



## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography of OP studies is to be found in the following:

- Chr. Bartholomae, *Die altpersischen Inschriften*, in Geiger und Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* 2.54-75, Strassburg 1896-1904.
- Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904; with bibliography in the notes attached to the caption words.
- H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* 59-134, Nashville 1908; where references are attached to the words in the lexicon.
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911; which lists and evaluates virtually all the previous literature.
- Indogermanisches Jahrbuch, in the appropriate section, beginning with 1912, but lacking some items, notably from 1914 to 1920.
- J. H. Kramers, *A Classified List of the Achæmenian Inscriptions*, pp. 12, reprinted from the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1931 (Leiden 1933), containing bibliography of the separate inscriptions from 1911 to 1932.
- R. G. Kent, *The Present Status of Old Persian Studies*, in *JAOS* 56.208-225 (1936), with bibliography from 1912 to 1936.
- R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Jottings*, in *JAOS* 58.324-30 (1938), with continuation of the preceding bibliography.

There are the following historical grammars of OP:

- E. L. Johnson, *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, New York 1917.
- A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*, 1915; 2d ed., entirely revised by É. Benveniste, Paris 1931.

The following items might be listed here:

- W. Foy, *KZ* 35.1-78 (1899); a preliminary sketch of the phonology.
- H. C. Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement*, Nashville 1910; pp. vii-xxv give a summary of the phonology and morphology.
- T. Hudson-Williams, *A Short Grammar of Old Persian*, Cardiff 1936; pp. 1-19 give a brief

and inaccurate account of the phonology and morphology.

- Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, Calcutta 1941; pp. 259-88 give an essentially descriptive grammar, inaccurate in many points.

A concordance of the OP vocabulary is found in E. L. Johnson, *Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, published with Tolman's *Cuneiform Supplement* (see above).

A glossary of the OP vocabulary is to be found in W. Hinz, *Altpersischer Wortschatz*, Leipzig 1942; including bibliographical references and concordance.

On the names of persons and places, reference may be made to the entries in our lexicon, and to the following:

- F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895.
- G. Hüsing, *Die iranischen Eigennamen in den Achämenideninschriften*, Soltau 1897.
- A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Persische Eigennamen*, in *OLZ* 9.439-44, 604-6 (1906); *Iranisches bei den Griechen*, in *Philologus* 66.173-91, 320 (1907).
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* 136-58, Leipzig 1911.
- A. H. M. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Names*, New York 1918.

The difficult problem of the chronology of the Behistan inscription has evoked a voluminous literature on the OP calendar; it will be adequate here to refer to a recent discussion by A. Poebel, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 55.130-65, 285-314 (1938); see *Historical Appendix IV*.

There are the following complete collections of the OP inscriptions; I omit those before the reading of the Rock of Behistan by Rawlinson:

- H. C. Rawlinson, *JRAS* 10.187-349 (1847); text, translation, notes.
- Theodor Benfey, *Die persischen Keilinschriften, mit Uebersetzung und Glossar*, Leipzig 1847.
- J. Oppert, *Les Inscriptions des Achéménides*, Paris 1851; text, translation, notes.

- Fr. Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig 1862; 2d ed., 1881; text, translation, grammar, glossary.
- C. Kossowicz, *Inscriptiones Paleo-persicae Achaemenidarum quot hucusque repertae sunt*, Petropolis 1872; cuneiform and transliterated text, Latin translation, glossary.
- F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, fasc. 1, Leipzig 1893; fasc. 2, 1908; text, translation.
- H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, Nashville 1908; text, translation, lexicon.
- H. C. Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement to the preceding*, Nashville 1910; autographed cuneiform texts.
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911; OP, Elam., Akk. texts, with translation and glossary of proper names; the bibliography to the separate inscriptions, pages x-xxx, is especially valuable.

More recently discovered inscriptions were for the most part published in the following:

- V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome xxi; Paris 1929. The inscriptions, with English translation and partial vocabulary, are repeated by J. M. Unvala, *The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa*, Paris 1929.
- V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides*, pp. 105-29, in *Mémoires etc.*, tome xxiv; Paris 1933.
- Ernst Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, Berlin 1938.

Collected editions of these inscriptions, so far as already published, are found in the following:

- R. G. Kent, *JAOS* 51.189-240 (1931).
- Wilhelm Brandenstein, *WZKM* 39.7-97 (1932), with F. W. König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa*, Leipzig 1930: OP, Elam., Akk.

All OP texts to date are contained in the following:

- Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*, Calcutta 1941; text, Sanskrit and English translations, notes, glossary, grammar (inaccurate and unreliable).

Two other volumes must be noted here, in the publications of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago:

George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Chicago, 1948 (Or. Inst. Publ. vol. 65); containing all Elamite inscriptions found in the Treasury Halls of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I at Persepolis. An important feature is the collection and discussion of the words borrowed from OP, many of them not found in the OP texts themselves.

Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, shortly to appear; containing reproductions of photographs of all inscriptions attached to reliefs at Persepolis and Naqš-i-Rustam.

The literature on the individual inscriptions is given at the beginning of Part II, before the texts; but no references are there given to Unvala's *Ancient Persian Texts*, since it has no value. Nor, in general, are citations made to volumes which appeared before KT's volume. The present location of the inscriptions is given according to available records, but may have been changed by the events of the Second World War.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

The following periodicals are referred to in abbreviated form:

- AbkSGW = Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- Acta Or. = Acta Orientalia.
- Acta Sem. Phil. Erlangen = Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis.
- AFOF = Archiv für Orientforschung.
- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
- AJSLL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
- Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger.
- BB = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Ad. Bezzenger.
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut français de l'archéologie orientale.
- BSLP = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
- BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
- GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
- GN = Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
- IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.

- IFA = Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger.  
 JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
 Jb. DAI = Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.  
 JCOI = Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute.  
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies.  
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von A. Kuhn.  
 Lg. = Language.  
 MSLP = Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.  
 MVAG = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.  
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.  
 PAPA = Proceedings of the American Philological Association.  
 Rec. Trav. = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.  
 Rev. d'Assyr. = Revue d'Assyriologie.  
 RHRel. = Revue de l'Histoire et des Religions.  
 Riv. Stud. Or. = Rivista degli Studi orientali.  
 SbPAW = Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.  
 TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society (London).  
 Ung. Jrb. = Ungarische Jahrbücher.  
 WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
 ZfA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.  
 ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.
- The following authors and works are referred to in abbreviated form:  
 Bthl. = Chr. Bartholomae.  
 Bthl. AF = Bthl., Arische Forschungen; 3 vols., Halle 1882-7.  
 Bthl. AiW = Bthl., Altiranisches Wörterbuch; Strassburg 1904.  
 Bthl. Stud. = Bthl., Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte; Halle 1890-1.  
 Bthl. zAiW = Bthl., Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch; Strassburg 1906.  
 Brd. = Wilh. Brandenstein.  
 Brugmann, Gdr. = Karl Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 2d ed.; Strassburg 1897 ff.  
 Bv. = É. Benveniste.  
 Bv. Gr. = A. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux-Perse, 2d ed., revised by Bv.; Paris 1931.  
 Bv. Origines = Bv., Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen; Paris 1935.  
 Cowley, AP = A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.; Oxford 1923.  
 Gdr. IP = Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, herausgegeben von W. Geiger und A. Kuhn; Strassburg 1895-1906.  
 Hinz = W. Hinz, ZDMG 93.364-75.  
 HK = A. Hoffmann-Kutschke.  
 HK 1 or HK ApKI 1 = HK, Die altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajawausch des Ersten am Berge Bagistān; Stuttgart 1908.  
 HK 2 or HK ApKI 2 = HK, Die altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajawausch des Ersten bei Behistun; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1909.  
 Hz. = Ernst Herzfeld.  
 Hz. AMI = Hz., Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran; Berlin 1929 ff.  
 Hz. ApI = Hz., Altpersische Inschriften; Berlin 1938.  
 Jn. = A. V. Williams Jackson.  
 Jn. Iran. Rel. = Jn., Iranian Religion, in Zoroastrian Studies; New York 1928.  
 Johnson, Gram. = E. L. Johnson, Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language; New York 1917.  
 Johnson, IV = E. L. Johnson, Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions; in Tm. CS (q.v.).  
 Justi, INB = F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch; Marburg 1895.  
 Kg. = Fr. Wilh. König.  
 König, Burgbau = Kg., Der Burgbau zu Susa nach dem Bauberichte des Königs Dareios I; in MVAG 35.1, Leipzig 1930.  
 König, RuID = Relief und Inschrift des Königs Dareios I am Felsen von Bagistan; Leiden 1938.  
 KT = [L. W. King and R. C. Thompson,] The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the

- Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia; London 1907.
- MB Gr. = Mt. Gr. (q.v.) and Bv. Gr. (q.v.).
- Mt. Gr. = A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*; Paris 1915.
- Nyberg, Rel. = H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, deutsch von H. H. Schaefer; Leipzig 1938.
- Oppert, IdA = J. Oppert, *Les Inscriptions des Achéménides*; Paris 1851.
- Oppert, Mèdes = J. Oppert, *Le Peuple et la Langue des Mèdes*; Paris 1879.
- Prašek, GMP = J. V. Prašek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, vol. II; Gotha 1910.
- PW = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa; Stuttgart 1894 ff.
- Rawlinson = H. C. Rawlinson, *JRAS* vol. 10.
- Reichert, Aw. Elmb. = Hans Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*; Heidelberg 1909.
- Rl. = Rawlinson (q.v.).
- RV = *Rigveda*.
- Sachau, AP = E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*; Leipzig 1911.
- Scheil 21 = V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, in *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse*, tome XXI, *Mission en Susiane*; Paris 1929.
- Scheil 24 = V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides, supplément et suite*, in *Mémoires etc.*, tome XXIV; Paris 1933.
- Sen = Sen, OPI (q.v.).
- Sen, OPI = Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*; Calcutta 1941.
- Spiegel = Fr. Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften im Grundtexte, Uebersetzung, Grammatik, und Glossar*; Leipzig 1862, 2d ed. 1881.
- Sturtevant, IH Laryngeals = E. H. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*; Baltimore 1942.
- Tm. = H. C. Tolman.
- Tm. CS = Tm. *Cuneiform Supplement*; Nashville 1910.
- Tm. Lex. = Tm. *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*; Nashville 1908.
- Tm. VS or Vdt. Stud. = Tm. *The Behistan Inscription of King Darius*, *Vanderbilt University Studies* vol. I; Nashville 1908.
- Vd. = *Vendidad*, originally *Vidaēvadāta* (a book of the Avesta).
- Wb. = F. H. Weissbach.
- Wb. Grab = Wb. *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*; *AbkSGW* vol. XXIX, no. 1.
- Wb. KIA = Wb. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*; Leipzig 1911.
- Wb. Symbolae Koschaker = Wb. in *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae*; Leiden 1939.
- WB = F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, 1. Lieferung; Leipzig 1893.
- WBn = WB, 2. Lieferung, *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*; Leipzig 1908.

Other abbreviations are readily understood; they include those for modern scholars and their works when only slightly shortened, for Greek and Latin authors and their works, for names of languages, for grammatical terms.

#### SYMBOLS FOR DESIGNATING INSCRIPTIONS AND LOCATING WORDS

The inscriptions are referred to by abbreviations on the following plan:

First symbol	Second Symbol
Am = Ariaramnes	B = Behistan
As = Arsames	P = Persepolis
C = Cyrus the Great	N = Naqš-i-Rustam
D = Darius the Great	S = Susa
X = Xerxes	Z = Suez
A <sup>1</sup> = Artaxerxes I	E = Elvend
D <sup>2</sup> = Darius II	V = Van
A <sup>2</sup> = Artaxerxes II	H = Hamadan
A <sup>3</sup> = Artaxerxes III	M = Murghab
W = Weight of Darius	I = incerto loco
S = Seal	Vs = Vase
SD = Seal of Darius	

Further symbols, if any:

An immediately following small letter indicates a particular inscription or part of an inscription already designated.

A second small letter indicates a particular copy of the inscription.

A small *v* indicates a copy with variant orthography.

A Roman numeral after a gap indicates a special part of the inscription.

Phrases or words are designated after a gap:

By two numerals, indicating column and line.

By one numeral, indicating line.

By 0, indicating a line preceding those previously known and numbered.

By *f* after the line-number, indicating that the phrase or word runs over into the next line.

Note also the following indications:

The lack of a number where it is expected indicates that the inscription consists of one line only.

° at the end of the reference means that the entire word is restored.

[ ] mark the enclosed word or words or part of a word as restored; but in the complete texts of the inscriptions in Part II the restorations are indicated only by italics.

## PART I. GRAMMAR

### CHAPTER I. THE LINGUISTIC SETTING OF OLD PERSIAN

§1. OLD PERSIAN is the name applied to the Persian language used in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian dynasty; it can be localized as the language of southwestern Persia, or Persis in the narrower sense, and was the vernacular speech of the Achaemenian rulers. The OP inscriptions are commonly accompanied also by translations into Elamite and Accadian, engraved in other types of cuneiform writing, and sometimes by an Aramaic version or an Egyptian hieroglyphic version. Linguistically, OP belongs to the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian or Aryan, which is one of the main divisions of the Indo-European family of languages.

§2. THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup> are, like many other sets of languages, divisible on a chronological basis into three periods: Old Iranian, Middle Iranian, and New<sup>2</sup> Iranian. They were spread in ancient times over the territory bounded by the Persian Gulf on the south, by Mesopotamia and Armenia on the west, and by the Caucasus Mountains; to the east of the Caspian Sea they extended considerably to the north of the present boundary of Iran and Afghanistan, into the Pamir plateau of Turkestan, and thence approximately along the course of the Indus River to the Gulf of Oman. This is even today approximately the area of Iranian-speaking peoples, although at all periods there have been islands of non-Iranian speech within it, and islands of Iranian speech outside it.

§3. OLD IRANIAN includes two languages represented by texts, Old Persian and Avestan, and a number of other dialects which are but very slightly known.

I. Old Persian is known by inscriptional texts found in Persis, at Persepolis and the nearby Naqš-i-Rustam and Murghab (Pasargadae); in

Elam, at Susa; in Media, at Hamadan and the not too distant Behistan and Elvend; in Armenia, at Van; and along the line of the Suez Canal. They are mainly inscriptions of Darius the Great (521-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-65); but others, mostly in a corrupted form of the language, carry the line down to Artaxerxes III (359-38).

II. Avestan is the language of the Avesta or sacred writings of the Mazdayasnians, known also as Parsis (i.e. Persians) and as Zoroastrians or followers of Zoroaster, the prophet who proclaimed the religion. It consists linguistically of two parts: an older part containing the Gāthā's or metrical sermons of Zoroaster himself, and the Later Avesta, differing in a number of linguistic features from the Gāthā's. Zoroaster himself came from the northwest, but his successes in converting to his faith were made in the northeast, in Bactria; it is therefore disputed as to whether Avestan is a northwestern or a northeastern language. It is noticeable that it agrees rather with Median than with OP, but this is not decisive.

III. Among the less known Old Iranian languages the most important was Median, known only from glosses, place and personal names, and its developments in Middle Persian, apart from borrowings in OP, which are of considerable importance for the understanding of OP itself. Others were the language of the Carduchi, presumably the linguistic ancestor of modern Kurdish; Parthian, the language of a great empire which contended against Rome in the time just before and after the beginning of the Christian era; Sogdian in the northeast, the ancestor of the medieval Sogdian; Scythian, the language or languages of the various tribes known in OP as *Sakā*, located to the east of the Caspian and north of Parthia and Sogdiana, but also to the west of the Caspian on the steppes north of the Euxine Sea.

§4. MIDDLE IRANIAN includes the Iranian dialects as they appear from about 300 B.C. to about 900 A.D. They are in general called Pahlavi, which is only the regular development of a deriv-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meillet et Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde* 34-42; MB Gr. §5-§6; Kieckers, *Die Sprachstämme der Erde* 6-7; E. W. West, *Gdr. IP* 2.75-81; W. Horn, *Gdr. IP* 1.2.412-23. <sup>2</sup> New is preferable to Modern, which leads to an abbreviation identical with that for Middle.

ative of the OP word *Parthava* 'Parthian'. It is clearer to discuss the dialects partly by dialects and partly by the extant remains.

I. Arsacid Pahlavi was the official language of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia, which ruled from 250 B.C. to 226 A.D.; it did not die out with the dynasty. It is represented in some bilingual inscriptions alongside the Sasanian Pahlavi, where it is often called Chaldaeo-Pahlavi or Parthian; by the parchment manuscripts of Auromān; and by certain Manichaean texts from Turfan (IV). It is also called Northwest Pahlavi, and apparently was developed from a dialect which was almost or quite identical with that of Media.

II. The Sasanian or Southwest Pahlavi was the official language of the Sasanian dynasty, which ruled from 226 A.D. until the Mohammedan conquest in 652. It is known from some rock-inscriptions of the kings in the general region of Persepolis, datable in the 3d and 4th centuries, some being accompanied by a translation into Arsacid Pahlavi or even by a second translation into Greek; from some texts on Egyptian papyri, of about the 8th century; from many religious texts preserved by the Zoroastrians (III); and from some of the Manichaean texts found at Turfan. In inscriptional form it can be observed in legends on coins, seals, and gems, until near the end of the 7th century. It appears to have developed from Old Persian or from a very similar dialect.

III. The 'Book-Pahlavi' includes the writings preserved by the Zoroastrians of Persia and India, forming a very considerable body of literature divisible into (1) translations of parts of the Avesta, with commentary, (2) texts on other religious subjects, (3) texts on other than religious topics. They represent both Sasanian and Arsacid Pahlavi. They are written in an alphabet derived from that of Aramaic, and, like all the early Pahlavi writings and inscriptions, contain an extremely high percentage of Semitic words; but many of these were to be read with the Iranian equivalents, even as we write *id est* and say 'that is', *viz.* and say 'namely'.

IV. The manuscripts found at Turfan, in the early years of the 20th century, give us texts that are mostly of the 8th and 9th centuries, though some of them go back almost to the beginning of the Christian era. These texts represent several

dialects, including the Arsacid and the Sasanian types, the Sogdian (known also from a trilingual inscription of Kara-Balgassūn), and a dialect known as 'Eastern Iranian', perhaps a derivative of northeastern Scythian, in which there are texts of the Buddhists of Khotan. The notable peculiarity of these Turfan texts is that they are written in relatively pure Iranian, without the Semitic writings for the words which are to be spoken by the Iranian equivalent.

V. Among the earliest traces of Pahlavi, however, are certain legends in Greek characters on coins of Indo-Scythic rulers of the Turuška dynasty in northwestern India, belonging to the first two Christian centuries.

§5. NEW IRANIAN includes the Iranian languages from about 900 A.D. onward; its greatest monument is the national epic of Persia, the *Shāh Nāmāh* or Book of Kings, composed by Firdausi about the year 1000. The languages of this period are the following:

I. Persian, the national language of Persia to this day, spoken in numerous varying dialects throughout the empire; some of the aberrant dialects may go back to different dialects of antiquity, but the language as a whole seems to come from the general types of the Old Persian and the Avestan. The most highly esteemed literary Persian is the dialect of Shiraz.

II. Pushtu, sometimes called Afghan, the national language of Afghanistan.

III. Baluchi, the language of Baluchistan.

IV. The dialects of the Pamir, in the northeast.

V. The Caspian dialects, to the south and west of the Caspian Sea; probably derived from ancient Scythian.

VI. The Kurdish dialects, apparently derived from the ancient Carduchian; now spoken by various tribes in western Persia and in the neighboring parts of the Turkish Republic.

VII. The Ossetic dialects, in the general region of the Caucasus; derived from the Scythian of Southern Russia.

VIII. The Yagnobi or dialect spoken in the valley of the Yagnob, in the northeast; apparently derived from ancient Sogdian.

All but the last division consist of varying dialects. Throughout the territory of the New Iranian languages there is competition with other languages, such as Arabic, Turkish, Armenian,



Mongol. The Persians in Bombay and its vicinity, usually called Parsees, speak the Indic language known as Gujrati (or Gujerati).

§6. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS. Like most or perhaps all other series of documents, the OP inscriptions are not in pure OP dialect, free from admixture from outside.<sup>1</sup> They contain the expected borrowings of names of persons and places, and presumably of some cultural materials. Thus *Aθurā* 'Assyria', *Bābiruš* 'Babylon', *Mudrāya* 'Egypt' are from Semitic; *Izalā* (a district in Assyria), *Dubāla* (a district in Babylonia), *Labanāna* 'Mt. Lebanon', *Haldita*- (name of an Armenian) betray their non-Iranian character by the *l*; a few words lack a convincing IE etymology, such as *si<sup>h</sup>kabruš* 'carnelian', *θarmiš* 'timber', *yakā* (a kind of wood), *skauβiš* 'weak, lowly', or are obvious borrowings, such as *maškā*- 'inflated skin' from Aramaic. But the main outside influence is that of the Median dialect, seen in phonetic and lexical differences, perhaps also in variant grammatical forms. Aramaic also seems to have had a certain influence on the phrasing and the syntax. There is no evidence that OP itself, at the time of the inscriptions, possessed a literature of any kind apart from these inscriptions themselves.

§7. THE MEDIAN DIALECT was the language of the great Median Empire, which at the death of Cyaxares in 594 extended from the Indus to the Aegean Sea; the last Median ruler was Astyages, son of Cyaxares, who in 559 was conquered and deposed by his grandson Cyrus, son of Cambyses King of Persis and of Mandane daughter of Astyages. The new ruler naturally took over the Median chancellery and the Median royal titles, and their influence is still seen in the language of the OP inscriptions of Darius and his followers.

§8. MEDIAN PHONETIC DEVELOPMENTS which can be identified in the language of the OP inscriptions are the following; they are discussed in the phonology, with complete lists of examples:

pIE *k* became Med. *s*, Av. *s*, OP *θ*; §87.  
pIE *ǵ* and *ǵh* became Med. *z*, Av. *z*, OP *d*; §88.  
pIE *kū* became Med. *sp*, Av. *sp*, OP *s*; §90.  
pIE *ǵ<sup>h</sup>uE* became Med. *zb*, Av. *zb*, OP *z*; §91.

pAr. *km* became Med. *xm*, Av. *xm*, OP (*h*)*m*; §103.II.

pIE *sq<sup>h</sup>* before front vowel became pAr. *šc*, then Med. *šc*, Av. *šč*, OP *s*; §105.

pIE *-s q<sup>h</sup>*- and *-d q<sup>h</sup>*- in sandhi, before front vowel, became Med. *šc*, Av. *šč*, OP *s* (shown by Pahlavi only) and remade *c*; §105.

pIE *tr* and *tl* became pAr. *tr*, then Med. *θr*, Av. *θr*, OP *c*; §78.

pAr. *tr* after Iranian spirants or sibilant became Med. *tr*, Av. *tr*, OP *ç* or perhaps *š*; §79.

pIE *tǵ* became Med. *θǵ*, Av. *θy*, OP *šǵ*; §80.

pIE *sy* became Med. *f*, Av. *hw* and *x*, OP (*h*)*y*; §118. IV.

§9. OP WORDS SHOWING MEDIAN PECULIARITIES are the following, which are here listed in groups, according to their meanings and uses; fuller discussion will be found in the phonology and in the Lexicon, s.vv.:

#### I. Place-Names:

*Asagarta* 'Sagartia', a district of Media, with *s* in *asa*- from *k* if it means 'stone'.

*Sikayawatiš*, a Median fortress, with *s*- from *k* if, as is probable, the first part is identical with OP *θikā* 'broken stone'.

Two East Iranian names, outside the Median territory, show non-OP phonetics identical with those of Median:

*Bāctriš* 'Bactria', with *tr* retained after a spirant.  
*Zra<sup>h</sup>ka* 'Drangiana', with *z* from *ǵ* or *ǵh*.

#### II. Personal names:

*taxma*- 'brave', with *x* retained before *m*, in the names of the Mede *Taxmaspāda* and of the Sagartian *Çiçataxma*.<sup>1</sup>

*Xšabrita*, the name assumed by the Mede *Fra-vartiš*, with *θr* from *tr*.

*Uvaxštra* 'Cyaxares', a king of the Median line, with *tr* retained after a sibilant.

*Vištāspa* 'Hystaspes', father of Darius, with *sp* from *kū*.<sup>2</sup>

*Aspacanā*, one of Darius's helpers, with *sp* from *kū*.

<sup>1</sup> Note that *Çiça*- in this name has the OP form and not the Median *\*Çitra*-. <sup>2</sup> *Vištāspa*, *Aspacanā*, and *Vidafernā*, despite the Median phonetics, are specifically Persians; but personal names often belong to other dialects or languages than that of the locality to which the owner of the name belongs. Cf. also note 1.

<sup>1</sup> MB Gr. §5-§18.

*Vi<sup>h</sup>dafarnā*, one of Darius's helpers, with *f* from *sy*.

III. Words in the official titles:

*xšāyathiya* 'king', with *θ* from *tī*.

*vazraka* 'great', with *z* from *ġ*.

*vispa-zana-* 'having all men', with *sp* from *kū* and *z* from *ġ*.

*paru-zana-* 'having many men', with *z* from *ġ*.

*waspa-* 'having good horses', with *sp* from *kū*.

IV. Technical words of the religion:

*zūra* 'evil', with *z* from *ġh*.

*Varka-zana-* '(month) of the Wolf-Men', with *z* from *ġ*; but the entire word is merely restored after the Elamite.

V. Names of cultural materials:

*asan-* 'stone', with *s* from *k*.

*kāsaka* 'semi-precious stone', with *s* from *k*.

VI. Miscellaneous:

masc. *kašciy*, nt. *cišciy*, *avašciy*, *aniyašciy*, with *šc* from -s *q<sup>h</sup>*- and -d *q<sup>h</sup>*- respectively, in sandhi; no specific reason can be assigned for the borrowing by OP of this type.

*Pārsa* 'Persia', with *s* from *k*, cf. *Parθava* with *θ*; the name seems to have been imposed by an outside source.

*paiyazbayam* 'I proclaimed', with Med. -zb-, but *h<sup>h</sup>zānam* (acc.) 'tongue' with OP -z-, both from IE *ǵh<sup>h</sup>*; see also §91.

*vasiy* 'at will, greatly', with *s* from *k*; but see §87 for another explanation of the form.

*Mitra M<sup>h</sup>ra*, divine name borrowed from Indic; see §78.

§10. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OP FORMS may be regarded as uncertain, though in the verbs there are alternative forms used apparently without distinction of meaning: thus impf. 3d pl. *abara<sup>n</sup>* *abara<sup>h</sup>* *abara<sup>h</sup>*. Only the peculiar plural

*aniyāha bagāha* 'the other gods', with double endings (like Vedic Skt. *devāsas* for *devās*) seems to come from the language of religion, for a normal OP *aniyāiy bagā* (pl. *bagā* happens not to occur).

§11. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OP VOCABULARY: it is difficult at times to decide what is genuinely OP and what is borrowed. Of the two words for 'good', *naība-* is a religious term, and *va<sup>h</sup>u-* is found only in proper names. Of the two for 'earth', *zam-* (which would have Med. *z*) appears only in the form *zm-*, which is phonetically OP as well as Median, and occurs in one proper name and in an official term for execution with torture; *būmi-* occurs chiefly in phrases of official character, but is used also in DSf to denote the earth which was excavated for the palace of Darius. On some other points, the usages of Pahlavi seem to inform us: nom. *haww* 'he', *iyam* 'this', prep. *hadā* 'with' belong to Pahlavi of the Northwest and not to that of the Southwest, and thus are shown to be borrowings from Median.<sup>1</sup>

§12. ARAMAIC INFLUENCE. Aramaic, a Semitic language, was the international language of southwestern Asia from the middle of the eighth century B.C.; speakers of Aramaic were in charge of all archives for some centuries thereafter. As OP had no developed literary style at the time of the inscriptions, it is to be expected that the style of the inscriptions should reflect the style of Aramaic; and it does. Notable are the short sentences, with repetition of all essential words (§290); certain of the official titles (§309); and the anacoluthic definition of place and personal names (§312).

<sup>1</sup> P. Tedesco, *Le Monde oriental* 15.248; Bv. Gr. page 4 infra.

## CHAPTER II. THE SCRIPT OF OLD PERSIAN

§13. THE SCRIPT OF THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS is, as we have said, of the cuneiform type: that is, the characters are made of strokes which can be impressed on soft materials by a stylus having an angled end. The OP inscriptions, being on hard materials, must have been made with engraving tools with which the strokes

impressed on soft materials were imitated. There was no tradition from antiquity as to the significance of the characters, nor was any OP inscription accompanied by a version in a previously known system of writing; modern scholars were therefore obliged to start from the very beginning in the task of decipherment.