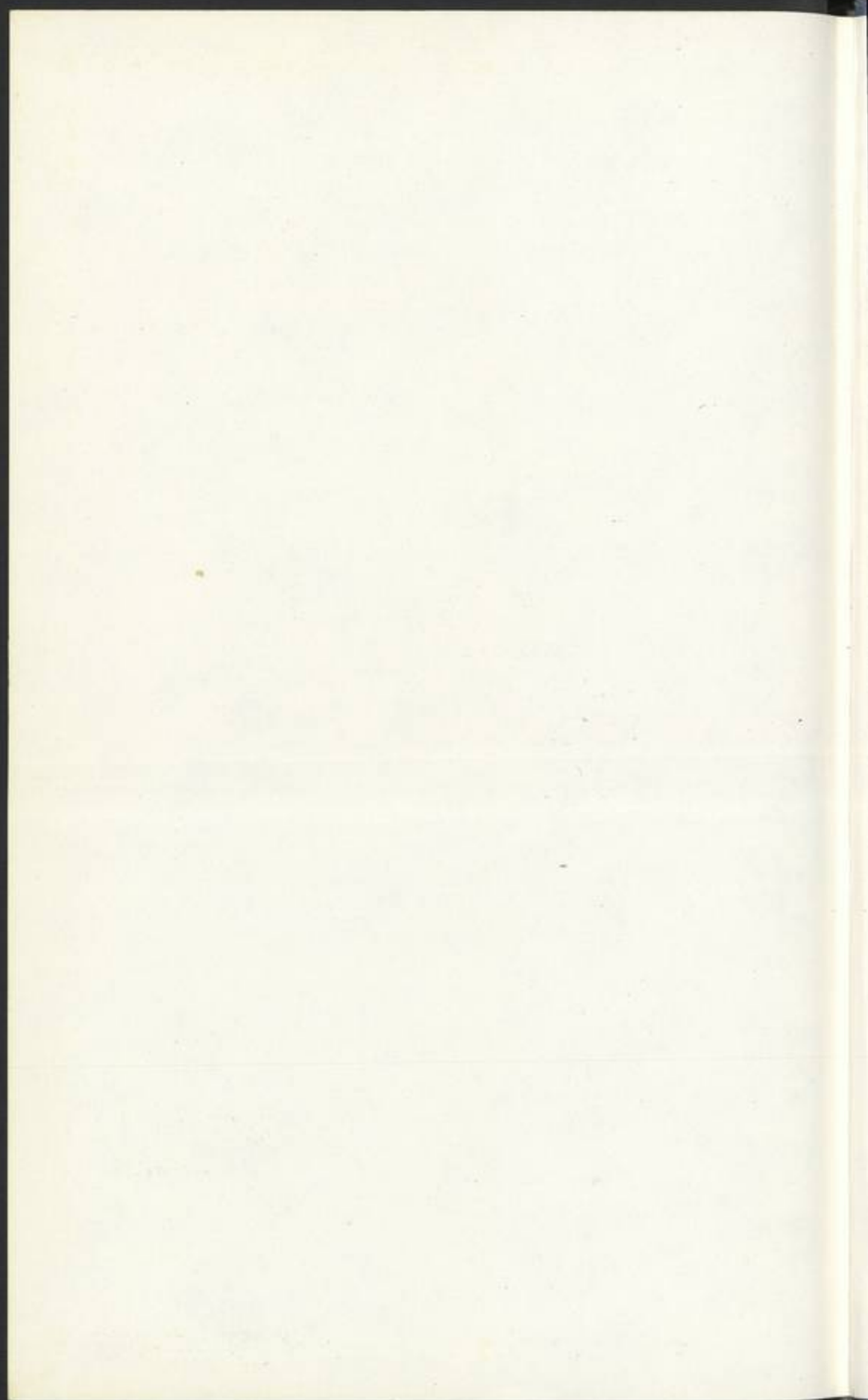
Bilauhar u Būdisaf (A verso and B recto)



A Qasīde (recto)







ISAW LIBRARY



3 1154 05000479 3

I

S

A

W

Non-Circulating

15 E 84th Street  
New York, NY 10028

