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TO THE MEMORY OF
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PREFACE

The two expeditions to Paikuli, carried out in 1911 and 1913, have been described in my preliminary report, published in the "*Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*" in 1914. The first visit took place, whilst the excavations of Samarra were going on, and I explored some early Muhammedan and Sasanian ruins in the hinterland of that great metropolis. After the excavations of Samarra were finished, a liberal gift from the *Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften* enabled me to take my way back through Persia, and to complete the researches which I had only just begun during the first visit.

Soon afterwards the great war broke out and prevented me from preparing the materials for publication as well as doing any other scientific work. In December 1916, when attached to the staff of his Highness the Duke Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, a kind fate allowed me to spend some delightful days at Alebja in the new palace of the late Ṭáhir Bey, son of Othmán Pasha, chief of the powerful Jáf tribe to whose dominions Paikuli belongs. When making enquiries about the antiquities of his country, in which Ṭáhir Bey, himself a Persian poet and a highly cultivated man, took a great interest, I was told that three years ago an unknown Inglízí, entering the country from the West, tried to carry away the inscribed blocks of the *Butkhána*, the "Idol temple", viz. the Sasanian monument of Paikuli, but that he had left the place before Ṭáhir Bey arrived to stop his criminal undertaking. He was not a little surprized when I told him that I was the supposed Englishman, that every stone remained on the spot, and that I hoped to revisit the monument under more favourable circumstances. We parted good friends, expressing the hope that my work might be continued some day.

During the summer and autumn of 1917, long weeks spent at Bad Nauheim and on the sea-shore to cure a heavy attack of malaria, procured the long hoped for opportunity and leisure for working, such as I had sought for for years, to work out the deciphering of the Paikuli inscription. In those months I finished the first part of the task, viz. the reading of every surviving letter and the compilation of a glossary containing each single word or fragment of word, and at the same time I was able to recognize the close affinity, if not identity of both the versions of the inscription, Pársík and Pahlavík, and to put together a limited number of the isolated blocks.

In November 1917 I proposed to the Berlin Academy with regard to the unfavourable conditions, under which we were living, to publish my researches, incomplete as they were, in the shape of a second memoir on the model of the first one. The Academy in rejecting this proposal thought it preferable to publish in a final form the whole material, including the reproductions of all the photographs and mouldings, without further waiting for a contribution which Professor F. C. Andreas of Göttingen might possibly provide, to whom the whole material had been made accessible from the beginning. I was instructed to obtain an estimate of the cost of the whole publication, and here I must express my deep gratitude to my late friend and patron, E. Vohsen, who died on June 20th, 1919, for agreeing to undertake the whole publication with a subvention of only 7000 marks. In those days it was not difficult to obtain so trifling a sum, and I was glad to announce my success to the Academy, but was left

PREFACE

In 1921, in consequence to an appeal emanating from some English scholars and archaeologists, I was invited by the Colonial Office in London, to offer advice as to the disposal of the objects excavated at Samarra. On the occasion of this visit to England I had the opportunity of meeting Professor Edward G. Browne in Cambridge. To his ever fresh enthusiasm and to his never failing support, when the promotion of science is concerned, I entirely owe the possibility of, at last, laying before the public this book, the result of many a year's patient and exacting labour. It was he who proposed to open a subscription list for the book, to induce the publisher to undertake the printing of the work, and it was he who, with the whole weight of his name, laid the matter before Sir Dorabji Tata, the distinguished member of the Párśí Community of Bombay. The support which this gentleman immediately offered surpassed all expectation, and the spirit in which it was offered, cannot be better shown than by quoting a passage of his answer: "It is sad that the general public does not take an interest in works of this kind, which go to add to the sum of human knowledge far more than the literature which it does generally support. The few people who are interested cannot hope to meet even a fraction of the demands upon them which true scholarship is ever, and with justice, insistently making.'

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi also took up the matter with incomparable kindness, and succeded in rousing so great an interest in the forthcoming publication among the members of his community that by their support alone the issue of the work was secured.

In grateful recognition of this help, I publish the book in English. And while expressing my deep gratitude, I must at the same time offer my excuse for all the shortcomings in style and language, caused by using a foreign tongue. I am afraid even the kind help of as competent a scholar as Sir Thomas Arnold, who went with me through the manuscript, amending and correcting page by page, will not have effaced all traces.

Even so far I have not yet told the whole of the romantic history of this book. — The work remains in an unfinished state, although exactly ten years have passed since I visited Paikuli, and, probably, it will for ever remain unfinished, unless further researches on the spot furnish us with more material than that discovered during my two visits. But since new studies compelled me to proceed to Persia once more, although I may perhaps be able to revisit Paikuli for a third time, I thought it necessary to publish the work in its present unfinished state, instead of delaying the publication possibly for ever. I sincerely hope that other fellow-scholars may take up the task, and may work out what I at present am unable to attain. Scientific materials belong to all those able to use them, and I feel I have not the right to withhold these materials from the world of learning. A further difficulty had, therefore, still to be overcome: the new journey preventing me from seeing the work through the press myself, I had to ask my friends, Professor Horowitz, Frankfurt, Professor Junker, Hamburg, and Professor Littmann, Tübingen, not only to read a proof of the book, but actually to charge themselves with seeing the whole of it through the press. I join their names to the already long list of those to whom I am deeply indebted. Many things would be better in this world, if the simple truth were commonly accepted, that one never helps oneself more than by helping others. May the finished work justify all the kind interest which it found even before it saw the light of day.

The first notice of Paikuli and its monument, the Butkhána, by far the most important relic of the Sasanian age, was communicated to the world by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1836. Eight years later, when Consul General at Baghdád and head of the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission, he visited the spot for a second time and copied in one of his note-books as many of the inscribed blocks as he succeeded in discovering. These notes were not published until 1868, when Edward Thomas transliterated them in his essay on "Early Sasanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, in Hebrew and book-Pahlaví characters. Up to the present time Paikuli has not been revisited by any explorer, owing to the inaccessibility of the region, which for centuries was the refuge of marauders and brigands. As Thomas' transliterations were very unsatisfactory I was always eager to trace the fate of that precious note-book of Rawlinson's. For there were three blocks which I did not succeed in recovering, and other blocks were more intact in Rawlinson's time than I had found them. But neither in the Bri-

for a while without a reply. Some weeks later I came to know that the Academy had resolved to postpone the publication, and to wait one more year for a contribution from Professor ANDREAS. Having foreseen the turn that events would take, it was a great disappointment to me, to consider the possibility of my never seeing the Paikuli inscription published, on which I had already lavished so much enthusiasm and labour.

It was not until August 1919, when I visited my late and never to be forgotten friend, MAX VAN BERCHEM, at Geneva, and discussed this and other scientific matters with him, that the desire was roused in me to take up the work again. At that time I read ÉMILE ZOLA's "*Travail*", and when I came to the words: "Vous entendez! Jamais on n'abandonne une oeuvre. S'il faut vingt années, trente années, s'il faut des vies entières, on les lui donne. Si l'on s'est trompé, on revient sur ses pas. Une oeuvre, c'est un enfant sacré qu'il est criminel de ne pas mener à terme. Elle est notre sang, nous n'avons pas le droit de nous refuser à sa création, nous lui devons toute notre force, toute notre âme, notre chair et notre esprit ... L'oeuvre est notre vie même, il faut la vivre jusqu'au bout", I realized the duty, incumbent upon me, of finishing my work, and publishing it whatever might happen. So I resumed the work, and as I hope, the present book will prove, the long delay was not in the end a loss. Being no philologist, and having been made acquainted only with the elements of Pahlavi by Professor JOSEF MARQUART I could not venture to undertake the solution of all the purely philological difficulties of the deciphering of the inscription. But there was another task before me, a purely epigraphical one, viz. to put in order the heap of more than hundred separate blocks, the relative positions of which were entirely unknown, in other words, to restore the surviving parts of the inscription to such a degree that every single block might have its place assigned to it. This task which appeared perfectly hopeless at the beginning, would presumably not have been attempted by any one, safe myself who had secured the scientific material with no small degree of effort. It was nearly achieved in the course of two years, by an indescribable amount of labour. A hundred times, when I was on the point of giving it up entirely as unattainable, I had to repeat to myself ZOLA's wonderful words: "Jamais on n'abandonne une oeuvre. S'il faut vingt années, s'il faut trente années, s'il faut des vies entières, on les lui donne!"

Slowly, but steadily the work grew. When the fact was established that there were only two inscriptions, one in the official language of the Arsacidan, the other in that of the Sasanian Empire, and that one of them was a literal translation of the other, quite a number of doubtful readings became certain by means of their equivalents in the corresponding version. The glossary was materially improved and enriched. It was a piece of good fortune that Professor FRIEDRICH SARRE had acquired from the inheritance of the late photographer STOLZE, known by his beautiful publication of the ancient monuments of the province of Fárs, a certain number of plates, among them those representing the Sasanian inscription of Sháhpuhr I on his bas-relief at Naqsh i Rustam, the famous bilingual inscription of the Hájjiábád cave near Persepolis, the longer, but unilingual inscriptions of Naqsh i Rustam and Naqsh i Rajab, considered up to the present time to belong to the reign of Varhrán II, and the two inscriptions on a pillar of the ruins of Persepolis, attributed to Sháhpuhr II. and III. — Those plates were carefully treated by G. SCHWARZ, the photographer of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, who succeeded in making out from them much more than they originally showed. This enabled me to decipher those inscriptions, too, as far as my knowledge of the language and the condition of the plates would allow, to obtain many new explanations of doubtful or obscure passages in the Paikuli inscription, and to enlarge the glossary of the Paikuli inscription into one containing all the words occurring in the Sasanian inscriptions accessible up to the present time. It was only the great Naqsh i Rustam inscription, that I had to leave out or of which I could make a restricted use, owing to the inadequacy of the photograph which however showed, that a good moulding of the inscription would almost completely render possible the deciphering.

The work grew, but as things in the world went from bad to worse, I saw no ray of hope that I should ever be able to have the book printed.

CHAPTER I

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENT OF PAIKULI

The exact situation of Paikuli has been determined by H. C. RAWLINSON as lat. 35° 7′ 16″ N. and long. 45° 34′ 35″ E. of Greenwich. For a description of the geographical situation, I may refer to RAWLINSON's article in the Journal of the Roy. Geo. Soc. IX pp. 28–30 and to E. THOMAS' *Early Sasan. Inscriptions*, 1868. A circumstantial report of my own two expeditions to Paikuli has been published in the *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissensch. zu Berlin 1914.* This volume being easily accessible, I do not think it necessary to repeat its contents here.

My first intention was to add a geographical chapter to the present work, and to discuss the physical and historical geography of that part of Kurdistán in which Paikuli is situated. The two maps, based on my own surveys and constructed and drawn in pencil and water colours by myself, together with a number of photographs representing the scenery and people of the country, were intended to illustrate this chapter. But several circumstances having prevented me carrying out this intention, I write these lines on my way to Persia in February 1923, and I hope to publish those geographical explorations with new material in a future work, which will be a continuation of this one.

Here I must confine myself to examine the architectural and archaeological features of the Paikuli monument. Paikuli is the name of a locality, a high lying mountain-saddle on the southern slope of the Zarda Kiáw, where the steep ascent of the pass over the Khoratan range begins; see pl. 1. To the south, in the valley below, one sees the Banákhélán ford of the Áw i Shírwán or Diyálá river. The name of the monument itself is Butkhána or 'the idol-temple', but it is not improbable that the name Paikuli, too, refers to the five busts or 'idols' lying around in the ruins and must be derived from MP. *patkar* 'the image'.

The Butkhána, as shown on plates 4–6, presents to day the appearance of not much more than a heap of stones. In the midst of it there appears still a cubic base, built of small unhewn stones with thick and very strong mortar. To day it seems to be one solid mass, but it is quite possible that at a higher level a narrow staircase was hollowed out of the masonry, which gave access to the platform on the top of the tower. Such staircases are found in the tomb-towers along the Euphrates, e. g. at Ḥalabiyya, (cf. SARRE-HERZFELD, *Archaeol. Reise* vol. II), which belong to the last epoch of Palmyra and hence, are contemporary with the Paikuli monument, which resembles them in general appearance.

This solid base of small unhewn stones once had an outer casing of square blocks of larger size. This is not found *in situ* to-day, but by removing the débris which covers the foot of the monument, the lowest layers would be easily discovered. The casing was not kept together with the base by indentations, a practice apparently entirely unknown to the Sasanian architects as we see it nowhere employed. So the casing, as in all other Sasanian buildings

tish Museum nor in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society the note-book could be traced. Sir THOMAS ARNOLD, not prepared to give up any research lightly, pursued the matter and, having consulted Sir HENRY RAWLINSON's will at Somerset House, was able to state, that the note-book would probably be in the possession of Sir HENRY's only son and heir, Lord RAWLINSON, at present Commander-in-Chief in India. When discussing the possibility and advisability of addressing Lord RAWLINSON by letter, one day I accompanied Sir THOMAS from his London home to the Victoria and Albert Museum at South-Kensington. As he had to deliver a letter to the Royal Geographical Society, he asked me to wait a minute in the hall of the Society's house. I stood before a show-table, exhibiting some venerable and interesting relics of great explorers of the last century. But I felt something like awe, when I saw, among those relics, the very note-book of Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, and read on the open page just the text of one of those blocks, E 6 of my numbering, which I had failed to recover, and of another block, H 2, of which the right half is now missing, but was still surviving at RAWLINSON's time. The Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society Mr. HINKS kindly allowed me to study that very small, but very precious book.

Then my resolution was taken: to dedicate this book to the memory of that ingenious explorer, accomplished scholar and eminent man, Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, who apart from copying and deciphering the inscription of Darius on the Bîstûn rock, and the numerous other great accomplishments which survive nearly unaltered up to the present time, was the first to explore and to copy the inscription of Paikuli.

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FIG. 2. ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS OF THE MONUMENT

the Pahlavík version, the black ones to the Pársik version of the inscription. In my preliminary report I had inferred from the distribution of the blocks that there were two inscriptions, the Pársik version on the west side of the tower, the Pahlavík version on the east side. The reconstruction and decipherment of the inscription has proved this conclusion to be true. We know further, that the inscriptions occupied the whole width of each side, from corner column to corner column, that they covered seven or eight tiers of blocks and had one short line at the top. The inscriptions had no frame, but their shape, a large rectangle with a short piece added at the top, is the shape of the *tabula ansata*, the classic writing tablet in common use in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic epigraphy, cf. HERZFELD, *Die Tabula ansata in der islam. Epigraphie und Ornamentik*, in Islam VI. 1916, 189ff. The occurence of this form in Sasanian epigraphy is worth noting. It further furnishes us with some hint as to the place to which we must assign the busts. We may assume that the first short lines of the inscriptions were exactly beneath the busts. Hence, there can be no doubt that they were placed in the middle axis of each side.

The point most open to discussion is that of the height in which the busts and inscriptions were placed. But the characters are very small, those of the first lines being about 50 to 60 mm in height, those of the last lines 30 to 40 mm. Placed anywhere high up the wall, the inscriptions would have been entirely illegible, and we must infer from these observations that the last lines were placed on the level of a man's eyes, that is, immediately above the low socle of the monument. As to the total height of the monument, we may take the proportion of width to height as 2 to 3, a proportion in common use in old architecture all over the East, and best in keeping with the surviving materials of the monument. This proportion would bring the busts, if we place them just above the first line of the inscriptions, exactly in the middle of each side.

The fifth bust, or its fragment, I think, must be considered as a rejected piece, not intended to be actually employed, but allowed to remain at the spot.

The few purely architectural details of the monument are shown in fig. 2. There are some corner blocks, with an engaged column of 315 mm. diam., which project from the surface of the stones about half that width. Consequently the tower must have had a socle projecting a little more, to serve as base of the columns. In the same

FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE MONUMENT AND SITUATION OF THE INSCRIBED BLOCKS

of stone-masonry, has fallen, and the stones have rolled down the slopes of the hill on which the monument stands. A great majority of these blocks are plain, one side only of the block being perfectly smoothed, but among them about a hundred inscribed blocks have been found. In addition, there are some corner blocks, showing an engaged column at the edge and two smoothed sides. Another group of blocks belong to the battlement, which must have served as an upper cornice to the tower, and consists of one row of pinnacles and another row of loopholes. Lastly, there are four busts lying at the foot of the tower, one on each side and also a fragmentary one on the north side.

The plan, fig. 1, indicates the position of all the inscribed blocks which I have discovered, and the position of the busts, but leaves out the great mass of uninscribed blocks and the corner-blocks and pinnacles, since their present position has no importance for the reconstruction of the monument. The red numbers on the plan refer to

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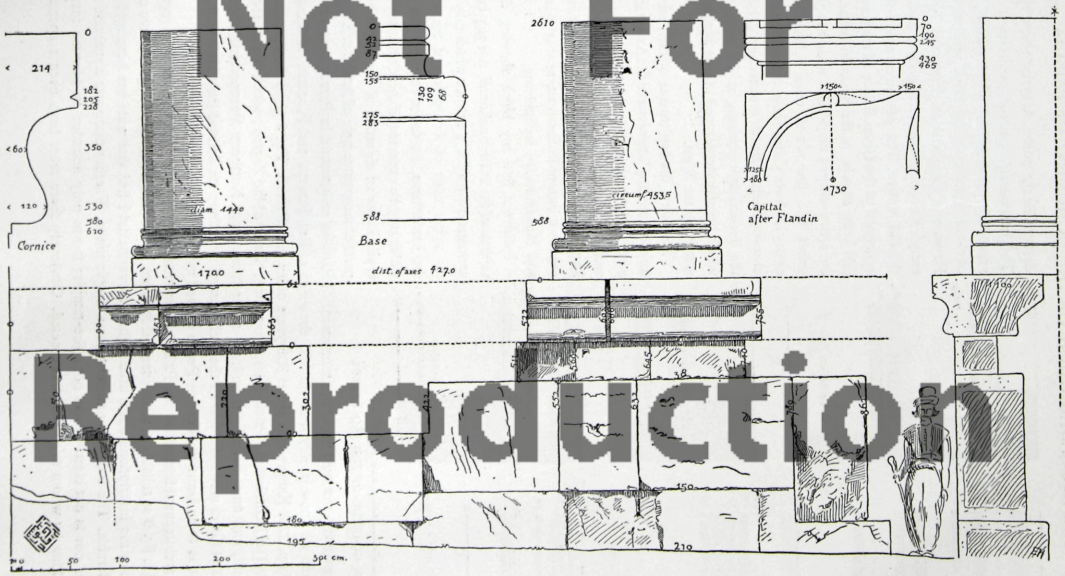

FIG. 4. ELEVATION OF PART OF THE TEMPLE OF KANGAWAR

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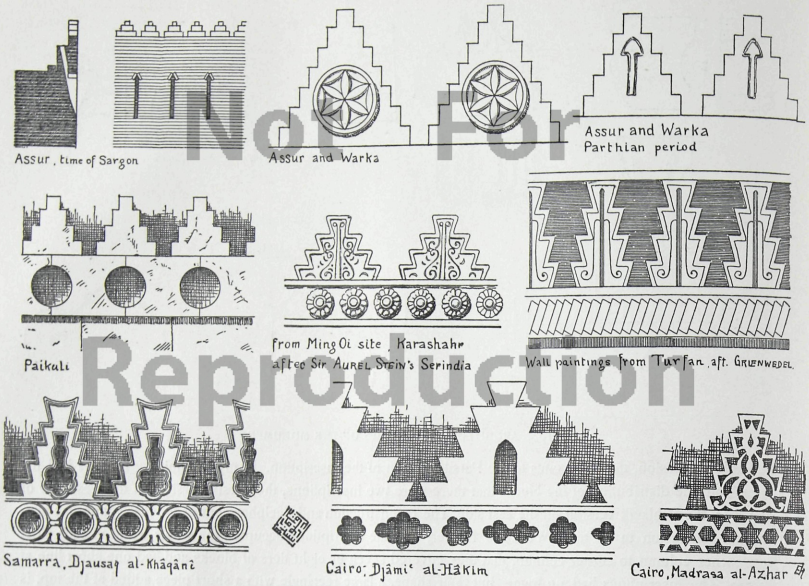

FIG. 3. EVOLUTION OF BATTLEMENTS

way, there must have been some projecting architrave or cornice resting upon the upper ends of the columns. The pinnacles or battlements, found around the ruins, belong to this upper cornice. Like all the other blocks, only one surface of the battlements is smoothed, and even this is not very well done. The pinnacles show four steps. Some other blocks show the traces of two round holes, viz. the loop-holes below the battlements. Their distance gives us the distance of the pinnacles on each side and hence their number. There must have been 15 including the corner blocks.

In fig. 3 I have combined a series of battlements to illustrate the evolution of this architectural form. The first example is taken from the northern city-wall of ancient Assur, built by Sargon II of Assyria. Battlements and loop-holes, in this instance, were used for defence as is the case in modern times. Throughout the following instances, the fortification purpose has been given up, the battlements and loop-holes have become purely decorative features of architecture. Exactly identical specimens of the second and third examples have been discovered in Assur as well as in Warka in southern Babylonia, in both of which places they date from the beginning of the Christian era. The loop-holes, in one case were shaped like an arrow, as in the Assyrian example, and in the other like round rosettes, but they are put on the pinnacles themselves. — The fourth example is that of Paikuli itself. Though the pinnacles and loop-holes, executed in stone, look very simple, their size alone is sufficient to show that they, too, were a mere decoration. The fifth and sixth examples show the diffusion of the old Assyrian form into Central Asia. The pinnacles from Ming Oi near Karashahr, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, reveal clearly their Assyrian

FIG. 6. FRONT-ELEVATION OF THE PAIKULI MONUMENT

FIG. 7. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAIKULI MONUMENT

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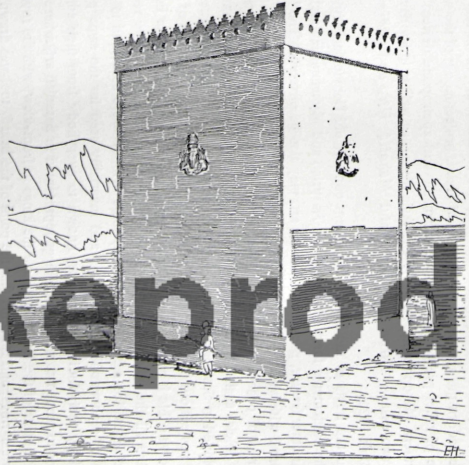

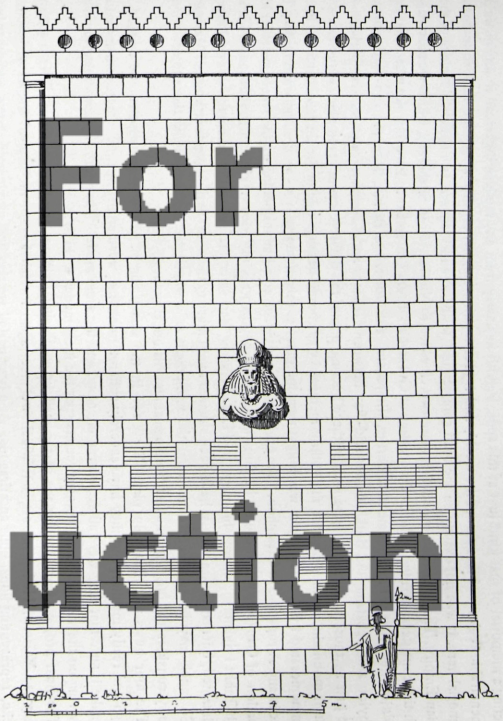

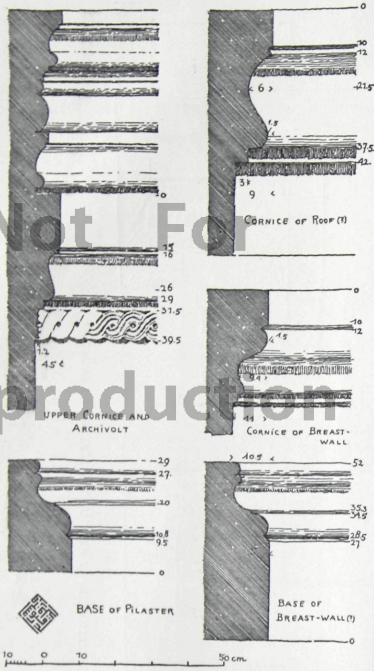

FIG. 5. CORNICES OF THE ṬĀQ I GIRRÁ

descent by the purely Assyrian shape of their rosettes. The innumerable painted pinnacles in Turfan caves, reproduce battlements which must have been a common feature in the brick architecture of Eastern Persia and Central Asia. Examples 7—9 show what early Muhammadan architecture has made out of the old motive. The pinnacles of the immense inner courtyard of the Great Palace of the Khalifs at Samarra still keep closely to the Sasanian forms. We observe the arrow-shaped loop-holes upon the pinnacles themselves and the round ones below them. The two examples from Cairo show the influence exercised by the early Muhammadan architecture of Iráq upon Egypt, the last example showing at the same time the form which became stereotyped in later Muhammadan architecture in the West.

Therefore, the battlements of the Paikuli monument form the missing link between the Assyrian, the Parthian, and the Muhammadan forms of this architectural motive and though they are the first and only instance so far known, we must infer that these battlements were as regular a feature in Sasanian, as they were in Assyrian and Muhammadan architecture.

I did not find any block showing the bases and capitals of the corner columns, nor any belonging to an architectural profile, a cornice which may have adorned the upper edge of the socle and the under edge of the battlements. In order to show the simple forms which may be expected, if there were any such cornices at all, I give an elevation of one of the best preserved parts of the great temple of Anáhit at Kangawar in fig. 4. The temple of Kangawar, the most important monument of Parthian architecture in Persia, deserves a careful re-examination, since we know it only from the old drawings of KER PORTER and FLANDIN, cf. SARRE-HERZFELD, *Iran. Felsreliefs* p. 224. Kangawar is about 300 years older than Paikuli. Fig. 5 gives the cornices of the small monument of the Ṭāq i Girrá at the Paitáq-Pass, the ancient 'Gates of the Zagros', which is also about 300 years older than Paikuli, and must have been built by an architect from Northern Mesopotamia about 600 B. C. Kangawar and Ṭāq i Girrá may show that all the architectural mouldings are derived from Hellenistic architecture, and this influence is to be found in Western Persia as well as in Babylonia and Mesopotamia.

So far, all the architectural features of the Paikuli monument seem fairly certain, and we may regard the front-elevation, shown in fig. 6 as reliable in all its essential features. In the perspective view, fig. 7, I have not placed the busts exactly above the inscriptions but a little higher. Nevertheless I feel that what has been said above (p. 3) seems to be preferable. The Paikuli monument was a simple tower. Whether there was a staircase leading to its upper platform or not is not clear. It was not a fire-temple; it was only intended to bear the inscriptions and the busts of the king by whom the tower was erected. Obviously there must have been a special reason for

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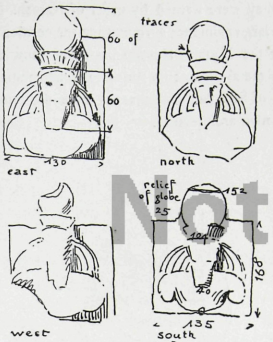

FIG. 8. FOUR BUSTS OF NARSEH FROM PAIKULI MONUMENT

FIG. 9. RESTORATION OF THE BUST OF NARSEH

FIG. 10. DIFFERENT FASHIONS OF CUTTING A BUST IN SASANIAN ART

of the early Sasanian epoch. The hair is dressed in four broad plaits beginning behind the ear and falling down to the shoulders. The fifth row on both sides is not a fifth plait, but the scarf of the diadem.

The crown consists of a large globe on which some folds are just recognizable. Apparently this globe consisted of artificially dressed hair, veiled with silk. It highly surmounts the crown formed like a fluted cornice with a string of pearls at the lower rim. Quite the same crown is borne by king Narseh on the bas-relief at Naqsh i Rustam, SARRE-HERZFELD, *Iran. Felsrel.*, pl. IX., but the hair of the king on that bas-relief is dressed in the bushy fashion, usually to be seen on the coins. Fig. 11 shows these details, and adds another rare front-view of king Sháhpuhr I from one of his bas-reliefs at Sháhpúr. Three of the Sasanian kings had a crown resembling that of the Paikuli busts, Varhrán III, Narseh and Hormizd II. They are shown in fig.[1] 12. Hormizd II is here out of question, because the main feature of his crown, the eagle, is missing. Varhrán III goes out, because the peculiar hair-dress was worn only by Ardáshír I and Narseh. So, Narseh is the king represented by the busts. This was a result at which I had already arrived in my preliminary report long before

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erecting a memorial of that kind just at this spot. Paikuli lies away from any modern high-road in one of the most impenetrable regions of that part of the world, and it seems rather enigmatical that we should find so important a memorial here. It was not exactly on the road connecting Ctesiphon and Ganzaca, two of the chief cities of the Sasanian Empire. The high-road connecting these two cities led to Nîm-az-ráh in Shahrazúr, which we must identify with the considerable ruins of the modern village of Gul'ambar. From Gul'ambar to Paikuli is not more than a good day's journey. Just as the monuments of Darius, Mithradates, and Gotarzes at Bístún, lie on the high-road connecting Babylon and Ecbatana, the Butkhána lies mid-way between Ganzaca and Ctesiphon, and we may perhaps infer that just as those monuments were erected there because one of the decisive events took place at the foot of the Bístún mountain, so the place for the Paikuli memorial was chosen because one of the decisive battles in the war commemorated by the inscription was fought near the place of this memorial, i. e. on the high-road leading from Media and Atropatene to Ctesiphon. This problem cannot be solved without opening up the whole question of the situation of Ganzaca, which cannot be done here, but I may express my view that the identification of Ganzaca with Takht i Sulaiman, offered long ago by H. Rawlinson, and since then generally accepted, can no longer be maintained, but that Ganzaca must have been situated much more to the north in the neighbourhood of Marágha.

So much may be said here concerning the monument as a whole, but before leaving the subject we must briefly consider the busts from an archaeological and historical point of view.

The four busts are shown on plates 7–9 and in the sketch, fig. 8. All of them seem to be worked in a rough and ready manner, and they have severely suffered from time, weather and men. But there remains enough to make it sure that they were all sculptured after one and the same model. Therefore, by combining the details surviving on the various busts, we may reconstruct the ideal model, as in fig. 9.

The bust projects from the surface of the wall in bold relief, without any base or frame. This is a manner foreign to Western Hellenistic art, but which we meet again in Babylon, in the famous friezes of enamelled bricks, representing lions, bulls and dragons. At a later period we also find innumerable busts, and other figures which adorn the archivolts of the ruins of Hatra, projecting out of the walls without base or frame. And the same style of relief prevails in all those talismanic and apotropaeic devices which we find on the medieval ruins in Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia and Asia Minor, as well as in late Byzantine art. There are many examples in my two essays '*Thron des Khosró*' and '*Mshattá, Ḥira and Bádiya*' in Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlg. 1919 & 1921.

So the busts of the Paikuli monument connect old Babylonian with later Muhammadan art, in the same way as the battlements form a link between Assyrian and Muhammadan architecture.

Another feature, peculiar to Sasanian art, may also be observed. The lower part of the bust does not at all correspond with what we are accustomed to see in Western Hellenistic art. The arms, shoulders and chest are cut in a series of ornamental curves or segments of circles. For other examples we have only to look at the royal and official seals in chapter IV. Our fig. 10 shows, besides this manner of cutting the busts, some other styles employed in Sasanian art. The first is to put a wreath of small palmettes around the busts, the second, to let the bust project out of one broad palmette, the third, to let it project out of a pair of wings. These specimens give us some valuable hints for distinguishing truly Sasanian textiles from the Egyptian and Syrian.

Like all the other ancient Oriental arts, Sasanian art did not know real portraits, but only conventional types. To characterize a certain individual, some symbols were used, and to be intellegible, these symbols must have been of a commonly known type and invariably used for the same person. The Sasanian kings are characterized by their individual crowns, known to everybody from their coinage. Hence, the coins furnish the only means to recognize the various kings represented in Sasanian art, where inscriptions are missing.

The busts of the Butkhána show the kings in front-view, with the royal symbols of a necklace of big pearls, similar ear-rings, and it seems that the point of the beard, too, was drawn through a ring, as we see it on the coins

CHAPTER II

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAIKULI INSCRIPTION

Every attempt to reconstruct this inscription must begin with the second tier (B) of the Pársík version. Twelve of the blocks are in existence. Eleven of them fit together in a continuous series. The twelfth is separated from them by a gap, of which the length can easily be calculated by means of the parallel passages occurring in both versions, lines 7 of Pársík, and 15 of Pahlavík version: or [illegible], enabling us to complete the first line, and with the help of the words of the Pahlavík version [illegible] which fill up the space in the last line.

Thus, in fact, fourteen blocks are known, and nothing is wanting but the two half-blocks at the beginning and at the end of the tier. Their length, too, can be calculated.

There are seven blocks of the Pahlavík version which are translations of various blocks of the second tier of the Pársík version, and they may be arranged as blocks 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 13 of the second tier of the Pahlavík version. The length of the gaps between them can be determined with certainty from the parallel passages of the Pársík version. The third line of the Pársík version from [illegible] to [illegible] corresponds to the first line of the Pahlavík version, whereas the word [illegible] of the last preserved Pársík block occurs as [illegible] on the first Pahlavík block in its second line, and [illegible], the first word of block 4, line 2, of the Pahlavík version appears as [illegible] on block 3, line 4, Pársík version. This is one clue which enables us to determine the required length of the two half-blocks. Further on B, block 14, line 4, there occurs the word [illegible] corresponding to [illegible] on B′ 13,2 whereas the words [illegible] in B 2,5 have their counterpart in [illegible] at the beginning of line 4, block B′ 1. A third instance is provided by the words from [illegible] as far as [illegible] and the corresponding [illegible] as far as [illegible]. Hence, omitting the tiresome calculations, we arrive with all the certainty that the case demands at the result that the entire length of the tier was 760 mm. The left half-block has 33,5, the right one 25,5 mm.

The first two lines of this tier B of the Pársík version pretty nearly correspond to the last two lines of tier A′ of the Pahlavík version. There are 5 blocks in all which from their contents and size appear to belong to the first Pahlavík tier. Two of them follow one another immediately, while a third one is separated from them by the gap of a single block only, of which the breadth can be determined with certainty by the parallel passages on three lines out of six in the Pársík version. So this group of 3 existing blocks and one lacking block form an inseparable whole.

On them we find the words [illegible] — [illegible], measuring 156 mm in length, and corresponding to [illegible] — [illegible], measuring 221 mm. This gives us the proportion of 221 to 156 for the reductions that have to be made in determining the position of the blocks of the Pahlavík version. At the beginning of the

the decipherment of the inscriptions revealed the fact that they were written by order of Narseh. Busts and inscriptions are in perfect harmony. Narseh's coins show four large palmettes surmounting the cornice of the crown, and it ought to be examined whether the Paikuli busts or the Naqsh i Rustam bas-relief show any traces of metal palmettes fixed into the stone; there are examples of metal ornaments added to Achaemenian bas-reliefs.

As a whole, the busts help us largely to form an idea of Sasanian sculpture, as the entire monument does with regard to Sasanian architecture.

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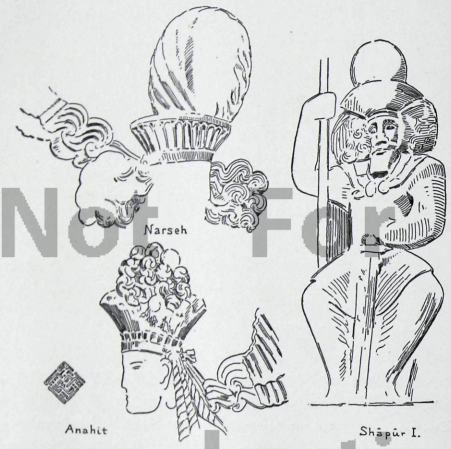


FIG. 11. CROWNS OF NARSEH AND ANAHIT, AND IMAGE OF SHÁPUHR

FIG. 12. CROWNS OF BAHRÁM III, NARSEH, HORMIZD II

reduced to 4 complete lines plus the remaining 210 mm of the fifth, i. e. out of 5×760 or 3800 mm we get $4 \times 760 + 210 = 3250$ mm. But it is *a priori* probable, and a glance at the varying size and density of the letters in the different lines confirms it, that the scale of reduction changes not only within 5, but in every single line. Therefore, a general reduction of this kind is only applicable when more exact data are wanting. In the present case more precise results can be obtained.

On block A′ 6 there are, one above another, the words [illegible] [illegible] and ... [illegible] [illegible]; so there is just the length of one entire line or 760 mm between these two initial words: the first [illegible] corresponds to .. [illegible] [illegible], still in A on the last line, the second to .... [illegible] [illegible] on the first line of B. Following the general scale of enlargement 760 mm ought to become 890 mm, and the first [illegible] would appear in the 4th line, 96 mm from its left end. As it stands really in the 5th line, it is clear that it must be located as far to the right as possible. There remain only 340 mm from the second [illegible] up to the beginning of the line. From this it follows that the block containing the words [illegible] [illegible] must be placed as the first on the tier and the block with ... [illegible] [illegible], which is inseparably connected with it (also by the 1st, 3rd, and 4the line), as the second.

The 760 mm from [illegible] — [illegible] become not more than 794 mm in the Pársík version. The length of the words [illegible] [illegible] — [illegible], that is 160 mm, ought to be enlarged to 167,5 mm only. But as the surviving words ... [illegible] — [illegible], corresponding to [illegible] — [illegible], are enlarged from 52 to 74 mm, it is obvious that this scale again is misleading. Apart from these words the scale would be 707,5 mm to 722 mm or 677 mm to 687 mm, and the gap between ... [illegible] and [illegible], i. e. 84 mm, in Pársík would become 86 mm. The uncertainty which attaches to this conclusion is removed by the following observation: the ascertained distance of the words in question makes the gap between the two blocks exactly 550 mm in length. That means that only one block is missing; and 550 mm is just the average length of the blocks of the first tier. A further corroboration: in A 1 (line 4 and 5) from [illegible] to [illegible] there are again just 760 mm corresponding to 624 mm from [illegible] to [illegible] in the Pahlavík version. The scale of enlargement derived from this proportion would raise the 147 mm from [illegible] to the beginning of [illegible] to 178,5 mm, and there would result only 5 mm more than by the other way of reckoning for the gap between the second and the fourth blocks. Just 178 mm before [illegible] in A′, line 4, we find the word [illegible] occurring as [illegible] in the 4th line of the Pársík version. That block is inseparably connected with the following one, as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] finds its equivalent in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the Pahlavík version, and as the word [illegible] in line 2 bridges the joint of the two blocks. This time there is more than one way of obtaining the necessary scale of enlargement in order to fix the position of that pair of blocks. As explained above, the words [illegible] and [illegible] in A 1 appearing one exactly above the other give the proportion 760 to 624 mm. This would fix the first letter of [illegible] at 216,5 mm from the left end of the line. If we take the somewhat narrower limit of the end of ... [illegible] in A 2, 4, corresponding to [illegible] in A′ 10, 3, and our old word [illegible], or the corresponding [illegible], we get the proportion 658 to 547 or 214 mm instead of 216,5 mm.

This result may be controlled by the next line: the word [illegible] on the same tier A, line 3, corresponding to [illegible] in A′ 6,3 and the word [illegible] in A 1,4, corresponding to [illegible] in A′ 8,3, are only 113 mm apart from one another in the Pahlavík version. From the end of [illegible] to [illegible] there is a space of 747 mm, which in the Pársík version becomes 873 mm. So 113 becomes 133 mm. Or: from the same end of [illegible] to the beginning of [illegible] there are 680 mm becoming 560 mm which would enlarge 113 mm to 137,5 mm. Or from the beginning of [illegible] to the word [illegible] there are 720 mm becoming 595 mm which would enlarge 113 to 136,5. So the end of [illegible] is distant from the end of the line 135,7 mm as an average, which fixes the beginning of the inseparable [illegible] at 215 mm from the left end.

first line of the Pársík version the words [script] correspond to [script] in line 5 of an isolated block. The distance of [script] from [script] of 187 mm when reduced becomes 132 mm. The whole length of these blocks plus one gap thus is 156 + 132 = 288 mm. The words of the second line from [script] to [script] correspond to the Pahlavík words [script] to [script]. These words in the Pársík version measure 405 mm + 1 letter 2 which we must add to them from the Pahlavík version. This length when reduced according to the same scale amounts to 285 mm + 1 letter, i. e. 288 mm, a welcome corroboration, and, consequently, we may consider the group of 4 blocks and two gaps as satisfactorily fixed.

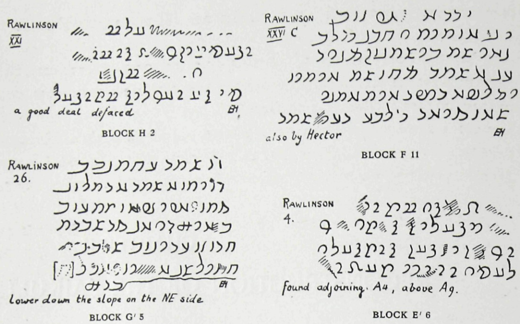


FIG. 13. BLOCKS FROM RAWLINSON'S NOTE-BOOK

Their relative position in the line must now be found.

The interval between [script] and [script] in the Pahlavík version = 472 mm, in the Pársík version = 520 mm, gives us the scale for reducing the remaining parts of the line. All the words following [script] that have survived in the Pársík version are missing in line 5 of the Pahlavík version, likewise all the words preceding [script]. The words on the left hand that have survived up to 2 [script] fill a space of 245 mm, reduced in the Pahlavík version to 222 mm, on the right hand the measure being 177 mm or 154 mm respectively. So the surviving parts of the line would become 222 + 154 + 288 = 664 mm and as the whole length of a line is 760 mm, there are only 96 mm missing. Now there still remain two blocks belonging to the first tier of the Pahlavík version measuring together 100 mm, which is just a little more than what is needed to fill the gap, a trifling difference owing to variations in the scale of reduction that occur within the line. It is obvious that these words just fill up the gap in the Pársík line. In fact, the two names and titles fit perfectly. The words "Raχš í Spáhpat" immediately follow after "Artaχšatr í Súrén", both being members of the ancient Arsacidan noble families of the Empire. The next person "Ohormizd-varáz", as his name shows, a dignitary of the time of Hormizd I, Narseh's elder brother and predecessor, bears the title . . . [script], and the Pársík version furnishes just the missing end of this word in its surviving letters [script] . . . so that we may restore [script] or [script] "Ahurmizd-varáč i vrtragník(á)n χvat(á)vy(a)". In any case the new line in the Pahlavík version begins before [script] and after 2 [script]. So the position of the 6 blocks in question is sufficiently well fixed: 250 mm in the Pársík version from [script] to 2 [script] become in the Pahlavík version reduced to 227 mm.

At the same time the positon of the remaining two blocks of the first tier of the Pársík version is perfectly fixed; they are inseparable, and must be the first two blocks of that tier, for the word [script] must begin the line.

Hence, the 6 existing blocks of the first tier of the Pahlavík version may be with certainty numbered 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, and 11.

Their position is decisive for the arrangement of the surviving blocks of the first tier of the Pársík version. Of these we possess seven blocks, six of them in inseparable pairs of two. A general scale of reduction or enlargement is obtained by the following observation: before [script] of line 1 in tier B there is a gap of only 340 mm, reduced in the Pahlavík version to 308 mm. So the five complete lines of the first Pársík tier are to be

[illegible] [illegible], in line 5 [illegible] [illegible], and it is clear that in line 2 the equivalent of 2 [illegible] [illegible] filled the space between [illegible] and [illegible], and probably [illegible] was replaced by a shorter equivalent. So the positions of not only the first 4 blocks, but also of the last three of the tier are clearly fixed by internal evidence. They may be used in order to control the correctness of the results already obtained.

For they contain the following series of equations:

[illegible] — [illegible] / 729 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 760 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 480 mm

makes [illegible] / — . . . [illegible] / 501 mm, instead of 524 mm
or [illegible] — [illegible] / 651 mm
[illegible] — . . . . [illegible] / 781 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 90 mm

makes [illegible] — . . . [illegible] / 108 mm, instead of 102 mm, and the gap between the two blocks 64,5 mm

and [illegible] — [illegible] / 760 mm
makes [illegible] — . . . . [illegible] / 911 mm, instead of 898, and the gap between the two blocks 72 mm

or [illegible] — [illegible] / 698 mm
. . . [illegible] — [illegible] / 791 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / [illegible] 117 mm

makes . . . [illegible] — [illegible] / [illegible] 133 mm, instead of 154 (!), and the gap between the two blocks 51 mm.

So the arithmetical mean of the three results is 62,5 mm as width of the gap.

[illegible] — [illegible] / 760 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 729 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 146 mm

makes [illegible] — [illegible] / 140 mm
or: [illegible] — [illegible] 774 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] 657 mm
[illegible] — [illegible] / 146 mm

makes [illegible] — [illegible] / 124 mm instead of 140 mm,

the arithmetical mean being 132 mm. In this position a hook in the upper horizontal joint of the block coincides with the vertical joint of blocks 9 and 10 of the preceding tier, which proves that the ascertained position is the true one.

So we may regard the tiers C of the Pársík version and C′ of the Pahlavík version as settled. The blocks of the Pársík version receive the numbers 2, 3, 4, 9, and 11, those of the Pahlavík version the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 13 and 14. The single block still remains. As its first three lines do not contain any word occurring in the corresponding lines of the Pársík version, it must find its place where that version leaves a gap. Now there are two gaps in the Pahlavík version. The smaller one, between blocks 10 and 13, can be completely restored in its first line with the help of the equivalent in the Pársík version. The words of this line were: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The traces preserved in line 1 of the block in question do not allow us to supply these

So now, the three pairs of blocks of the first tier of the Pársík version are determined, and there remains only the single block to be dealt with.

On the last pair of blocks we read in lines 2 and 3 the words: . . . and corresponding to in A′ 6,2 and in A′ 6,3. When we measure in each case from the end of the words, the space between them is 823 or 715 mm, if from the beginning the space between them is 836 or 752 mm. In either case both proportions are practically identical. In line 3 of the block of which the place is to be determined we read the words ..., their equivalent A′ 2, 3 being . The end and beginning of are 144 and 165 mm from , or 166 and 190 from in the Pársík version. This fixes the position of this last block.

So the surviving blocks of the first tier of the Pársík version may be numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11 and 12.

The last third of the 4th, and the entire lines 5 and 6 of the second tier B′ (Pahlavík version) find their equivalents in lines 1, 2, and half of the 3rd line of C (Pársík version). Five blocks belonging to this tier have been discovered. Three of them form an inseparable group through a series of words crossing the joints. The other two are separated by a gap of one block. The missing parts of lines 4 to 6 are preserved in the corresponding parts of the Pahlavík version. In this case the script of these three lines which is of exactly the same size as on the two neighbouring blocks, gives the precise width of the gap. Like the other three these two blocks along with the gap of one block form a reliably fixed and inseparable group of three, a circumstance which facilitates the task of determining their relative position within the third tier.

The words up to fill up a space of 123 mm and correspond to ....., , 130 mm, but the latter group contains one additional word, namely . On the other hand, the Pársík version contains the word , replaced in Pahlavík in other cases simply by the copula ; this fact has caused the room for . The proportion may be stated as 130 — 20 = 110 to 123 — 10 = 113. This assumption, 113:110, is strongly supported by the fact that the interval in the preceding line between and corresponding to and measuring 233, in the other case 227 mm, gives exactly the same proportion. So we may be allowed to suppose that the proportion remains unchanged throughout the line, and we may enlarge the required distances in the following manner:

758 mm
557 mm
478 mm

This fixes the first group of three blocks as being 33 mm distant from the right border of the tier, its end 180 mm, the second group as 187,5 mm distant from the first. The third tier of the Pársík version may be regarded as determined, and the blocks are to be numbered 2, 3, 4, 9, and 11.

Of the third tier of the Pahlavík version (C′) 9 blocks have been discovered. The first three lines and a fifth part of line 4 are translations of the last two thirds of 3 line and of lines 4 to 6 of C of the Pársík version. Here there are more corresponding passages than anywhere else. Besides, a thorough study of the blocks reveals, that four of them form an inseparable group and that they were the first four blocks of the tier. It is the only case in which the beginning half-block was found. This result is obtained without any proportional reckoning. Of the remaining blocks four belong to two indivisible pairs, and only one block is left single. One of the pairs must be placed very near to the left end of the tier, for the words in C, block 9 and 11:

. . . . . [2 2]

correspond to in C′, line 3, and in the beginning of line 4. And in line 5 . . . is to be completed, as the parallel passage in line 4 of the other pair of blocks indicates, to of which the last word appears in C′ 1, line 5, as first word. So the wanting half block at the end of the lines contained in line 3 not more than the words

As every one of the first three lines contains parts of the translation of C′, 3—4, lines 4—6, the proportions for the first 3 lines of D can be calculated. The other pair of blocks of D can be fixed with the help of the words [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in line 2 and . . [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] . . in line 3. As an examination will show, [Pahlavi] in line 1, too, corresponds to . . . [Pahlavi] in C′ 6, 3. The fifth fragmentary block may be fixed with the help of the words [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] to be found in its second and third, or third and fourth lines. The tier D in Pársík being very defective, we prefer not only to determine the position of these blocks, but at the same time to insert the corresponding passages from the Pahlavík version in their respective places. The proportion of reduction for the first lines is derived from the observation that [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] —/ [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] = 662 mm becomes enlarged to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] —/ [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] = 720 mm. This gives the following equations:

[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 64 mm to		69,5 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 124 mm to	[[Pahlavi]][Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]	134,5 mm (instead of 140 mm)
[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 220 mm to	[. . [Pahlavi] /2][Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]	238,5 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 246 mm to		267 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 281 mm to		305,5 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 321 mm to		349 mm
[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 423 mm to		461 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 475 mm to		516 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 523 mm to		570 mm.

As to the second line the following words: /[Pahlavi]—/[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] = 760 are reduced to /[Pahlavi] . . . —/[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] = 675 mm. This is a very great difference, the Pársík text covering less space than the Pahlavík. This difference in itself is not improbable and is, in fact, found from this line onward with a few exceptions; therefore this proportion reduces

[Pahlavi]/ — [Pahlavi] 64 mm to		57 mm
[Pahlavi]/ — [Pahlavi] 81 mm to	[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi]	71 mm (instead of 68 mm)
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 124 mm to	/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi]	110 mm (instead of 133 mm)
[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 217 mm to	[[Pahlavi]]/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi]	193 mm
[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 267 mm to		238 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 321 mm to		286 mm
[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 438 mm to		390 mm
/[Pahlavi] /[Pahlavi] 475 mm to		422,5 mm
/[Pahlavi] /[Pahlavi] 523 mm to		465 mm
[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/ = 199 mm to	/[Pahlavi] . . . — [Pahlavi]/ =	177 mm.

The measures obtained for lines 1 and 2 of the pair of blocks of which the position is to be found agree so well that we may consider the question as settled: there is a gap of only one block between the two pairs, 63 mm in width, and the second pair is to be numbered 5 and 6. The remaining single block could be fixed as 98 mm distant from the left edge of the tier and would be its No. 13, if only the word [Pahlavi] would represent its second line and correspond to the first word of C′ [Pahlavi] in the phrase [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]. But this cannot be proved, and it is even more probable that [Pahlavi] represents its third and [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] its fourth line, the latter corresponding to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in line 1 of the last block belonging to D′, the fourth tier of the Pahlavík version.

As for the last line of C′, the words in D, line 3, /[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] = 255 mm, which correspond to /[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi][[Pahlavi]] = 268 mm, for this reason are somewhat enlarged. This would place the fragment [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi], which is preserved in C′ 6, 6, just at the left edge of D 3, leaving room for only one character. The passage requires a [Pahlavi] following [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi], and this completion would leave room for only a very short word before [Pahlavi], e. g. a preposition.

words. So the block must find its place in the longer gap between block 4 and 9. The first task, therefore, is to insert the words surviving in the Pársík version in their proportionally reduced length into the corresponding gap of the Pahlavík version. After ... there follow the words ... in line 3, the translation of ... being the much shorter ... The distance from /... to .../ in Pársík is 377, in Pahlavík 371 mm, so that the 138 mm from ... to ... become 135,5 mm. But actually this distance is a little too long, because ... takes considerably less space than .... In line 2 there are only the words ... following 2 ..., and ... preceding ..., which leave a very long gap between each other. In line 3 we have the equation /... to ... amounting to 530 mm, corresponding to — /... =596 mm in the Pársík version. This fixes the equivalent of ... in C′, 9 and 10, line 3, missing in the Pársík version, between 135,5 mm and 251,5 mm left of .../[...], and would bring ... just to the place of .../... on C 4, line 6. On the other hand, the words .... surviving in C, line 6, would fill the space from the ... up to 88 mm left of the left edge of C′ 9. Between the left end of ..., or its translation in Pahlavík ... in line 1 and the right end of the equivalent of ... there remains a space of little more than 50 mm. This must be the place of the Pahlavík block in question. Its breadth is 60 mm. The word ... clearly requires the following preposition ..., and as there is room for one character at the beginning of the first line of the block, we may assume, that the ... of ... stood on this block. The ... surviving before ... is undoubtedly the equivalent of the last ... of .... Then the gap between block 4 and the block in question measures 65 mm. ... immediately follows ... in line 1, while ... in line 3 follows immediately .... The block in question receives the number 6 in the line. That this position is correct will at once be seen when we discuss the next tier; for its line 5 contains the words ... which correspond to ... in D, block 5, line 2, and require the same position for the block in question.

We shall now proceed to arrange the fourth tier of the Pársík version. The last surviving word in C, line 6, is ..., 200 mm distant from the left edge, and having as its counterpart ... in C′ 1, line 4. Therefore the greater part of C′, line 4, preserved on the first four blocks, must fill the gap of 200 mm in C. Where does the new line in D begin?

If we continue to enlarge line 4 of tier C′ in the proportion applicable to the foregoing line, that is — /... =650 mm to ... /— /... =742 mm, we get ... — ... = 199 mm enlarged to 229 mm, or only 9 mm more than the length of the gap plus .... The last characters of * ... would overlap the line or ought to be placed at the beginning of the new line.

Now, there are five blocks belonging to the fourth tier D of the Pársík version, four of them in inseparable pairs. In line 1 of one of these pairs we have the words: etc. [...]. The postposition ... proves that there was the preposition ... preceding .... One feels tempted to identify the terms ... and ... and .... Indeed, the second line of the same pair of blocks shows the words .../... corresponding to ... of C′ 3— line 5; and the first word of line 3 of the same pair is ..., corresponding to ... in C′ 4, line 6. Hence, these pairs of blocks are certainly the counterpart of C′ 3—4, and must be placed near the beginning of the tier. ... is without doubt the equivalent of .... The proportion of the foregoing line turns out to be somewhat too small and is to be corrected so that those words may coincide. There are only three characters ... missing on the right of the joint at the very beginning of the tier.

Similarly, in line 2 there are only three characters ... missing. In line 3 we may restore .... It is easy to continue this completion for lines 4—6: in 4 ...; in 5 ...; in 6 .... So the first pair is fixed very near to the beginning of the tier, and receives the numbers 2 and 3 of D.

to the left of the beginning of D′. And the group of 4 blocks of E, of which lines 2—3 correspond to lines 5—6 of this group, would be fixed approximately in such a way, that [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/, corresponding to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/, this latter at least 4250 mm distant from the equivalent of [Pahlavi], would become 4050 mm distant from [Pahlavi], or 560 mm to the left of the beginning of E, line 3.

With this last result all efforts to reconstruct this part of the inscription come to an end for the present, and we must endeavour to take up the lost thread later on.

The sixth tier of the Pahlavík version, F′, shows 6 lines closely pressed together leaving free space for a seventh line along the lower joint. By this peculiarity the 8 blocks belonging to F′ are at once distinguished from all the others. The seventh tier G of the Sasanian version also shows seven lines closely pressed together, a fact that distinguishes the four blocks belonging to that tier from all the rest. Unfortunately, one of those blocks is to such a degree weather-worn, that it must be left aside. All lines of the remaining three blocks are filled up with translation of parallel passages from F′. It is obvious that a part of the first line and the entire lines 2—6 of F′ correspond to lines 1—5 of G.

A close examination shows that the 8 blocks of F′ form three groups, one of two, two of three blocks each. Nearly the whole block numbered G 2 contains the translation of passages to be found in the last group of three blocks of F′, numbered 11—13. For the first line we obtain the scale [Pahlavi]/ — [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ = 750 mm equivalent to [Pahlavi]/ — [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ = 760 mm. The last word in this line of F′ is [Pahlavi], which can be completed to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] from the two parallel terms in line 4, and which corresponds to [Pahlavi], the first word in line 1 of block G 2. The scale given above reduces the 170 mm of /[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/ to 168 mm for [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/. As a control we can use the proportion [Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] = 735 mm and — /[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ = 726 mm, which would reduce the 130 mm of [Pahlavi] / — / [Pahlavi] to 128 mm for [Pahlavi] / — / [Pahlavi] Both results agree, and thus, the gap between the two blocks of G is fixed. This gap shows room for more than two very large blocks, or for three small blocks.

In the second line we read [Pahlavi] / [Pahlavi] — / [Pahlavi], covering the distance of 715 mm, and in the Pahlavík version [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] — / [Pahlavi] = 715 mm. This enables us to insert the whole passage [Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi] from F′ in its correct length into G, and to locate at the same time the end of the Pahlavík equivalent of [Pahlavi], possibly [Pahlavi], at 155 mm from /[Pahlavi].

The third line furnishes [Pahlavi] / — / [Pahlavi] = 712,5 mm and [Pahlavi] / — / [Pahlavi] = 737,5 mm. This enlarges

[Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 134 mm to	[Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] 138,3 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 146 mm to	/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 150,6 mm
/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 162 mm to	/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 167,6 mm
/[Pahlavi] . . . — /[Pahlavi] 170 mm to	[Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] — /[Pahlavi] 176 mm

The parallel passage [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] found in this table appears in line 4 of the pair of blocks of F′, instead of line 3 to which the words [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] belong. Therefore, the end of the tier and the change of line fall within the distance that has already been determined between the end of the group of three and the beginning of the group of two blocks. Their distance results to be exactly 83 mm. The beginning and the end of the tier must be anywhere within this space. At what point does the joint occur?

The blocks of this tier are unusually long, but even they, with one exception, do not exceed 60 mm. Their average length is 55 mm. Then, 83 mm are more than 2 half-blocks, and it is probable that the gap consisted of 1 full and 1 half block, averaging 82,5 mm. There are no means of proving this mathematically, but remembering the fact that no words are divided, we may assume, that in line 1 after [Pahlavi] there were the words [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi], and in line 2 (its end is 155 mm distant from the first /[Pahlavi], or 29 mm from /[Pahlavi]) there were a small gap and the translation of [Pahlavi]. In line 5 the fragmentary [Pahlavi] can be restored to [Pahlavi] according to [Pahlavi][Pahlavi] in G, line 5, and was followed by [Pahlavi], the equivalent of [Pahlavi].

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAIKULI INSCRIPTION

Here the method of mathematically reconstructing the inscription does not work. The first three lines of the four blocks belonging to the fourth Pahlavík layer D′, unfortunately, do not contain a single word that occurs in what is preserved of the last three lines of D (Pársík version) to which they correspond.

There are two ways out of this dilemma: the first is, to continue to employ the last available proportion of enlargement, making allowance for changes suggested by the varying size of the letters; the second is, to work out an average proportion for a certain number of lines up to a point where more parallel passages allow us to find out new calculations.

If we take the arithmetical mean 1.0503, the last available proportion, from /[illegible] to /[illegible] = 255 mm or to [illegible] = 262 mm, equivalent to /[illegible] . . . and /[illegible] = 268 mm or to [illegible] = 275 mm, would provide the following enlargements:

/[illegible] — [illegible] = 53 mm to 55,6 mm
[illegible] /. — [illegible] = 184 mm to 193,2 mm
/[illegible] — [illegible] = 220 mm to 230,5 mm
/. [illegible] — [illegible] = 262 mm to 277,5 mm.

The characters in D 2, 3, 5, and 6, lines 3 to 6, do not show any marked difference in their size. Therefore, since no better means are at hand, we may be allowed to continue the former proportion of reduction and obtain in that way the following approximate data:

[illegible]/ — [illegible]	45,0 mm become	428 mm,	or the beginning of D, line 4, is placed 129 mm from [the beginning of D′.
/[illegible] — [illegible]/	= 120,5 mm „	114,7 mm	
[illegible]/ — [illegible]/	= 231 mm „	220 mm	
/[illegible] — [illegible]/	= 277 mm „	264 mm	
[[illegible]]/[illegible] — [illegible]/	= 310 mm „	295 mm,	or end of D′ 6, 4 at 424 mm left of beginning of D′.
[illegible]/ — [illegible]/	760 mm „	724 mm,	or the beginning of D, line 5, at 93 mm left of begin- [ning of D′, line 2.
[[illegible]]/[illegible] — [illegible]	= 120,5 mm „	114,7 mm	
[illegible]/ — [illegible]	= 194 mm „	184,7 mm	
/[illegible] — [illegible]/	= 310 mm „	295 mm,	or end of D 6, 5 at 388 mm left of beginning of D′, line 2.
[illegible]/ — [illegible]	= 760 mm „	724 mm,	or beginning of D, line 6 at 57 mm } left of beginning of D′, line 3.
. . ./[illegible] — [illegible]/	= 310 mm „	295 mm,	or left end of D 6, 6 at 352 mm }

Only the four remaining blocks can have filled the gaps left by this proportional restoration. None of them can have been the first block of the tier, whereas the block already mentioned, containing the words [illegible] . . . [illegible] in its first line, might suitably be its last block.

The last three lines of D′ corresponding on the whole to the first three lines and odd of E contain some rare, but important parallels e.g. [illegible] (line 5) and . . [illegible] (line 2); possibly also [illegible] in D′ 8, 4 and [illegible] (line 2); quite certainly [illegible] (line 6) and [illegible] (line 3); and lastly [illegible] (line 6) and [illegible] (line 3).

One feels strongly induced to put together the blocks in question in the following position:

[illegible] . . .] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] .

This would determine their relative position, showing the gap between the single and inseparable pair of blocks of E about 50 mm wide, and the gap between the two blocks of D′ about 46 mm. This combination may be considered as very probable. As the first two lines do not contain any word corresponding to D 2, 6, line 4—6, the group evidently must be placed more to the left than the equivalent of those parts, that is, more than 424 mm

/[script]/ — /[script] 284 mm to 251,5 mm
/[script] -- /[script] 314 mm to 278 mm.

For the gap in line 3 the equation [script]/ — /[script] = 134 mm corresponding to [script]/ — /[script] = 113,25 mm is necessary. The result is:

/[script] — /[script] 23 mm become 27,2 mm
/.[script] — /[script] 50 mm become 59 mm.

For line 3/4 [script]/ — ../[script] = 543 mm to... [script]/ — /[script] = 546 mm means practically the same size, so that the corresponding pieces may be transferred easily.

For line 4/5: [script]/ — /[script] = 540 mm to [script]/ — /[script] = 575 mm makes

[script]/ — [script]/ 156 mm equal to 146,8 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 127 mm to 119,5 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 98 mm to 92 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 43 mm to 40,5 mm.

Having finished with the joined blocks, we proceed to treat in the same manner the pieces surviving on the movable three blocks of F′ being in relation to the single block of G. From the first line a special scale is not deducible. Besides, there arise certain difficulties, as the words [script] and [script], [script] and [script], in fact equivalents of one another, appear in reversed order, so that it is doubtful whether the lines are equivalent at all, and which of them is to be regarded as a translation of the other. It is preferable to begin with lines 2/3:

[script]/ — [script]/ = 760 mm and [script]/ — [script]/ = 795 mm
or /[script] /[script] 733 mm and [script] —/[script] = 768 mm.

On the basis of these proportions we arrive at the following reductions:

/[script] — /[script] 23 mm to 22 mm
/[script] — /[script] 44 mm to 42,2 mm
/[script] — /[script] 68 mm to 65 mm, making use of the same relations

for the blocks to the right of [script], we obtain

°[script] — /[script]/ 17,5 mm to 16,8 mm
°[script] — /[script]/ 36 mm to 34,5 mm
°[script] — /[script]/ 58 mm to 55,7 mm
°[script] — [script]/ 72 mm to 69 mm.

Furthermore:

[script]/ —[script]/ 27 mm 25,8 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 53 mm 51 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 81 mm 77,5 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 107,5 mm 103 mm.

For line 3/4 we obtain [script]/ — /[script] = 771 mm and [script]/ — /[script]/ — /[script] = 752 mm, which enlarges on the left [script] 21,5 mm to 20,35 mm
and on the right:

[script]/ — [script]/ 30 mm to 28,35 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 56 mm to 53 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 90 mm to 85 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 108 mm to 102 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 146 mm to 138 mm
[script]/ — [script]/ 162,5 mm to 153,5 mm.

We now observe that the endings of lines 3—5 of F′, lying one exactly above the other, form in the Pársík version regular steps overlapping one another to the left 470 and 455 mm. The scale of line 2/3 795 : 766 or

According to the scale of proportion of that line, /[script]—/[script] = 721 mm and /[script]—/[script] = 774 mm, [script] = 33 mm would be enlarged to 35,3 mm, but as the letters at the end of the line even in [script] itself, are unusually pressed together, and as the number of letters is less in the Pahlavík than in the Pársík version, 10 instead of 12, they can easily be inserted within the same interval as [script] in line 1 and [script] . . . . . (29 mm) in line 2. So it is probable that there was a half-block, 29 or 30 mm in width, at the end of the tier, and an entire block, 53 or 54 mm in width, at its beginning. In any case, the mistake, which we possibly, though not probably, make by this arrangement, is not an essential one. Having thus fixed the group of three blocks near the left, and the pair of two blocks near the right end of the tier, the remaining gap between both measures 404 mm.

The other group of three blocks as a matter of course finds its place within this large gap in the middle of the tier. We must try to find out the exact position of these three blocks of the Pársík version.

Line 1 of the two blocks of which the distance has been determined contains the equivalent of F′ 11—13: [script] — [script]. The subsequent . . . [script] would be in Pahlavík . . . [script], which would fill line 1 of the last half-block and nearly line 2 of the first block of F′; the rest of block 2 and line 2 of block 3, [script] — [script] then join on. In the Pársík version, all this must follow to the left of the two coupled blocks in line 1. That the third block must be placed farther to the left is evident from lines 2 and 3, where we find the equivalent passages:

[script] . . . . [script]
[script] . . . . . [script]

and: [script] . . . . [script]
[script] . . . . [script]

So, undoubtedly, the joined pair must be moved near the beginning of the tier.

In F′, line 1, to the right of [script] [[script]] we find on the movable group of three blocks the passage beginning with [script] and reaching up to [script]. That whole passage appears in the Pársík version in the last line, 6, of the foregoing tier F. Therefore, the change of line in the Pársík version takes place between [script] [[script]] and [script].

From the contents of F, line 6, we may conclude, that the one block, the sixth line of which reads [script] followed immediately after the equivalent of [script], that is *[script] or instead of the comparative perhaps better the superlative *[script] for [script] and the [script] beginning that line is obviously the last letter of the same word. Then the breaking off of the line must be placed between [script] and *[script] (or *[script]).

Inserting the passages surviving in Pahlavík, into the Pársík version, we get for line 1/2:

[script]/ — [script]/ 750 mm, and [script]/ — [script]/ 760 mm
enlarging /[script] — [script]/ 160 mm to 158 mm, and
/[script] — [script]/ 108 mm to 107 mm.
For Line 2/3: [script]/ — /[script] 715 mm, and [script]/ — /[script] 789 mm
enlarges /[script] — [script]/ 75 mm to 68 mm
/[script] — [script]/ 56 mm to 51,5 mm
/[script] — /[script] 18 mm to 16,35 mm
or .. [script]/ — /[script] 206 mm to 182 mm
[script] — /[script] 217 mm to 192 mm
/[script] — /[script] 240 mm to 212,5 mm
/.[script] — /[script] 260 mm to 230 mm

F′ 6, 7 and 8. As for G, we have fixed at the same time the distance of the three surviving blocks. They have less than the average width, and we may suppose that other blocks of the same tier had, on the contrary, more than the usual width as is seen likewise in tier H. In that case the narrower gap on the right is to be counted as 3 blocks, the broader one as 5 blocks in width.

The entire length of the combined blocks plus the completions far exceeds the length of a tier, 760 mm. This is obvious, as the first surviving block must be placed near the beginning of the tier, and projecting parts of the overhanging lines 3—5 must be put at the left end of lines 2—4.

Now we are able to calculate after our old manner the distance of the first surviving block from the right edge. In F′ 1 /[Pahlavi script] — [Pahlavi script]/ measures 132 mm, in F 5 [Pahlavi script] — [Pahlavi script] about 155 mm. This would give 214 mm for the 185 mm from [Pahlavi script] to [Pahlavi script] and 45,8 mm for the 53 mm of [Pahlavi script] [Pahlavi script], and would leave a space of 59 mm between this and [Pahlavi script] [Pahlavi script].

The block of F containing [Pahlavi script] [Pahlavi script] in its fifth line looks very much like the last block of the tier, because, in order to fill up the line, the words are written with unusually wide spaces between the letters, and there remain free spaces at the left end in lines 2, 3 and 5. Line 1 is out of question, and in line 4 the last word [Pahlavi script] absolutely requires the ending [Pahlavi script], [Pahlavi script], and we are not allowed to suppose that these two letters stood at the beginning of the following line. On the contrary, they must have been compressed, overhanging the line on the edge of the only following block, the corner column of the monument, and this with the same disregard for an equable distribution of the characters on the available length as the enlarged spaces and the free gaps at the end of the lines show.

Admitting this, the distance of 59 mm from the equivalent of [Pahlavi script] to [Pahlavi script] corresponds to the distance of [Pahlavi script] from the right edge of tier G. There is an efficient control, if we observe the law not to divide any word at the ends of the lines. In the overlapping parts of the lines 3—5 there are three spaces just one above the other [Pahlavi script]/[Pahlavi script], [Pahlavi script]/[Pahlavi script], and [Pahlavi script]/[Pahlavi script]. This joint in the three lines is 40 mm distant from the right edge of the first block, and 57 mm from [Pahlavi script], a measurement agreeing perfectly well with the 59 mm of [Pahlavi script]/ — /[Pahlavi script]°. Fixing now the first block of G at 40 mm from the right edge of the tier, only the last three characters of [Pahlavi script] remain in line 1 overlapping the 760 mm of the tier. By compressing the last words a little they may easily find a place. But still this part of line 1 remains very uncertain. Those parts of line 3—5 overlapping the right edge find their place at the left end of lines 2—4.

We have but to find out the position of the fourth block which has been left out of consideration up till now as beeing almost illegible. Even in its state of utter destruction, it seems that it cannot belong to one of the big gaps between the three blocks. But the few traces of letters still recognizable with more or less certitude, fit remarkably well into the gap near the left edge, leaving only one half-block up to the left end of the tier. So the surviving blocks of G receive the numbers 2, 6, 12, and probably 14.

After this successful attempt to take up the lost thread in tier D we proceed first of all to arrange tier F. Seven blocks are preserved, characterized by 5 lines and a blank instead of a sixth line along the lower joint. In addition, one block copied by Henry Rawlinson in his note-book, but not recovered by myself, belongs to this tier, (No. 4 of Thomas' transcription). The fourth and last line reads [[Pahlavi script]][Pahlavi script] [Pahlavi script]. The words under discussion belong to the phrase [Pahlavi script] ... [Pahlavi script] ... [Pahlavi script] occupying line 1 of G′, 6—8 and immediately preceding the subsequent [Pahlavi script] [Pahlavi script] 2 of F 15,5. Thus, the last blocks of tier F are already determined by the reconstruction of E′ and receive the numbers 15, 13, 12, Rawlinson's No. 4 becoming 11. By writing down the text in characters of the same size as 12 Rawlinson's block becomes 50 mm in width, and the entire length of blocks 11—15 then becomes 273 mm.

Of the remaining blocks two form an inseparable pair as can be proved by lines 3—5. The last, i. e. the 5th

768 : 733, i. e. 1,0428 (arithm. mean), gives 455 mm; the scale for line 3/4 752:711, i. e. 1,05766, gives 470 mm; so, the scale for line 1/2 being 766:760 or 760—750, i. e. 1,01719 (arithm. mean), we should expect that the left end of that line would overlap the next one 448 mm to the left. The entire lenght of that piece of line is 192 or, deducing the gaps in the line, 177 mm, which gives 174 mm in the same reduction. This puts the beginning of the piece, viz. the word [illegible], only 15 mm to the right of [illegible].

The coinciding spaces do not correspond with each other as to their contents. This means that either there is a discrepancy in the text at this spot, or as the equivalents [illegible] and [illegible] fall 54 mm far from each other, the whole passage must be moved 54 mm to the left, and the resulting gap on the right and the surplus of letters on the left were due to greater or lesser density of the writing or by supernumerary words. This latter assumption seems preferable and may be used in reconstructing the inscription. It furnishes a new scale of reduction for this part of the line 1/2: [illegible] / — / [illegible] = 711 mm, and [illegible] / — / [illegible] = 788 mm would make [illegible] — [illegible]/ = 177 mm to 160 mm.

The scale for line 4/5, as explained above, is

/[illegible] — /[illegible] = 775 mm and /[illegible] — /[illegible] = 746 mm
or [illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 786 mm and [illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 760 mm,

the arithmetical mean being 1,037. This would bring the end of the existing line 6 of F′, [illegible] 454 mm to the right of /[illegible] in the line 5, making the gap between /[illegible] and [illegible]/ = 24 mm. At the same time we are enabled to insert the whole piece from [illegible][[illegible]] up to [illegible] into its proper place and its reduced length of 184 mm into line 5 of the Pársík version.

Now everything is ready for taking the last step in order to ascertain the position of the two groups in tier G. With regard to the fact that the first line must be completed on the left by the words [illegible] in F′, there are not more than three blocks entirely missing in the two gaps. As the three still movable blocks cannot possibly touch the fixed blocks at the end of the tier, there are only two possibilities: either the gap on the left has a width of one block, and that on the right of two blocks, or *vice versa*. Hence, we must try, which position will suit the contents of the completed text in G better, or in other words, in which position there is the least degree of difference between the two versions.

To make the matter clearer, it may be remarked here that, if the extreme ends are fitted together, there would be no distance at all in line 5, only a distance of 38 mm in line 4, of 37 mm in line 3, of 31 mm in line 2 and of 64 mm or even 118 mm in line 1. It is self-evident that the differences, expressed in percentage, diminish with the lenght of the distance and that, therefore, the distance of two blocks will suit better than that of only one block, as the following table shows:

	touching:	distance of 1 block:	distance of 2 blocks:
line 5	0 mm	51 mm	102 mm
line 4	38 mm	89 mm	140 mm
line 3	37 mm	88 mm	139 mm
line 2	31 mm	82 mm	133 mm
line 1	64 mm	115 mm	166 mm

Line 1, an exception to the rule, may be left out of account. Line 6 of the movable blocks of F′ is written with comparatively wide spaces, so that it may easily be reduced to 30 mm less than the length assumed in line 5 of G, which would widen the distance to 132 mm and make the intervals in the four columns practically identical.

After all, we may put an end to the mobility of the three blocks of F′ and fix them with good reason in the middle of the gap 106 mm from F′ 3, i. e. the average width of two blocks. We shall find a strong corroboration when discussing tier F. Line 5 of F′ 9 fits in the gap between [illegible] — [illegible] in such a way that a free space of about a block remains on the right, of about a full block's length on the left. They receive the numbers

expect it, and in exactly the ascertained length, this block is perfectly fixed. It gets the number 9 of tier E′. At the same time we may insert the equivalents of F 13 and 15, line 1, into the first third of E′, line 4.

For F, lines 3—5, corresponding to E′, 5 and 6, we get the general approximate scale: E′ 5 and 6 : 2 · 760 = 1520 mm and F 3—4 : 2 · 760 mm + F 5 : 181 mm = 1701 mm. Hence, 760 mm become 850,5 mm. The end of E, 5 falls approximately 98,5 mm to the right of block F, 5.

The word [illegible] in E′ 7, 6, being 402—420 mm distant from the end of the line would precede [illegible] in F 5, 6 by approximately 452—472 mm. Now block F 11, 4 (Rawlinson's No. 4) shows [illegible] [illegible] written only 46 mm to the left of this place. So Rawlinson's transcription is in fact the equivalent of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in E′ 7, 6. The proportion [illegible] [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 425 mm and [illegible]/ [illegible] —/ [illegible] = 402 mm allows us to insert the entire passage from [illegible] up to [illegible] and from [illegible] to [illegible] into E′. It would bring the end of [illegible] 117 mm to the left of [illegible] and /[illegible] 230,5 mm to the left of the same point.

Further, [illegible]/ — /[illegible] [illegible] = 1073 mm and [illegible]/ — /[illegible] [illegible] = 1248 mm would reduce [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]/, 760—714 mm from /[illegible] [illegible], to 654—615 mm.

Now we see in F:

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 2
a little to the left of it [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 3
and below it [illegible] in line 4;

and on one block of E′:

. . . . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 4
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 5
[illegible] in line 6
exactly above each other.

Hence it is certain that this is the required block. The equivalent of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] moves a little to the right and appears, just as in F 15, precisely above [illegible]. The new scale resulting therefrom, /[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]/ — = 489 mm and [illegible] [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 466 mm, locates the equivalent of the passage [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . . near to the beginning of E′ line 6. There is one block (No. 25 of Thomas' transcription) in Rawlinson's note-book bearing in its sixth line the words [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. These resemble [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. But the translation of [illegible] into Pahlavík is [illegible], and it is hardly credible, that Rawlinson would have misread [illegible] for [illegible]. Now there is another block belonging to F, which has [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] likewise in its fourth line, and possibly these two words *Sháhpuhr* correspond with each other. The third line has . . . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and E′ 7,5 . . . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (?).

For [illegible] [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 216 mm we get 272 mm
[illegible] [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 246 mm 284 mm
[illegible] [illegible]/ — [illegible] [illegible]/ = 265 mm 333 mm,

making use of the proportion [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 568 mm to [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 714 mm. This would fix the block under discussion 36 mm to the right of F 11, too narrow a distance for one full block in the middle of the tier. If we try to restore the fourth line of the gap after the model of Rawlinson's No. 25, we find [illegible] . . . [illegible] touching or even partly covering the [illegible] . . . which precedes the word [illegible] of F 11,4, being equivalent to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . . in E′ 7,6. Apparently [illegible] . . is the end of a shorter comparative, connected merely by the copula [illegible] with the other comparative [illegible]. We may restore the phrase to [illegible] [illegible], the three characters [illegible] [illegible] filling the space at the end of Rawlinson's block. If the passage is written down in the size of the adjoining characters, the distance is 53 mm instead of 36 mm which would move the block a little to the right, the greater part of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] still coinciding with the calculated space for its equivalent [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 3.

At the same time, the words [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in its sixth line would fall into the gap between G 3 and 5, line 1, corroborating the ascertained length of that gap. Lastly Rawlinson's No. 25 would precede immediately E′ 7, and line 6 would run: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. And as a marvellous and most welcome confirmation we find in line 3 the following coincidence:

line reads: [illegible], the equivalent [illegible] appearing in F′ line 25,1. To fix this pair we have the proportion

/[illegible] — [illegible]/ = 238,5 mm and [illegible] — [illegible]/ = 270 mm

or /[illegible] — [illegible]/ = 190 mm and /[illegible] — [illegible]/ = 214 mm (instead of 216);

then [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 176 mm become 199 mm

[illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 215 mm become 243 mm, the difference, 44 mm, being the actual length of the words [illegible]/— [illegible]/. The pair of blocks is thus fixed, the gap measuring 196 mm or 4 blocks. The numbers given to the pair are 5 and 6. The words following [illegible] in F′ 2 and 3, line 1, 63 mm in length, occupy in F, line 6, a space of 71,2 mm, whereas the equivalent of [illegible]—[illegible], preceding [illegible] in F 5, line 5, occupies just the length of the missing block F 1, line 1. It is important to note that the beginning of F′ 1,1 falls at the right of F 5,5 with only the gap of 1 letter, the missing [illegible] between them.

We may proceed by ascertaining the general proportion of the tier. The nearest fixed points are distant from each other in Pahlavík:

Pahlavík:		in Pársík:	
D′ 3:	18 mm	E 1—6:	6 · 760 4560 mm
D 4—6:	3 · 760 2280 mm	F, 1—4:	4 · 760 3040 mm
E′ 1—6:	6 · 760 4560 mm	F, 5:	181 mm
	6858 mm	=	7781 mm.

One line of the Pahlavík version would become enlarged from 760 mm to 862 mm one line of the Pársík version would become reduced to 670 mm.

We shall try this way and inscribe the ends of the lines in regular progression into the corresponding tier. Then, the head of E′ 6 would fall 78,5 mm to the left of the beginning of F 4, the head of E′ 5 23,5 mm to the right of the left end of F 2, just into [illegible], the head of E′ 4 125,5 mm to the right of the left end of F 1, just 37 mm to the left of [illegible]. Equivalents of the two passages, [illegible] and [illegible] appear on one and the same block of E′, viz. in the lines 4 and 3 where we would expect them, just one above the other. Hence, beyond any doubt, that block is the last one of E′, (15), and we get at once a reliable scale of enlargement for these lines and a better one for the preceding lines. This is a great step forward, for it enables us to insert the contents of F, line 1 (last part) and 2—6 (entirely) into E′. We have:

[illegible] / — / [illegible] = 711,5 mm and [illegible] / — / [illegible] = 860 mm.

In this line occurs [illegible], 30 mm in length, of which the Pahlavík equivalent [illegible] would be only about 10 mm in width. For greater exactitude, we determine at first the place of this [illegible], and ascertain the two halves of the line separately. [illegible] falls 342 mm from the left, 359 mm from the right. — The new proportion

[illegible] / — / [illegible] = 342 mm and [illegible] / — / [illegible] = 406 mm makes

[illegible]/ —	/[illegible] = 62 mm to	52,3 mm
[illegible]/ —	[illegible]/ = 99 mm	83,5 mm
[illegible]/ —	[illegible]/ = 133 mm	112 mm
[illegible]/ —	[illegible]/ = 159 mm	134 mm
[illegible]/ —	[illegible]/ = 199 mm	168 mm.

For the other half:

[illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 359 mm and [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 422,5 mm makes

[illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 21 mm to	17,15 mm
[illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 60 mm to	51,8 mm

As the equivalent of those words, [illegible], appears on one block of E′ in line 4, where we should

ideogram, but the formal resemblance of its literal reading KÁMÉVT with KAM(É)T is nevertheless noteworthy, and may reveal some nearer connexion between the two words.

The block in question receives number 3 in F and is located 49 mm to the right of F 5.

Tier E and D′ still remain to be discussed.

A certain number of parallel passages show that E, lines 1—3, correspond to D′, lines 3—6, and E, 4—6 to E′, 1 and 2 at least.

As previously shown, two blocks of D′ are linked together showing a gap of about 46 mm between them. Another block is severely damaged. The last one has some incomplete words on its right edge, the complete words on its left joint, lines 1—3, being somewhat crushed, whereas in 2, 4—6 not an inconsiderable space remains free. That suggests that this block is the last one of the tier. Tier C′ ends with a half-block, and on account of the regular change of joints in the different tiers we must expect a complete block at the end of D′. Line 1 of this block contains the term [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] which possibly corresponds to the [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] of that very fragmentary block of D, of which only 4 lines are preserved, and the position of which still remains undetermined.

Of E seven blocks have been discovered. Three of them are very similar in appearance. They were, certainly, not placed far from one another, although they can neither touch each other nor be the first or the last block of the tier because every one shows on both its joints incomplete words, which do not fit together. Two exceedingly narrow blocks form an inseparable pair and are linked with a third one; but there is a gap of one block, or approximately 50 mm, as previously shown. The left block of this group measures only 34 mm in width, and therefore looks like a half-block. Half-blocks can only be expected at the ends of the tiers. But the experiment carried through in all its consequences shows that this assumption cannot be correct.

The last remaining block resembles from outward appearance the latter group. The words on its left edge are complete. In line 2 a sign looking like a [Pahlavi] is apparently only the result of damage done to the stone. In line 5 . . [Pahlavi] may be restored to [Pahlavi], finding room on the block itself. This block is exceedingly well fitted to be the last of the tier.

The last passage preceding tier E, that could be fixed with absolute certainty was . . [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in D 6,3 and /[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in C′ 9,6. — With [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in F 12,1 and [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in E′ 15,3, we again reach a safe point of issue. Then the entire distance between the nearest fixed points is:

D 3:	448 mm	and	C′ 6:	300 mm
D 4—6: 3 · 760	2280 mm		D′ 1—6: 6 · 760	4560 mm
E 1—6: 6 · 760	4560 mm		E′ 1—2: 2 · 760	1520 mm
F 1	555 mm		E′ 3	730 mm
	7843 mm	become		7110 mm.

The length of an entire line of 760 mm becomes either reduced to 689 mm or enlarged to 838 mm.

That would bring the beginning of F, line 1, or the end of E, line 6, 555 mm distant from [Pahlavi]/, 498,5 mm to the right of [Pahlavi]. The proportion valid for the following part of the line, [Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] = 362 mm to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] = 303 mm, would bring it 465 mm right of [Pahlavi] or 33,5 mm more to the left. The head of E′ 6, RAWLINSON's No 25, is 490 mm distant from [Pahlavi]. Hence the cut between E, line 6, and F, line 1, coincides approximately with RAWLINSON's [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi].

Trying to insert E′, line 3, into F, line 1, we find in E′ 7,3 the word [Pahlavi] 389—398 mm distant from [Pahlavi] which according to the general proportion would give 429—439 mm, and according to the old proportion 465—477 mm. On F 3,1 stands an isolated [Pahlavi] just in the middle of both these lengths. Obviously, this is the rest of [Pahlavi] and the equivalent of [Pahlavi], and we get the new and reliable proportion for F, line 1: [Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi][[Pahlavi]] = 449 mm to [Pahlavi]/ — /[Pahlavi] = 388 mm. The space up to the first line of tier F, being 555 mm, must then be changed into 480 mm, which means that it falls just in the space of [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . . .
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Hence both these blocks being fixed, RAWLINSON's No. 25 must be numbered E′ 6 and the Pársík block F 9.

There is now no difficulty in inserting the overlapping parts into the corresponding places, e. g.

[illegible] /— /[illegible] = 303 mm and [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 370 mm
[illegible] /— /[illegible] = 20 mm become 24,4 mm
[illegible] /— /[illegible] = 55 mm 67,2 mm
[illegible] /— [illegible]/ = 71 mm 86,7 mm.

So the equivalent of F 15, 1 moves 5 mm more to the right than it did after the first less exact calculation.

One block of E′ and another one of F remain still undetermined. Nearly the entire lines 4—6 of E′ are completed by their equivalents in F, 1—4, and it is quite impossible to put the block in question into one of the two large gaps before block 6 or between 7 and 12. But through all the lines there is a third gap covering just the room of one block, viz. the last block but one. Looking at their outward appearance alone, and considering the size of letters and the distance of lines, the block in question and block 15 join admirably well, but since the contents furnish a continuous order of words and give a clear sense this must be the place of our block, and we may be allowed to give it the number 14 of E′.

In line 5 of E′, 14 and 15, there appear the words [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which correspond to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in line 4 of the still unfixed block of F. In line 2 of that block we read [illegible], the [illegible] being visible on the block but wanting in the facsimile. — If the above mentioned correspondence of line 4 were true, the block ought to precede F 5 and [illegible], and would then be the equivalent of [illegible] in E′ 6,4. This word is fixed at 67,2—86,7 mm to the right of [illegible]. To establish this supposition we must insert [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] into its proper place. [illegible] [illegible]/ — /[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] = 394 mm and [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 410 mm enlarge [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 268 mm to 278,8 mm and [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 98 mm to 102 mm. Or: [illegible], as required, would stand exactly below [illegible], 57 mm distant to the right of F 5. This is absolutely convincing.

There arises, nevertheless, a difficulty, which, however, is not unsurmountable. In line 5 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] precedes the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] by 57 mm. The equivalent of this passage must be the first words of F 1,1, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in E′ 15,6 therefore immediately adjoins the subsequent [illegible] filling up approximately the gap between /[illegible] and [illegible][illegible]. There are the words [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] immediately preceding [illegible] [illegible], which then would coincide with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

If we insert the words corresponding to the Pahlavík passage into the Pársík version after the proportion [illegible]/—/[illegible] = 181 mm to [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 167,5 mm we get:

[illegible]/ — [illegible]/= 21 mm enlarged to 22,7 mm
[illegible]/ — [illegible]/= 48 mm 51,8 mm
[illegible]/ — [illegible]/= 66 mm 71,2 mm
[illegible]/ — [illegible]./= 81,5 mm 88 mm.

At another place, F′ 12, 3, the phrase [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is rendered by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in G 2,3. The traces preserved in E′ 14,6 make it difficult to restore the only possible [illegible]. On the other hand [illegible] is the conjunction [illegible], NP. [illegible], plus the enclitic pronoun of the 1st person pl., and would literally correspond to [illegible] [illegible], but may perhaps take the place of [illegible] [illegible]. It may be that the [illegible] at the head of the line is likewise to be restored to [illegible]. To assume a defective writing of [illegible] [illegible] is highly improbable, because [illegible] in that case represents Aramaic [illegible]. In any case, the translation of the phrase is somewhat free. If [illegible] corresponds to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] would stand for [illegible], the former to be read KÁM(é)t meaning 'he desired, intended, was willing', the latter VÁČ(é)t meaning 'he spoke, prayed'. Both words are indeed true synonyms, if we take them in the sense 'to desire' and 'to pray'. On the other hand the still unexplained word [illegible] looks like an Aramaic

. [illegible] I take to be the equivalent of [illegible]. If this be true, we ought to combine both fragments [illegible] and [illegible] or [illegible] and restore line 4 as follows: [illegible]. This would occupy just the same space as line 2, viz. 57 mm which is the usual width of one block and may be taken as correct. We cannot control this result by the proportions of the adjoining parts of the lines, because here the equivalents differ unusually in shape and size.

To get the length of the gap in the Pahlavík version we must start from line 6, where the gap between [illegible] — [illegible] must not only correspond to [illegible] — [illegible], but must at the same time also have the size of a normal block. In the Pársík version the missing part measures not more than 45 mm. This space cannot be further reduced than usual, for in the adjoining parts the characters have unusually wide spaces between one another; [illegible] — [illegible] is just as wide as its Pársík equivalent and [illegible] — [illegible] even exceeds it. So we may reasonably assume the gap to be not less than 45 mm.

The next task is to determine the distance between this group of blocks and the block at the left end of the tier.

In E′ 6 & 7, line 2 we read:

[illegible]

and in E, line 6: [illegible] ... ... [illegible]

These passages complete each other and the one gives the continuation of the other. The part from [illegible] to [illegible] written down in the size of the characters of the adjoining blocks would measure about 85 mm. This time we can control this length by the proportion of the entire line, which is 760 to 835, and which would increase the length of [illegible] — [illegible] = 109 mm to 120 mm. If we take the gap to be 85 mm wide, this length is exactly 120 mm. So we may regard the whole end of tier E as fixed. The blocks receive the numbers 15, 12, 11, and 9.

Then [illegible] is 442 mm, instead of the minimum of 560 mm, distant from the beginning of its line, which minimum we ought to expect when continuing to use the proportion valid for the first third of line D 3.

In E′ 6,1 Rawlinson has [illegible] just above [illegible]. According to our mathematical calculations we must expect to find the equivalent of E 9,4: [illegible] at that place. Therefore, comparing the words on E′ 15, [illegible], which might be restored to

[illegible]

and the words [illegible] in E 9,4,

we must certainly read in E′ 6,1: [illegible].

Up to this point every new result has supported those hitherto gained. A further corroboration may be obtained by the following observation. The beginnings of the 6 lines of E′ 6 and their equivalents are known:

line 6: [illegible] corresponds to [illegible] in F 9,4 409 mm distant from the beginning of the line;
line 5: [illegible] joins immediately [illegible] in F 6,3 294 mm distant from the beginning of the line;
line 4: [illegible] corresponds to [illegible] in F 2,2 130 mm distant from the beginning of the line;
line 3: [illegible] completes [illegible] in E 15,6 5 mm to the right of the end of the line;
line 2: [illegible] corresponds to [illegible] in E 12,5, 170 mm distant from the end of the line;
line 1: [illegible] corresponds to [illegible], 333 mm to the right of the end of the line.

The progression of those lines must agree with the proportions valid for the same. The differences are just as required: 115—164—135—165—163 mm. We shall make use of the same method afterwards for determining the situation of the blocks of the tier D′.

Before doing so, we must still insert one block of E, viz. that one the fifth line of which reads [illegible]. These words correspond to [illegible] of E′ 12,1 being 308—338 mm far from [illegible]. The proportion of the line is [illegible] — [illegible] = 734 mm to [illegible] — [illegible] = 898 mm. This fixes the equivalents of the words in question at 377—413 mm from [illegible], or the

So we can reliably restore lines F, 1 and E′ 6—12,3:

/—	= 40 mm	become 46,25 mm
/—	= 67 mm	77,5 mm
/—	= 122 mm	141,1 mm
/—	= 153,5 mm	177,5 mm
/—	= 169,5 mm	196 mm
/—	= 370 mm	428 mm
/—	= 411 mm	475 mm
/—	= 426,5 mm	493,5 mm.

On the other hand, if the equivalent of [illegible] becomes the first word of F, 1,1, [illegible] must correspond to the last one of E 15,6. As there is hardly a word ending in [illegible] ..., and from the context the end of a verb is to be expected, [illegible] must probably be emended into [illegible] .... That block of E which presented itself as the last of the tier, shows in fact at the end of its sixth line the verb .. [illegible] which can easily be restored to [illegible] and, therefore, is probably the verbal form looked for.

The isolated [illegible] .. or probably [illegible] ... in F 9,1 stands parallel to ....[illegible], and so we may combine the two fragments: [illegible] and [illegible]. —

/[illegible] — [illegible]/ in F 5 & 6,1 being 263—362 mm distant from [illegible]/ fit in E′, line 3, at 227,2—313 mm right of [illegible]/, and the gap may probably be supplied thus:

.. [illegible]

The new general proportion for the foregoing lines is: 7843 — 555 = 7288 mm and 7110 — 480 = 6630 mm, or 760 mm become 691,5 mm, or 835 mm.

Proceeding step by step we notice in Rawlinson's block E′ 6,2 [illegible] just above .. [illegible]. On the narrow block which is the left one of the group of four in E there appears [illegible] in line 5, and these words correspond to line 2 of E′. Beyond doubt [illegible] is a slight misreading for [illegible], the equivalent of the Pársík words. Making use of the new general proportion, the space of .. [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 742 — 760 mm would become 815 — 835 mm, which would bring the left edge only 55 mm to the right of the end of the tier, and if the block containing [illegible] in its last line were indeed the last of the tier, it would make the gap between the two blocks only 6 mm in length instead of the normal width of one block of 50 mm, which is evidently much too small.

Before proceeding we must now check the width of the gap between the coupled blocks of E and D′. We previously proposed the following restoration:

[illegible]

[illegible]

Although the traces are not in favour of restoring [illegible], the fragmentary .... or .... may be taken as a synonym of [illegible] and as an equivalent of [illegible], and 4 characters may be supposed to be missing, three of them within the gap. The equivalent of [illegible] being [illegible], and ... [illegible] being the necessary complement of [illegible] .., we get [illegible] ../. Written in the size of the characters of the line this equals about 57 mm. The gap between [illegible]/ — /[illegible] becomes diminished by the word [illegible] preceding [illegible]/. As for line 4, it will be proved at once that Rawlinson's [illegible] in E′ 6,1 is to be read [illegible], and that it is the equivalent of [illegible], and that it is the equivalent of [illegible]. Hence the following [illegible] must fill up the gap between [illegible] — /[illegible]. The equivalent of [illegible] is [illegible]. The words

letters and spaces in the two versions. Therefore, the proportions cannot suddenly change at a certain spot, but only gradually. Hence, a really reliable approximation, much better than that arrived at by taking the general proportion, is obtained by taking the arithmetical means of the two proportions, 0.92615 + 0.81737 : 2 = 0.87176. In that way, 760 mm become 662,5 mm, or the difference from [illegible]/ to ... [illegible]/ is 97,5 mm, and .. [illegible]/ is at 360 mm to the left of the beginning of the line. [illegible] then would fall 87,5 mm farther to the left, viz. 447,5 mm to the left of the beginning of line 5 of D′, instead of 377 mm, or 70 mm farther to the left. Even in this position the traces of letters in line 1: [illegible] (?) would still conflict with the [illegible] of D 6,4. As always, when we are on the right way, new facts come to our help. The only unfixed block of D′ has in line 1 .. [illegible] ./ and in line 5 ..... [illegible], corresponding on the one hand to D 6,4 [illegible], on the other to [illegible] in line 2 of that block of E which is not yet fixed. The same Pahlavík block has in its line 4 [illegible], and in line 4 of the right block belonging to the inseparable group in question we read [[illegible]] [illegible]. Now we discover in the badly damaged line 1 of the Pársík block with [illegible] in its second line the signs: [illegible] . 2 ... [illegible], i. e. [illegible] [[illegible]]2[[illegible]] [illegible][[illegible]] and from this observation it follows that the words ..... [illegible] in line 4 must precede immediately the words [[illegible]] [illegible]. So the single Pahlavík group is connected with the group already discussed above, and since there are the words [[illegible]][illegible] [illegible][[illegible]] in its first line, it links the whole equivalent group of blocks in the Pársík version solidly with the last blocks of D, determined above as D 4 and 5, which contain the words [illegible].

Hence, the difficult task of fixing the group of blocks under discussion is solved. The block with ...[illegible].. has its fixed place, the two other ones with the gap between them follow immediately. The corresponding Pársík blocks, then, are also fixed. Now it is easy to observe the identity of the words [illegible] in line 1, [illegible] in line 2 and [illegible] .... in line 3 of the only remaining block of D′ with the words [illegible], ...][illegible] [[illegible] .., and [[illegible]][illegible] 2 [illegible][[illegible] .. of the very mutilated block of tier D of the Pársík version, which, therefore, are to be considered as lines 4, 5, and 6. This correspondence makes the mutilated Pársík block also the last of its tier.

A careful reader will observe that a number of correspondences between the two versions could only be discovered during the progress of the reconstruction and could be proved only *a posteriori*. I have set forth the whole reconstruction in the way in which I succeeded in finding it out. But the equivalents being once found out, the right way to check the results and to reach perhaps more exact and more satisfying ones would be to consider those correspondences as proved *a priori* and to try to reconstruct all the tiers of the inscription in their actual order.

Now we have reached the point where we left the normal progress of reconstruction. Six tiers of the Pahlavík and 7 of the Pársík version have been reconstructed up to now with the help of the blocks which I had discovered. There remains only the reconstruction of the last tiers of both versions, G′ of the Pahlavík and B of the Pársík, a task as difficult as that of the reconstruction of the two tiers D and D′.

Only the last words of F′, line 6, correspond to the beginning of G 1. It is very doubtful, but still possible, that blocks 1 and 2 of F had a seventh line. One word in line 1 of the blocks of G′, viz. [illegible]/, corresponding to [illegible]/ in G 2,6 shows that onwards from this word nearly the whole line 6 of G, line 7, and lines 1—5 of H correspond to the seven lines of G′, minus the unknown but short distance of [illegible] from the beginning of the tier.

Seven blocks of the Pársík tier H have been discovered. Four of them can be joined without a gap. One block is imperfect now, but was copied by Rawlinson while it was in a better condition.

right edge of the block at 59 mm from the beginning of the tier. — The position of E 14 & 15,1 is thus ascertained. Two blocks of E remain still to be fixed.

We next proceed to determine the tier D′, and begin at the point where we dropped our usual method of reconstruction. As we have seen, there are four blocks. Two form a group very nearly related to E, 9—12. Another block is probably the last one of the tier, containing in its first line the words [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] ... and in its fourth line [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]. The remaining fourth block is severely damaged and has in its fifth line ..... [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] corresponding to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] in line 2 of one of the unfixed blocks of E. The same block has in its first line the letters .... [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi], which probably correspond to [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] in D 6,4.

We have calculated above the places where the ends of the lines 4—6 of D 6 would fall, if the proportion applicable to the beginning of D, line 3, could be continued. Now we get a corrected approximation from the general proportion of the lines under discussion. The nearest fixed points are [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] in D 6,3 or [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] in C′ 10,6 and [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ in E 9,4 or [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ in E′ 6,1.

D 3:	448 mm	C′ 6:	300 mm
D 4-6: 3·760	2280 mm	D′ 1-6: 6·760	4560 mm
E 1-3: 3·760	2280 mm	E′ 1:	270 mm
E 4:	452 mm		
	5460 mm	become	5130 mm

and one entire line of 760 mm becomes 713,5 mm instead of 724. The ends of the lines move accordingly to 10,5; 21; 31,5 mm to the right.

As the general proportion differs from that of the section /[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/, the application of this proportion will not bring this section into the position which it actually occupies in the Pahlavík version. For its proportion, 880:815, would reduce the whole distance of 5460 mm to 5058 mm, or 72 mm less than necessary. If we divide that difference in proportion to the various distances, we get an approximation for the position of the coupled blocks:

[Pahlavi]/ — [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi]	3945 mm	become	3655 + 62 = 3717 mm
/[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/	880 mm		= 815 mm
°[Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ —/[Pahlavi]	635 mm		588 + 10 = 598 mm
	5460 mm		= 5130 mm.

That would bring /[Pahlavi] — [Pahlavi]/ between 377 mm to the left of the beginning of line 5 and 428 mm to the left of the beginning of line 6. [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ would fall 287 mm to the left of the beginning of line 6.

This is only an approximate, not an exact position; for nearly the whole of lines 1—3 conflicts with the equivalents of D 5 & 6, 4—6, which occupy the same places. Evidently the whole group must be moved to the left.

There is only one way to fix its position. The equivalent of [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ is [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ in E 9,3, to be found on the edge of the blocks. We know where the equivalents of the beginning words of the remaining lines of E 9 would fall in the Pahlavík version.

line 6: [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ falls 13 mm to the right of the left end of E′ 15,1;
line 5: [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ falls 118,5 mm to the right of [Pahlavi]/;
line 4: [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ corresponds to [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/[Pahlavi] in E′ 6,1;
line 3: is the [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/ under discussion;
line 2: [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]·/ falls 75 mm to the left of [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]/;
line 1: is an isolated [Pahlavi], perhaps [Pahlavi].

The differences are: line 6 to 5: 135 mm, line 5 to 4: 138 mm, line 4 to 3: being the problem which we have to solve, line 3 to 2: 75 mm. There is an extraordinarily great change in the scale between line 5/4 and 3/2, 734:898 = 0.81737 and 815:880 = 0.92615. The proportions depend upon the gradual increase and decrease in the sizes of the

The reconstruction must begin with the determination of the length of the gap between those blocks of the Pahlavík tier which correspond to the group of four blocks in the Pársík one. To be brief, I shall omit the long calculation, and give the result only. The gap is 86,2 mm in width the intermediate and the overlapping parts being inserted in accordance with the scales already worked out. Apparently, the two groups occupy the middle of their tiers.

Again omitting the laborious details, a careful study of the remaining three Pahlavík blocks proves that the block containing [illegible] in line 1, [illegible] in line 4, and [illegible] in line 7, must precede Rawlinson's No. 30 leaving a gap of one short block between them; that next to it we must place the block containing [illegible] in line 4 and [illegible] in line 5, also leaving a distance of a rather short block only; and that the two blocks come near the beginning of the tier. The third block, on the contrary, containing [illegible] in line 5, must be the last block of the tier.

On the other hand, in the Pársík version the block with [illegible] in line 1, [illegible] in line 2, [illegible] in line 3, precedes the group of 4 blocks by a gap of 2 blocks. It stands very near, probably at a distance of a half-block or one short block only from the beginning of the tier, whereas the two remaining blocks belong to the end of the tier, equally distant by a half-block or one short block only, and the block containing [illegible] in line 3 is separated from the other one by a gap of 44 mm only, which must have contained in line 3 the words [illegible] / [illegible].

All this is perfectly certain. But the calculation is exceedingly difficult.

We must start from the fixing of block G′ 4. There are two scales obtainable, one /[illegible] — [illegible]/ = 611 mm and [illegible]/[illegible] — /[illegible] = 628 mm, the other /[illegible] — [illegible]/ = 736 mm and /[illegible] — [illegible] = 767 mm, both nearly identical. They would reduce /[illegible] — /[illegible] from 80 mm to 78,5 or 76,8 mm. The breadth of Rawlinson's block G′ 6 can be calculated as 55,5 mm. Hence, the gap would be 21,3 mm or 23 mm only, much too short for an ordinary block in the tier.

In fact, it is clearly visible that the single characters of the Pársík version are smaller than those of the Pahlavík version, and that the greater length of the former is only caused by the frequent *iḍáfát* [illegible] which are not expressed in the latter. These *iḍáfát* occur in the first two thirds of the line. This implies that the last third of the Pársík version is unduly pressed together, and that the scale is not applicable for the whole line. We see that e. g. [illegible] occupies but 30 mm, whereas /[illegible]/[illegible] or even /[illegible]/ 27 mm only. The scale would enlarge 80 mm to 88,8 mm instead of reducing it to about 77,5 mm. The gap would become 33,3 mm, which equals a small block. As there are exceedingly large blocks, viz. 7 and 10, in the tier we ought to expect very small blocks among the 15 blocks which form the whole tier.

In G′ 7 we see /[illegible] just above /[illegible], 760 mm distant, and /[illegible] — /[illegible] 124 mm distant. In H 2 we have /[illegible] just above /[illegible], 760 mm distant. The proportion would be: $x \cdot 124 = y$, the required distance of /[illegible] — /[illegible]. And:

$$x \cdot 760 = 760 + y$$

$$x = 760 : 636$$

$$y = x \cdot 124 = 148 \text{ mm.}$$

The gap would become 114 mm, an exceedingly large one for two blocks, and besides it would enlarge — /[illegible]/ from 143 mm to 185 mm [illegible]/ — /[illegible], and it is clearly visible that the surviving Pársík words of that space are more concentrated than usual, and therefore, forbid us to assume an abnormal enlargement.

The result can be controlled and corrected, for we are able to calculate the distance of the first line of the block under discussion in the same way. [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = 732 mm, and .. [illegible]/ — /[illegible] = y. The equation is $x \cdot 732 = y$. [illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 589 and [illegible]/ — [illegible]/ = 689 makes $x = 689 : 589$ and $y = (689 : 589) \cdot 732 = 856$ mm. The gap becomes $856 — 760 = 96$ mm.

My own photos & squeezes:	RAWLINSON'S NOTE-BOOK:
1. [Pahlavi script]	
2. [Pahlavi script]	1 . . . . [Pahlavi script] . . . .
3. [Pahlavi script]	2 . . [Pahlavi script]
4. [Pahlavi script]	3 . . . . [Pahlavi script] . . . . [Pahlavi script] . . . .
5. [Pahlavi script]	4. [Pahlavi script]
6. free space	5 . . . .

The first line was not noticed by RAWLINSON.

In line 3 [Pahlavi script] is an easy misreading for [Pahlavi script]. [Pahlavi script] is in fact [Pahlavi script]. The foregoing [Pahlavi script] represents two much obliterated signs, in which I believe I can recognize [Pahlavi script]. In any case, these signs must belong to RAWLINSON's preceding word [Pahlavi script]. The first three characters [Pahlavi script] correspond to the [Pahlavi script] in line 5 of one of the Pahlavík blocks. The word must be a name. Hence with great probability it is to be restored to [Pahlavi script], [Pahlavi script] being a misreading for [Pahlavi script], i. e. Zámásp. In line 4 we find the ending [Pahlavi script] stands for [Pahlavi script]. In line 5 again RAWLINSON saw more than what has been left to-day. He adds on the right [Pahlavi script]. Of course, he saw that the second letter was no [Pahlavi script], and that the word could not be the well-known [Pahlavi script]. But as the line gives a long enumeration of *χvatáy's*, [Pahlavi script], and making allowance for the ruined condition of the block, I feel sure that instead of [Pahlavi script] there is to be read [Pahlavi script]. The original width of the block was at least 48, if not 50 mm.

Another block bears in its second line the interesting words [Pahlavi script] the *'Kaisar* and *Hrúme'*, the Caesar and Rome, and in its fourth line [Pahlavi script] 'Your Majesty', probably corresponding to [Pahlavi script] in line 4 of that block of the Pahlavík version which has [Pahlavi script] at the end of its fifth line. The remaining block mentions in line 3 [Pahlavi script] (the last [Pahlavi script] from RAWLINSON) *Tírdat Sháh*, Tírdat the Great of Armenia, the words [Pahlavi script] having their equivalent in line 5 of one of the Pahlavík blocks [Pahlavi script].

The group of 4 Sasanian blocks contains the translation of passages surviving in the Pahlavík version, and that enables us to emend and fix one of those blocks which is known only through RAWLINSON's copy (THOMAS' No. 30). In line 2 of the group of Pársík blocks stands:

[Pahlavi script]

on RAWLINSON's block, line 3 appears: [Pahlavi script]

and in line 4 of one of the surviving blocks we read:

[Pahlavi script]

The following line 4 shows:

[Pahlavi script]

and the two Pahlavík blocks have:

[Pahlavi script] . . . . . .

In line 4 we read: [Pahlavi script]

which would run parallel with RAWLINSON's line 6: [Pahlavi script]

followed on the surviving block by [Pahlavi script]

and, therefore, to be emended to [Pahlavi script]

Lastly, in line 5, [Pahlavi script] corresponds to RAWLINSON's [Pahlavi script], to be completed to [Pahlavi script]. Hence, RAWLINSON's block No. 30 precedes the surviving block at its right joint.

Of the remaining blocks of the Pahlavík version one shows in lines 3, 4, and 5 the translation of the corresponding lines on the last block of the group of tier H. There is still a sixth block which bears in its fourth line [Pahlavi script], probably corresponding to [Pahlavi script], and in its fifth line [Pahlavi script], probably being the equivalent of the restored [Pahlavi script] of the Pársík block discussed above.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SASANIAN EMPIRE

The early history of the Sasanian Empire is not properly known, for the Persians did not begin to write their own history before the reign of Khusrau I. Up to his time there was nothing but oral tradition, beside the documents guarded in the Royal treasuries. And when during Khusrau's reign, the Persians first began to put down in writing their *Khvatáynámak*, the prototype of Firdósi's *Sháhnáma* as well as of all the works of Arab and Persian chronists, the materials at their disposal for the history of the 3rd century presented apparently many gaps, which even the early authors, in accordance with the literary taste of their time, filled up with speeches and moral reflexions, that are void of any historical value. But there remains the possibility that pieces of information that stand isolated in the tradition and are unsupported by any outside evidence, really go back to the most reliable source, the documents kept in the Sasanian offices.

More than anything else, the expansion of the early Sasanian Empire to the east, is veiled in almost impenetrable darkness. The Greek and Latin historians, while setting forth in detail both the hostile and the peaceful relations between Rome and Iran, merely hint at the events which took place in the east of the Empire. Strangely enough, Iranian tradition, handed down to us mostly through the early Muhammedan chroniclers who translated the Pahlavi *Khvatáynámak*, contains but equally few notices. Perhaps we are allowed to infer, that some of the eastern archives were lost and destroyed in the vicissitudes of the history of these provinces. A little more may be found in Syrian and Armenian sources. But their point of view is purely religious, and they commemorate the political events only as far as they are connected with the fate of their martyrs and with their ecclesiastical history. Indian literature is absolutely silent, and as yet no inscriptions referring to the relations of India to the Sasanian Empire have come to light.

Therefore, to gain some true conception of the historical events, we must carefully examine those few notices in the light of the information which we are able to extract from the eastern Iranian coins and from the Sasanian inscriptions, first of all from the Paikuli inscription. The very subject of this inscription, written by the order of Narseh, is the war between him and Varhrán III Sakánsháh. But its great historical importance consists in its enabling us to understand isolated notices and evidences as an indivisible whole and providing us with the inner meaning of facts otherwise left unexplained.

Two different versions of the history of the rise of the Sasanian dynasty are handed down to us, the historical tradition the best representative of which is Ṭabarí, and the legendary one in the Kárnámak i Artakhshír.

The historical tradition in brief outline comes to this: The most prominent among the chiefs of Párs during the last years of the Arsacidan rule was Góčihr, of the Bázrangí house, residing at Stakhr. One of his vassals was Pápak, chief of the district to the south of the Níríz lake, near Shíráz, son or descendant of Sásán and related

Or 𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭫/ — 𐭫𐭭𐭭𐭫/ = 522 mm and 𐭭𐭢𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭥/ — 𐭭𐭢𐭭𐭠/ = 613 mm gives x = 613 : 522 and y = (613 : 522) · 732 = 859 mm.

The gap would be 99 mm, the arithmetical mean between it and 96 mm being 97,5 mm, instead of 114 mm. This is of both the result which we may confidently accept. For it allows us to insert the words preserved in the Pahlavík version into the gap between 𐭭𐭢𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭥/ — /𐭭𐭫 𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩 𐭩𐭥/.

This matter being settled, we have the distance of 𐭭𐭩𐭩𐭥/2 — 𐭤𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩2 = 199 mm. The scale is 𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭫/ — 𐭩𐭤/ = 760 mm and 𐭭𐭩𐭩𐭥/2 — 𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭫/ = 787,5 mm. 199 mm are reduced to 193 mm. The gap between the two Pahlavík blocks is 38 mm, just enough for an extraordinarily small block, having formed a counterpart to the second small block on the left.

The next step is to fix that block of H which has [𐭫𐭩]𐭫22 𐭠𐭤𐭥 in line 1. /𐭭𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 𐭩𐭥 — /𐭭𐭤𐭤 𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩 𐭫𐭫 = 760 mm and /𐭤𐭤𐭤 𐭫𐭫 — /𐭠𐭫 = 636 mm enlarges /𐭤𐭤𐭤 𐭫𐭫 — 𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭩/ from 114 to 136,2 mm, and make the gap between both blocks 78 mm wide, i. e. enough for two half-blocks or one full block and one half-block. These are the two last or the last and the first block of the tier, as the preserved block cannot be the last one, and as the change of lines falls between both of them.

The last step is to determine the blocks containing /𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭩 𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭤 or 𐭤𐭤𐭤𐭫 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭫𐭩 𐭤𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭠 in their third or fifth line.

In the Pársík version the gap between the left block of the group of 4 blocks and the single block near the left end of the tier measures 270 mm, or probably 5 or 6 blocks. In the Pahlavík version the gap is likewise 6 blocks. But the space in which the blocks in question may be moved is very much reduced, if we inscribe the missing parts in both the versions with their own mutual help. In line 7 of G′ only 130 mm remain between the point where the equivalent of the words [𐭩𐭩𐭠]𐭥𐭤𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭤 𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩 𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭠 /𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭠 would fall, and the end of the next surviving block. In the Pársík version the narrowest limits are in line 4, where 192 mm are left between [𐭠]𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 𐭭𐭫 and the place where the equivalent of 𐭭 𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭤𐭤 𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 must have been inscribed. In spite of a really incredible and indescribable amount of labour spent on this last block of the inscription, I could not arrive at more than a probability: the Pársík block stands 96 mm to the left of the left edge of the group of 4 blocks, at a distance of two blocks, and the Pahlavík block stands 55 mm to the left of the corresponding block.

It is impossible to prove whether in one of the tiers in question the first surviving block is really the first of the tier or not.

This entire foregoing discussion gives but the quintessence of the laborious studies and calculations prosecuted for years. But the result is that not only the blocks containing the two versions of the inscription have been rearranged, but at the same time, the isolated fragments of one version can be inserted into the other at their proper places. So this chapter, though unpleasant to read, supplies the proof for the interlinear arrangement of the transcription which follows the texts of the two versions. In such a way, we are enabled to use every fragment, small as it may be, to understand the contents of the inscription as a whole.

It must be remembered that all the preliminary work required the same amount of labour as did the final reconstruction. At first every single letter had to be deciphered as completely as possible. Small groups of blocks fitting together had to be distinguished. The fact had to be established that the two versions were, at least partly, literal translations of one another. Then the whole mass of blocks had to be divided into groups belonging to various tiers. The numbers of the tiers had to be made out. And at last the starting point of the very reconstruction, the nearly complete line B of the Pársík version, had to be recognized as such and had to be put together.

All this preliminary work could proceed only step by step along with the progress of the philological understanding of the text; the explanation of the Pársík words and the still more difficult comprehension of the Pahlavík ones, thus form leading to conjectures and then to the real contents of the inscription. The philological part of this work is laid down in the glossary. But the rest I prefer to pass over in silence.

These coins belong to the first period of Ardashír's reign, when he was still king of Stakhr, before his victory over Ardaván.

We must not be surprised that the occidental authors know very little about these events: the internal dissensions of the Arsacidan Empire became only recognizable to them after the changes had been accomplished. But we may quote the Armenian Agathangelos, who writes in the Greek version of his work: I, 9 οὗτος ὁ Ἀρτασιρᾶς τῆς τῶν Σταχριτῶν πατρίδος σατράπης ὑπῆρχεν. And I, 8: ὡπλίζετο Ἀρταβάνης μετὰ Πάρθων, ἔχων καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους Πέρσας, μὴ κεκοινωνηκότας τῇ τῶν ὁμοφύλων βουλῇ.

The campaign in Ádharbaiján and Armenia is attested by the bas-relief of Ardashír I at Salmás, representing the homage of the Arminánsháh, whilst the conquest of Mosul is proved by the fact that the official name of that province in later times was Búdh-Ardashír, the title of the governor being Búdh-Ardashíránsháh, cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih p. IV.

And lastly, the British Museum possesses another rare silver dirham (see fig. 14), published by THOMAS in the Num. Chron. 1882. The Rev. shows as the other coins of Sháhpuhr I, a high fire-altar between two standing figures, looking outward, lance in the outer hand and wearing a turreted crown as head-dress. The Obv. shows the bust of the king to the right, with bushy hair, the point of the beard drawn through a ring, and as head-dress a high helmet with crest, terminating at the top, in an eagle's head bent forward. This kind of helmet, with the *protomè* of an animal at the point, is worn on the coins of Varhrán II and on the so-called 'Scytho-Sasanian' coins and on some of the Sasanian bas-reliefs, by the queen, the heir to the crown and a few other members of the Sasanian family. Unfortunately, in the two existing representations of an heir designated to the crown on the bas-reliefs of Ardashír I at Naqsh i Rajab and on that of Varhrán II at Naqsh i Rustam, the heads of the princes, lying as they were in the easy reach of destructive hands, are too much damaged to show their head-dress clearly. But the examples quoted are sufficient to prove that this kind of helmet was the attribute of the heir to the crown. The coin in question must have been struck, when he was appointed, heir to the crown, still during his fathers life-time as Ṭabarí relates. We have other examples of the Royal prerogative of coinage being conferred on the heir designated, e. g. the prince al-Mu'tazz billáh struck coins during the reign of his father the caliph al-Mutawakkil, cf. HERZFELD, *Erst. vorl. Bericht über d. Ausgrab. v. Samarra*, Berlin 1912 p. 32 s.

FIG. 14

NÖLDEKE, *Ṭab.* p. 17 n. 3, has raised objections against Ṭabarí's short account of Ardashír's second campaign in the east calling it 'a great exaggeration'. I cannot attach as high a value as NÖLDEKE does, to the indications of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, from which we might infer, that the *Bactrii*, i. e. the Kúshánsháh, and the *Cadusii*, i. e. the Gélánsháh, cf. POLLIO, *Valerianus*, ch. 1, were not subject to the Sasanian Empire at even that epoch; though E. BABELON may be right in not underrating the historical value of those Scriptores to the same extent, as e. g. TH. MOMMSEN did. Either the constitutional relation between those countries and Iran was loose enough to justify such an apprehension, or the Latin writers were still ignorant of the contemporaneous events and continued to refer to conditions as they had been half a century before.

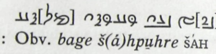
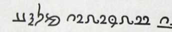
NÖLDEKE thinks that Ṭabarí's own mention about the envoys of the kings of Kúshán, Ṭúrán, and Makurán contradicts his account about the conquest of Khorásán. We can prove that NÖLDEKE's argument does not hold good. Khorásán, in those days, was not the small province, that bears that name today. The modern province is but the ancient Parthava-Pahlav, Aparshahr of the Sasanian epoch. Khorásán means 'East' and designates the eastern quarter of Iran. Its limits have been set forth by me in my article '*Khorásán*' published in "Der Islam" 1921, beginning from the West: the Caspian Gates near Rayy, the Elburz range, the S.E.-corner of the Caspian Sea, the Átrak valley, a line following the modern Transcaspian railway up to Luṭfábád, a line through the desert, enclosing Tajand and Marw, to the Amú Darya below Karkí, and — as proved by the places

through his mother Rámbihisht to the Bázrangí house. His eldest son was named Sháhpuhr, another one Ardashír. Ardashír was educated, when still a child, at the court of Tíré, the *hargupat* of Góčihr at Dárábgird, and after the death of Tíré became his successor. He began to subdue other chiefs of the district of Dárábgird, two of whom bore the name Manóčihr and one of whom that of Dárá — names occurring on the coins of Persis —, and he incited his father to wage war against Góčihr. This Pápak did, and he defeated and killed Góčihr, and asked his Arsacidan suzerain Ardaván to show his approval of these deeds by appointing his eldest son Sháhpuhr king of Stakhr. Ardaván declined, but by letter only. Just at this moment Pápak died, and the chiefs of Párs elected his son Sháhpuhr king of Stakhr. The new king demanded the homage of his brother. Ardashír refused to proceed to Stakhr. Sháhpuhr marched against him, but was killed at Persepolis before any battle had taken place owing to the collapse of a ruin. Then Ardashír hastened to Stakhr, to be crowned by the chiefs and his brothers, some of them older than himself. Later on he executed a number of his brothers and of the chiefs, who were conspiring against him. He then continued to spread his power over the neighbouring countries, at first the whole of Párs, then Kirmán, Ispahán, Khúzistán, and Méshán. He appointed his second son Ardashír king of Kirmán, and founded Ardashír-Khurra which later on served as his residence, (modern Fírúzábád). But Ardaván sent him an offensive letter, written by his minister Dádhbundádh, with a declaration of war. The decisive battle took place on the 28th of April in 224 A. D. Ardaván was defeated and killed. Ardashír's son Sháhpuhr distinguished himself in the battle by killing Dádhbundádh. From this day on Ardashír assumed the title of Sháhánsháh i Érán.

In pursuance of his success, he undertook the first campaign against Hamadán, Ádharbaiján, and Armenia, returning by way of Mosul and ʿIráq, and subduing all those Arsacidan provinces. Having thus established his power over the whole of the west and south of the Empire, he turned to the east, moving against Sijistán, and from there against Gurgán, Aparshahr (the modern province Khorásán), Marw, Balkh, and Khwárizm, up to the remotest borders of the countries forming Khorásán, i. e. the east. After this victorious campaign, he took up his residence at first at Marw, returning later on to Párs. The Kushánsháh and the kings of Ṭúrán and Makurán sent envoys to declare their allegiance.

This tradition is confirmed by the following facts and documents.

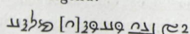
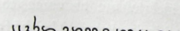
There is a very interesting silver coin (see fig. 13, plate A), published by A. Cunningham, Num. Chron. Ser. III vol. XIII pl. 13, 1. The Rev. shows the profile of king Pápak to the left, with a peculiar plume surmounting the helmet, and a Pársík legend. The Obv. bears the head of his son. This coin, in size, weight, type and legend, is almost identical with the coins of the last kings of Párs published by G. F. Hill, *Cat. of Greek Coins, Arabia,* &c. pl. XXXVII no. 12 and 13 p. 243: Manóčihr (III.) son of Manóčihr (II.) and pl. XXXVII no. 15 and 16 p. 244: Artakhshatr (IV.) son of Manóčihr. No coin of Góčihr whom Ṭabarí mentions is as yet known. — Thomas' and Cunningham's reading of the legend was not correct. It reads clearly:

 : Rev.  : Obv.

i. e.: Obv. *bage š(á)hpuhre* šáh Rev.: pus *bage pápak(e)* šáh.

Hence, this is a coin of Sháhpuhr, elder brother and predecessor of Ardashír I.

The first issues of Ardashír are closely related to this coin of his brother, see Mordtmann Z. D. M. G. VIII 1854 no. 1; Z. D. M. G. XII 1858 no. 1; XIX 1865 no. 1 p. 114; Bartholomaei-Dorn pl. I fig. 1 and suppl. pl. fig. 1; Thomas, *Num. and other ant. ill. of the rule of the Sasanians in Persia,* London 1873 pl. I no. 1; and Num. Chron. 1872; cf. G. Rawlinson, *Sev. Great Monarchy* p. 66. — These coins, showing on the Obv. the head of Ardashír I. in front-view, on the Rev. the head of Pápak to the left and resembling in style exactly the coin of Sháhpuhr, have the legend:

 : Rev.  : Obv.

i. e.: Obv. *bage artaχšatr* šáh Rev.: pus *bage pápak(e)* šáh.

Quzdár, to the south of Quetta. Makurán is the tract of land stretching along the coasts of the Gulf of 'Omán and the Indian Ocean. The geographical extent of the Saka Empire compels us to postulate, that both Makurán and Ṭúrán were dependent upon the Śakas. Hence, the sending of an envoy by those kings means the voluntary recognition of the Sasanian suzerainty by those Śaka vassals after the conquest of Sijistán, the modern province of Sístán, and far from being incompatible with Ardashír's conquest, is but its logical consequence.

The invasion of the Śakas into these countries, the south-eastern parts of modern Persia, Baluchistán and Afghánistán south of the Hindukush, happened during or after the reign of Mithradates II. of Parthia, 123—88 B. C., and their dominion over these countries and great parts of India lasted at least up to the end of the reign of Gondophares, the protector of the apostel Thomas and the founder of Gondophareia, modern Kandahár, 45 A. D. The Śakas were followed by the *ñguet-shi*, called Kúshán, after one of their tribes bearing this name attained the supremacy over the others. The Kúsháns, in the course of time, wrested from the Śakas the northern parts of their possessions, the Kábul valley and the Panjáb, and weakened, but did not extinguish their realm, somewhere between 45 and 64 A. D., cf. Rapson, *Cambr. Hist. of India* ch. XXIII. Hence, the Great Kúsháns possessed Bactra, the Kábul valley and the Panjáb. In these lands the discoveries of the coins of the Great Kúsháns have been made. The Kábul valley and the Panjáb remained in the possession of the later Kúsháns, as the diffusion and circulation of their coins clearly show. These coins, covering the period from about 180 up to 400 A. D., continue and repeat, in a very debased manner, the splendid coinage of the Great Kúsháns Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. Rapson, *Grdr. d. Indo-Ar. Phil.* II 3 B § 74, divides them into two classes; those with the Greek legend OXÞO on the Rev. were currend an in the Kábul valley and the adjoining parts of the Indus country, and those with APΔOXÞO on the Rev., current in the more eastern parts of the Panjáb. The former became imitated later on by the so-called Scytho-Sasanians, the later by the Kidára Huns and the Guptas.

These observations supply us with the true meaning of the title Kúshánsháh in Ṭabarí. Therefore, once more, the fact of the Kúshánsháh's, the ruler of the Kábul valley and the Panjáb, sending an envoy and recognizing the loss of his northern province far from being in contradiction with it, rather corroborates the account of Ardashír's victorious campaign.

From the Indian point of view, we find, that the very years of Ardashír's rise, saw the decay, if not the collapse of the Kúshán and the Ándhra powers, and it is only reasonable to bring these changes in India into connection with those happening in Iran at the same epoch. I cannot do better than quote the words of V. A. Smith, *Early History of India,* 3rd ed. p. 273:

'Absolutely nothing positive is known concerning the means by which the renewed Persian influence, as proved by numismatic facts, made itself felt in the interior of India. Bahrám II. is known to have conducted a campaign in Sístán, at some time between 277 and 294; but there is no record of any Sasanian invasion of India in the third century, during which period all the ordinary sources of historical information dry up. No inscriptions certainly referable to that time have been discovered, and the coinage, issued by merely local rulers, gives hardly any help. Certain it is that two great paramount dynasties, the Kúshán in Northern India, and the Ándhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the moment (A. D. 226) when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sasanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the persianizing of the Kúshán coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence.'

We shall shortly see that the Paikuli inscription implies this unrecorded Persian invasion, and that Ardashír's conquests of Sijistán, Makurán, and Ṭúrán, and of the whole country to the north of the Hindukush, were much surpassed by the conquest of the whole of Sakastán by Varhrán II.

But before proceeding, we must turn back to the first rise of the Sasanian dynasty, and must compare the

where the Scytho-Sasanian coins have been found, — following the crest of the Hissar Range up to the Pámirs, bending to the south with that part of the Oxus river, which encircles Badakhshán, and reaching the crest of the Hindukush. Here the frontier turns to the west again, along that range and its spurs south of Herát, through Kóhistán south of Turshíz and Kháf, and back to the Caspian Gates.

All the countries to which Ardashír's campaign was directed belong to Khorásán, except Khwárizm and Sijistán. In the Paikuli inscription the Khwárizmsháh appears as an independent king. There are as yet no means to verify this notice of Ṭabarí's. But there is a very interesting class of coins (see fig. 15), treated by E. Drouin in Rev. Num. 1895 Ser. III vol. XIII *Monnaies Sasanides inédites,* pl. II. They were brought from Samarkand, Jízak and Chináz in 1890 and 1895 by Mr. E. Blanc, a few others being in Russian private collections, and two very much worn pieces in the British Museum. With one exception, they all show the king's head to the right, with bushy hair, narrow diadem, no crown, and on the Rev. the fire-altar of the type commonly found on the coins of Ardashír I. As a whole, these coins, though resembling Arsacidan coins, are more closely related to the coins from Persis, than to anything else. They must belong either to the epoch immediately preceding the Sasanian epoch or to its very beginning. They all bear Pahlavík legends on both sides, the reading of which is extremely difficult. Two words only are absolutely certain, those in the middle of the legend: [illegible] [illegible] ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH. The foregoing word is the proper name of the king, terminating without doubt in -zdi, and the reading accepted by Drouin 'Auharmazdi' is probable, though not absolutely certain. But the end of the legend is certainly not that given by Drouin, which is neither a normal coin-legend, nor Persian at all. We may expect two indications, either a local or an ethnical apposition to the term ŠÁHÁNŠÁH, following with or without the IḌÁFAT [illegible], or the name of the king's father, introduced by [illegible] and followed by the father's title. Coins 1 and 7 on pl. II show, fairly clearly, [illegible] to be the last word of the legend, and coins 1 and 3 allow us to recognize [illegible], written with a kind of ligature of [illegible] and [illegible] which occurs already in the Hatra inscriptions. The remaining characters belong to the father's name, the termination [illegible], more probably to be read [illegible], *d(á)t*, since [illegible] and [illegible] are not distinguished by the diacritical point, as is the case later on, and beside this a [illegible] in the middle of the name being certain. Hence, the whole legend runs:

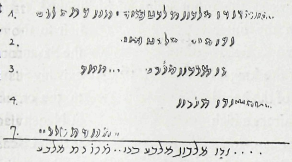


FIG. 15

[illegible]

. . . *Auharmazdi̱* ŠÁHÁNŠÁH PUHR . . *ta* . . *d(á)t* ŠÁH

It is quite possible, that there were some more letters before the name, and that this name was a compound with Hormizd. The spelling with the termination *-i̱* is remarkable.

These coins do not represent a Sasanian prince. They come from Soghd, a country neither mentioned by Ṭabarí, nor by the Paikuli inscription. But the fine cornaline of the Ermitage, acquired in the Caucasus, the most excellent piece of Sasanian glyptics, with a Pahlavík legend, resembling that of the coins, may perhaps come from Soghd. If [illegible] be indeed Soghd, we must infer from this seal of a high Sasanian official, that even Soghd belonged to the Sasanian Empire in its earliest time. But this is doubtful. As to Sijistán however, we find ourselves on solid grounds.

Sijistán is the old Achaemenian satrapy Zrang or Drangiana, called Sakastán, after the Śakas, coming from the countries to the north of Bactria, had settled down in that province in early Arsacidan time; cf. Isidoros of Kharax' Σακαστάνη. That province, preserving its name still in modern time as Sístán, became the very centre of the Śaka Empire, and from there they conquered the whole of the Indus country, the Panjáb, and the parts of India adjoining it in the S.E. as far as Suráshṭra, Málwá, and Rájputána. — Ṭúrán, with ط if correctly written in Arab sources, is not used here in a vague sense as opposed to Iran, but means the well defined district of modern

very beginning subdued by his own superiority the other kinglets of that province, unhindered by Ardaván, and aspired to and attained at last sovereignty over the whole Empire. One fact especially recommends this way of viewing the events: We know that two nobles of the old Arsacidan houses, the Súrén Pahlav and the Spáhpat Pahlav, from the beginning joined Ardashír's cause. Probably they would not have done so, but in order to help one of their equals and relatives. And perhaps the tradition that Ardashír's son Sháhpuhr married a daughter of Mihrak son of Anóshakját, though this prince seems to have been a local chief of southern Párs, may still preserve the memory of this friendly behaviour of the feudal families, if we are allowed to conjecture that Mihrak was actually one of them, for instance the chief of the house of Mihrán.

Now we may proceed in our researches in the history of the eastern parts of Iran during the early Sasanian epoch. Ardashír had assumed the title *šáhánšáh i érán*, and his son Sháhpuhr I, 241—272, continues to employ it, which we have found on his coin struck when he was heir to the throne: *mazdésn i bage šáhpuhr šáhánšáh i érán*. But in his own inscription as well as in all those of his successors, he is regularly called *šáhánšáh i érán ut anérán*. The coins rarely give even the shorter title in full, and we must infer that Sháhpuhr assumed at a certain moment the more pretentious title. The undated and imperfect coins are of no help. The title implies an extension of his dominion over non-Iranian countries. We know that he conquered, though could not hold for a long time, Armenia and Mesopotamia. It is highly probable, and is amply supported by certain coins, as we shall see, that his conquests extended to the east as well as to the west. The *Shahrihá i Érán*, ed. J. J. Modi, § 13 attributes to him the foundation of the city of Púshang with its famous bridge over the Haré rúd. But this city lies West of Herát, and belonged already to the conquests of Ardashír. The Greek, Armenian and Iranian sources agree in saying that Sháhpuhr was obliged to raise the siege of Nisibis, because events in the East necessitated his presence there. After a short absence, he returned and brought the interrupted siege to a victorious end. The date is not absolutely certain, probably it was about 252 A. D. In any case, we see that Sháhpuhr did not take the initiative in those eastern events. On the other hand, it is not probable that the weak eastern kingdoms would have seized the first opportunity of making war against so powerful a king as Sháhpuhr I, if they would have been independent states like their greater neighbour. The case looks very different, if, as indeed was the fact, these countries would have been annexed, not long before, to the Sasanian Empire. In this case, they may very well have chosen the opportunity of Sháhpuhr's entanglement with Rome to shake off the hated and newly imposed yoke. And such an attempt of Khorásán would surely have induced Sháhpuhr to raise the siege of Nisibis. Ṭabarí I ٨٣٣, Nöld. p. 45, says that Sháhpuhr appointed his son Hormizd, the later Hormizd I, governor of Khorásán.

فلمّا هلك اردشير وافضى الامر الى سابور ولّى هرمز خراسان
وسيّره اليها فاستقلّ بالعمل وقمع من كان يليه من ملوك الامم الخ

The moment evidently was that of his return to Nisibis, and the founding of Púshang, too, must be connected with this fact.

Hormizd must have been born about 227 A. D. and would have been 25 years old at the date of his appointment. He must have done well in Khorásán, for he is said to have subdued the kings of the adjoining countries and there he gained the surname of *al-baṭal*, *al-jarí'*, or Persian *mardának*, *dilér* 'the hero', though he may already have partaken in the Roman campaigns before starting on his Eastern career.

Hormizd I, following his father in 272, died in 273 after a reign of only little more than one year. His brother and successor, Varhrán I, too, had but a very short reign, up to 276 A. D. The oriental authors are more interested in Mání's career and preaching, who was martyred by Varhrán II, after having been protected by Péróz, a younger brother of Sháhpuhr I, than in the political events of that age. Only Mas'údí has some vague notion of Varhrán's I waging war in Khorásán. — In 283 the Roman Emperor M. Aur. Carus recommenced war against Iran and

legendary tradition surviving in the *Kárnámak* with Ṭabarí and his school. For the legend may contain an element of truth not less reliable than the historical tradition itself. The *Kárnámak* agrees with Ṭabarí in relating that Ardashír married a daughter of the last Arsacid, called in the Romance Ziyának. This fact we must consider as belonging to the historical elements of the legend. There are many examples of the founder of a new dynasty marrying a daughter of the dethroned house, and such marriages are even necessary for the maintenance of the doctrine of the Divine Right of the dynasties prevailing in Persia. I may mention Alexander the Great marrying Statira, the daughter of the last Darius, and Ḥusain ibn ʿAlí marrying Shahrbánú, daughter of Yazdgird III, called Harár by al-Yaʿqúbí *Hist.* p. 293; cf. Gobineau, *Religions et Philos. dans l'Asie Centr.* p. 275; E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia* I pp. 130-138. Herzfeld, *Alongoa*, in "Der Islam" VI pp. 317 ss. — Marquart, *Éránš.* p. 68, has collected the accounts of the Arabic historians on the capture of Sasanian princesses and their being sent to Damascus. We cannot doubt the fact of Ḥusain's marriage, though the degree of relationship between that princess and Yazdgird III was apparently not that of daughter and father. The Umayyad caliph Walíd I, too, married a granddaughter of the last Sasanian, the mother of Yazíd III. Ardashír's son Sháhpuhr, i. e. 'kings son', is called so obviously because he was of the old Royal house by his mother. The legend makes Ardashír marry the princess after his victory over Ardaván, and this assertion may easily be explained, although the date, as apart from the fact, cannot be historical. In that case, Sháhpuhr I could not have been born before 225 A. D., his second son Varhrán I apparently not before 245, his grandson Varhrán II not before 264, and the son of the latter, Varhrán III, not before 283 A. D. As a matter of fact the year 283/4, as we shall see, is the date of Varhrán's II conquest of Sakastán and of the appointment of Varhrán III to the heirship to the throne and the vice-royalty of Sakastán. These facts are so perfectly established by the evidence of the Paikuli inscription and by the best of our historical sources, the Armenian Agathias, that we must conclude, that the date of Ardashír's marriage and of the birth of Sháhpuhr I as given in the Romance is at least 18 years too late. On the day of Ardashír's victory, Sháhpuhr I must have been a young man, at least 18 years of age. This agrees with the historical tradition, which shows him winning his first laurels in the battle, and his younger brother Ardashír as the Kirmánsháh even before that date, cf. Nöld. *Ṭab.* p. 10.

We may then assume the following to be the historical basis of the *Kárnámak*, cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia* I pp. 138–150: Pápak the king, *marzbán* of Stakhr, had sent, about 200 A. D., his son Ardashír, aged fifteen, to the Royal court to be educated there together with other young aristocrats. In due time, Ardashír became *aχvarsálár* or *stórbán*, i. e. Equerry of the Royal stud at the Arsacidan court, and married, about 206, a daughter of the presumptive heir to the throne. Observing the weakness of the Arsacidan Government, he planned revolt, but could not win his father for the project. Pápak preferred, as Ṭabarí says, his elder son Sháhpuhr, who succeeded him after his death, as his coin proves. The succession of his elder brother may have induced Ardashír to leave the Arsacidan court, and to endeavour to get possession of his father's dominion, relying on his relationship with the Arsacids. His attempt was successful. His brother died before they began to fight, and Ardashír became lord of the whole of his ancestral country. Then, Kirmán, Makurán and Ispahán joined his cause. But Ardaván tried to crush the rebellion and approached Ádharbaiján and Western Khorásán with his troops, collected in Rayy, and which were reinforced by Ardashír's opponents in his own country, but he was defeated in 224 A. D. The pacification of the other provinces, and the general recognition of the new king of kings still took some time. Special mention is made of Armenia and Media, and of the tract of land at the shore of the Persian Gulf.

In some of these details, I think, the *Kárnámak* preserves even a better tradition than the historians, for the whole history of the rise of the Sasanians becomes intelligible, if we assume, that Ardashír was the Arsacidan king's son-in-law and held a high office at the court, and that he opposed, at first, the succession of his brother and was only induced by this first success to rebel against his suzerain, of whose weakness he was well aware. This is much more probable than to suppose, that he was an insignificant chief in the province of Párs, who from the

which the Śaka kṣatrapas play in the Paikuli inscription establishes this fact beyond any doubt. In line 22′ of the Pahl. version, we meet the *Avandik(á)n Xvat(á)v*, the Śaka kṣatrapa of Avanti, among the retainers of Varhrán III Sakánsháh. History repeats itself, and this is a very prompt repetition of the situation of 283/4, when the Śakas supported Hormizd against his brother Varhrán II. This time, the lord of Avanti was obliged to do so, for meanwhile he had become a vassal of the Sasanian Sakánsháh. At the end of the inscription, we meet among the independent princes who congratulate Narseh on his accession, a great number of princes whom, with greater or lesser certainty, we must consider as Indian Śakas. In the second group of princes of royal rank, we have Béruwán ī Spandár(á)tán, the Páradán sháh, perhaps Varázgárte sháh, the king of Ábhírá, and probably Síká . . . , whose name is incomplete, whose title is missing. And the last group, opened by the words *sátrap gónak gónak* 'all sorts of satraps', evidently consists without exception of Śaka kṣatrapas from India. I cannot interpret the name of the first tribe, the Sakhúričán; but the second tribe, the Amókán, were occupying the district around Quetta, the following are the people of Surashṭra, the next kṣatrapa MitrāĽasén, has a name ending in *-asena*, as do many names of Indian kṣatrapas. Hence apparently all those, at least twelve, 'lords' must be regarded as Śakas or Indo-Scythian kṣatrapas. They all come to pay homage to the new king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, after the overthrow of their former supreme lord Varhrán III Sakánsháh. In spite of the rivalry of the Kúshán, not only the suzerainty of the Śaka Empire over the territory reaching from Sístán as far as to the mouth of the Indus and to Bombay and Rajputana, had been maintained until 284 A. D., but it had passed over to the Sasanian viceroy of Sakastán, Varhrán III, all the easier, since the power of the Kúsháns themselves had previously been destroyed or seriously weakened by Ardashír and Hormizd I.

After the conquests of Varhrán II in 284 A. D., the Sasanian Empire actually comprised the following possessions in the east: Gurgán and the whole of Khorásán, as circumscribed above, perhaps including Khwárizm and Soghd, Sakastán in its widest limits, including Makurán and Ṭúrán, the lands at the middle course of the Indus and its mouths, Kacch, Káthiáwár, Málwá and the adjoining hinterland of these countries. The only exception was the Kábul valley and the Panjáb which continued to remain in the possession of the Later Kúsháns. Hence, in the east, the Sasanian Empire during the 3rd century A. D., all but equalled the extent of the Achaemenian Empire, surpassing even the limits of that Empire in various directions, a fact which makes us understand, much better than before, the dualism and the rivalry prevailing at that epoch between Iran and Rome. This Empire had command over resources, and possessed a wealth, unexplainable without this extension to the east.

But we observe that in the last passage of the inscription of Paikuli all these Śaka kṣatrapas and princes are enumerated as independent princes. Hence we must finally infer that the actual sovereignty over the Indian parts of Sakastán was lost in 293 A. D. during the war between Varhrán III and Narseh, and that those small principalities had gained their independence on this occasion, but they lost it once for all 100 years later, when they were incorporated with the great Gupta Empire by Chandragupta II.

The appointment of Varhrán III implied, as we have seen, his designation as heir to the crown. But only a few months after his accession in 293, for reasons unknown, because unrecognizable and perhaps suppressed in the Paikuli inscription, Narseh rose as a pretender to the throne. There is a very curious notice in Mírkhond's work. S. DE SACY p. 300, who quoted Ibn al-Athír, says: 'Ce prince ne s'éleva point de lui-même sur le trône: il fut forcé par les grands du royaume à accepter la couronne, et la refusa sincèrement. Avant d'être mis sur le trône, il avait eu le gouvernement du Sîstân.' Here we touch a mystery, but the agreement of this late and isolated notice with what the Paikuli inscription allows us to guess, is striking, and should warn us against doubting all those uncontrolable and uncorroborated notices surviving in oriental tradition. NÖLDEKE has shown the tact of the true historian in saying (p. 416): 'Man muß sich wohl mit der Annahme begnügen, daß Bahrám III. allerdings in der Hauptstadt nur 4 Monate anerkannt ist, daß er jedoch in anderen Teilen des Reichs noch etwas länger regiert hat, wohl im Kampfe mit Narseh.'

conquered Seleucia and Ctesiphon without finding serious resistance, cf. MOMMSEN, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. V p. 442 s., NÖLD, *Ṭab.* p. 49 n. 1. Varhrán II was paralyzed by the rebellion of his brother Hormizd, *Ormies*, who rose in the eastern parts of the Empire, i. e. in Khorásán, cf. Vopiscus, *vita Cari* ch. 1: *Persae occupati domestica seditione*, or as the rhetor Claudius Mamertinus says, *Genethliaca Maximini*, ch. 17, *Panegyrici* ed. BAEHRENS p. 114, year 289 A. D.: *'ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Saccis Cussis et Gellis petit frater Ormies nec respicit vel pro maiestate quasi regem vel pro pietate quasi fratrem.' Cussis* is an emendation made by MARQ., *Éráns.* p. 36 and 50, for *Ruffis* of the Mss. Hence, the Śakas, Kúsháns and Géláns made a new effort by supporting the king's brother Hormizd, of freeing themselves, when the Romans had entered the western parts of the Empire, just as they had done, when Sháhpuhr I besieged Nisibis. Therefore, Varhrán II ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia *'sponte'*, as the rhetor says, to Diocletian, although Carus' sudden death and Diocletian's absence in the Far West, did not necessitate this act. The reason was that he had to concentrate all his energies against his brother. The rebellion must have been crushed, for we see Varhrán II on the throne until his death in 293. So, the concessions made to Rome in the peace of 283 A. D. enabled him to finish with his brother. Ibn Qutaiba knows him to have restored peace in the East. And from an independent and nearly contemporaneous witness, the best of all our authorities, the Armenian Agathias, ed. NIEBUHR, Bonn 1918 p. 261 we learn: Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος Οὐαραράνῃ τῷδε (i. e. Varhrán II) ἐδεδούλωτο, εἰκότως ἄρα ὁ παῖς Σεγανσαὰ ἐπωνόμαστο· δύναται γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεύς. The Paikuli inscription, in perfect agreement with the Armenian chronicler, reveals to us the fact that Śaka kṣatrapas from remote parts of India, like the prince of Avanti, were the retainers of Varhrán III in his struggle against Narseh, and after Narseh's victory 'all kinds of satraps' *sátrap gónak gónak*, a long list of Śaka kṣatrapas beside some princes of higher rank, came to congratulate the new king of kings. Therefore, it is evident that the conquest of Sakastán and the appointment of his son as Sakánsháh by Varhrán II, as shortly alluded to by Agathias, was the consequence of the participation of the Śakas in the rebellion of Hormizd. Oriental tradition knows almost nothing of these events. Mírkhond, transl. SILV. DE SACY p. 297 s., preserves a very faint remembrance of it in a naïve anecdote, as to how the dignitaries of the Empire caused Varhrán II to change the methods of his government. But nearly all of them confirm the surname of Varhrán III Sakánsháh, and the *mujmil at-tawárikh*, Journ. Asiat. V 1841, following Hamza al-Ispahání, justly remarks:

ودر آن تاریخ هر پادشاه آن کسرا که ولی عهد خواستی کرد از پسران

بشاهی شهری لقب دادندی چون بپادشاهی رسیدی شاهنشاه گفتندی

or in J. MOHL's translation: 'Dans ce temps-là chaque roi, quand il voulait désigner un de ses fils pour son successeur, lui donnait le titre de roi d'une province, titre qu'il échangeait, quand il arrivait au gouvernement, contre celui de Shâhinshâh.' The nomination to the vice-royalty of the new and most important conquest, implies indeed the simultaneous designation as heir to the throne, just as was the case when Sháhpuhr I appointed his son Hormizd governor of Khorásán, and the coins of Varhrán II, showing the small head of the prince opposite the head of his father, are a welcome corroboration of these facts (see figs. 16 and 17, plate A).

Sakastán has a double meaning. It may represent the small district of the modern province of Sístán, and in this sense the word has always been understood in the passage of Agathias. Or it may mean the 'whole of Sakastán', the *sarvasa sakastanasa puyae* of the famous Mathura Lion Capital inscription in the British Museum, cf. BHAGVÁNLÁL INDRAJÍ, *Interpret.* &c. ed. G. BÜHLER, J. R. A. S. 1894 p. 540, CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Sakas*, 1890 p. 21, FLEET, *Moga, Maues, and Vonones*, J. R. A. S., Oct. 1907 p. 103 s., MARQ., *Éráns.* p. 46, n. 3. It is of far-reaching importance for the history of India during the dark period of the 3rd century that the Paikuli inscription leaves no doubt that we must take Agathias' τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος in the larger political acceptance of that term. It is the 'unrecorded Persian invasion' of V. A. SMITH. The part

bust of a king to the right, cut into a series of curves, a characteristic point in Sasanian busts, with bushy hair and a peculiar crown, not to be found on the coins of the Sasanian sovereigns, and consisting of 6 flutings, each surmounted by a big pearl, with a *taenia* ending in floating scarfs at the lower edge. The legend encircling this bust is clearly legible:

mazdésn bage péróze VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁH

'the mazdá-worshipping lord Péróz Great Kúshánsháh.'

The words 'mazdá-worshipping god' clearly indicate a Sasanian prince. No Kúshán, no Śaka could ever have called himself by that title, exclusively reserved to the Sasanian dynasty. The Rev. has been entirely misunderstood by DROUIN. It shows an almost unique representation, found again on a second coin of Hormizd Kúshánsháh alone. At the left we see the full standing figure of the king, in the garment peculiar to the first Sasanians, with sword and dagger, right hand in the attitude of adoration, left hand on the hilt of his sword. He turns to the right, and at his feet we can make out the faint outline of a small fire-altar, shaped like a sand-glass (see fig. 18, plate A). Opposite the king is another full size figure seated on a throne and turning somewhat to the left. The throne is seen from the right, in the Hellenistic fashion of perspective. In the left hand the god, for none else can be represented, enthroned and adored by the king, holds a long sceptre, the right leaning, as it seems, on the arm-rest of the throne. It is not clear whether any symbol was attached to the shoulders of the god, but we observe a floating scarf behind his left shoulder. This type of a god is well known; it is Zeus on the throne, who appears for the first time in Bactria on the coins of Antialcidas, then on coins of Hermaeus, Maues, Spalisires and Azilises. Behind the back of both figures there is a legend in clear Pársík. Behind the king we read: *Péróze* ŠÁH, 'Peroz the king'. Therefore, *a priori*, we must expect to find the name of the god in the short legend at his back. And this, actually, is the case. The words are clearly legible, but they surpass anything we could have expected. We read: *budḏá yazde* 'Buddha the god'. There are faint traces of a third legend between the heads of the two figures and above the firealtar, the first characters may be or .

Who was this Mazda-worshipping lord Péróz, who dared to represent himself as adoring Buddha on his coins? The answer is not so difficult as it seems. It is Péróz, the younger brother of Sháhpuhr I, known to an-Nadím, *Fihrist* ed. FLÜGEL pp. 328; 337 s., as the protector and perhaps as an adept of the prophet Mání. On the day of Sháhpuhr's accession Mání had begun to preach his religion openly. It was Péróz who procured for him an audience with his brother Sháhpuhr, who was deeply impressed by the prophet and deigned to accept the dedication of one of Mání's fundamental works, the Sháhpuhrakán. The *Fihrist* makes mention of Mání's preaching 'in India, China, and among the people of Khorásán', and we may infer that Péróz tolerated and supported the diffusion of Mání's doctrine in his own dominions. No one else but this Péróz, the protector of Mání, could have been the Mazda-worshipping god and Great Kúshánsháh who struck this extraordinary coin.

We have seen that Sháhpuhr I had to stop the siege of Nisibis in order to set right of the affairs of Khorásán, and that he appointed, his son Hormizd governor of Khorásán on that occasion. Then, Péróz, as the elder one, must have been Hormizd's predecessor as viceroy, before 252 A.D. This conjecture is corroborated, as we shall see, by the gradation of their titles: Péróz is the Great Kúshánsháh, Hormizd the Great Kúshánsháhánsháh. He is invested with even more power than his predecessor. We meet Péróz again, at an advanced age, in the Paikuli inscription, 293/4 A. D., as *vispuhr i sásánakán*, 'chief of the Sasanian clan'. This dignity is the privilege of the oldest member of the family. Péróz was a younger brother of Sháhpuhr I, and as there were yet other brothers between them in age, he may well have been still alive at that date.

VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁH, we learn here, was the official title of the Sasanian viceroy of Khorásán. Ibn Khurdádhbih, *kitáb al-mamálik* p. IV, mentions the *buzurg kúšán šáh* in the chapter inscribed: 'the (32) kings whom Ardashír called šáh'. Comparing the inscription of this chapter with similar notices in Masʿúdí's *murúj* II p. 4 as well as the

The internal war took place in 293. And though nothing is said about it in the Paikuli inscription, we clearly see that this time the Śaka kṣatrapas who appear in the last paragraph, had regained their freedom, and that the actual dominion over the Indian parts of Sakastán was lost in 293/4 A. D. But the unity of the Śaka Empire was once for all destroyed. The province of Sístán, the very home and old country of the Śakas, continued to form an integral part of the Sasanian Empire. The inscription Persepolis II, dated 311 A. D., year 2 of Sháhpuhr II, is written by Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh who was certainly a Sasanian prince-governor, and apparently a son of Hormizd II king of kings of Iran and non-Iran.

The relations of the Kúshán Empire with Iran are less clear. In the Paikuli inscription the Kúshánsháh is mentioned only once, heading the list of the independent kings, the first group of whom hold equal rank with the Kúshánsháh, preceding even the Caesar of Rome. The Iranian tradition, represented by Mírkhond, S. DE SACY p. 304, tells us that Narseh's son, Hormizd II, married a daughter of the Kábulsháh, i. e. the Kúshánsháh residing at Kábul. By this marriage, the friendly attitude of that king seems to have been confirmed, and Narseh seems to have gained his support. He must have been in great need of his help, and must have paid a rich wedding gift under these circumstances, and from later events we may perhaps infer this gift to have consisted in the restoration of the lands to the north of the Hindukush to their old possessors.

After the lapse of half a century at the latest, a new nation makes its appearance in Khorásán, the Chionites, and they must have wrested Bactria from the Kúsháns, as the Śakas had taken it from the Greeks and the Kúsháns again from the Śakas. In 356 A. D., Sháhpuhr II, son of Hormizd II, probably the Kúshánsháh's grandson, is engaged in a war *in extremi regni limitibus*, passing the winter 356/7 in the territory of the Chionites and the Kúsháns, apparently helping his maternal uncle against the intruders. At the beginning of 358 he is still *in confiniis agens gentium extimarum,* and is about to conclude an alliance with the *Chionitae* and *Segestani.* This alliance means the recognition of the changed conditions in the East in consequence of which political attitude those nations participate in the famous siege of Amida, Diyárbakr, in 360. They are allies. There is no Sasanian viceroy anymore, no Great Kúshán sháhánsháh, and even an actual suzerainty of Sháhpuhr II over those equal powers seems to be out of question. These facts we know from Ammianus Marcellinus. The emendations of the uncorrect names have been suggested by TOMASCHEK, *Sogdiana,* Wien. Sitzungsber. 1877 vol. 87 p. 155 and MARQUART, *Éráns.* p. 36 n. 5. In XVI 9, 10 we must read *Cuseni* for *Euseni,* in XVII 5, 1 *Segestani omnium acerrimi bellatores* instead of *Gelani,* as in XIX 2, 3 *Segestani acerrimi omnium bellatores,* in XIX 3, 3 *Chionitae, Cuseni* (instead of *cuius*), *Albani,* and *Segestani.*

These are the facts abstracted from literary tradition and from the inscriptions.

Now we must proceed to examine the coins and to prove those deductions as true with the help of numismatic evidence. Beside the Śaka coinage and that of the later Kúsháns, there is the interesting class of the so-called 'Scytho-Sasanian' coins, dealt with by PRINSEP, WILSON, THOMAS, DORN, A. D. MORDTMANN, later on by MARKOFF, *Catalogue des monnaies Sasanides &c. de l'Institut des Langues orientales,* Pétersbourg 1889 p. 60 no. 21; A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians,* 1894; DROUIN, *Monnaies Sassanides inédites,* Rev. Num. 1895 and *Monnaies des Grands Kouchans* Rev. Num. 1896; MARQUART, *Éránšahr* pp. 48—50.

These coins come for the most part from the Oxus districts, north of the Hindukush, especially from Karkí, Kunduz and Badakhshán, only a few from the Kábul valley. We may roughly divide them into two classes. The first class consists of some extremely rare or unique gold and silver coins and a certain number of copper pieces of the type of the early Sasanian coins of the 3rd century. The other class contains cup-shaped gold pieces of the type of the later Kúshán coins. The two classes are strikingly different in style, but CUNNINGHAM was perfectly right in connecting them closely with each other.

It is impossible to discuss here every single coin of the two classes, but we must give a brief survey of the whole material. We shall begin with the silver dirham of the British Museum, DROUIN 1895 pl. II no. 12. Rev.:

ERAN ŠÁH*án* ŠÁH. This must be a misreading. *Érán* must follow *šáhánšáh* in the protocol, whilst *kúšán* precedes the title. The coin is a Kúshán coin, for the Rev. corresponds exactly to the description of the silver coin of Péróz. Markoff recognized the name *Máni* in the same place, where the latter coin seems to have .. or .. . Having discovered the name of Buddha on that coin, that of Mání would not be out of question, but it ought to stand behind the figure representing the prophet, not above the fire-altar. This reading would be absolutely impossible on a coin later than the execution of Mání under Varhrán II. We must expect the legend of the Obv. to be: *mazdésn bage Ohormizde* VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁH*án* ŠÁH.

In any case, the two silver coins of Péróz and of Hormizd are identical as regards the type of the Rev., and the title shows a gradation from ŠÁH to ŠÁH*án* ŠÁH.

A copper coin of the same king, Cunn. pl. IV no. 6, has the same Obv., as the *aureus*, with the shortened legend:

ohormizde VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁH,

see Thomas, Num. Chron. XV p. 184. The importance of this coin lies in its Rev. showing clearly the ancient type of the Great Kúshán Vasudeva coins: the Indian god Śiva standing before the Nandi bull. On the existence of this small copper coin, Thomas based his conclusion that the cup-shaped coins of Kúshán style must belong to the same kings as the Sasanian group.

Other copper coins of Hormizd, e. g. Cunn., pl. IV no. 7, have another Rev., a small fire-altar with a human bust in the place of the flames, and the same legend. The appearance of the so-called *'farvar'* has induced some scholars to identify the king Hormizd in question with Hormizd II, for on some of his coins that device is met with. But this argument is of no value. The coins of Hormizd II are not the only instance of the *'farvar'*, we find it also on the coins of Sháhpuhr II and Balásh. On the other hand, we find it not only on the coins of Hormizd Kúshánsháh, but also on the copper coins of Bahrám I, Cunn., pl. IV no. 16 and 17, and of Bahrám II, Cunn., p. 182 no. 14, where the plate does not show it. Perhaps the best illustration of the Sasanian *'farvar'* is seen on the Manér gem of Paris, fig. 31. The so-called *'farvar'* is, indeed, no *farvar* at all, but the god Hormizd. In order to get convinced, we have only to compare 1) the Assyrian representations of the god Ašúr, 2) those of Ahuramazda on the bas-relief of Darius at Bístún and on the Royal tombs at Naqsh i Rustam and Persepolis, 3) the coins of the Frátadára Vátafradáta I, still preserving the Achaemenian form, 4) the coins of the Sháhs of Stakhr, Dárayáv and Vátfradát II, in which the flames on the altar look like stag's horns, and the winged figure of God is shortened into a bust as on the Sasanian coins. These examples give the uninterrupted evolution of the Divine symbol from the Assyrian up to the Sasanian epoch. The *'farvar'* is the God Hormizd, and, hence a device suitable to every Zoroastrian coin, especially to those of any king Hormizd.

The author of these coins, judging from his title *mazdésn i bag* must have been a prince of the Sasanian house, from the type of his helmet he must have been heir to the throne, from the style of the coins as a whole, from all the separate details he must have lived quite early in the 3rd century, from the very close resemblance of his silver coin with that of Péróz, he must have been the latter's successor, in accordance with the gradation of their titles. Therefore, the whole group of coins with the name of Hormizd and the title Kúshánsháh, belong to Hormizd, son of Sháhpuhr I, appointed viceroy of Khorásán at the time of the siege of Nisibis.

The title VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁH*án* ŠÁH is more pretentious than that of Péróz. It implies not only the actual dominion over Khorásán and, hence, over great parts of the ancient Kúshán Empire, but the claim to the suzerainty over the whole of that Empire, including the hitherto independent parts, the Kábul valley and the Panjáb. The actual result of Sháhpuhr's and Hormizd's peaceful or warlike policy in the East must have been the recognition of this claim by the Kúshánsháh, the king of Kábul and the Panjáb; otherwise this title could not have been assumed by the Sasanian viceroy.

letter of the móbedh Tannasar, DARMESTETER Journ. As. 1894 I p. 210, we see, that Ibn Khurdádhbih thought these kings to be Arsacidan '*mulúk al-ṭawá'if*' confirmed in their rank by Ardashír. Hence, Ibn Khurdádhbih did not know the primary source of this tradition. Though certainly not as old as Ardashír's time, this was doubtlessly a Pahlaví document of a peculiar kind. MARQUART, *Éránš.* p. 48 n. 1, has already proved the list to be the rest of a Sasanian *áinnámak* or *Notitia dignitatum.* Other traces of an *áinnámak* survive in Hamza ed. GOTTWALD p. 57 s. In this *áinnámak* the *buzurg Kúšánšáh* was mentioned, and also, the *Kábulšáh.* The first is the Sasanian viceroy of Khorásán, the latter the independent king of Kábul and the Panjáb, the successor of the ancient Kúshánsháhs. In another chapter, p. 39 s., Ibn Khurdádhbih enumerates the titles of the petty kings ruling Khorásán at the time of the Muhammedan conquest. Here again we meet with both the Kúshánsháh and the Kábulsháh, the former being called king of Má-wará-'l-nahr or Transoxania, parts which belonged to Khorásán. Obviously the title, at that time, is a mere survival of the past. The ethnic name of the Kúshán, having become a political designation in Sasanian times, remained still attached to parts of their former northern possessions.

There was another title of that type in the Sasanian *áinnámak*, the *buzurg Arminiyánšáh.* These titles signify more than a mere governor of a province or *šáh. Vazurk šáh* is the Arsacidan μέγας βασιλεύς, Achaemenian χšáyaϑiya[h] vazrka[h], king of a union of states and nations, such as Bactria and Armenia were, or viceroy of a formerly independent Empire. Hence, *vazurk Kúšánšáh* expresses the actual sovereignty over the whole of the Khorásán countries subdued by Ardashír and his immediate successors. The title justifies the assumption of the title *šáhánšáh i érán ut anérán* on the part of Sháhpuhr I, the Sasanian sovereign of Iran itself.

There are three other copper coins, WILSON, *Ar. Ant.* pl. XVII nos. 13 and 14, and CUNN., *Scytho-Sas.* pl. IV no. 9. They must belong either to Sháhpuhr I or II. Though feeling rather sure that they belong to Sháhpuhr I, I must abstain from discussing them here, and would like to draw attention to the fact that their legend in Greek Kúshán characters, ÞOBOPO, is one of the links connecting these curious coins with the second class of cup-shaped gold dinars.

The next group consists of certain coins the legends thereof refer to a king Hormizd. The first example is the fine *aureus* of Sir HENRY RAWLINSON in the Brit. Mus., CUNN., pl. IV no. 2, of which a duplicate was in CUNNINGHAM's possession (see fig. 19, plate A). The Obv. shows the bust of a king to the right, with necklace, bushy hair, point of beard drawn through a ring, high helmet with crest, its top bent forward and terminating in a lion's head, surmounted by a fruit- or flower-shaped globe with Royal *taenia.* The legend is:

[illegible]

mazdésn bage ohormizde VAZURK *kúšán* ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH

'the mazdá-worshipping lord Hormizd, Great Kúshán king of kings'.

The Rev. shows the fire-altar of the type, commonly found on Sasanian coins from the time of Sháhpuhr I onwards. The two adoring figures, standing in full size, are: on the left the king himself, in the same adoring attitude as that of Péróz, clearly characterized by his helmet, and on the right, the god Mithra, holding out the symbol of the *corona* to the king, and once more clearly characterized by the nimbus of sun-rays around his head, as on the bas-relief of Ardashír II at the Ṭáq i bustán, HERZFELD, *Tor von Asien,* pl. XXIX. This representation of Mithra is of an Apolline type, just as that of Buddha was derived from a Greek representation of Zeus. The legend is the same as on the Obv., with the redundant word [illegible] over the flames of the altar. This word does not occur in the rock-inscriptions, but perhaps on the silver coins of Péróz and of Hormizd, on which MARKOFF recognized it as Máni. The word may be explained as the ideogram מלך with the Iranian termination -í, but it is neither ŠÁH [illegible], nor ŠÁHÍK. It is impossible to insert this word in the legend (see fig. 20, plate A) and it can only be referred to the fire itself.

To the same king we must attribute the silver coin, published by B. DORN, *Bemerkungen über Sasaniden-Münzen etc.*, Petersburg 1844, cf. MORDTMANN, Z. D. M. G. XXXIV 1880 p. 27 no. 77. The Obv. is clearly of the same description as that of the *aureus* of Hormizd. The legend is said to be: *mazdésn bage ohormizde*

FIG. 13.

FIG. 16.

FIG. 17.

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

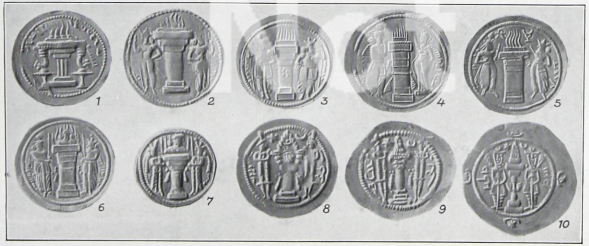


FIG. 20.

FIG. 22.

FIG. 21.

FIG. 23.

PLATE A.

Two copper pieces of the same class, formerly in the possession of A. CUNNINCHAM, pl. IV no. 16 and 17, have on the Obv. the king's bust, head-dress with a pair of big ram's horns and Royal globe, and the Pársík legend 𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭩 *Varhrán;* on the Rev. the fire-altar with bust of the God Hormizd in the flames. There exists a magnificent representation of this prince on one of the Sasanian silver dishes in the Ermitage, SMIRNOFF, *Argenterie Orientale*, pl. XXV no. 53, from Kercheva, Gouvernement Perm. SMIRNOFF already observed the identity of this prince with the author of the above discussed coins. The silver dish, by far the most excellent work of Sasanian metallurgy surviving, must be a work of the 3rd century. Most of the silver plates and jugs are of the 5th and 6th centuries, none being referable to an earlier king than Sháhpuhr II. The dish in question is more archaic than those of Sháhpuhr II.

There are other coins of another Varhrán, and a unique specimen of them was formerly in the possession of A. CUNNINGHAM. This copper coin is not represented on the plate, but he describes it on p. 182 no. 14: Obv.: bust of king to the right, with cap broadening at the top and ornamented with a zigzag, not unlike the crown of Sháhpuhr III, surmounted by a small fluted ball. Rev.: fire-altar with bust of Hormizd. The Obv. bears the legend 𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭩 𐭱𐭠𐭧 *Varhrán* ŠÁH. With this copper coin we may compare some cup-shaped gold-dinars, evidently of a later date than the other specimens of that class.

Therefore, as Varhrán III Sakánsháh is out of question, we must attribute the coins showing the king with the ram's horns and the legend *Varhrán* to Varhrán I, and those showing the king with the ornamented cap and the legend *Varhrán* ŠÁH to Varhrán II. Of Varhrán I we learn from Mas'údí, that he waged war in Khorásán. Once more this isolated notice proves to be true. He was the successor of his elder brother Hormizd I on the Sasanian throne, and must have been Kúshánsháh and appointed heir before his accession.

Here we may pause, as there are no other coins of the first, i. e. the Sasanian class, and we may proceed to examine briefly the curious cup-shaped gold dinars of the second, i. e. the Kúshán class. All these coins differ only in secondary details. The Obv. (cf. fig. 21, plate A) regularly shows the standing figure of a king, sprinkling incense (— it is exactly the attitude of *Mucius Scaevola* on Roman gems or almost that of the *bonus eventus* —) on the fire upon a small altar. He wears a Roman cuirass, shirt with sleeves, trousers, bushy hair, beard after the Sasanian fashion with point drawn through a ring, helmet or crown. The left hand holds a long lance terminating in a trident, and it is very remarkable that there are flames protruding from his shoulders, the ancient Oriental motive of attaching Divine and other symbols to the shoulder of a figure. Many of the coins show a circular nimbus behind the king's head. Between the parted legs there usually stands a *svastika* and other Buddhist symbols such as the *triratna* appear in the open field. This representation is encircled by an inscription in Greek characters derived from the alphabet of the Great Kúshán coins. The Rev. (cf. fig. 22 plate A) always shows Śiva and the bull as copied from the later Kúshán coins of the Vasudeva type, and another inscription.

These gold coins of the Kúshán class, if compared with the genuine Kúshán coins, impress us as strongly Sasanian in style, but if compared with the Royal Sasanian coins and with all the Sasanian sculptures and other works of art of the 3rd century, they appear to us decidedly pre-Sasanian. I cannot emphasize sufficiently the following observations: the script, of course, is pre-Sasanian, the whole subject both of the Obv. and of the Rev. is pre-Sasanian, the cuirass as well as the representation of the folds of the sleeves and trousers is Arsacidan, the moulding of the body underneath the cuirass is even more antique than the first works of Sasanian sculpture, the head-dress is not that of the Sasanian king of kings, the altar is Arsacidan, not Sasanian. The importance of these coins for the true understanding of early Sasanian art cannot be overrated. But it is quite erroneous to regard them as a Sasanian remodelling of old Kúshán types. On the contrary these coins reveal to us the existence of an art, hitherto absolutely unknown, earlier than any Sasanian work of art, and playing a very important part in the genesis of Sasanian art.

It is doubtful whether CUNNINGHAM ought to have at all troubled to decipher the Greek inscriptions of these coins.

But it is an ascertained fact that there is always one group of signs representing the titles ÞAOHANO ÞAO KOÞANO of the Great Kúshán coins and hardly undergoing any change, and a second group representing the king's name and varying with the various kings. Hence it seems that the inscriptions were intended to be legible, even though the real understanding of the script and language may have been lost.

These coins are inseparably connected with the class of Sasanian viceregal coins examined above. The copper coin of Hormizd shares with the cup-shaped gold coins the Rev., Síva and the Nandi bull, with the coins of Sháhpuhr the Greek Kúshán legend ÞOBOPO of the king's name. The Rev. of the silver coins of Péróz and of Hormizd with the king worshipping a god seated on the throne, is a Bactrian type. But the final evidence is the fact that every single one of the different head-dresses, the only means in Sasanian art of differentiating between various individuals, has its counterpart on the gold coins. Of Péróz no coins of the Kúshán class have been as yet found. The majority must be attributed to Hormizd (I), CUNN., pl. IV no. 3 and 4; DROUIN, 1896 pl. V no. 4; WILSON, pl. XIV no. 17, and 4 specimens in the Berlin cabinet. To Varhrán I belong the coins CUNN., pl. IV no. 15 and 1 specimen in Berlin; to Varhrán II, WILS., pl. XIV no. 16; CUNN., pl. IV no. 12 and 13 and perhaps DROUIN, 1896 pl. V no. 2. There is yet another king or viceroy with a turreted crown, apparently the last of the series, whose coins are represented by one specimen in the Berlin cabinet and probably by DROUIN, pl. V no. 1 and 3.

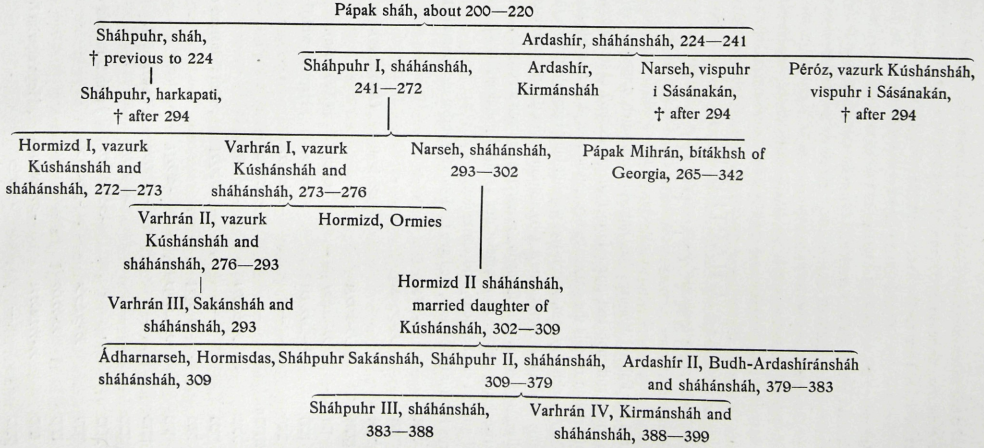
The authors of the so-called Scytho-Sasanian coins, both of the Sasanian and of the Kúshán class, then are the Sasanian viceroys of Khorásán during the first epoch of the Sasanian Empire, from about 225 A. D. to 293 A. D. And the historical facts which we have abstracted from the coins are in perfect harmony with, and strongly support the results arrived at by the examination of the historical tradition and of the inscriptions. We may regard it as an established fact that, indeed, the whole of Khorásán, and during the years 284—293 A. D. the whole of Sakastán too, formed a part of the Sasanian Empire. The true comprehension of these facts could not have been obtained without the help of the Paikuli inscription, and we owe this knowledge wholly to the light thrown through it upon these events.

By means of the inscriptions and of the coins, we have become acquainted with a great number of Sasanian princes belonging to the first seven generations of that dynasty, and we may correct in some points the genealogical tree given by NÖLDEKE Tab. p. 436 a. As to the dates and the length of the different reigns, the chronology of the Sasanian dynasty during the 3rd and 4th centuries has been established beyond all doubt by NÖLDEKE's investigations, but as to the relationship of the different kings and princes, the inscriptions furnish some new results. But before establishing the genealogical tree, we must discuss some other members of that house mentioned in the inscriptions without any indication of their relationship.

From literary tradition we are acquainted with Ardashír Kirmánsháh, younger brother of Sháhpuhr I. The Paikuli inscription mentions one Ardashír hazárpat or Grand-Vizier. He can hardly be identified with Ardashír Kirmánsháh; for this prince was appointed Kirmánsháh previous to A. D. 224, and if he was only 16 at that date, he would have been 86 years of age in 294, too advanced an age for the burden of that office. And the Grand-Vizier, though preceding in rank even the chiefs of the feudal houses of the Súrén and Spáhpat, need not necessarily have been a Sasanian.

Sháhpuhr Harkapati, whose prerogative it was to crown the king was certainly a Sasanian prince. This, obviously, was not the office of a young man, and he must have been of the generation preceding king Narseh. Now there are two Sháhpuhrs, one son of Ardashír, and an other one son of Pápak, and since it is highly improbable that two brothers should have borne the same name, the Harkapati cannot have been a son either of Pápak or of Ardashír. It was an old custom prevailing in Persia to call a posthumous son after his father, and, as Sháhpuhr sháh, son of Pápak, died young in 224 A. D., Sháhpuhr harkapati may have been a son of this prince, born in 224. He would have been 70 years of age, then, in 294, quite suitable an age for this highest office in the Empire.

The Paikuli inscription mentions two 'vispuhr i Sásánakán', chiefs of the Sasanian clan. This dignity certainly belonged to the oldest members of the clan, and the princes Narseh and Péróz also must have been members of the


Pápak sháh, about 200—220
Sháhpuhr, sháh, † previous to 224
Ardashír, sháhánsháh, 224—241
Sháhpuhr, harkapati, † after 294
Sháhpuhr I, sháhánsháh, 241—272
Ardashír, Kirmánsháh
Narseh, vispuhr i Sásánakán, † after 294
Péróz, vazurk Kúshánsháh, vispuhr i Sásánakán, † after 294
Hormizd I, vazurk Kúshánsháh and sháhánsháh, 272—273
Varhrán I, vazurk Kúshánsháh and sháhánsháh, 273—276
Narseh, sháhánsháh, 293—302
Pápak Mihrán, bítákhsh of Georgia, 265—342
Varhrán II, vazurk Kúshánsháh and sháhánsháh, 276—293
Hormizd, Ormies
Varhrán III, Sakánsháh and sháhánsháh, 293
Hormizd II sháhánsháh, married daughter of Kúshánsháh, 302—309
Ádharnarseh, Hormisdas, sháhánsháh, 309
Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh, Sháhpuhr II, sháhánsháh, 309—379
Ardashír II, Budh-Ardashíránsháh and sháhánsháh, 379—383
Sháhpuhr III, sháhánsháh, 383—388
Varhrán IV, Kirmánsháh and sháhánsháh, 388—399

preceding generation too. Narseh is mentioned by Dínawarí and Firdausí as a younger brother of Sháhpuhr I, whose daughter Dukhtnósh or Nósha was abducted by Ḍaizan, the last king of Hatra; cf. Nöld. Tab. p. 36, n. 1. Péróz is well known. He is the *vazurk Kúšán šáh* of the coins, the protector of Mání according to the Fihrist, a son of Ardashír I. Further, in the Paikuli inscription we find Pápak the bítákhsh, who in accordance with his rank, preceding the Grand-Vizier, and the chiefs of the feudal houses of the Súrén and Spáhpat, doubtlessly was a Sasanian prince. His title is the peculiar title of the Armenian and Georgian margraves, who though immediately following in rank the king of Armenia, never held so high a rank. Just at the period in question, as we learn from the chronicles of Armenia and Georgia, a young son of Sháhpuhr I had been married to the daughter and heiress of the last Arsacidan king of Georgia, Aspacures. This 'governatore della Iberia', mentioned by Moses of Khorene, Transl. Venice 1841 p. 251 s., is called Mihrán, and this cannot be the true name of a Sasanian prince, but must be a surname he bore from his mother, a princess of the Mihrán house. Hence, we may conjecture, that the true name of the prince was Pápak, Mihrán being his surname, and that this younger brother of Narseh had married Abeshura, the heiress of Georgia. The princess died while still a child, and the young prince, when grown up, married a daughter of Tírdát of Armenia, embraced Christianity, and fought on the Armenian side against the Persians and the Romans during the wars which followed. He is said to have reigned from 265—342. See Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie I p. 83 and Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Péterb. IV 4 p. 329.

Sháhpuhr I, his three sons Hormizd I, Varhrán I, and Narseh are all known to us from the inscriptions, as well as Varhrán II, son of Varhrán I. Hormizdas, the brother of Varhrán II, we know from Latin sources. That Varhrán III was not only the successor, but the son of Varhrán II, I have shown in the glossary s. v. 𐭥𐭠𐭫𐭫𐭲. He was succeeded by his grand-uncle Narseh. The relationship of Narseh, Hormizd II, Sháhpuhr II and III, again is established by the inscriptions of the Ṭáq i bustán. In the inscription Persepolis I and II there appears another Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh, who must have been a Sasanian prince as well. Though the context of the inscription Pers. I is dubious at that place, and we cannot clearly see, whether the words 'son of Hormizd Sháhánsháh' refer to that Sháhpuhr or not, he must have been a Sasanian prince, for among the persons he blesses, he names his father, apparently Hormizd II, even before the reigning king. Therefore, Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh seems to have been an elder brother of Sháhpuhr II, for this king was certainly a posthumous son of Hormizd II, crowned before his birth, as a Sasanian Porphyrogennetos. But he had elder brothers from other mothers, and not of equal rank. One of them was elected king of kings immediately after his father's death, but dethroned after a reign of only a few weeks. His name was Ádharnarseh. Another brother was Hormizdas, living in Rome, who participated on the Roman side in the war of Julianus Apostata against Sháhpuhr II in 360—363.

There remains one extremely obscure point, i. e. the relation between the reigning king Ardashír II and his predecessor Sháhpuhr II and his successor Sháhpuhr III. Before his accession he had been Búdh-Ardashírán-sháh, or prince-governor of Mosul. He is said to have been a brother of Sháhpuhr II. But in this case he would have been over 70 years of age at his accession to the throne, and as he did not die in 383, but resigned in favour of his successor Sháhpuhr II, he would have been more than 84 at that time. This is not very probable, and as I have explained in *Tor von Asien* p. 69, it seems that his reign was an interruption in the regular succession.

Finally Varhrán IV was either a son of Sháhpuhr II and a brother of Sháhpuhr III, or a son of Sháhpuhr III. Unfortunately the Devonshire Amethyst gives only the name of his father Sháhpuhr, which may refer to both, Sháhpuhr II and III. If he was a son of Sháhpuhr II, he would have been born after Sháhpuhr III, about 328, being 60 years of age at the date of his accession in 388, and over 70 when he died in 399; if he was a son of Sháhpuhr III, he must have been born in about 343, being 45 at the date of his accession, and 56 at that of his death.

On the basis of all these facts and inferences we may draw up the following genealogical tree of the first seven or eight generations of the Sasanian dynasty:

The Aramaic forms in the second column are all 3rd pers. sing., those in the third column all 3rd pers. plur. The ideograms in the second column never occur without the termination ת-, those in the third column appear as a rule with varied terminations. Beside the termination ת- of the ideograms in the second column, we meet with the termination תן-. In the majority of the instances, we can say with certainty that the ideogram with the termination ת- represents the past part. pass. of the Iranian verb, the forms with the termination תן- the infinitive, derived in Iranian from the past part. pass. or from the preterit base. MP. has lost the inflected preterit forms of Av. and OP. The preterit is expressed by a passive construction, the past part. pass. with or without an auxiliary verb. Only the present base of the verb has an inflexion. Consequently, all the inflected forms are derived from the present base, and the forms in the third column represent the present base of the Iranian verb. In the rare instances where this form is to be found without a termination we must expect, and this expectation is in fact justified, that the imperative, viz. the present base itself, or a peculiar form of the participle present is intended. A convincing example of such an imperative is אל נתמן 'do not give!'.

Hence, we may state that in Pahlavík the 3rd pers. sg. of the Aramaic verb is employed to signify the preterit base, in connection with the phonetical termination ת- the past part. pass. itself, and with תן- the infinitive. The 3rd pers. plur. of the Aramaic verb is employed for the present base, signifying without any termination either the imperative or the part. pres., and with terminations the various inflected forms of the Iranian present.

In the great majority of cases the perf. Pəʿal is the form employed for the ideograms. There are but two imperfect forms, נתמן impf. Pəʿal, and נשללון impf. Paʿʿel. Beside the perf. Pəʿal we meet a Pəʿîl in נכלונד and probably in תלונד, a Haphʿel in אהתן, a Hophʿal probably in אהתונד. Three ideograms are derived from a participle, and seem to be *verba denominativa*, viz. מכלונד, מחסנד, and מכלונד.

Among the verbal ideograms there is a great number of *verba* ל״א. Most of them present regular forms, and quite agree with the system observed. We have:

21.	אדא?	—	‎-אדונד	, doubtful: for עדא?
22.	אתא	‎אתת-ת	‎-אתונד	, with *scriptio defectiva* in the preterit base.
23.	בנא	‎בנית-ת	—	
24.	חזא	‎חזית-ת	‎-חזונד	
25.	כסא	—	‎-[פר]כסונד	, compound with Iran. prep. par-, fra-.
26.	כתא?	‎כתית-ת	—	, meaning obscure.
27.	קמא?	—	‎-קאמונד	, unexplained *scriptio plena*.
28.	רמא	‎רמית-ת	‎-[ר]מונד	
29.	שאא?	—	‎-שאונד	, meaning doubtful.
30.	שדא	‎שדית-ת	‎-שדונד	
31.	שתא	—	‎-אשתונד	, with א *prostheticum*.

Again, we have here the 3rd pers. sg. with the phonetic complement *-t* to denote the Iran. past part. pass., and the 3rd pers. plur. to denote the pres. base with varied terminations. The grammatical form of these verbs can either be the intensive stem Paʿʿel, or the Pəʿîl, a passive form of the Pəʿal, but the latter seems to fit better into the context. The MP. language, which replaces all the preterit forms of the verb through a passive construction, prefers passive verbal stems for the ideograms. No. 27 קאמונד is a very obscure form recalling a Paʿʿel, and the only other exception, 22 — אתונד is a Haphʿel, the Pəʿîl of which, as we shall see, is being employed in another signification.

Beside these regular forms there are some irregular or in any case dubious forms of verbs ל״א:

CHAPTER IV

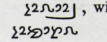
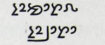
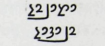
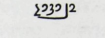
ESSAY ON PAHLAVI

The Aramaic element in the Pahlaví language has hitherto been much neglected. The Sasanian inscriptions represent it in a much more authentic and purer form than the Pahlaví of the books, and since the Pahlavík version of the Paikuli inscription reveals the existence of a second system of Aramaic ideographic writing, beside the Sasanian one, viz. the Arsacidan system, which fact was not fully recognized from the scanty materials of the Hájjiábád inscription, this problem assumes a new aspect through the decipherment of the Paikuli inscription, and therefore must be discussed anew. The following researches I submit merely as an attempt, for I cannot settle all the problems that arise being neither an Aramaist nor a trained philologist at all. I shall be pleased if more competent scholars will suggest emendations, and corrections.

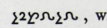
Leaving aside the verba לא for the present, we have the following verbal ideograms in the Pahlavík inscriptions:

1.	אול	אזל-מ	—	
2.	אחד	אגאד-מ	—	
3.	אכל	—	אכל	, (Áwramán).
4.	אסר	אסר-מ	—	
5.	זבן	זבן-מ	זבן	, (Áwramán).
6.	חסן	אגאסן-מ	אגאסן-	, Haph'el, with ה instead of ה.
7.	יטב	—	ייטב-	
8.	כהש (?)	—	כהש-	
9.	כמל	אמלך-מ	אמלך-	
10.	נטר	—	אטר-	, with ת instead of ט.
11.	נפל	אפל-מ	—	
12.	נתן	אתב-מ	אתן-	
13.	מזבן	—	מזבן-	, (Áwramán).
14.	מסגן	—	מסגן-	
15.	מקבל	—	מקבל-	, with ב instead of ק.
16.	עבד	עבד-מ	עבד-	
17.	קום	אקום-מ	—	
18.	קום	אגאקום-מ	אגאקום-	, Hoph'al, with ה instead of ה.
19.	שבק	—	אשבק-	
20.	שלח	—	אשלח-	

b. Pə'íl

11.	בעה	בעידו	 , with ח instead of ה.
12.	חתם	החתימו	
13.	יחב	יתיבו	
14.	עבד	עבידו	

c. Hoph'al

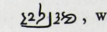
15.	נחת	הנחתו	 , with ח instead of ה.

d. denominative

16.	קבל	מקבל	, with כ instead of ק.

B. imperfect

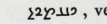
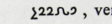
a. Pə'al

17.	אתא	יאתון	 , verb לא.
18.	הוא	יהוון	, verb לא.

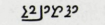
b. Pə'íl (?)

19.	כתב	יכתיבון	

c. Pa"el or Pu"al

20.	מלל	ימללון	
21.	קום	יקוימון	 , with כ instead of ק.

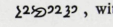
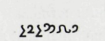
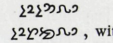
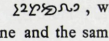
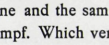
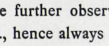
d. Haph'el or Hoph'al

22.	חסן	יחסנון	
23.	מטא	יהמטון	 , with ה instead of ה, ת instead of ט.

Contrary to the Pahlavík system, the Pársik uses only one and the same Aramaic form as an ideogram. It is the 3rd p. pl., in the majority of the cases perf., in others impf. Which verbal stem is used depends to a certain degree upon the signification of that stem in Aramaic. We further observe that the termination of the Aram. 3rd p. pl. is always that of the imperf., never that of the perf., hence always *-ún*. On the contrary, Páhlavík shows the termination *-ú* even in its rare impf. ideograms. This may well be a peculiarity of the dialects from which the ideograms are taken, if we consider the remarkable deviations of Talmudic, Babylonian, Mandaean, and even Syriac from other Semitic languages.

There are three *verba* לא in our list, Nos. 17, 18, and 23. All the other *verba* לא assume other forms. We meet with:

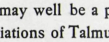
II. 2nd p. pl. perf. Pə'al:

24.	חוא	חויתון	
25.	חוא	חויתון	
26.	סגא	סגיתון	
27.	עדא	עדיתון	
28.	קרא	קריתון	
29.	רמא	רמיתון	
30.	שדא	שדיתון	

In all these instances the termination is defectively written, and, possibly, the Aramaic pronunciation was תן-, with a short vovel, instead of the normal תון-.

There are very few *verba* לא employed in other forms:

3rd p. sg. perf. Pə'al:

31.	שתא	אשתה	 , with ע instead of א *prostheticum*.

32.	אתא	𐭠𐭲𐭭-𐭪	𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭪
33.	בעא	—	𐭥𐭰𐭩-𐭪
34.	הוא	𐭭𐭢𐭣-𐭪	𐭭𐭢𐭣𐭪
35.	חוא	𐭢𐭣𐭪-𐭪	𐭢𐭣𐭪
36.	מטא	𐭬𐭬𐭠𐭲-𐭪	𐭬𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭪
37.	צבא	—	𐭭𐭥𐭩-𐭪

All these instances have in common the ending 𐭪 of the ideogram to form the present base, and in four cases out of the six the Aram. verb has the prefix of the 3rd pers. sing. impf. Hence the ה stands, as occasionally in Aramaic, for א, and we may regard these four examples as regular forms of the 3rd p. sg. impf. Pa'al or Pa"el of the verbs in question. No. 36 𐭬𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭪 presents an irregular א in the second syllable, but this may be a clerical error, caused by the long א of the ideogram of the preterit base of the same verb. This ideogram of the preterit base is formally identical whit that of the present base, for ה and א make no essential difference. There is no form of the imperfect ending in *-á*, whether written with ה or with א as *mater lectionis*, the vowel being always *-é*. We observe the identity of the two forms in No. 35 𐭢𐭣𐭪, and the forms of No. 32 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭪 — 𐭠𐭲𐭭 and No. 34 𐭭𐭢𐭣 — 𐭭𐭢𐭣𐭪 also are not essentially different.

To these somewhat obscure forms we may add the *verba* ל"ע.

38.	ידע	𐭭𐭥-𐭤𐭤𐭭 (?)	𐭤𐭤𐭭𐭪-	, the relation of the two forms is questionable.
39.	שמע	—	𐭠𐭱𐭤𐭤𐭭𐭥𐭣-	, with א *prostheticum*.
40.	(ענא	—	𐭤𐭤𐭭𐭥𐭣-	, doubtful.)

It is a peculiarity of the Semitic languages of Babylonia, that they all have changed the characteristic Semitic consonant ע into א. As this fact holds good from the earliest Akkadian period up to the invasion of the Arabs, this linguistic peculiarity seems to be caused by the admixture of Sumerian blood in all these Semitic strata of the population of Babylonia. The loss of the ע causes the verba ל"ע to be treated like verba ל"א. In script, ע is preserved beside ʾ representing א. And we must not be astonished to meet occasionally with a superfluous ע in verba ל"א, as apparently in No. 40 𐭤𐭤𐭭𐭥𐭣.

One fact is established beyond doubt, (and this fact is of the highest importance for the whole problem of Pahlavī), that there is a developed system of verbal ideograms in Pahlavík, two different Aramaic forms being used, one for the preterit, and another one for the present base of the Iranian verb, whilst the signification of the Aramaic form has not the slightest influence on the signification of the Iranian form.

Before proceeding, we must examine the verbal ideograms of Pársik, beginning again with the ideograms of 'sound verbs', and arranging them after their various Aramaic forms.

I. 3rd p. pl.

A. perfect:

a. Pa'al

1.	אזל	אזלו	𐭠𐭧𐭤𐭥	, with ע instead of א.
2.	אחד	אחדו	𐭠𐭢𐭣𐭥	, with ע instead of א.
3.	אסר	אסרו	𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭥	, with ע instead of א.
4.	יבל	יבלו	𐭩𐭁𐭤𐭥	
5.	יהב	יהבו	𐭩𐭄𐭁𐭥	, with ח instead of ה.
6.	נטר	נטרו	𐭭𐭕𐭯𐭥	, with ט instead of ת.
7.	נמם?	נמסו	𐭭𐭬𐭮𐭥	, unexplained.
8.	עבר	עברו	𐭤𐭁𐭯𐭥	
9.	שבק	שבקו	𐭱𐭁𐭒𐭥	, with כ instead of ק.
10.	שדר	שדרו	𐭱𐭄𐭯𐭥	

Asiat. 1835, p. 120 ss., where we read: "The Nabataeans نبط are unable to distinguish between ج and ه, ا and ع." The same peculiarity distinguishes the old Babylonian and the Assyrian languages from other Semitic languages, and is probably due, as already remarked, to a strong influx of Sumerian blood into the Semitic tribes settled in Babylonia.

Before leaving the verbal ideograms, we must consider the Iranian terminations which appear appended to them as phonetical complements.

The 𐭭 appended in Pahlavík to the preterit base signifies the termination *-t* of the past part. pass., written in Pársík 𐭮𐭩- *-te*. There are a few verbs in Pársík which have a phonetic writing for the preterit base, and an ideographical for the present base. So we find 𐭥𐭤𐭭𐭥 BAND-, and 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭩 *baste*, 𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭮 ÁWAR-, and 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭫 *áwurte*, 𐭥𐭣𐭤𐭥 KUN-, and 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭣 *kirte*, 𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭮𐭩 NIPÉS-, and 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭣𐭥 *nipište*. This use does not seem to be a regular one.

The termination 𐭫𐭭 *-tan* in Pahlavík clearly signifies the infinitive. There is one single instance of an ideogram in the infinitive in Párs. 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭤𐭣𐭥𐭩, but a number of infinitives written phonetically as 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭫 *dáštane*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭤𐭣𐭥 *framátane*, 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭣𐭥 *nipištane*, and here again Pársík adds the ending 𐭮- *-e* to the Pahlavík termination. It is the OP. *-tanaiy*.

There is one instance of the termination 𐭪 -k, in 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭪, possibly a participle, but the reading is not beyond doubt.

The 𐭩𐭬- *-st*, added to the ideogram 𐭩𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭤𐭫 is not a verbal termination, but a pure phonetic complement, to speak in the technical terminology of cuneiform grammar. The ideogram alone means XVÁST, hence, we ought to transcribe it correctly XVÁST*st*. The same phonetic complement occurs in some fragmentary words, and there it may represent the ending of the verb *nišast, škast* or others.

The terminations 𐭬-, 𐭤- *-(é)m* appended to the present base are clearly for the 1st pers. It may be that in some cases the pl. is intended, but in the majority of cases it is the sg., and we cannot state whether the sg. and pl. were differentiated at all. Once, in a verb written phonetically, viz. 𐭮𐭤𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭮𐭥, we meet the 1st. ps. with the *mater lectionis* 𐭥, and the final 𐭮 *-e*, just as in the termination of the superlative. It is OP. *-ámahi*. It is remarkable that just as the phonetic complement for the infinitive usually written 𐭩𐭭 *-tan*, is written 𐭮𐭩𐭬- *-tane* in the Iranian words, so here the phonetic complement usually written 𐭤 *-m*, is with 𐭮𐭤𐭥- *-mme* in the Iranian word.

We have no conclusive instances of the termination of the 2nd p. in the inscriptions. The terminations 𐭣- or 𐭣- *-d*, 𐭭- or 𐭩- *-t*, and 𐭤𐭭- *-nt* or 𐭣𐭩- *-nd*, all belong to the 3rd pers. The 3rd p. sg. is represented by 𐭭- or 𐭩- *-t* alone. The 3rd p. pl. is formed in two ways, either by 𐭣- or 𐭣- *-d* alone, or by 𐭤𐭭- *-nt* or 𐭣𐭩- *-nd*. There is no grammatical difference, since both groups of endings are indifferently used.

None of these terminations indicate the vowel of the syllable, but as we know that the Pahlavík as well as the Pársík inscriptions, just as the Phl B., no longer discriminate between the various conjugations of the Avestic, and OP. languages, we are allowed to transcribe, indifferently, 𐭬-, 𐭤- by *-(é)m*, 𐭭- and 𐭩- by *-(é)t*, 𐭣- and 𐭣- by *-(én)d*, 𐭤𐭭- by *-(é)nt*, and 𐭣𐭩- by *-(é)nd*.

In a very few cases we find the termination 𐭩𐭫- *-át* indicating the optative, e. g. 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭮 BAVÁT, and similarly 𐭫 *-á*, indicating the imperative with the الف ندا, e. g. 𐭫𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭥𐭮 VÉNÁ.

There remains still the termination 𐭯-, 𐭩-, which we must be careful not to confound with the 'redundant stroke' 𐭥 of the Phl B. We have the following instances:

A′ 6,3 and C′ 6,5 𐭯𐭤𐭫𐭥 corresponding to A 12,3, and D 5,2 𐭥𐭥𐭤𐭮. 𐭥𐭥𐭣𐭩𐭣 is met with in A 4,4, and Pers. II 8. Without their equivalents we find A 11,3 𐭥𐭥𐭤𐭩[𐭩], B′ 7,5 𐭯𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭥, Pers. II 9 𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭮, and Pers. II 11 𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭬𐭮. The instances A 11,3, A 12,3, and A 6,4, and the corresponding A′ 6,3 belong to a continuous phrase, and represent one and the same verbal form. B′ 7,5, and C′ 6,5 = D 5,2 are isolated.

3rd p. sg. impf. Pəʿal:

32. צבא יצבה [illegible]

3rd p. pl. perf. Haphʿel:

33. אתא היתיו [illegible], with ח instead of ה.

As a 3rd p. sg. perf. Pəʿal or as a part. Pəʿal we may regard

34. הוא *הָוֶה or *הָוֶה [illegible], with ח instead of ה.

No. 33 [illegible] is the only exception to the rule that the Aram. termination is always ון-. It is identical with the ideogram used in Pahlavík, whereas in PhlB. we find [illegible], i. e. [illegible] 3rd p. pl. impf. Haphʿel. Hence, this ideogram in the Pársík version of the Paikuli inscription seems to be borrowed from Pahlavík.

The *verba* ל״ע are treated, like *verba* ל״א, as in Pahlavík:

35. ידע ידעתון [illegible] follows the group II,

36. שמע אשמעו [illegible] follows No. 31 [illegible], adding the ordinary termination [illegible]- in an irregular way. As to this curious treatment cp. the *verba* ל״ע in Babyl.-Assyr., e. g. ***išté-***, ***išmé-***, Delitzsch, *Ass. Gram.* § 52.

On the whole, Pársík employs but one form of the ideogram. If used without any termination, this form represents the preterit base, or the past part. pass. The same base is expected to form the infinitive with *-tane*. With other terminations the ideogram means the present base of the Iranian verb. It remains doubtful how, under such circumstances, the imperative mood was expressed, so as to avoid a confusion with the past part. pass., already left in the ideogram without termination. There is only one clear example of the imperative, viz. [illegible], from [illegible], and from this we may infer that a shortened form of the ideogram was used for the imperative.

In any case, the Pársík system appears more open to ambiguity than the Páhlavík. But it is also a carefully thought out system.

The auxiliary verb deserves a special discussion. In the PhlB. the present tense of the *verbum substantivum* is conjugated as follows:

	present, indicative				subjunctive			
	sing.		plur.		sing. (3. p. only)		plur.	
1. p.	[illegible]	H-*om*	[illegible]	H-*ém*	[illegible]	H-*át*		
2. p.	[illegible]	H-*é*	[illegible]	H-*ét*	[illegible]	H-*ét*		
3. p.	[illegible]	AST	[illegible]	H-(én)*d*	[illegible]	H-*é*	[illegible]	H-*ánd*

In the inscriptions the following forms are met with:

	Pahl.	reading	Párs.	reading
1. p. sg.	[illegible]	Hom	[illegible]	Hom
3. p. sg.	[illegible]	AS*t*	[illegible]	AST
3. p. pl.	[illegible]	H(*é*)*nt*	[illegible]	H(*é*)*nd*

The Pahl. ideogram is a regular Pəʿil, the Párs. ideogram the 3rd p. sg. perf. Pəʿal or part. Pəʿal. Beside these forms there is the striking form [illegible] in Pahlavík. Pársík uses instead of it the ordinary [illegible]. In all the instances [illegible] signifies a conditional. Hence, the termination must correspond to the rare NP. اندی, with یای تمنّا or یای شرط, cf. Salemann-Shukovski, *Pers. Gram.* § 50, b.

The change of א and ע, the replacing of ח by ה, of the emphatic sounds ק and ט by the simple כ and ת common to both Pahlavík and Pársík, but chiefly to the latter, must already have been a peculiarity of the dialects from which the ideograms were taken. We observe a similar phenomenon in the Aramaic inscriptions of Assur, and it was already known to the Arab historian an-Nuwairí, cf. Quatremère, *Mém. sur les Nabatéens,* Journ.

A study of this list, I think, settles the matter. Leaving aside the question of phonetic differences the ideograms in Pahlavík, and in Pársík have, as a rule, the same meaning, and the same spelling as in the PhlB. The exact pronunciation is a problem to be settled by examining the evolution of the Iranian languages. Here we may say that the pronunciation given in our MP. column comes nearer to that indicated by the Arsacidan writing than by the Sasanian. There are occasionally exceptions, e. g. we may prove that Pahlavík [illegible] was pronounced VÁ*xtan*, Pársík [illegible] GUF*tan*. We have only two instances in which Pahlavík employs a synonym instead of the same Aramaic root as Pársík does, i. e. [illegible] — [illegible], and [illegible] — [illegible]. It is, of course, possible that the pronunciation, in the two cases was not identical either. But it looks much more probable that they are identical since *dátan* is a verb common all over Iran, and we find the noun *fréštak* even in Soghd., MP.T. &c.

I deliberately abstain from touching the problem of the actual phonetic pronunciation of both languages, but I confine myself to a purely literal transcription of the written words. However, we may take it as proved that the actual pronunciation in Pársík was e. g. *šuδan, ášnúδan, χurdan, ámaδan, χästan, paδiriftan, awgandan,* &c. In my Glossary I have given the exact pronunciation of some of the Pahlavík ideograms.

There are comparatively few ideograms of nouns. They are arranged in the following list according to the Aramaic grammatical form in which they appear. In Pahlavík we find:

status indeterminatus or *constructus singularis:*

1. [illegible], i. e. מהימן, part. pass. Haph'el of אמן, with *scriptio plena*.
2. [illegible], i. e. חסן, plus the phon. compl. [illegible], missing in the *Frahang i Pahlavik*.
3. [illegible], i. e. פלג, *stat. constr.*, PhlB. [illegible], read *ném*.
4. [illegible], i. e. צבו, *stat. indet.*, PhlB. [illegible], read HÉR or ÉČ.
5. [illegible], i. e. שנת, *stat. constr.* of שנא PhlB. [illegible], read SARD, SÁL.

The great majority of ideograms of nouns appears in the *stat. emphaticus singularis:*

6. [illegible], i. e. אלהא, from אלה — BAG
7. [illegible], i. e. בר-ביתא, PhlB. [illegible] VÁSPUHR
8. [illegible], i. e. חמרא, from חמר, PhlB. [illegible] XÁR
9. [illegible], i. e. ידא, from יד, PhlB. [illegible] DAST
10. [illegible], i. e. ירחא, from ירח, PhlB. [illegible] MÁH
11. [illegible], i. e. כרמא, from כרם, PhlB. [illegible] RÁZ
12. [illegible], i. e. מלכא, from מלך, PhlB. [illegible] ŠÁH
13. [illegible], i. e. ספרא, from ספר, PhlB. — DIPÉR
14. [illegible], i. e. רבא, from רב, PhlB. [illegible] VAZURK
15. [illegible], i. e. ראשא, from ראש, PhlB. [illegible] SAR
16. [illegible], i. e. שטרא, from שטר, PhlB. [illegible] ÁLAK
17. [illegible], i. e. כרוא, from כרז, with phonet. compl., read SAXVAN^van^i,

There is only one ideogram in the Aram. *dual*: missing in the *Frahang i Pahlavik*.

18. [illegible], i. e. רגלין, from רגל, PhlB. [illegible] PÁD

The group of ideograms in the Aram. *stat. indet. plur.* requires the closest attention, as the question of an archaic declension peculiar to Pahlavík depends upon the interpretation of these forms. We have:

19. [illegible], i. e. אלהין, from אלה, read BAGÁN.
20. [illegible], i. e. זוזין, from זוז, read DRAHM.
21. [illegible], i. e. מלכין, from מלך, read ŠÁHÁN.
22. [illegible], i. e. סוסין, from סוס, read ASPÁN.
23. [illegible], i. e. שהדין, from שהד, read GÓKÁSÁN ?.

Cp. also the ideograms of pronouns, e. g. [illegible], [illegible].

Pers. II 8, 9, and 11, again, belong to a continuous phrase. We meet with the same termination, written with the *mater lectionis* א, in the MPT. texts, e. g. in the *Psalter*, see Berl. Sitzungsber. 1910 p. 869, and BTHL., *Mittelir. Mundart.* IV p. 26, עבידונאן, *PS.* 132,15 in the meaning 'I will make'. There can be no doubt that in all the instances mentioned, a similar meaning suits the context. The form is inflexional, it is a participle pres., and signifies the pres. contin. 'I am doing' or whatever person and verb may be in question. Therefore we must transcribe this termination, appended in Pahl. to the present base of the verb, by *-(á)n* following the present base, hence, DAH*(á)n*, KUN*(á)n*, PAY*(á)n*, DÁN*(á)n*, ÁY*(á)n*, and RAS*(á)n*.

Our last task with respect to the verbal ideograms is to answer the question, how to pronounce the Pahlavík ideograms. The Pársík ideograms, with one exception, are known from the *Frahang i Pahlavík*. The best way to reach a result is to compare with each other those ideograms which occur in Pahlavík, in Pársík, and in the Pahlaví of the books. The following list gives the materials so far available:

	Aram. root:	Pahlavík [p. p. p. base]:	Pársík:	PhlB.:	MP. pronunciation:
1.	אול	עולת	עולת	ולא	ŠUT*an*
2.	אחד	עוגלת	עוגלת	עאו	GRIFT*an*
3.	איתי	עתן	עתין	עשן	HAST
4.	לא איתי	לוא עתן	לוא עתין	לעשן	NÉST
5.	אסר	עמלת	עמלת	עסלו	BAST*an*
6.	אתא	עתות	עתות	טעשוו	ÁMAT*an*
7.	אתא	עתות	עתות	ט-עשוו	ÁWURT*an*
8.	בנא	לענת	—	עשו	—
9.	בעא	ולחשת	[ולחשת]	וועשתע	XVÁST*an*
10.	הוא	עכות	עכות	עשע	AST
11.	הוא	נעכת	עכות	טעו	BÚT*an*
12.	זבן	ולזת	—	כעו	XRÍT*an*
13.	[מ]זבן	מולזת	—	כעשע	FRÓXT*an*
14.	חוא	עכחת	עכחת	עשעוו	DÁNIST*an*
15.	חוא	עתות	עתות	עכעוו	DÍT*an*
16.	חסן	עגומות	עגומות	ט-טעו	DÁŠT*an*
17.	ידע	ולחת	עלחת	—	[ŠNAXT*an*?]
18.	יהב [נהן]	ותות	עתות	טעוו	DÁT*an*
19.	יהב [יתב]	ולוכת	עתות	עשעוו	NIŠAST*an*
20.	מטא	ומלעת	עתפות	טעשעוו	RASÍT*an*
21.	מלל	ומלמת	עפלמת	עלא	GUFT*an* [VÁXT*an*]
22.	נטר	ומלת	עמלת	עשעו	PÁT*an*
23.	נפל	ומלת	—	עשעו	ÓPAST*an*
24.	עבד	ולת	עתת	עשעו	KIRT*an*
25.	צבא	ועלת	עתת	עשעוו	KÁMI*stan*
26.	[מ]קבל	מולת	עתת	עשעוו	PATGRIFT*an*
27.	קום	אתוגומת	עתתפות	עשעו	ÉSTÁT*an*
28.	רמא	לתות	עתות	ט-עשעו	AFKAND*an*
29.	שבק	אלת	עתת	ט-עשעו	HIŠ*tan*
30.	שדא	אלות	עתתת	ט-עשעוו	VIST*an*
31.	שדר [שלח]	אלוגת	עתתת	ט-עשו	FRÉST*átan*

20. [illegible], i. e. כלי 'my whole', somewhat doubtful because being in contradiction not only with Pahlavík but with PhlB. [illegible] i. e. כלא *stat. emph. sg.*

21. [illegible], i. e. אבי 'my father', with the phon. compl. *-tar*, PhlB. [illegible], read PITAR^{tar}.

22. [illegible], i. e. מרוהי 'my lords', PhlB. [illegible], read XVATÁY.

23. [illegible], i. e. מרעתא, which may be explained as *st. emph. pl. fem.* מראתא 'the ladies', or as *st. constr. pl. fem.* with suff. of the 3rd p. sg. מראתה 'his ladies'.

The number of ideograms with the suffix of the pers. pron. of the 3rd pers. sg. is considerable:

24. [illegible], i. e. ברה 'his son', PhlB. [illegible] read PUS, cf. Pahl. No. 25 [illegible].

25. [illegible], i. e. גדה 'his fortune', see Phl. No. 29 [illegible].

26. [illegible], i. e. ידה 'his hand', cf. Pahl. No. 9 [illegible].

27. [illegible], i. e. רגלה 'his foot', cf. Pahl. No. 18 [illegible].

28. [illegible], i. e. נפשה 'his sool', cf. Pahl. No. 30 [illegible].

29. [illegible], i. e. ראישה 'his head', cf. Pahl. No. 15 [illegible].

A very peculiar form is the following compound with the preposition ב 'in':

30. [illegible], i. e. 'in the month', cf. Pahl. No. 10 [illegible].

The ideograms of adjectives are, as in Pahlavík, extremely rare. We meet with the same [illegible] as in Pahlavík and the comparative, or superlative, [illegible] and a few others:

1. [illegible], i. e. טב, PhlB. [illegible], read NÉV.
2. [illegible], i. e. כבד, PhlB. [illegible], read VAS.
3. [illegible], i. e. כביר, PhlB. missing, read MAS.
4. [illegible], i. e. -נטרון plus the phon. term. *-tume*, see Pahlavík [illegible].
5. [illegible], i. e. שפיר, PhlB. [illegible], read VĔH.

As a general rule, we may state from these materials that, just as in the case of the verbal ideograms, the various Aramaic forms, singular or plural, *stat. indeterm.*, *constr.* or *emphat.*, with or without the suffixes of the 1st or third pers. of the pers. pronoun, even the prefixed preposition, do not exercise the slightest influence upon the meaning of the Iranian nouns. And though the materials are rather scanty, we clearly recognize two different fashions or systems in Pahlavík, and in Pársík. E.g. Pahlavík employs the *stat. indeterm. pl.*, Pársík not. Pársík prefers the *stat. emphat. pl.*, Pahlavík has only one instance of it, possibly a 'pársíkism', as the ideogram is identical in form with the Pársík ideogram. Ideograms the meaning of which has any connection with the person, especially with the parts of the body, often show the suffix of the 3rd pers.; the names of degrees of relationship appear with the suffix of the 1st or 3rd pers. These are evidently learned systems, though not so well thought out as the systems of the verbal ideograms. One ideogram is especially significant: [illegible] 'in the month'. Comparing the ideograms [illegible], and [illegible], of the rare class of ideograms in the *stat. constr.* with this, we clearly see, that they are derived from the form in which these words appear in the official documents: ..... שנת ...... בירח, or .... לירח ... יום, is the Aramaic way of writing dates. Here we come across a highly suggestive point. These systems were thought out in the Iranian governmental offices, the *diváns*. The frequent use of the *stat. emph.*, too, has a syntactic reason, for it occurs in the common Aramaic construction like רֵאשָׁא דִּי דַהֲבָא, מָאנֵי בֵית־אֱלָהָא דִּי דַהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא. The same is the case with the suffix of the 3rd p., derived from the Aramaic genitive construction like ברה דשמואל, נפשה דאנש, ידה דגברא. The ideogram [illegible] 'fortune' takes not only this form but the meaning 'majesty' from the Aramaic term גדה דמלכא 'the fortune of the king'.

Just as there are phonetic terminations added to the verbal ideograms, so we find some phonetic terminations appended to the ideograms of nouns.

In Pársík we have [illegible] *-n* appended to the ideograms [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], all of the form of the *stat. emph.* terminating in *-á*, except the last which terminates in

There is a single case of an ideogram in the *stat. emphat. plur.*, viz.:

24. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠, i. e. חטיא, from חט, PhlB. 𐭧𐭩𐭩, read TÍR.

Some ideograms are employed with the suffix of a personal pronoun.

25. 𐭤𐭥𐭩, i. e. ברי 'my son', sg. of the noun with suff. 1. pers. sg., to be read PUHR.

26. 𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭤𐭥𐭩, i. e. ברי לברי, a distributive reiteration, the second element being introduced by the Aram. prep. ל, to be read PUHRIPUHR, and cf. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠

27. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭭, i. e. מראתי 'my ladies', pl. of the noun with suff. of the 1st p. sg.; read BÁNÚK.

The following ideograms have the suffix of the 3rd pers. sg. appended to the sg. of the noun:

28. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠, i. e. אתרה 'his place', read VYÁK.

29. 𐭧𐭩𐭩, i. e. גדה 'his fortune', read XVARRÉH.

30. 𐭧𐭤𐭥𐭩, i. e. נפשה 'his soul', read XVÉPAŠ.

31. 𐭧𐭩𐭥, i. e. שמה 'his name', read NÁM.

32. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭭, i. e. קומתה?

Of adjective nouns there is the only 𐭤𐭤𐭥, Pársík 𐭩𐭣, PhlB. 𐭭𐭩, i. e. NÉV 'good', and the comparative 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭤𐭤𐭥 with the phonetic termination -*ništar*, the ideogram being the present base of the verb no. 10.

The substantive ideograms in Pársík are not exactly those of Pahlavík, but differ from them in the same degree as the verbal ideograms do.

In the *stat. indet.* or *constr. sg.* the following words appear in the inscriptions:

1. 𐭩𐭥𐭭, i. e. יום, PhlB. 𐭩𐭥 read RÓČ.
2. 𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭣, i. e. מהימן, see Pahl. No. 1: 𐭤𐭣𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭣
3. 𐭩𐭣𐭥, i. e. צבו, see Pahl. No. 4: 𐭤𐭤𐭥
4. 𐭩𐭥𐭭, i. e. שם, see Pahl. No. 31: 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥
5. 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭩, i. e. שנת, see Pahl. No. 5: 𐭣𐭤𐭤
6. 𐭩𐭣𐭥, cf. Aram. תבע —, Arab. تبع, and 𐭩𐭣𐭥

These forms are rather exceptional. The greater number appears in the *stat. emph. sg.*, e. g.

7. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧, i. e. ארשא and 𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧, PhlB. 𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧-𐭭, i. e. ארשיא *stat. emph. pl.*, read GÁS.
8. 𐭧𐭩𐭩𐭥𐭠, i. e. ביתא, PhlB. 𐭧𐭩𐭩, read XÁNAK.
9. 𐭧𐭤𐭩𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭧𐭤𐭩𐭩, i. e. בר־ביתא, see Pahl. No. 7: 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧𐭤𐭤
10. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠, i. e. גברא, PhlB. 𐭤𐭩𐭩, read MART.
11. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭩, i. e. חמרא, see Pahl. No. 8: 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠
12. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠, i. e. מלכא, see Pahl. No. 12: 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠
13. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭧, i. e. מלכותא, PhlB. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭭, read BÁNBIŠN.
14. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤, i. e. שדא, PhlB. 𐭧𐭧𐭧, read DÉV.
15. 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧, i. e. שטרא, see Pahl. No. 16: 𐭧𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠

There is no ideogram in the form of the dual, and, very remarkably, no ideogram in the *stat. indeterm.* of the plural. But there are several ideograms in the *stat. emphat.* of the plural, of which class there is but the single example 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠 in Pahlavík. These are:

16. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤, later 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤22, i. e. אלהיא, PhlB. 𐭩𐭧𐭧𐭧, read BAGÁN, cf. Pahl. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤.
17. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭩, i. e. חטיא, see Pahl. No. 24: 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠
18. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤𐭤, i. e. סוסיא, cf. Pahl. No. 22: 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤
19. 𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭤𐭤𐭣, i. e. פרשיא, PhlB. 𐭤𐭥𐭠𐭧-𐭭, read ASVÁR.

Of the ideograms with pers. suffixes we meet in Pársík:

	2nd p.				
	cas. rect.	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	TU
	cas. obl.	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	TÓ
	3rd p.				
	cas. rect.	[illegible]	} [illegible]	[illegible]	AV[p] } ÓY, Ó
	cas. obl.	[illegible]			AVÉ
Plural:	1st p.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	AMÁX, AMÁ
	with prep.	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	Ó AMÁX, Ó MÁ
	2nd p.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ŠUMÁX, ŠUMÁ
	3rd p.	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible]	[illegible]	AVÉ*yán*?, AVÉN?, Ó*šán*

Though the *casus rectus* of the 1st p. sg., and the *cas. obl.* of the 2nd p. sg. are missing in Pahlavík, and the *cas. rect.* of the 2nd p. in Pársík, we clearly see that Pahlavík possessed different ideograms for the *cas. rect.*, and the *cas. obl.* of the three p. sg., and Pársík of the 1st, and 2nd p. sg. In the pl. the cases are not differentiated. For the *cas. rect.* of the 1st, and 2nd p. the Aram. pers. pron. is employed as ideogram; for the *cas. obl.* of the 2nd, and 3rd p., the Aram. prep. ל plus the corresponding pers. suffix. Pahlavík uses beside this form the Aram. prep. על plus suffix in the 1st p. sg., and pl. The old pers. pron. of the 3rd p. is lost in MP., and replaced by an old demonstr. pron. For this Pársík employs the Aram. prep. על plus pers. suffix as ideogram, Pahlavík the prep. ל, indicating the *cas. rect.* by the phonetic complement [illegible]-. The pron. of the 3rd p. pl. is formed in Pársík by the enclit. pron. -*šán* appended to the demonstr. pron. ó, expressed in script by the same ideogram as that of the sg., plus the phon. termination [illegible]-. Pahlavík shows the same ideogram as that of the sg., too, and adds to it the termination [illegible] -*in*. This is no Aramaic form, and as there are no instances of the use of the Aramaic plural termination unless the word be a true Aramaic plural, I think we must take this termination -YN to be a phonetic complement, indicating the pronunciation of the ideogram. The pers. pron. of the 3rd pl. is a new formation, and it is possible that the lost pronoun was replaced in one way in Pahlavík, and in another in Pársík. The ideogram [illegible] ought to be pronounced AV*én* or AVÉ*y(á)n*.

Again we must state that there was a well thought out system of the ideographic rendering of the personal pronouns. But the Aramaic forms in which the ideograms of the *cas. obl.* appear, are not those employed in the Aramaic parts of the Bible or in the Talmud. In the Bible, and the Talmud we find the forms לה and עלוהי, לנא, and עלינא, לכון, whereas the forms of our ideograms לה, עליה, לן, לכם are met with in the old Aramaic inscriptions of the 6th, and 7th century B. C., and in still earlier inscriptions. From this point of view, we may observe that among the ideograms of verbs and nouns, too, there are some very archaic forms, e. g. ינתן with the non-assimilated נ, as in the inscriptions of *Panammu* from Zenjirli, [illegible], and [illegible], [illegible] resembling in form the name *Jehovah*, [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], resembling the Babylonian *išmé*, *išté*, and [illegible] more closely related to לגרי of the *Panammu*-inscription than to the Bibl. רגלי, and perhaps [illegible] of the Awraman parchment. It would be easy to furnish a great number of very archaic ideograms by studying the Book-Pahlaví *Frahang*, but I must confine myself here to quote one absolutely convincing example: in *Frhg.* VII 2: [illegible], i. e. קאנא, read GÓSPAND. קאנא is Hebr. צאן, Arab. ضأن 'cattle', and the PhlB. ideogram preserves the original Aramaic ק (rendered as always by [illegible]), whereas this original Aramaic sound, which is still to be found in the Panammu inscription, and in the Elephantine Papyri was later on changed, following the general phonetic law, into ע.

These observations lead us to new views as regards the whole problem of Pahlaví, but before discussing them,

the suff. of the 1st p.: -*i*. This [Pahlavi]- clearly signifies the Iranian plural termination -*án*. The same [Pahlavi] we meet with in Pahlavík appended to the ideograms [Pahlavi], and [Pahlavi]. On the other hand we have [Pahlavi], not [Pahlavi], from [Pahlavi], and [Pahlavi], not [Pahlavi], from [Pahlavi]. Further we have the ideograms [Pahlavi] (Awr.), [Pahlavi], and [Pahlavi], all in the form of the Aram. *stat. indet. pl.*, not employed by the Pársík, and all signifying, without any termination, the pl. of the Iranian noun. Though these materials are too scanty to be decisive, I feel inclined to believe that we must take into account the possibility that the Pahlavík system had two forms of the same ideogram, the *stat. emphat. sg.* signifying the sg. and the *stat. indet. pl.* signifying the pl. of the Iranian noun. In this case, the termination [Pahlavi]- -*in*, is the Aramaic, not the Iranian termination, and we must read ŠÁHÁN, not ŠÁH*in*, BAGÁN, not BAG*in*, ASPÁN, not ASP*in*, as we read VÁSPUHR*án*, and VAZURK*án*. I cannot see a sufficient reason for assuming that there was more than one declension surviving in Pahlavík, i. e. that *bag*, *šáh*, *asp* belonged to another declension than *váspuhr* or *vazurk*.

There are some rare cases in which the termination appended has still the character of a purely phonetic complement in the old Babylonian sense of this term: [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi], and [Pahlavi]. In all these cases the ideogram alone signifies the entire Iranian word, the terminations are appended only to make the Iranian pronunciation clearer. The same was the case with the verbal termination [Pahlavi]- -*st* appended sometimes to ideograms whose stem ended in -*s(t)*. If we find [Pahlavi] appended to the ideogram of the adjective [Pahlavi] obviously the [Pahlavi], too, does not belong to the ideogram, for Pahlavík does not use the verbal termination ין-, but exclusively ו-. This termination clearly indicates that the ideogram stands for the present base of the Iranian root. Hence, we must divide the termination in [Pahlavi], being a purely phonetic complement, a repetition of the last letter of the Iranian adjective, and [Pahlavi]-, being the termination of the comparative, -*istar*.

There are two instances of a repetition of the same ideogram with an Aramaic preposition between them. The first is [Pahlavi], proved by the phonetic writing [Pahlavi] to signify PUHRIPUHR 'grandson'. It is evident that the translation of [Pahlavi] according to Aramaic grammar, i. e. 'my son to my son', is not only not an Aramaic construction, but has no meaning whatsoever. A Semitic construction would be *בַּר לִבְרִי, 'a son of my son', or ولد من اولادی 'one of my sons'. But the meaning of the ideogram is simply 'grandson', not 'my grandson', and hence it is a purely graphic expression of the idea.

The other instance is [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi], corresponding to Pársík [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]. Here we have a distributive reiteration, expressed in Iranian by the mere repetition of the word or by the repetition of the word with the preposition ó between them. Aramaic knows a similar way of distributive reiteration, e. g. לבינתא לבינתא 'brick by brick'. But again 'his place to his place' is absolutely meaningless, and is no Semitic construction at all. The words quoted above were never spoken, nor even thought in Aramaic. They are merely graphic symbols of Iranian words and thoughts.

When entering into the examination of the ideograms of the nouns, we remarked that their number was comparatively small. The contrary is the case with the pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs. There, the number of the ideograms is comparatively very large. This fact, too, negatives the idea that Pahlavík, and Pársík were mixed, hybrid languages. Here it is more convenient to deal with the Pahlavík, and the Pársík ideograms together, rather than separately. The following lists give the materials so far available.

I. *Pronomen personale.*

Singular: 1st p.	Pahl.	Párs.	PhlB.	MP. reading
cas. rect.	—	[Pahlavi]	[Pahlavi]	AΔ, AZ
cas. obl.	[Pahlavi]	[Pahlavi]	[Pahlavi]	MAN
with prep.	[Pahlavi]	[Pahlavi]	—	Ó MAN

The number of prepositions and conjunctions, written ideographically is very large. We find the following prepositions in the inscriptions:

	Aram.	Pahlavík	Pársik	PhlB.	M.P. reading
1.	ב	[illegible]	—	—	ANDAR
2.	בין	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	
3.	ברא	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	BÉT, BÉ
4.	לברא	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	UZ (?)
5.	על לברא	[illegible] [illegible]	([illegible])	—	BÉRÓN
6.	הן?	[illegible]	—	—	TÁK, TÁ
7.	עד	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	
8.	לותה	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	APÁK
9.	קדמתה	[illegible]	—	—	PÉŠ
10.	לעיני	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	
11.	לצד	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TAR
12.	מן	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	HAČ, AZ
13.	על	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ó
14.	פען, פן	([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	PAT, PA
15.	פנה	[illegible]	([illegible])	—	AVARÓN
16.	„	[illegible]	([illegible])	—	AVARON*istar*, *avarondare*
17.	קדם	([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	APAR
18.	ראש	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	SAR

Conjunctions:

	Aram.	Pahlavík	Pársik	PhlB.	M.P. reading
1.	אדין	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ADAYÁN
2.	אחר	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	PAS
3.	איך	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	KUT, KU
4.	אמת	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	KAT, KAY, KA
5.	אף	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	U
6.	ב(א)תר	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	PAS
7.	ברא	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	BÉ
8.	ברם	—	[illegible]	—	unknown, meaning 'but'.
9.	ו	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	UT, U
10.	כן?	[illegible]	—	[illegible]?	doubtful, meaning 'so'.
11.	כען	([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	NÚN
12.	לכען	—	[illegible]	—	AHNÚN, AHNÚNIČ
13.	אל	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	MǍ
14.	לא	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	NÉ

There is of course much more that might be said about these ideograms. But I am afraid lest this rather long discussion of the ideograms render my purpose obscure, and cause the thread of the underlying idea to be lost. The only point to which I must draw attention here, is that some ideograms, e.g. ברא, are used for different Iranian words all of which sound alike, but whose meaning, and etymological descent are different. Consequently ברא represents the syllable BÉ regardless of its meaning. The same phenomenon may be observed in the use of [illegible], [illegible] and other ideograms in PhlB. These ideograms have become mere syllabic signs after the manner of the Sumerian ideograms in Babylonian.

and examining the question of the age of the systems of ideographic writing, we must finish our examination of the Aramaic ideograms occurring in the inscriptions. Beside the *pronomen personale* we find:

II. the *pronomen reflexivum*:

subst. Pahl. 𐭭𐭱𐭥𐭭 𐭥𐭠, i. e. נפשה מן 'by his soul', used in the same meaning 'self' already in old Aram. inscriptions, read XVÉPAT.

Párs. 𐫀𐫐𐫄𐫀, i. e. נפשה, same meaning, read XVAT.

adject. Pahl. 𐭭𐭱𐭥𐭭, i. e. נפשה 'his soul', already used in the meaning 'own' in old Aram. inscriptions, read XVÉPAŠ.

Párs. 𐫀𐫐𐫄𐫁, the same, read XVĚŠ.

III. the *pronomen demonstrativum*:

Pahl.	Párs.	PhlB.	MP. reading	OP. or Av.
𐭠𐭭	𐫀𐫃	𐭠𐭭, 𐭲	HÁN, ÁN	*ana-*
𐭭𐭱𐭩	𐫀𐫄𐫃	𐭭𐭩, 𐭭𐭲	ÉN	**oino-*
—	𐫀𐫄𐫇	𐭩𐭲	IM	*ima-*
—	𐫀𐫅𐫃	𐭭𐭲	ÉD, É	*aita-*

The original dem. pron. *ava-* replaces the pers. pron. of the 3rd p. We cannot enter into the discussion of the differences in the use of the various poss. pron. between Pahlavík, and Pársík. But it is important to note again that Bibl. Aram., as well as Talm., have the younger forms דך, דנה, and לדנה, whereas the forms of the Pahlavík and Pársík ideograms זך, זנה, are found in the old Aram. inscriptions of the 8th century B. C.

Among the dem. pron. we may count the words זכא and כלא, זנג, both ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.

IV. The *pronomen interrogativum* is represented by 𐭩𐭲, 𐫀𐫄𐫁, and 𐭭𐭱𐭩, 𐫀𐫐. The first is *מנו, from מן, and הו, cf. להו, and literally signifies Iran. KÉ-Š, generally used for the simple KÉ. It refers to persons, while מה, read ČÉH, ČÉ refers to things. Both may signify the *pronomen relativum* as well as the *pronomen interrogativum*. There is another ideogram צנע, צנך, i. e. איך, read KU, 'where', *interrog.* or *relat.* like the former ones, and also representing the conjunction KÚ 'that'. The *pron. demonstr.* corresponding to the question 'where?' is 𐭭𐭱𐭩 𐫀𐫐𐫇, i. e. תמה 'there', read ÓD or ÁNÓD.

Beside the relative pronoun the Iranian languages have the *iḍáfat*. Pársík uses the Aram. *nota relationis* זי, Bibl. Aram. and Talm. די, but in old Aram. inscr. ו, to be read i, while Pahlavík does not know of this ideogram except in two isolated instances in the Paikuli inscription, clearly to be taken for 'Pársikisms'. Pahlavík employs, if it does express this relation at all, the relative particle 𐭭𐭱𐭩. This observation, as we shall see, becomes of decisive importance for the question of the age of the Pársík system, for the *iḍáfat* זי occurs on the oldest Frátadára coins of Párs. On the Áwraman parchment we meet with a very curious form זבת, which I feel inclined to interpret as the fem. of the *nota relationis* זי, Hebr. זאת, Arab. ذات.

To the ideograms of interrog. or relat. pronouns we may join 𐭭𐭱𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭩, 𐫀𐫐 𐫀𐫄𐫁𐫄𐫀𐫐𐫀, 𐫀𐫄𐫁𐫄𐫀𐫐𐫀, read ČÉ *gónak*, *čégón* 'such as, as, like'.

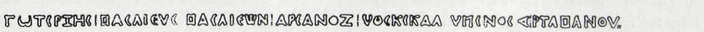
The last group VI is that of the *pronomina indefinita*. We find:

Aram.	Pahlavík	Pársík	PhlB.	MP. reading
אחרן	𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭	𐫀𐫄𐫅𐫃𐫀𐫄	—	ANÍK
כלא	𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭠	𐫀𐫇𐫃	𐭥𐭥	HARV, HARVÍN
צבו	𐭰𐭠𐭪𐭣	𐫀𐫇𐫁	𐭥𐭥𐭩	ĚČ
מנדעם	—	𐫀𐫇𐫁𐫀𐫐𐫀	𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭲	ČIS
איש	𐭰𐭲	𐫀𐫇𐫁𐫀𐫐	𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭲	KAS
—	—	𐫀𐫇𐫁	—	—

It is *a priori* obvious that the date of the Áwramán parchment cannot be the date of the invention or introduction of Pahlavík, but the upper limit of introducing this method of writing into the Government offices may be at the end of the reign of Mithradates I, 171—138 B.C., when the Arsacids definitely got hold of the province of Babylonia, that had belonged to the Seleucids up to that time. But it is much more probable that the introduction of the Pahlavík system into the Arsacidan *diváns* goes back to the earliest period of the etablishment of Arsacidan rule in Eastern Persia, and is contemporaneous with the beginning of the Arsacidan era, 247 B.C. An indirect corrobation of this suggestion I see in the fact that on the earliest coinage of the Śaka, among the class attributed by Cunningham to the period between 163 and 116 B.C., cf. *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Num. Chron. 1889 pp. 301 s., we find some clearly legible legends in Pahlavík script, proving the spread of this script even farther to the East than the frontiers of the Arsacidan Empire. Cunningham's pl. I 5 shows an imitation of a coin of Euthydemos with the legend on the Obv.: [Pahlavi script]. And pl. I 16 shows on the Rev. [Pahlavi script], and on the Obv.: [Pahlavi script].

To prove the use of Pahlavík during this early period, it is natural to look for it on the coins of the time in question. But the Arsacids used Greek legends on their coins, up to the last decades of their Empire, and it is not earlier than after 150 A.D. that accidentally some simple, and short Aramaic legends appear on them. We have [Pahlavi script] *Mitrd(á)t* ŠÁH, [Pahlavi script] *Valaχši* ŠÁH, and [Pahlavi script] *Aršak Valaχši* ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH. These legends are considerably younger than the Áwramán parchment, but I think we may assert, that they are written in pure Pahlavík, not in Aramaic. The single [Pahlavi script] may be Aramaic. But [Pahlavi script] is not Aramaic, but an Iranian construction, and must be read, as I have done, ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH.

The Greek legends on the Arsacidan coins are purely Seleucidan in style. Up to Mithradates II, 123—88 B.C., the Royal title is only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, i.e. [Pahlavi script] ŠÁH VAZURK. The more pretentious ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, i.e. [Pahlavi script] ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH appears first on the coins of Mithradates I, and reappears regularly from the time of Mithradates III onward (57—227 A.D.). Mithradates II and III assume, on certain coins, the most ostentatious title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, i.e. [Pahlavi script] ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH *(i)* VAZURK, which was the model of the title of the Sasanian viceroys of Kúshán: [Pahlavi script] VAZURK *Kúšán* ŠÁH*án* ŠÁH. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΟΛΟΓΑΣΟΥ translates literally, — indicating at the same time the order in which that legend must be read — the Pahlavík legend of Valakhsh IV: [Pahlavi script]. These titles, though expressed in Greek, are Iranian in thought. The same may be said even with more right of the exceptional, and much discussed legend of the very rare coins of Gotarzes II (fig. 24).



ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΕΑΝΟΝ ΥΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ

FIG. 24

This can easily be retranslated into Pahlavík:

[Pahlavi script]

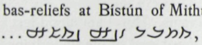
Gótarz ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH *(i) Ariyán* PUHR *(i)* XVÁND*ak (i) Artabán.*

The Arsacidan coins do not lead us back to a time prior to that of the Áwramán parchment, but they confirm the impression that all the legends, Greek as well as Aramaic, were Iranian in thought, and that the few legends in Aramaic script were Pahlavík, the title [Pahlavi script], as in the Pahlavík inscriptions, representing an ideogram to be read ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH.

There are some rare coins found in Soghd, with legend in Aramaic script, which I have discussed in the

It is not my intention to write a scientific and complete grammar of the Pahlaví language. This I hope will be done by one better fitted for the purpose. But I wish to show that there were two different systems or schools of ideographic writing, both of them deriving their Aramaic material from dialects spoken in Babylonia, and also that the methods of ideographic writing are those of the cuneiform inscriptions. The differences are caused by the fact that in Pahlaví ideograms were introduced into an alphabetic script, whereas in cuneiform writing they occur in a syllabic script. Sumerian was a monosyllabic language in which words, and syllables coincided. Therefore, when Akkadian scribes for the first time invented an ideographic system, the idea was not strange at all, but rather quite natural. The less the syllables and words coincide, the more unnatural becomes this method of ideographic writing. Nay, the introduction of ideographic writing into an alphabetic script is an idea so unnatural, and so absurd that it could never have been invented, save where ideographic cuneiform writing was still alive, and where the scribes were accustomed to this method by a training handed down from times immemorial. That extraordinary method was first invented, when Sumerian scribes were ordered to write their deeds and documents in the Akkadian instead of the Sumerian language. It was developed into a complicated system by the first Akkadian scribes, and spread over the whole area of Babylonian culture. We find it again, when Hittite scribes were faced with the task of writing their documents in their own language with cuneiform script, at least as early as the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. In Hittite we find the same ideograms with purely phonetic complements, appended terminations of Hittite conjugation and declension, the same graphic *glossae perpetuae* as in Pahlaví. There is a good deal of philological learning in the two Pahlaví systems, a learning that was only to be found among the Aramaic scribes of the Persian Government offices, but certainly not among the great masses of the Iranian people. Therefore, the Pahlavík, and the Pársík system of ideographic writing are nothing else but the last phase of the same phenomenon that we find in Babylonia and Asia Minor of old. Possibly there are elements of ideographic writing still in Nabataean and in the rare pre-Muhammedan Arabic inscriptions, for instance in the beginning of the Namára inscription: "TI NAFS *Mar'alqais* BAR '*Amr malik al-'arab kullihá*' &c."

In all these cases we see that first the official books were kept in the language of the preceding Empire, but that, after a short while, the necessity made itself felt of having them kept in the living language of the new Empire. The Achaemenian inscriptions are written in Babylonian, Elamite, and old-Persian cuneiform writing. But § 70 of the Bístún inscription of Darius surviving only in Elamite, and very difficult to understand, speaks of the introduction by Darius of a new system of inscribing Iranian texts on tablets as well as on parchment. There can be no doubt that the script employed on parchment was the Aramaic script, and we may be sure that the whole paragraph refers to a measure similar to that found necessary in old Babylonia, and Asia Minor, viz. the introduction of a new system of writing to be used in the offices. It is the نقل الدواوين of the early Muhammadan Empire. Cf. HERZFELD, *Pasargadae,* in Klio 1908 VIII 1 p. 65 *ss.*

These observations imply that the Pahlaví language may be older than the inscriptions, and, of course, much older than the surviving Pahlaví literature. I have already broached this subject in my dissertation on '*Pasargadae*', *l. c.*, and in the '*Tor von Asien*', when discussing the Aramaic inscription at Sarpul on the rude bas-relief representing a horseman, and another man rendering homage to him. This rude monument, apparently, must be dated later than the bas-reliefs at Bístún of Mithradates I, 123—87 B. C., and of Gotarzes, 40—51 A. D. The first words legible, ...  , see fig. 40, are clearly Pahlavík in script, and language, the first word being Iranian, the second and third Aramaic. — The famous Áwramán parchment in the British Museum is dated from the year 300 Sel., i. e. 13—12 B. C., cf. MINNS' discussion of this problem in J. of Hell. Stud. XXXV 1915 p. 33—38. Hence it is at least a century older than the rock-sculpture of Sarpul. It is pure Pahlavík, too, more archaic in certain details, but identical in all essentials with the Pahlavík of the Hájjíábád, and the Paikuli inscriptions. So we possess documents of Pahlavík, as far back as the first half of the first century B. C., that is in a time when cuneiform inscriptions with their methods of ideographic writing were still in vogue in Babylonia.

Now on the coins of Bagdát, there appear some characters, read by DE LA FÜYE and HILL BGWRT or BIWRT. From the whole construction of the legends we must expect that this word stands in the same relation to *fráta-dára* as Pársastakhra does, and though I have not seen the coins, I feel sure that the signs are another abbreviation of the same word.

3. Artakhshatr (I)

Legend: [illegible]

artaχšatr p(á)rs fr(á)tad(á)ra̱ i BAG(ÁN).

As in the Pársík inscriptions, the name Artakhshatr is written in the Pahlavík, not in the Pársík form. The last word is abbreviated.

4. V(á)tafrad(á)t (II)

Legend: [illegible]

V(á)tafrad(á)t fr(á)tad(á)ra̱ i BAGÁN

Some of the coins contain traces of *Pársastakhra*, too.

As for the date of this first class of the Pársík coins, it is apparent that they must be older than the last period of Mithradates I, 171—138 B. C. ALLOTTE DE LA FÜYE thinks that Bagdát I is not much earlier than Antiochus III 223—187 B. C., and HILL attributes provisionally the whole series to the period of 250—150 B. C. This is without any doubt an entirely reasonable and cautious supposition. There are only very few historical notices which throw light on this question. Polyaenus in his *Stratagemata* VII 40 relates that "Οβορζος massacred the Macedonian garrison of Persis". From Polybius V 40—54 we know that at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus III the Great, 223—187 B. C., Media, Persis, Susiana, and the province on the shore of the Erythraean Gulf formed each a separate satrapy. The coins in question look purely Achaemenian in style, and even if we assume that Achaemenian tradition was much stronger in Persis than in Parthia, we ought to assign as early a date as possible to this series of coins. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that the massacre of the Macedonian garrison was contemperaneous with the revolt of the Bactrians and Parthians about 250 B. C., and that we may assign the period 280—250 to Bagdát, the father of Vahuburz-Oborzos. Artakhshatr may have been compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of so capable and powerful a monarch as Antiochus III, about 223 B. C. At the end of Mithradates' reign, the progress of his conquests to the West, compelled Persis and Media Atropatene to invoke the aid of Demetrius II Nikator who, after an initial success in 140 B. C., was defeated and taken prisoner in Media in 139. This shows the loose allegiance of Persis to the Seleucids up to that date, and at the same time makes it probable that from 139 onwards Persis became one of the semi-independant satrapies of the Arsacid Empire. We do not hear of any succour offered to Elymais by Persis, when Mithradates incorporated Elymais with his Empire, and we may infer that Persis was subdued before that time.

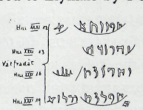


FIG. 26

So the whole series of coins, including beside the four *frátadára* known by their names some other ones, may cover the period from 280 to 150 B. C., when Persis acknowledged the Arsacidan suzerainty. The second series of coins, immediately subsequent to the first series, besides the differences in style, is characterized by the new title of the rulers of Párs: [illegible] ŠÁH. This implies a political transformation: the rulers of Párs bear the same title as all the other satraps or provincial governors of the Arsacidan Empire.

Among the coins attributed to the second series two types bear legible inscriptions:

1. Dárayáw I: [illegible] *dáray(á)v* ŠÁH, being a somewhat doubtful, but not an improbable reading of the name; and

2. Vátfradát II: [illegible] *v(á)tfrad(á)t* ŠÁH, of whom we possess two classes of coins, one with the head of his predecessor, the other with his own head, — I shrink from using the word 'portrait', for there are no portraits in Arsacidan or Sasanian art. If there is a resemblance of style between these Persian coins and

historical chapter. They, too, belong to the very last decades of the Arsacidan epoch, and may be mentioned here only as further instances of the spread of Pahlavík in the eastern regions. (See Fig. 23, Plate A, to face p. 48.)

As to the age of the Parsík system we must consider the coins of Párs. This province had a special coinage during the whole Arsacidan period. Nearly all coins bear legends in Aramaic characters, but in the Pársík system and type. I must base these researches on the *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia,* by G. F. Hill, beside which I quote the paper by Allotte de la Füye in *Corolla Numismatica* presented to Barclay V. Head, whereas the essay of J. de Morgan reveals an astonishing naïveté, and is not worth quoting. The Berlin cabinet has a remarkable collection of this class of coins.

To trace the age of the Pársík script, and language, I would have followed the ascending order of legends, but as the later legends are less legible, I prefer the descending order introduced by de la Füye, and Hill.

1. Bagdát:

Legend:

[Pahlavi]

bagd(á)t fr(á)tad(á)ra̱ ī bagán

'Baghdádh, the frátadára, the divine'.

We observe the peculiarities of the frequent *scriptio defectiva,* and more important, the termination *-a* of *frátadára,* which shows the spelling in its OP. stage of evolution. The ideogram אלהיא, *stat. emph. pl.* of אלה, is the one which later on was disfigured to [Pahlavi], and shows still the Aram. ה in the middle of the word, replaced in later times by ח. This ideogram is one of the Pársík system. The Pahlavík system employs אלהין, the *stat. indeterm. pl.* of the same Aram. word. Beside this Pársík ideogram the short legend contains the *nota relationis* זי, employed as *iḍáfat.* This again is an exclusive peculiarity of the Pársík system, whereas Pahlavík does not express the *iḍáfat,* but renders a relative construction by the ideogram [Pahlavi].

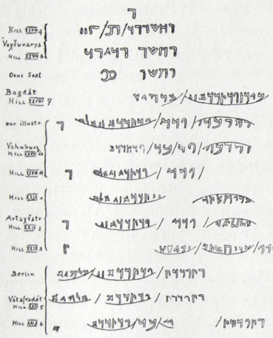


FIG. 25

Therefore, the very first of the legends reveals the fact that they are not Aramaic, but Pahlaví, and that they belong to the Pársík, not to the Pahlavík system.

2. Vahuburz:

Legend: [Pahlavi]

vahu̱burz p(á)rs fr(á)tad(á)ra̱ ī bag[án]

This legend has the interesting word [Pahlavi]. The [Pahlavi], still preserving the old Aramaic shape, was not recognized by Hill and de la Füye. Párs is the name of the province. The construction is good Persian: 'Vahu̱burz, of Párs the frátadára, the divine'.

Some other coins of Vahuburz seem to have had a still more explicit legend:

[Pahlavi]

We must take into consideration that these legends are mostly incomplete. It may be that they were so from the very beginning, or that they were partly destroyed in the course of time. Again abbreviations are used just as on other coins of that epoch, e. g. the Hyrcanian coins of *Vaχšuvarya.* In the present instance, the legend is obviously incomplete, and we must add the words ī bágán from the former legend. In this one, [Pahlavi] is abbreviated to [Pahlavi]; here [Pahlavi] is abbreviated to [Pahlavi]. The following two letters are another abbreviation, a discovery due to Marquart; we must complete it to [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi], Aram. בירתא, *stat. emph. sg. fem.* of בירא 'stronghold', read staxra. *Pársa-staχra* means 'the stronghold of Párs', viz. the capital Stakhr. The construction again is purely Iranian. Thus the complete legend we must read:

'*Vahuburz, of Pársastakhra* the frátadára, the divine'.

some resemblance to those of Artabán II, 88—77 B. C., those of Artakhshatr II, to the coins of Mithradates III, 57—54 B. C. Artakhshatr II is regarded by A. v. GUTSCHMID, Encycl. Brit. s. v. *Persia* p. 606, and following him by A. DE LA FÜYE, as being identical with the king of that name, of whom Isidor of Charax (who lived about the beginning of the Christian era) speaks as having been reigning 'in the time of his fathers', and as having been slain by his brother Gosithres at the age of 93, see Pseudo-Lucian, *Macrobii* 15. That would fix the end of his reign somewhere about 50 B. C., a welcome confirmation of the dates which we have deduced from numismatic evidence.

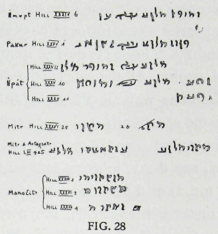


FIG. 28

The legends on the coins of the third series have this in common that they add the name of the father to that of the reigning king, thereby enabling us to arrange them historically with great certainty. This fashion becomes the rule prevailing up to the time of the coins of Ardashír I as Sháhánsháh, and, as we have seen, reappears on the Soghdian coins of the late Arsacidan period. Hence all these legends are of one and the same type: name — title — son of — name — title. There is an epigraphic characteristic, too: the ideogram of PUS (𐭯𐭥𐭱) is always represented by a ligature, easily recognizable on all these coins. It consists in the crossing of the second letter 𐭥 with the horizontal stroke of the 𐭱, and of a combination of the third letter 𐭯 with the end of that stroke. This is essentially the same ligature as that met with again in the inscriptions not earlier than Persepolis II, dated 357 A. D., and cautions us against considering the script of the early Sasanian inscriptions as the normal cursive script of the time. From this and from other facts, it is proved that beside the script of the inscriptions there was always a more cursive writing in existence, and sometimes the forms of the latter were allowed to enter into the inscriptions.

The fourth series of coins must cover the period from about 50 B. C. till 225 A. D. Their comparatively small number prevents us from deducing from them the chronological framework of the whole period. Apparently there are great gaps to be filled up by new finds. Style and legends are barbaric. But it seems as if two groups ought to be distinguished among them, the first subsequent to the third group of coins, the other immediately preceding the Sasanian coins.

The coins of one of the apparently earliest rulers of this series whose name is read Namopat, are not unlike the coins of Phraates IV, 38/37—3/2 B. C. or Artabán III 10/11—40 A. D. The coins of a king whose name is read Napát or Kapát have some resemblance with those of Vardanes I 41/2—45 A. D., Gotarzes II 40/1—51 or Vonones II 51 A. D.

The deplorable state of the legends prevents reliable readings, and I feel sure that neither Namopat nor Napát or Kapat are the true names. The only name absolutely certain is Pákúr. Hence, I abstain from dealing with the legends here, and reproduce them simply in fig. 28.

Among the other group, closely related to the coins of Sháhpuhr, son of Pápak and Ardashír I, son of Pápak, and on the other hand resembling the coins of the last Arsacidan, Vologases III—V, 147—222 A. D., we find the names Manočitre, Mitre, and Artaχšatr, and with some certainty we may assert that Manočitre I, II, II, and Artaχšatr (IV) were members of the same family, ruling at least for four generations. The name Manočitre appears in Ṭabarí's account of the rise of Ardashír I, but it is remarkable that Góčitre, the king of Párs, and especially of Stakhr according to the literary tradition, is as yet unknown from the coins. Though the names sound and look similar there is certainly not a single coin showing the name Góčitre.

So the historical materials to be gained from the examination of this last series of coins of Persis are but few. But the more important is the epigraphic or palaeographic evidence they offer. We have already mentioned the occurrence of the ligature (𐭯𐭥𐭱) on these coins. Now we must briefly consider the script. I have above reproduced the legends in Pársík characters, though the first legends of the *Frátadára* coins do not yet resemble the

the Parthian, and if the Parthian coins are any guide at all, the second series is related to those coins which GARDNER and PETROWICZ attribute to Mithradates I, 171—138 B. C., whereas A. DE LA FÜYE and WROTH regard them as coins of Mithradates II. I entirely agree with HILL's view that the high relief of these coins seems more in keeping with the earlier date than with the later. There is another stilistic relation between the coins of the first king of the third series, Dárayáv II, son of Vátfradát II, and certain coins assigned to the end of the reign of Mithradates II, 123—88 B. C. Hence, old *frátadára* fashion was renewed. Since there are no exceptions to the rule, neither on the Parthian, nor on the Sasanian coins, the direction of the heads must be the expression of some symbolic or magic idea. Beside their direction, the heads themselves show a marked resemblance to the heads on the Parthian coins. The head of the first king of the third series recalls that of the last type of Mithradates II, the head of Oxathres that of Artabán II, and the head of Artakhshatr II that of Mithradates II, 57—54 B. C. The Reverse of the coins shows the king in the act of worship: kindling the sacred fire on a small altar, or sprinkling incense on it. This is a motive foreign to Sasanian art. The Sasanian altar is large, having the appearance of a building, and follows the type of the *frátadára* and the coins of the first Sháhs of Persis, just as other symbols follow those on the coins referred to above, e. g. the eagle and the crescent as emblems on the royal crowns. The small Parthian altar, found everywhere in the Parthian strata of Babylonian and Assyrian excavations, is found on the Parthian relief near Bístún, on a number of Arsacidan seals, the best example being the seal formerly in the collection HAHN-Hannover, see fig. 33. We meet with the Parthian form of the altar again on the Great Kúshán coins and on the coins of the early Sasanian viceroys of Kúshán. — The arrangement of the legend in a square enclosing the device is another feature borrowed from the Arsacidan coinage.

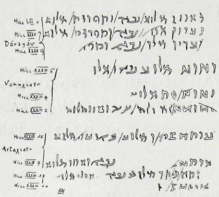


FIG. 27

HILL is obviously right in assigning the date 150—100, or perhaps, 140—90 B. C. to the two first Sháhs of Persis.

The third series is more profoundly influenced by the Parthian coins. The head, which is turned to the right on all earlier coins, is here turned to the left, following the Parthian fashion. It is not till the coins of Ardashír I that this Parthian mode disappears; then the

We find the following legible legends:

1. Dárayáv II son of Vátfradát II:

dáray(á)v ŠÁH PUS *v(á)tfrad(á)t* ŠÁH

2. Vahukhshatr son of Dárayáv II:

vahuχ[*šat*]*r* ŠÁH PUS *dár(á)v* ŠÁH

The name *Vahuχšatr* is incomplete on all the coins, and it cannot be reconstructed even by combining the different fragments. But since only two characters are missing, one may supply them with a probability approaching to certainty. The word is sometimes written completely upside down. *Dár(á)v* is either an abbreviation, or, more probably, the rendering of the younger form of that name. In the latter case the word is important as it would fix the date of the phonetic change.

3. Artakhshatr II son of Dáray(á)v II:

artaχšatr ŠÁH PUS *dáray(á)v* ŠÁH

The legend, though fragmentary, can be completely restored by combining the different fragments.

The first king of the third series is the son of Vátfradát II, so we must date his coins in the last period of Mithradates II, about 100—88 B. C., and this again is in conformity with their style. The coins of Oxathres bear

with the rôle played by Arabic in modern Persian or by Persian and Arabic in modern Turkish, nor with Latin and Greek loan-words employed by the modern European languages, nor with the French elements in the German of the XVIIIth century, nor with purely graphic signs like e. g., viz., &c. in English. The only true analogy is with the Sumerian ideograms in Babylonian, or the Babylonian ideograms in Hittite. The astonishing and absurd peculiarity of Pahlaví is that it adapts this ideographic system to an alphabetic script, whereas it is explicable if employed in a syllabic script.

Accepting this view, which I already foresaw in my dissertation on Pasargadae, but was unable to prove until now, we may now assign an exact date to the invention of Pahlaví, and duly appreciate the meaning of the obscure Elamite § 70 of the Bístún inscription: It was by order of Darius the Great that for the first time parchment was introduced as writing material into the Achaemenian offices replacing the clay-tablets, Aramaic script as the official script replacing the cuneiform, and Old-Persian as the official language replacing Aramaic. That was the moment of the creation of Pahlaví.

Pársík script. Their script is closely related to, if not identical with, the Babylonian Aramaic of the 4th and 3rd century B. C., to which we may add the script of the true Achaemenian seals with Aramaic legends and of the Hyrcanian coins. During this period there was no difference between the Pahlavík and the Pársík script.

But as early as on the coins of the 2nd series, 150—100 or 140—90 B. C., the characteristic Pársík 𐭣 makes its appearance in the name of Vátafradáta, and the 𐭤 begins to deviate from the more archaic to the later Pársík form through the lengthening of the horizontal stroke. All the coins of the 3rd series show the Pársík 𐭣 so absolutely different from the Pahlavík 𐭣, and in the same way the Pársík 𐭥 and 𐭬, in contradistinction to Pahlavík 𐭥 and 𐭬. The 𐭡 for the first time receives the short horizontal stroke at its lower end, thus distinguishing it clearly from the Pahlavík 𐭡. The 𐭩 receives the round shape of the upper part, the lower horizontal stroke being still missing. The short 𐭭 appears occasionally, and the 𐭪, in sharp contrast to Pahlavík 𐭪 becomes nearly a perpendicular stroke, sometimes with a rounded top, as on the late Sasanian coins. The 𐭫 gets its Pársík form, differentiated from the Pahlavík 𐭫 by the horizontal distance between the two perpendicular strokes. But the 𐭤 retains its archaic form, and the 𐭯 is still exactly in the stage of the Pahlavík 𐭯. Among the earlier coins of the fourth series 𐭪 is exactly the 𐭪 of the Hájjiábád inscription. 𐭰 has nearly reached its final form, 𐭡 represents V and R, and it seems that 𐭧 has also the shape which it has assumed in the Hájjiábád inscription. Therefore, in the course of the 1st century the Pársík script was clearly differentiated from the Pahlavík. The last coins of the fourth period, the various Manočitre's, show the 𐭩 in its final form, the 𐭲, 𐭱, and 𐭬 being nearly the same as in Hájjiábád. Only the 𐭯, though decidedly rounded, remains open at the lowest point.

The few legends in Aramaic script on Arsacidan coins show just the intermediary stage between the script of the Áwramán parchment and the script of the Pahlavík version of the Hájjiábád inscription. 𐭥 and 𐭣 are not yet distinguished by the diacritic point. As a whole, the differences between Pahlavík and Pársík scripts seem to be great enough to substantiate the idea of a different origin for them. But that is not the case. Both descend from the same Aramaic script employed in Persia during the Achaemenian and the subsequent periods. The differentiation began during the 2nd century B. C., and was accomplished at the beginning of the 2nd century A. D.

Before finishing this chapter, we must turn back once more to the main purpose of this investigation. What does the examination of the coins of Persis teach us concerning the problem of the age of Pahlaví? The evidence of the coins establishes beyond doubt the fact that the Pársík system was in existence as early as the first Frátadára coins, i. e. in the first half of the 3rd century B. C. Not only are the surviving documents of the Pársík system older than those of the Pahlavík, but the Pársík system is older than the origin of Parthian rule in Eastern Persia. We cannot doubt the fact proved by the inscriptions and legends on the coins that the Pahlavík system was employed in the offices of the Arsacids, as the Pársík system was in the Sasanian offices. But the Pársík system is centuries older than the Sasanian Empire. It was introduced into the Sasanian offices, because it was in common use in Párs, but it was not invented by Sasanian scribes. Neither was the Pahlavík system invented by Arsacidan scribes. Not only the Pársík system of writing, but both systems must be older than even the beginning of the Arsacidan Empire. Now, the short period of foreign dominion, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, was surely not a propitious time for inventing two systems of ideographic writing. If we take into account the very archaic character of a considerable number of ideograms, we clearly see that the ideographic system of writing in Aramaic script and in Iranian language must be an inheritance from Achaemenian times. The two systems belong to two different schools of Aramaic scribes in the Achaemenian offices. Perhaps, these scribes came from two different regions, the North and the South of Babylonia, but the creation of the ideographic systems was in any case the work of learned men trained in cuneiform writing and intimately acquainted with old Babylonian methods. The notion, that the Semitic elements in Pahlaví were pronounced as such in the spoken language, and that this language, therefore, was a mixed, hybrid language is absolutely erroneous and has unfortunately spoiled the true understanding of Pahlaví for a century and more. Neither are we allowed to compare this phenomenon

lance in the left hand, the right hand at the hilt of the sword, and standing upon the prostrate body of a Roman soldier with cuirass and helmet.

The king's crown proves him to be Varhrán IV. Kirmánsháh; see the head on his coins, plate 211 No. 17.

No legend.

The representation is a purely symbolical one. There is nothing known of any war waged by Varhrán IV against the Roman Empire. The figure of the hero standing on the prostrate body of an enemy occurs already in Achaemenian art; compare the beautiful seal in Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus* No. 114, pl. XV, and other examples with which I have dealt in *'Tor von Asien'* p. 62, and nos. 100–102. The type of the figure of the king, standing, hand at the sword, seen on front-view, does not belong to Hellenistic but to Eastern art; compare Sháhpuhr II and III in the small cave at the Ṭáq i bustán, and other examples quoted in *'Tor von Asien'* p. 68, and No. 108.

3. INTAGLIO SEAL OF QUEEN DÉNAKE; see fig. 30.

FIG. 30

A. P. Butkowski, *Receuil spécial de grandes curiosités inédites* etc. St. Pétersbourg 1868 and Genève 1873, p. 17.

B. Dorn, *Versuch einer Erklärung der auf einer Gemme im Besitze des Grafen* S. Stroganov *befindlichen Pehlewy-Inschrift.* Compte-rendu de la Commission Imp. Archéol. 1878—79, reprint 1881.

A. D. Mordtmann, *Studien über geschnittene Steine mit Pehlewi-Legenden,* Z. D. M. G. XVIII 1864, XXIX 1875, XXXI 1877.

Amethyst, acquired from Georgia, Caucasus, formerly in the possession of count Sergei Stroganoff.

Legend:

dénake BÁNBIŠNán BÁNBIŠN *mahiste* PA *taniš apastán*

'Dénak queen of queens, supreme, upon her person be reliance.'

Reading and meaning are beyond doubt, only the curious eulogy *'pa taniš apastán'* is somewhat obscure; cp. the Glossary.

We learn from Ṭabarí, Nöldeke p. 118: 'Reinforced by the inhabitants of Tokháristán, and of the neighbouring countries Péróz marched against his brother Hormizd, son of Yazdkirt, who was in Rayy. They were both sons of the same mother, named Dénak, whose residence was in Madá'in and who acted as regent there.' So it was during the short period of Péróz' fighting with his brother Hormizd at the beginning of his reign in 457 A. D., that Dénak, the widow of Yazdkirt II was queen-regent at Ctesiphon.

Though we might expect the title, *šáhán bánbišn* as that of the ruling queen, *bánbišnán bánbišn,* less logical in fact, is more in keeping with Persian titles. The representation of the queen supports the view, that the seal was the official seal of Dénak as queen regent, for it gives her all the necessary royal attributes. We see a female bust, the hair divided into a great number of plaits, two of them before the ears, and on the top of the head the peculiar globe of hair bound with a small floating ribbon, well-known to be the distinguishing head-dress of the reigning kings. The diadem and the ear-ring of three pearls are other signs of kingly rank.

4. INTAGLIO SEAL OF AN UNKNOWN QUEEN. see fig. 31.

Lajard, *Culte de Mithra* pl. LXVI 2.

Formerly in the Museo Trivulci at Milan.

No legend.

FIG. 31

Female bust to the right. The lower end of the bust has a border of small palmettes, a manner peculiar to Sasanian art; cp. fig. 10, p. 9.

The head shows a pair of long plaits of hair, one in front of, the other behind the shoulder,

CHAPTER V

SEAL LEGENDS

A. ROYAL SEALS

1. INTAGLIO SEAL OF SHÁHPUHR I, 241—272; see pl. 140, No. 1.

WIESELER, Jahrbuch des Vereins der Altertumsfreunde im Rheinland, XLI 1866.
PERTSCH, Z. D. M. G. XXII 1868 pp. 279 *ss.*
FURTWÄNGLER, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Bd. II p. 245 *s.* Tfl. L No. 50 and LXI No. 57.
F. SARRE, Jahrb. d. Kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlg. 1910 II, p. 6 of the reprint.
The same, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin 1922, fig. 17. p. 54, in double size of the original.

Hyacinth of reddish brown or ruby colour, from the inheritance of the duke August of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha 1822, in the Gotha Museum.

Legend:

mazdésn bage š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán ŠÁH *érán* UT *anérán* KĒ *čitre* AŽ *yazdán* . . .

Name and title of one of the Sasanian kings of the name of Sháhpuhr. This seal is not of Sasanian workmanship, but belongs to an earlier period. It seems to be the work of a Greek artist made for an Arsacidan king. FURTWÄNGLER considered it to be the portrait of Mithradates I, judging from a resemblance which the face on the intaglio bears to those on the coins of Mithradates. As a matter of fact, neither the faces on the coins nor that on the seal can be regarded as portraits. Both are merely conventional figures.

Consequently, there is no criterion to determine the Arsacidan king for whom the seal was first made, and the attribution of the legend (which was added later on to the existing seal), to Sháhpuhr I rests on palaegraphic evidence alone. But this evidence seems to exclude the attribution of the seal to Sháhpuhr II.

The seal of the collection DE CLERQ, MENANT's *Catalogue* No. 152, is another example of an antique seal being used later on by a Sasanian high dignitary.

Mas'údí, *Murúj al-dhahab* vol. II p. 228, speaking of the 9 official seals of Khusrau II, says: 'The first was a ring of diamond of which the stone was formed by a red ruby on which was incised the portrait of the king, whereas the legend gave the titles of the king; this seal was used for letters and diplomas.'

2. INTAGLIO SEAL OF VARHRÁN IV. KIRMÁNSHÁH, 388—399; see fig. 29.

E. THOMAS, *Sasanian Inscriptions, Seals, and Coins*, repr. from the J. R. A. S. 1868. p. 112.
E. BABELON, *La gravure en pierres fines*, 1891, p. 198 fig. 149.
F. SARRE, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910 p. 76.

FIG. 29

Obtained by Gen. A. CUNNINGHAM from Ráwalpindí, now in the British Museum.

The seal is sunk into a dark onyx upon whose upper surface a milk-white film has been allowed to remain. Full size figure of a king, seen in front-view, head in profile, holding a long

B. SEALS OF HIGH OFFICIALS

1. INTAGLIO SEAL, formerly in the Collection of Mr. H. F. HAHN, Hannover; see fig. 33.

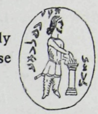


FIG. 33

A. D. MORDTMANN, Z. D. M. G. XVIII, VI 1. — The gem, as I was told by a member of the family of the former possessor, was sold about 1880 with other articles at Frankfurt a. M. One of those pieces passed later on into the Cabinet of the Earl of Southek.

Legend: ל.ש.... שצ. כלר לנשזנ

Only one word of the legend can be read without hesitation, viz. כלר, the ideogram for PUHR ,son'. The following word must be the name of the owner's father, and as the foregoing part seems to have been much longer than the following one, it may have contained name and title of the owner. This is all that can be said with certainty. This seal and the following number, the amethyst of the Ermitage, are the only seals known so far which bear Pahlavík legends. We may hope that other examples of this nearly unique seal might reappear some day.

The representation is that of a man, full size, to the right, kindling the fire on a small altar, or possibly sprinkling incense on it. He wears a belt with a sword at his left, and the floating folds of his coat and trousers are nicely worked out. This whole representation as well as the style and the details are archaic, and in accordance with the Pahlavík inscription, this seal must be classed as late Arsacidan, not as Sasanian. As to the Arsacidan representation of an adoring man before a fire-altar, compare the monument at Bístún, *'Tor von Asien'* pl. LII; the coins of Dárayáv II, Vahukhshatr and Artakhshatr II, kings of Párs, 1st century B. C., in G. F. HILL'S *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, pl. XXXII, XXXIII, and LIII; the entire series of the Great Kúshán coins, WILSON, *Ariana Antiqua* pl. X to XIV; v. SALLET, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders d. Gr.*, Berlin 1879, pl. VI, and the coins of the Sasanian viceroys of Kúshán.

2. AMETHYST OF THE ERMITAGE, J.-N. 9051, plate 140, No. 8.

Obtained from Erivan in 1895. I owe the plaster-cast to the kindness of count DIMITRI TOLSTOJ, and of the late J. J. SMIRNOFF.

Legend: לכצכבכוחת חעלת חתלנ

ravák(á)n-vist sugt STY.

The inscription, like that of the preceding seal, is in Pahlavík; the letters are clearly and sharply cut, but differ from the script of the early Sasanian inscriptions to such a degree that the reading of the name remains very doubtful. But we may take it to be certain that the first word contains the name of the owner, and since there is no trace of כלר 'son of', the last characters give the title of the owner. Transliterating the name as *ravák(á)n-vist*, which of course is not the only way of reading the dubious characters, I was thinking of such names as 'Shishraván, Haftraván, Mahraván'. — If we are right in considering the remaining characters to be the title, it is difficult to find another interpretation than the following: SGT (for SGD), probably the name of the province of Sogdiana, and STY may be the abbreviation of a title beginning with S and ending in *-ti*, e. g. *spádpáti*. If this suggestion be right, the seal might be that of a Spáhpat of Soghd, i. e. Sogdiana, in the very first decades of the Sasanian Empire.

The representation of the bust is typical for the seals of the highest dignitaries of the Sasanian Empire.

The head is turned to the right. The lower edge of the bust has the shape of four lobes, formed by the cutting of the arms and the garment of the breast. A necklace and ear-rings are the attributes of high rank. The helmet recalls a Phrygian cap, with a narrow diadem at its lower rim, and a monogram at its right side. The hair is curled in a series of long strains and the beard carefully arranged in four waves, a fashion as old as the Achaemenian and the Assyrian period. As to the workmanship, the Petersburg amethyst is the most archaic and most elaborately cut of all the Sasanian seals hitherto known; only the Devonshire amethyst may rival with this gem.

as in the bust of Dénak and in other female heads; cf. the coin of Bórán dukht pl. 213, No. 32. The queen wears ear-rings and a diadem formed by a double string of pearls with a crescent in front, all being symbols of kingly rank. Since the gem has no legend it is hazardous to suggest, which queen it represents. But the style is evidently much more archaic than that of the Dénak gem, and we are perhaps allowed to think of the queen, wife of Varhrán II, represented on his coins, fig. 16 and 17.

5. CAMEO OF KHUSRAV I ANÓSHARVÁN.

CHABOUILLET, *Camées et pierres gravées de la Biblioth. Impériale* Paris 1858, No. 2538: Coupe de Chosroès I.
E. BABELON, *La gravure en pierres fines* p. 199, fig. 151.
The same, *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibl. Nation.* No. 379, pp. 213–219.
M. DIEULAFOY, *L'art antique de la Perse* vol. V. pl. 22 reproduction in colours.
J. A. SMIRNOFF, *L'argenterie orientale* pl. XXIV No. 51.
F. SARRE, *Iranische Felsreliefs* Abb. 102, S. 214.
The same, *'Die Kunst des alten Persien'* pl. 144.

Rock-crystal, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

E. BABELON has dealt with this famous cup as a whole in his *Catalogue*, where the complete literature is to be found. We are concerned with the rock-crystal only, that forms the centre of this jewelled cup. It represents a Sasanian king seated on a throne elaborately carved, seen in front-view. The king wears the crown of Khusrau I, not that of Khusrau II, whose crown is distinguished from it by a very conspicuous pair of wings. To appreciate the difference we must compare the rare coin of Khusrau II in the k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet at Vienna, DE LONGPERIER pl. XI 3, showing Khusrau's II head in front-view. Therefore, the attribution of the cup to Khusrau I, which has been generally accepted, must be maintained, and BABELON evidently was mistaken, when he gave up this identification in his last work, the *Catalogue*, on account of 'la ressemblance parfaite de cette figure avec l'effigie monétaire de ce prince', viz. Khusrau II.

6. CAMEO OF KHUSRAU II PARVÉZ; see fig. 32.

CHABOUILLET, *Camées et pierres gravées* etc. 1858, no. 1405.
E. BABELON, *La gravure en pierres fines* p. 198, fig. 150.
The same, *Catalogue des Carmées* etc. pl. XLII no. 361, p. 195.

Cornaline, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
No legend.

FIG. 32

Bust of a king to the left, the only exception to the rule prevailing throughout Sasanian art, viz. to have the the heads turned to the right. This practice must have had some symbolical or magic significance, and the exception seems to be due to the fact, that this gem is a Cameo, not an intaglio, and hence, gives the direction of the head in the position, not as the intaglio does in the negative way.

The crown of the king is that worn by Khusrau II, but possibly also by Péróz and Kavát during the first periods of their reigns. Consequently, the gem, formerly attributed to Péróz, may be, with better reason, considered as belonging to Khusrau II Parwéz. This is the view assumed also by E. BABELON in his second work, the Catalogue.

There are no other gems or seals as yet known, which may be assigned to one of the Sasanian kings. All the other important seals, including the famous Devonshire amethyst, belong to Sasanian princes or high officials.

5. CORNALINE OF PÁPAK, old fund of the Ermitage, possibly from the collection Duc d'Orléans; see pl. 140, No. 4.

C. Q. Visconti, *Iconogr. Grecque,* pl. 51 No. 10.
Lajard, *Culte de Mithra* pl. LXVI No. 3.
A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XVIII p. 155.
Horn-Steindorff, *Sasanid. Siegelsteine* p. 24 n. *)

Legend: [illegible]
pápake ı *χusrav*[-*šát*] *ohormiz*[*de mag*]*upa*[*t*].
'Pápak, the móbedh of Khusrau-Šát-Hormizd'.

The legend has two small gaps, caused by a splintering off of the edge of the stone. The first gap of only two or three letters in width, may with certainty be filled with the letters [illegible] of which the beginning [illegible] is still to be seen. The filling of the second gap is also beyond doubt. The last character of the word *magupat* stood in the gap in a second line, just as on the Védsháhpuhr gem. For further details see the Glossary s. v. [illegible].

The legend shows us for the first time the typical legend of a móbedh's seal: N. N., of such and such city móbedh'. The representation, again, is the typical one of a high official: bust to the right, with helmet, diadem, monogram, ear-ring and necklace. The work, though very careful, is less elaborate than that of Petersburg and the Devonshire amethyst. We may date this seal from the year 273/4 A. D.

6. CORNALINE OF VÉDSHÁHPUHR, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; see pl. 140, No. 6.

Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoire* 1815, pl. II No. 1.
Chabouillet, *Gemmes et pierres gravées* No. 1339.
Lajard, *Culte de Mithra* pl. LXV No. 14.
A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XVIII, table I, No. 10.
Babelon, *Gravure* p. 200 fig. 153.
Horn-Steindorff, *Sasan. Siegelst.* p. 27.

Legend: [illegible]
védš(á)hpuhre ı *artaχšatre* XVARRÉH *magupat*
'Védsháhpuhr, the móbedh of Ardashír-Khurrah'

This is another example of a móbedh's seal, of the same type as the foregoing. Here again the last letter [illegible] is written in the second line. The City of Ardashír-Khurrah, modern Fírúzábád, was built by Ardashír I before his victory over Ardaván. The representation is typical, the execution being nearly the same as that of the Pápak seal.

7. CORNALINE OF VÉHDÉNSHÁHPUHR, British Museum 12$\frac{63}{1}$3; see fig. 36.

E. Thomas, *Early Sas. Inscript.* etc. p. 117.
A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XXIX 1875 No. 3.
British Museum photograph No. 595.
Nöldeke, *Ṭabarí* p. 444.
Horn, *Sas. Gemmen d. Brit. Mus.*, Z. D. M. G. XLIV, pg. 671 u. pl. IIb No. 568.

Legend: [illegible]
vahudén š(á)hpuhre ı *érán anb(á)rakpate*
'Véhdénsháhpuhr, the anbárakpat of Iran.'

FIG. 36.

Véhdénsháhpuhr held the high office of the chief administrator of the magazines of the Empire during the reign of Yazdkirt I, and is well known to us from the Armenian chronicles. For all the particulars of this personage and his office see the name and the title in the Glossary.

The representation of the bust as a whole is conventional, but the style has lost much of its beauty,

3. SARDONYX OF ASHUSHAY, formerly in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; see fig. 34.

E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque* vol. II p. 269 & pl. XLV No. 10.
V. Langlois, Rev. Archéol. VIII p. 530.
Chabouillet, *Camées et pierres gravées*, No. 1385.
J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 169.
The famous seal, though formerly in the Bibl. Nat., does not appear in Babelon's *Catalogue* of that collection.

Not for reproduction

FIG. 34

Legend: [AC]OYCAC ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗC ΙΒΗΡωΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔωΝ
[Aš]ušay bdeašχ of Wirkʿ and Gugarkʿ.

Though the legend is in byzantine Greek, the seal is not out of place in this chapter, for the Pitiazes Ašušay seems to have been a successor of Pápak, the Bitáχš of the Paikuli-Inscription.

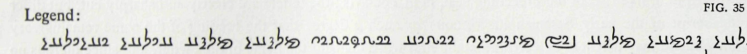
E. Q. Visconti already had attributed this seal to the Iberian dynasty of the Pitiazes', and Langlois had recognized the identity of the name and title of its owner with that of Ashushay mentioned in the History of Moses of Chorene. J. Marquart quotes some other Armenian sources concerning the same prince, who lived in the 5th century A. D. It is generally admitted that the sardonyx belonged to that prince, though Chabouillet remarked that 'le travail pourrait dater d'une époque antérieure' and 'nous aurions alors ici le portrait d'un ancêtre inconnu et homonyme du Ptiachkh Achoucha'. The close resemblance in style of the Sardonyx to the Dénak gem is a strong corroboration of the identification of the fragmentary OYCAC of the gem with the only known Ashushay, as the Dénak gem also is a work of the middle of the 5th century.

4. AMETHYST OF VARHRÁN (IV) KIRMÁNSHÁH, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire; see fig. 35.

E. Thomas, *Early Sasanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*, London 1868 p. 110.
A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XXIX 1875.
Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. LXVI No. 1.
C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, London 1872.
British Museum photographs No. 595.
Nöldeke, *Ṭabarí* p. 71.

FIG. 35

Legend:



varhrán kirmán šáh pus *mazdésne* bag *š(á)hpuhre* šáhán šáh *érán* ut *anérán* ké *čitre* až *yazdán*
'Varhrán Kirmánsháh, son of the Mazdá-worshipping god Sháhpuhr, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is a scion of the Gods.'

This famous seal belongs to Varhrán (IV) Kirmánsháh, when governor of the province of Kirmán before his accession to the throne in 388. The legend unfortunately does not answer the question, whether Varhrán IV was the son of Sháhpuhr II or III. Ṭabarí, Nöld. p. 71, calls him son of Sháhpuhr I, Lazarus of Pharb, Agathias and Barhebraeus, Hamza al-Ispahání and last not least Firdausí call him a son of Sháhpuhr III. Judging from chronology, he may be either the son of Sháhpuhr II or III.

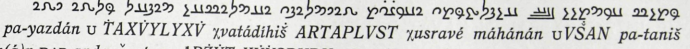
The seal shows the prince in the garb of his office: helmet with narrow diadem at the lower rim, monogram at the right side, ear-rings and necklace of pearls. The hair and beard are curled in the same elaborate way as on the Petersburg amethyst. The monogram, though difficult to solve, seems to contain the single letters of Varhrán's name. Along with the Petersburg amethyst, the Devonshire amethyst is the finest work of Sasanian glyptics surviving.

Though I feel somewhat doubtful about the reading of the proper name and of the *iḍâfat* in this legend, I join it to the foregoing one, because it represents remarkable analogies with it in the arrangement of the legend, and in the script. There is no doubt, that both belong to the same epoch, the 6th century A. D.

In the Paikuli inscription there occur the titles *šahr-ahmár-dipér* and *šahrpáv-ahmárkár*. In the Glossarry I have quoted the passage of al-Khwárizmí concerning the different *díván's* of the Sasanian Empire. He enumerates amongst others the *dar-hamár-dipér*. The seal in question presents us with the corresponding title of *dar-hamárkár* 'official of the chamber of account of the Residence or the Court'. And the city is Bút-Ardashír, the official name given by Ardashír to the Sasanian town that preceeded the later Mosul. — The name Barmíkó seems to be Syriac or Aramaic, and would suit a man hailing from the province of Mosul.

12. CORNALINE OF MÁHÁN, St. Petersburg, Ermitage, from the collection Duc d'Orléans; see pl. 140, No. 5.
A. D. MORDTMANN, Z. D. M. G. XVIII, No. 106.

Legend:



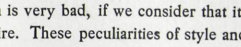
máhán ı̇ pa-yazdán u ŤAXV̌YLYXV̌ χvatádihiš ARTAPLVST χusravé máhánán uVSAN pa-taniš apast(á)n(á)n DAR *andaržpate u APŽVT XV̌YSRVDY vásróšán sardár farraχv* BÁD.

In spite of all my efforts I did not succeed in deciphering this interesting legend completely. It is written in a circle and in 3 lines. It seems that the owner of this seal was Máhán, son of Máhán, and that both the interesting titles, viz. *dar-andaržpate* and *vásróšán-sálár* refer to him personally. The last two words are benedictory: 'be happy'. I am under the impression that this legend might be written in verses. For other particulars see the Glossary.

The representation is the usual one, but the execution is very bad, if we consider that it must have been the official seal of one of the highest dignitaries of the Empire. These peculiarities of style and some details of the shape of the head-dress for instance, in perfect accordance with the late character of the script, give us a clear indication of the date of the gem: it is certainly not earlier than the reign of Khusrau I, and possibly as late as that of Khusrau II.

13. CORNALINE OF BÁFARRAK, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum; see pl. 140, No. 9.
Obtained from Bághdád in 1912.

Legend:



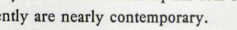
báfar(r)ake ı̇ méšún magupat.
'Báfarrak, the móbedh of Méshán.'

The legend gives the name of Báfarrak, a compound identical, though in reversed order, with Pharnabaces, Farnabag, a name worn by the móbedh of Méshán, the province of modern Baṣra; cf. the Glossary.

The design of the gem is the usual one, resembling closely that of the Védsháhpuhr seal of Paris. Those seals and that of Véhdénsháhpuhr in the British Museum evidently are nearly contemporary.

14. LAPISLAZULI OF ÁTURFARRAKBAG, British Museum.
E. THOMAS, J. R. A. S. XIII pg. 415 No. 1.
HORN, Z. D. M. G. XLIV pg. 658, pl. Ia No. 569.

Legend:

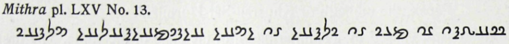


átu̲rfar(r)akbag sačén [ı̇ *magu̲* ı̇ *á*]*tu̲rfar(r)akbagán.*

the sign of the beginning decay therefore being in keeping with the advanced date of this seal, about the middle of the 4th century A. D. As a peculiarity we must observe the unusually rich diadem worn round the helmet. It reminds us to a certain degree of the palmettes of the crown of Narseh on some of his coins. On the other hand it recalls the rich diadems of some of the Kúshán viceroys on their coins as on the rare gems, which apparently must be attributed to them, e.g. Horn, Z. D. M. G. XLIV pl. III No. 838, and C. W. King, *Antique Gems*, pg. 86b (in the possession of Col. Pearse).

8. CORNALINE OF SHÁHAK, formerly in the possession of J. R. Steuart.

Lajard, *Mithra* pl. LXV No. 13.

Legend: 

šáhake i *magu* i *vurkán* i *nisán andémánkárán sardár.*

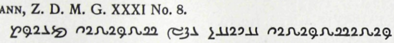
'Sháhak, the magus of Hyrcania, of Nisán the Chief-Gentleman-Usher.'

The legend presents a certain difficulty as to its grammatical construction, and is dealt with by Horn, *Avesta Studies* I p. 225, and by Bartholomae, *Zum Airan. Wb.* p. 159; compare also the different words in the Glossary. I think there can be no doubt that *nisán*, just as *vurkán*, is a geographical term, the province of Nisá. But we may construct the whole legend with its repeated *iḍáfát* in different ways, e. g. Sháhak the mage, the Ch.-G.-U. of V. and N., or: Sh. the mage of V., Ch.-G.-U. of N., or Sháhak, the mage of N. in V., Ch.-G.-U., or the like.

The interest of this gem lies more in its legend than in its representation, which adds no new features to the typical seal of a high official.

9. RUBY OF FARRAKHV-SHÁHPUHR, collection de Clerq.

J. Menant, *Catalogue de la Coll. de Clerq*, pl. VII No. 152, p. 53.
A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XXXI No. 8.

Legend: 

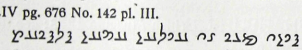
*farraχv-š(á)hpuhre érán-*XVARÉH*-š(á)hpuhre magupat.*

'Farrakhv-Sháhpuhr, the móbedh of Érán-Khurrah-Sháhpuhr.'

This legend was incised on a small antique gem, representing a young Greek warrior, when this gem was reused in Sasanian times. From the character of the script we may infer this tho have been done during the first epoch of the Sasanian Empire, and we may date the inscription from the reign of Sháhpuhr I. We learn here the name of the móbedh of one of the chief cities of Khúzistán, founded by Sháhpuhr I. For all the particulars compare the Glossary.

10. INTAGLIO SEAL, formerly in the possession of Rev. W. Wright of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Horn, Z. D. M. G. XLIV pg. 676 No. 142 pl. III.

Legend: 

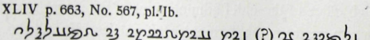
kéne magu I *érán ásán kirkavát.*

'Kéne, the magus of Érán-ásán-kirkavát'

The seal consists only of the legend, which is very important, as we learn from it the actual official name of the city founded by Kavát in Khúzistán, called by the early Muhammadan writers Karkhá, by the Syriac authors Karkhá dhe Ládhan. The ruins of this city are found at the river Karkhá, and called to-day Íwán i Karkh. Compare the Glossary.

11. INTAGLIO SEAL OF BARMÍKÓ (?), British Museum.

Horn, Z. D. M. G. XLIV p. 663, No. 567, pl. Ib.

Legend: 

barmikó (?) i (?) *bút-artaχšatr dar hamárk(á)re.*

'Barmíkó, the Dar-hamárkár of Bút-Ardashír.'

CHAPTER VI

THE INSCRIPTIONS

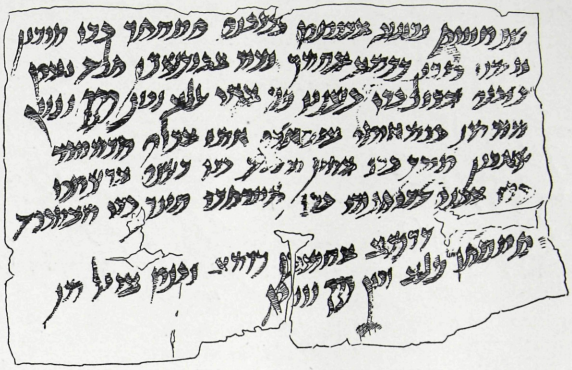


FIG. 38

PARCHMENT FROM ÁWRAMÁN (Áwr.)

1 ... ...

2 ... ...

3 ... ...

4 ... ...

5 ... ...

6 ... ...

7 ... ...

8 ... ...

Transcription:

1. SÁL CCC MÁH arvat(á)t FRAVAXŠ pataspak PUHR tírín
2. ZZ MNY .YRY RAZ asmak ČÉH abiraškan NÉM ZAT
3. U XRÍT ÁR avíl PUHR bašnín DD AXY HARV DRAHM LV
4. ČÉH HAČ búmγvat(á)v AT.XRV hamį XVAR(énd) PÉŠ
5. GÓKÁSÁN térak PUHR apín . . . g PUHR rašnu arašt(á)t
6. PUHR abnu garipan(á)hį PUHR mitrafarrį sénak PUHR mátBVG
7. . . . . RAZ asmak(á)n RAZ XRít avíl HAČ
8. pataspak HARV DRAHM LV.

Translation:

1. (In the) year 300, month Arvatát, the seller (is) Pataspak, son of Tírín
2. ZZ MNY .YRY the vineyard Asmak (of) which the halr belongs to Abiraškan
3. and the byer (is) Avíl, son of Bašnín. I have given (?) wholesale 45 dirham,
4. what by the landlord AT.XRV together they swear before
5. the witnessesTérak, son of Apín, . . . g, son of Rašnu, Araštát,
6. son of Abnu, Garipanáhi, son of Mitrafarri, Sénak, son of MátBVG,
7. . . . . the vineyard, the Asmakan vineyard is bought (by) Avíl from
8. Pataspak wholesale (for) 45 dirham.

Design and legend of the seal are not in a perfect condition, but the supplied words ı *magu̱* ı may be regarded as certain. The last word may be a patronymic, but a better interpretation seems to be: 'the mage of the Farnabag-Fire', the principal fire-temple at Káriyán in Párs.

The design is the typical one.

15. INTAGLIO SEAL OF BÁFARRAK, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; see pl. 140, No. 7.

Legend:

báfar(r)ake magu̱ maguván átu̱rgu̱šnasp.

'Báfarrak, mage of mages of the Gušnasp-Fire.'

The name of this priest is the same as that of the móbedh of Méshán. The title occurs again on the following seal, and elsewhere. The fire is the principal fire of Ganzaka in Media Atropatene.

The writing is almost that of the Pahlaví books, and the seal, therefore, belongs doubtlessly to the last epoch of the Sasanian Empire, the 6th century. The design is that of a male bust, head to the right, with ear-rings and necklace, but, this time, without the helmet. An elaborately worked palmette forms the base of the bust.

16. INTAGLIO SEAL OF KAVÁT, British Museum.

E. Thomas, J. R. A. S. XIII, II 82. * A. D. Mordtmann, Z. D. M. G. XVIII No. 8. * Horn-Steindorff, *Sasan. Siegelst.* p. 27.

Legend:

kavát maguván magu̱ farraχv BÁD.

'Kavát, magus of magi, may be happy.'

Neither the legend nor the design are of special importance, and I include this seal in this list merely on account of its containing the title 'magus of magi' as well as the blessing formula '*farraχv* BÁD', in which the auxiliary is expressed by the ideogram [Pahlavi].

17. INTAGLIO SEAL OF MANÉR, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; see fig. 37.

Legend:

manére ı átaše ı mitrXDe ı š(á)pu̱hre ádu̱re.

FIG. 37

The owner of the seal seems to have been a priest of a fire called 'Sháhpuhr's fire'; but the word [Pahlavi] being obscure, the legend, too, remains obscure. The script is that of the seals of the 4th century.

The design shows a fire-altar with the bust of the god Hormizd appearing in the flames, a device derived from the Achaemenian representation of the Divine symbol appearing high above the flames of the altar. Compare the remarks concerning the pre-Sasanian coins of Párs p. 48, and figs. 21 and 22, Plate A.

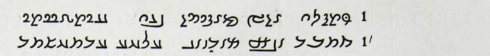
18. INTAGLIO SEAL OF NARSEH, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; see pl. 140, No. 3.

Legend:

'Narseh'. *nerâv sange.*

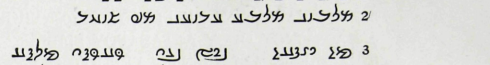
The legend gives merely the name of the owner, in a curious Avestic and archaic form of the Sasanian [Pahlavi].

The design is one of the rare instances of a head in front-view, without helmet, but with ear-rings and necklace, the bust issuing out of a broad palmette. This small seal is a very fine piece of workmanship, especially remarkable for the depth of the relief, and I should ascribe it to the 3rd century for those peculiar qualities. The script is in accordance with this early date.



b) (N. i Rst. Ohorm).

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟCωΠΟΝ ΔΙΟC ΘΕΟΥ



Transcription:

1. patkarí ÉN mazdésn bage artaχšatr
1. patkar ÉN mazdayazn BAG artaχšatr

2. ŠÁHán ŠÁH érán KÉ čitre
2. ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH aryán KÉ čiϑr

3. AŽ yazdán PUS bage pápake ŠÁH
HAČ yaza(á)n 3. PUHR BAG pápak ŠÁH

Ohormizd:

patkarí ÉN ohormizde BAGE
patkar ÉN ahurmazd BAG

Translation of the Greek inscription:

1. This is the image of the Mazdá-worshipping
2. god Artaxares, king of kings
3. of Ariana (of the r)ace of the gods, the son
4. of the god Papakos, the king.

Translation of the two MP. inscriptions:

1. The image (is) this of the Mazdá-worshipping god Ardashír,
2. king of kings of Iran, who (is) a scion
3. of the gods, the son of Pápak, the king.

Ohormizd:

The image (is) this of Hormizd, the god.

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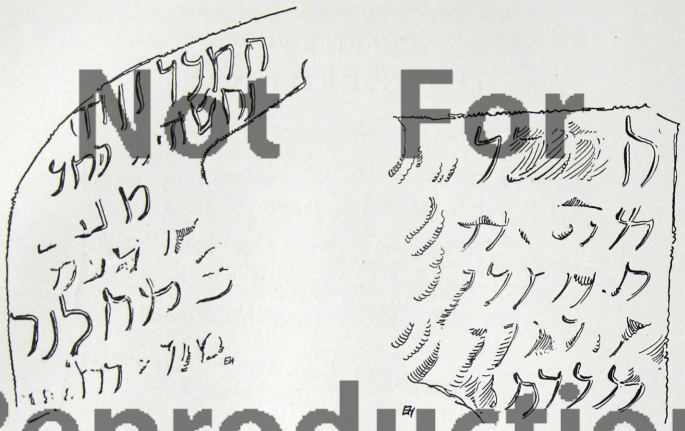


A FIG. 39 B

INSCRIPTION ON A BAS-RELIEF AT SARPUL

Text:

A: . . 𐭠𐭫𐭤𐭩 2 𐭠𐭫𐭩 𐭣𐭣𐭬𐭤 1
1 *patkar* ÉN 2 XVÉPAŠ . . . .
B: . . . 𐭡 2 . . 𐭤[𐭣𐭬]𐭤
1 *pa*[*tk*]*ar* . . 2 *M* . . . .

A plaster-cast of this inscription was first published by JACQUES DE MORGAN in vol. IV, 2 of his '*Mission en Perse*', photographs and facsimile later on by myself in '*Tor von Asien*'. Inscription A is written behind the head and the back of a horseman, inscription B behind a man on foot, who is doing homage to the horseman. Apparently both the inscriptions contain the name and the titles of the figures represented on the relief. Neither DE MORGAN's plaster-cast, nor my photographs permit a satisfying deciphering of the inscriptions. But the first three words of inscription A: *patkar* ÉN XVÉPAŠ show very clearly that the inscription is not Aramaic but Pahlavík.

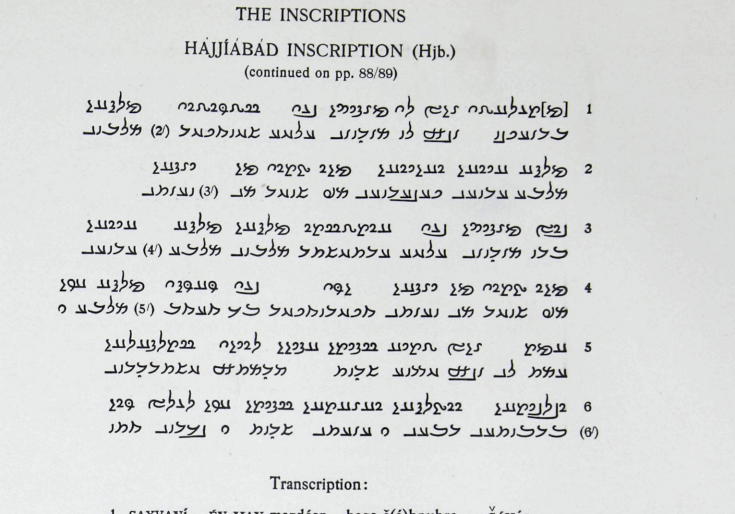
INSCRIPTION ON THE BAS-RELIEF OF ARDASHÍR I AT NAQSH I RUSTAM

a) (N. i Rst. Art.)

1 ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ [Π]ΡΟϹϢΠΟΜ (sic) ΜΑϹΛΑϹΝΟΥ
2 ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑ[ΞΑ]ΡΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΟϹ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩΝ
3 ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ [ΕΚ ΓΕΝ]ΟΥϹ ΘΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ
4 ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ

HÁJJÍÁBÁD INSCRIPTION (Hjb.)

(continued on pp. 88/89)



Transcription:

1. SAXVANÍ ÉN MAN mazdésn bage š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán
1′ SAXVAN^{vaO}Í ÉN MAN mazdayazn BAG š(á)hipuhr (2′) ŠÁHÁN

2. ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán
ŠÁH aryán UT anaryán KÉ čihr HAČ (3′) yazatán

3. PUS mazdésn bage artaχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁH érán
PUHR mazdayazn BAG artaχšatr ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH (4′) aryán

4. KÉ šitre AŽ yazdán nape bage pápake ŠÁH U-n
KÉ čihr HAČ yazatán puhripuhr bag pápak (5′) ŠÁH U

5. KAY ÉN TÍR VIST aday(á)n(á)n PÉŠ šatrdárán
KAT AMÁX ÉN TÍR VIst PÉŠ χšatrd(á)rín

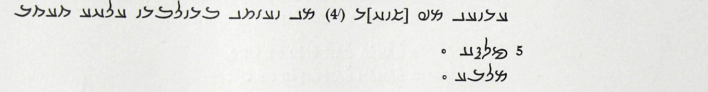
6. U VISPUHRán U vačurkán UT ázátán VIST U-n PÁY PA
6′ VÁSPUHRán VAZURKán UT ázát(á)n VIst U PÁD patį

Literal Translation:

1. The edict (is) this of myself, the Mazdá-worshipping god Sháhpuhr, king
2. of kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is a scion of the gods,
3. son of the Mazdá-worshipping god Ardashír, king of kings of Iran
4. who is a scion of the gods, the grandson of the god Pápak, the king. And by us
5. when this arrow was cast, then before the Princes,
6. and feodal Chiefs, and Great ones, and Nobles it was cast, and by us the foot in

INSCRIPTION ON THE BAS-RELIEF OF SHÁHPUHR I AT NAQSH I RAJAB. (N. i Rjb. Sháhp.)

1 ΤΟ ΠΡΟCωΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑCΔΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
2 CΑΠω[Ρ]ΟΥ [Β]ΑCΙΛΕωC ΒΑCΙΛΕωΝ Α[ΡΙ]ΑΝωΝ
3 ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝωΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΥC ΘΕωΝ Υ[ΙΟΥ]
4 ΜΑCΔΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ Β[ΑCΙΛΕωC]
5 ΒΑCΙΛΕωΝ ΑΡΙΑΝωΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟ[ΥC ΘΕ]ωΝ
6 ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛ[ΕωC]



Transcription:

1. patkarí ÉN mazdésn bage š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán
1′ patkar ÉN mazdayazn BAG š(á)hipuhr ŠÁHÁN

2. ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán
ŠÁH (2′) aryán UT anaryán KÉ čihr HAČ yazatán

3. PUS mazdésn bage artaχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁH
PUHR mazdayazn (3′) BAG artaχšatr ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH

4. érán KÉ čitre AŽ yaztán nape bage pápake
aryán KÉ čihr (4′) HAČ yazatán PUHRIPUHR BAG pápak

5. ŠÁH
ŠÁH

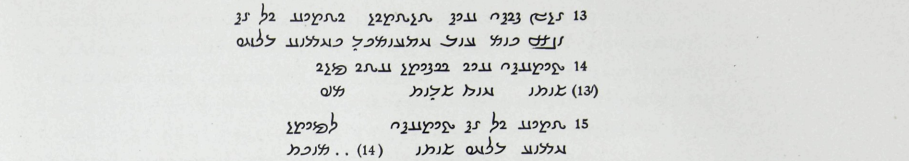
Translation of the Greek inscription:

1. The image is this of the Mazdá-worshipping god
2. Sapores, king of kings of Ariana
3. and Anariana, of the race of the gods, the son
4. of the Mazdá-worshipping god Artaxares, king
5. of kings of Ariana, of the race of the gods,
6. the grandson of the god Papakos, the king.

Translation of the MP. inscriptions:

1. The image (is) this of the Mazdá-worshipping god Sháhpuhr, king
2. of kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is a scion of the gods,
3. the son of the Mazdá-worshipping god Ardashír, king of kings
4. of Iran, who is a scion of the gods, the grandson of the god Pápak,
5. the king.

Hájjiábád Inscription (continued)



Transcription

13. ÉN darrake KÚ NIHÁT U TÍR Ó HÁN
12′ ÉN vém KÚ ést(én)d U TÍR Ó AVÉ

14. čítáke év VIST PAS KÉ
13′ čiti hép VIST KÉ

15. TÍR O HÁN čítáke AFKAND
TÍR Ó AVÉ čiti (14′) . . KANt

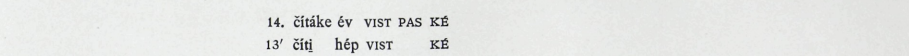
16. ÒY DAST NÉV.
AV^{e} DAST NÉV HÉnt.

Literal Translation

13. this rocky cleft shall set, and the arrow, to that
14. target if (it) is cast, then by whom
15. the arrow to that target is thrown,
16. that one is a good shot.

INSCRIPTION OF KARTÍR HORMIZD AT NAQSH I RAJAB (N. i Rjb. Krt.)

(continued on pp. 90/91)



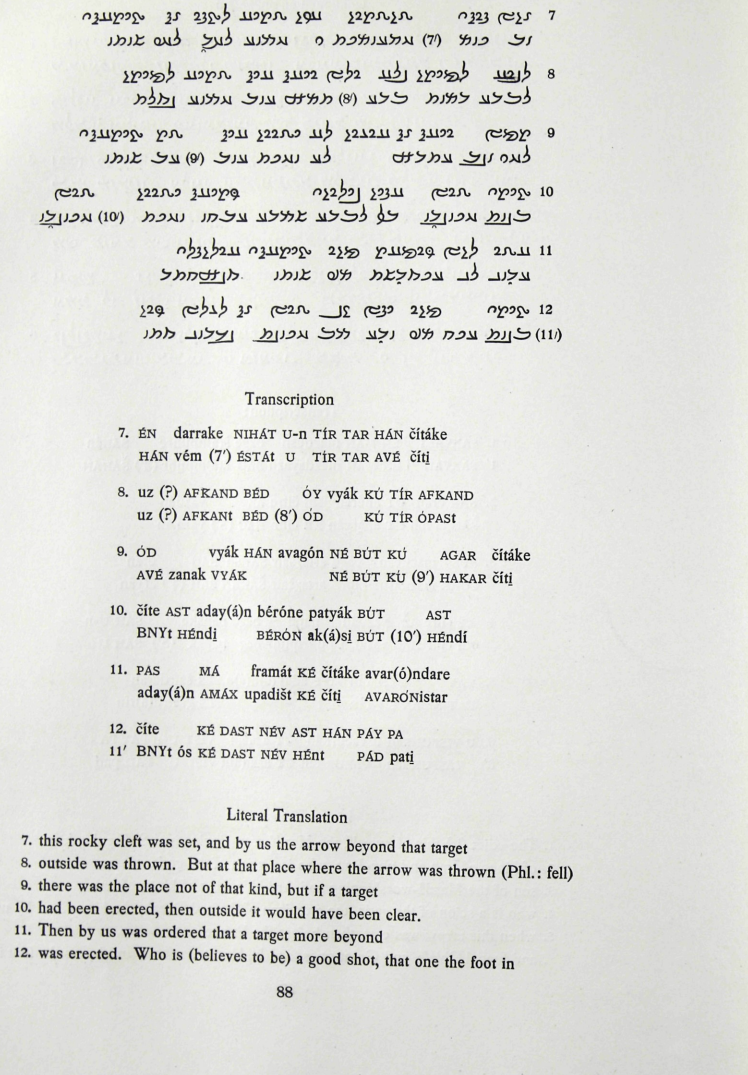
Transcription:

1. UT AΔ kartír ANDAR šatre PA rástihe U pahlumíhe HOM U yazdán
2. U XVATÁY(á)n huparastáy U hukámake BÚT HOM U-m Ó yazdán róne É-č

Literal Translation:

1. And I the kartír in the Empire by justice and superiority am, and to god,
2. and the lords devote, and loyal I have been, and by me unto god that, too,

Hájjiábád Inscription (continued)



Transcription

7. ÉN darrake NIHÁT U-n TÍR TAR HÁN čítáke
   HÁN vém (7′) ÉSTÁt U TÍR TAR AVÉ čítį

8. uz (?) AFKAND BÉD ÓY vyák KÚ TÍR AFKAND
   uz (?) AFKANt BÉD (8′) ÓD KÚ TÍR ÓPASt

9. ÓD vyák HÁN avagón NÉ BÚT KÚ AGAR čítáke
   AVÉ zanak VYÁK NÉ BÚT KÚ (9′) HAKAR čítį

10. číte AST aday(á)n béróne patyák BÚT AST
    BNYt HÉndį BÉRÓN ak(á)sį BÚT (10′) HÉndí

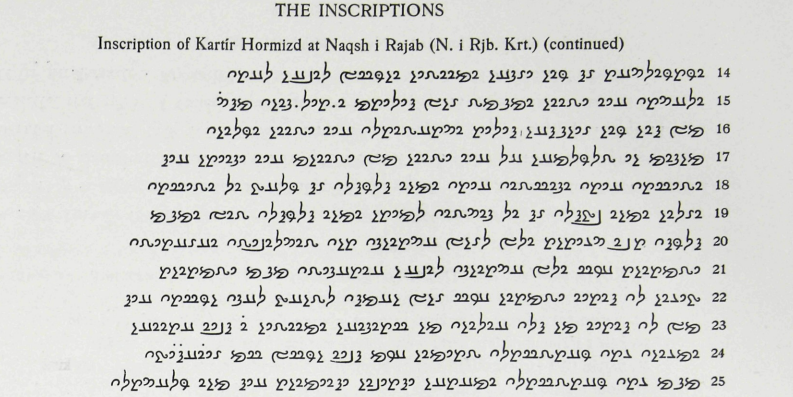
11. PAS MÁ framát KÉ čítáke avar(ó)ndare
    aday(á)n AMÁX upadišt KÉ čítį AVARÓNistar

12. číte KÉ DAST NÉV AST HÁN PÁY PA
    11′ BNYt ós KÉ DAST NÉV HÉnt PÁD patį

Literal Translation

7. this rocky cleft was set, and by us the arrow beyond that target
8. outside was thrown. But at that place where the arrow was thrown (Phl.: fell)
9. there was the place not of that kind, but if a target
10. had been erected, then outside it would have been clear.
11. Then by us was ordered that a target more beyond
12. was erected. Who is (believes to be) a good shot, that one the foot in

Inscription of Kartír Hormizd at Naqsh i Rajab (N. i Rjb. Krt.) (continued)



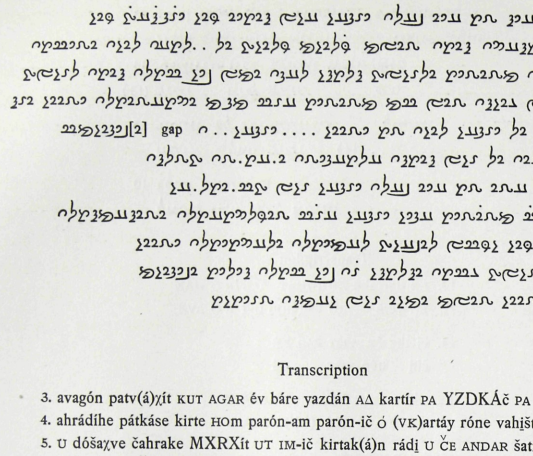
Transcription

14. u patpursát HÁN PA yazdán U XVATÁY(á)n U XVÉŠ ravbán ráte
15. u ráste év BÚT UT APARX ÉN KYLYTam U .TYL.Dune MKS
16. ČÉ NÚN PA ziyandakán KYLYT vistáγvtare ÉV BÚT U paróne
17. ČIŠ né harframán MÁ év BÚT ČÉ BAV(é)m év ŠNÁXT KU
18. vahište HAST U dóšaγve HAST UKÉ kirpak(ká)re HÁN fráč Ó vahište
19. ŠÚT U KÉ bačak(ká)re HÁN Ó dósaγve AFKAND U KÉ kirpak(ká)re HAST UT APAR
20. kirpake TB' RAV(é)t ÓY IM astvande tane γusravbíhe UT ázátíhe
21. RAS(é)t U-Š ÓY astvande ravbán artádíhe APAR RAS(é)t
22. čégón MAN kartír RASÍT U-Š ÉN námake Z-É-Č ráde nipište KU
23. ČÉ MAN kartír AŽ HARVE avaróne AŽ šatrd(á)rán U XVATÁY(á)n U(?) MAS átraván
24. U maguv(á)ne gate pátaγšatre XTYMVN U-m MAS XVÉŠ NÁM ZYVAKYXI
25. APAR gate pátaγšatre U DÉHán NIPIŠT ÉST(é)t KU KÉ frástare

Literal Translation

14. and reads, that one, — by god and the lords and his own soul generous
15. and just he may be, and upon this .... of mine and ....
16. what now with the parents (?) .... more confident he may be, and beside
17. in anything disobedient he may not be, as I was, — may think that
18. the paradise exists, and the hell exists, and who pious (is) that one straight to the paradise
19. (shall) go, and who a sinner (is) that one into the hell (shall be) thrown, and who pious (is), and on
20. the law's TB' goes, thereby to this material body fame and honour
21. comes and thereby to this material soul righteousness on comes,
22. like to me the kartír (it has) come, and by me this inscription too on account of that (has been) written that
23. because by me the kartír, the superior of the whole of the princes and lords and great fire-priests
24. and magi (?), the mint of the royalty was sealed, and by me, great in the own name .....
25. on the mint of the royalty and the provinces has been written, so, who of the future ones

Inscription of Kartír Hormizd at Naqsh i Rajab (N. i Rjb. Krt.) (continued)



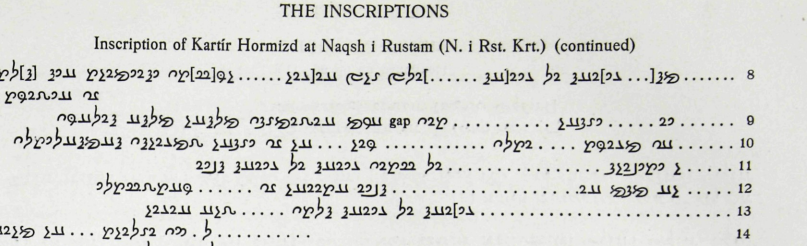
Transcription

3. avagón patv(á)χít KUT AGAR év báre yazdán AΔ kartír PA YZDKÁč PA
4. ahrádihe pátkáse kirte HOM parón-am parón-ič ó (VK)artáy róne vahíšte
5. U dóšaχve čahrake MXRXít UT IM-ič kirtak(á)n rádi U ČE ANDAR šatre kirte IM-ič
6. rádi paróne ČÉ gónake AST NÁM MXRít az-iš APAR vistáχvtare BÚT U HÁN
7. ámurče .V MAN ó yazdán róne AGAR BUT .... yazdán ..e *(gap)* KUN(é)m-aš
8. vahíšte U dóšaχve ó ÉN kirtake artádihe U .AT.he čahrake
9. MXRXít BRAM PAS AGAR év báre yazdán AΔ-ič Š.VTL.án
10. róne ÉN avagŠ MXRXít aday(á)n yazdán az-iš huparastátare U hukámaktare
11. BÚT HOM U PA XVÉŠ ravbán-ič rámetare U rástetare BÚT
12. HOM UT APAR ÉN-ič gašte U kirtak(á)n Í ANDAR šatre KYLYT KUN(é)m
13. vistáχvtare BÚT HOM U KÉ ÉN námake VÉN(é)t

Literal Translation

3. in such a way was promised that if ever by god I, the kartír for ..... and for
4. righteousness prominent were made, beside me and beside unto ..... paradise
5. and hell ...., and on account of those actions as well as what in the Empire was done on that
6. account, beside what kind it be, ..., than him more confident (would have) been, and this
7. mercy towards me by god's side if there had been .... god ... (*gap*) I do him (or: it)
8. paradise and hell for this action righteousness and .... ness....
9. ....., but then, if ever by god that too .....
10. ...., than to god than he more devote and more loyal
11. I have been, and as well by my self as by my soul more cheerful and more just I have
12. been, and upon this .... and (upon) the actions which in the Empire .... I do
13. more confident I have been. And who this inscription sees

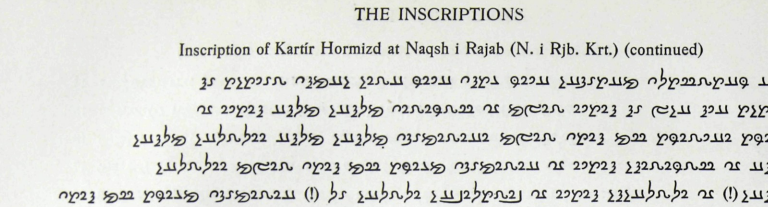
Inscription of Kartír Hormizd at Naqsh i Rustam (N. i Rst. Krt.) (continued)



Transcription

8. ..... MK ... [gí]vák ó gív[á]k . . . . . OY ÉN ava[gón] . . . nipiš[t]e ÉST(é)t KU [ka]rtír I éhrpat
9. ..... YV ..... yazdán ..... tre . . . U-m ohormizde ŠÁHán ŠÁH KVLAPY
10. ..... áy magupat ..... vat(t)are ..... PA . . . án í yazdán hamgónake kámkáretare
11. ..... n NIŠIN(én)d ..... Ó šatre gívák Ó gívák MAS
12. .....NA APAR ar ..... MAS átraván í ..... pátaχšatre
13. .... gív]ák Ó gívák kirte ..... É avagón
14. . . . L.SY ..... RAV(é)t . . . án KÉ-án
15. .... ŠÁHán ŠÁH í hamgónake PA
16. kirte ..... yazdán hamgónake . . [k]ámak(k)áre
17. . .[MAS] kirtakán í ya(zdán) afzárihe U MAS átarv[án]
18. ..... U p[át]aχšatre ..... XTYMVN(én)d U gate
19. From this line up to line 30 only a few traces of characters are legible.
30. ..... UT uzdése gókánihe
31. [gívák] O [gív]ák MAS kirtakán í yazdán afzárihe
32. great gap ..... [páta]χšatre XTYMVN(é)t U gate [pá]taχšatre
33. ..... kart[ír í] buχtravbán varhrán í o]ho[r]mi[zde] magupat
34. ..... MAS átraván U maguvane ANDAR šatre
35. ..... VKM ..... vazurkán
36. Up to line 64 only a few traces are recognizable on the photographs.

Inscription of Kartír Hormizd at Naqsh i Rajab (N. i Rjb. Krt.) (continued)



Transcription

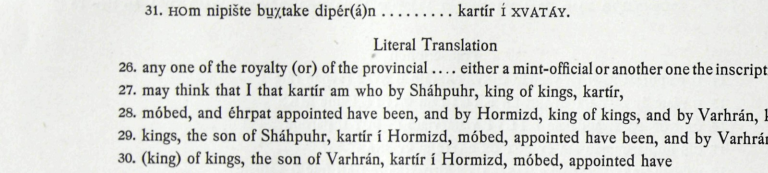
26. KDNA pátaχšatre DÉHZDán ay(á)v^{p} gatake ay(á)v^{p} ANÍK námake VÉN(é)t HÁN
27. ŠNÁS(é)t KU AΔ HÁN kartír HOM Í š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán ŠÁH kartír Í
28. magupat UT éhrpat NÁM kirte HOM UT ohormizde ŠÁHán ŠÁH U varhrán ŠÁHán
29. ŠÁH Í š(á)hpuhrak(á)n kartír Í ohormizde magupat NÁM kirte HOM U varhrán
30. ŠÁHán (!) Í varhrának(á)n kartír Í buχravḥán vahrán Í ohormizde magupat NÁM kirte
31. HOM nipište buχtake dipér(á)n ..... kartír Í XVATÁY.

Literal Translation

26. any one of the royalty (or) of the provincial .... either a mint-official or another one the inscription sees,
27. may think that I that kartír am who by Sháhpuhr, king of kings, kartír,
28. móbed, and éhrpat appointed have been, and by Hormizd, king of kings, and by Varhrán, king of
29. kings, the son of Sháhpuhr, kartír Í Hormizd, móbed, appointed have been, and by Varhrán,
30. (king) of kings, the son of Varhrán, kartír Í Hormizd, móbed, appointed have
31. been. Written by Bukhtake, of the scribes ..... kartír, the lord.

INSCRIPTION OF KARTÍR HORMIZD AT NAQSH I RUSTAM (N. i Rst. Krt.)

(continued on p. 93)



Transcription:

1. . . . Í XVA[TÁY] . . . artaχšatr ..... U [šá]hpuhre ŠAHán [ŠÁH hupa]rastáy U hukámake DÁNIST
2. . . . . tás ..... UT ar[taχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁ]H U š(á)[h]puh[re] ŠÁHán ŠÁH kirte DÁNIST HÁN-am KIRT
3. . . [ŠÁH]án ŠÁH ..... Ó DAR ..... gív]ák XAM šatre PA magust(á)n kámak(k)áre
4. . . . . framán a ..... YLAN ..... šatre gívák ó gívák MAS kirtakán Í
5. . . . . Lán KIR[T ..... p]átaχšatre XTYMVN UT ohormizde U yazdán
6. . . . . VN(é)t UT ÉN ..... š(á)hp]uhre ŠÁHán ŠÁH PA vispuhrak(á)n PKDVN KIRT
7. . . . . BY . A ..... VB V U gate p[át]aχšatre U DÉHZDán ČÉ OY

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration:

(1) [saχvaní én mazdésn BAGE narsahe šáhán]
(1′) [..... én mazdayazn BAG narésaχv šáhán

(2) ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán [PUS mazdésn bage š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán] ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ
(2′) BAG š(á)hipuhr ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH aryán UT

[čitre AŽ yazdán nape mazdésn BAGE artaχšatr] ŠÁHán ŠÁH far(r)ake / about 15 letters / [fa]r(r)ake M..KA kirt[e].
ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH / / K KIRt

narsahe ŠÁHán ŠÁH / gap of about 37 letters / (3) arminán ŠÁH DÁN(é)m UT armine PXL ..... -č
/ ..... ŠÁHÁN?

VITURT U vahunám Í tatarós(á)n [/ gap of about 20 letters / Í áhrmane U DÉVán /
(3′) U] vahinám ČÉ tatarós(á)n χVÉPAT drózanipi U / / /..... BASt

U PAT] ÁN ÉČ NÉ AMÁ avráse KIRT U NÉ.. / / about 16 letters / (4) / UT
U patį AVÉ ÉČ / VÁSPUHRán ap(á)rí[k] / / U VAZURK(á)n / UT

ázátán U pársán U parsavbán apúrist / gap of about 17 letters / e sakán ŠÁH dédéme SAR O[Y] gap of about 19 letters /
ázát(á)n U pársán U partaván / /

[ÉSTÁtan UT APAR É ATR / about 18 letters P]/AY(á)n U-š(á)n BITAke murdičán
(4′) / QVMTH KÁM(é)t .... ÉSTÁtan UT apar HÁN / / -án

DAH(á)n [U χVAT] / gap of about 20 letters / (5) KIRT U-m am χVÉš dastkirte ós[tíkán]
DAH(á)n U χVÉPAT / / dastkirtį KIRT U χVÉ[PAT dastkirtį] óstík(á)n KIRT partaván

χvabdi. KUN(á)n U XVÉŠ PA X / gap of 37 letters / [UT ázá]tán U párse U parsa[vbe.. asúrist(á)n PA pahrak] .YTN
U sak(á)n ŠÁH (5′) asúrist(á)n patį pahrak

Literal Translation:

(1) [The edict is this of the Mazdá-worshipping god Narseh, king]
(2) of kings of Iran and non-Iran who is a scion of the gods, [the son of the Mazdá-worshipping (2′) god Sháhpuhr, king] of kings of Iran and non-Iran who is [a scion of the gods, the grandson of the Mazdá-worshipping god Ardashír] king of kings, [his] glory..... [his] glory ... be made. — [And] Narseh, king of kings .....
(3) as (?) the king of Armenia I regard (?), and Armenia PXL-..... too, was passed, (3′) and Vahunám, the son of Tatarós himself falsehood, and ..... of Ahrman, and the devils ..... bound, and upon that neither any communication was made to us at all, nor.. other feudal chiefs ..... and the Great ones,
(4) and the Nobles, and the Persians, and the Parthians ..... the Sakánsháh, the diadem on his head .....
(4′) QVMTH he wishes .... to become, and upon this ATR-..... protecting, to their BITAke MRDČán giving, and himself ..... a camp
(5) was made, and by myself a fortified camp of my own was made. The Parthians, and the Sakánsháh [divergence in the two texts!] doing(?), and by his own ....., and the Nobles, and the Persians, and the Parthians,
(5′) Asúristán the station of this meeting they make, and they say .....

PAIKULI INSCRIPTION

(continued on pp. 96—113)

(.1) [. . . . .] ... ...

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

HÁN anjumane KUN(én)d U GOW(én)d / gap of about 40 letters (6) / AST pársán káre framátane U vahu[nám .....
[HÁN] hanzamani KAR(é)nt / / AST párs(á)n kári fram[étan U vahinam]

U vahunám TAR] ŠÁH BURT bav(é)t U [pádíse HÁN / gap of about 30 letters par] / astík GRIFT ÓY / gap of about
U vahunám TAR ŠÁH U p(á)dés AVÉ ČÉ / / /

16 letters / U hamáke šatre MAR[T] UT arminán ŠÁH / large gap of different length in the two versions
/ (6′)] masišt U fratar χšatr χvat(á)v(í)pi PAS-ič /

(7) / ..... AST HÁN NÚN [ku]n(é)m KUT U-m ..... [-í]he ÉST(é)t UT érán šatre róne.....
/ AST AVÉ ós KAR(é)m [ÉS]T(é)t UT aryán χšatr

U PAS š(á)hpuhre í hargupat U narsahe í VISPUHR í s[ás(á)nak(á)n] U pápake í b(í)t(á)χše UT artaχšatr í ha[zárupat
PAS š(á)hipuhr harkapati U narésaχv

UT artaχšatr] í súrén U [raχše í sp(á)hpat UT ohormizde (8) varáč í varhrán]ík(á)n XVATÁY UT ap(á)rík VISPUHR
(7′) raχš sp(á)dpati UT [ahurma]zd varáz vartrag[ník(á)n]

U VAZURK U katakχvatáy UT ázát U párse U parsavbe KÉ-(á)n BITA [.....] XŻYTN pársume U tómíktume
párs U partav KÉ-(á)n [U tó]míkistar

DÁN(é)t PA névápakíhe .... í yazdán UT AMÁ GRIFT U fréstake / gap of about 37 letters
DÁN(é)nt ČÉ yazat(á)n UT AMÁX GRIFT [U] fréštak / gap of about 18 letters (8′) / U KAT AMÁX

(9) / VISPUHRÁ]n U hargupat U VAZURKán UT ázátán fréstake Ó AMÁ ÁMAT
pati kirpa[kípi] / gap of about 26 letters / VÁSPUHRán UT arkapati Ó AMÁX ÁMAT

KU ŠÁHán ŠÁH PA kirpakíhe AŽ a[rmi]ne avaróne Ó érán šatre év vihéčét U XVARRÉH U šatre U XVÉŠ
KU ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH [pati] AVARON Ó aryán χšatr [U χša]tr U XVÉPAŠ

Literal Translation

(6) is ... to command the Persian army, and Vahunám ....., and (P)RSTYK was taken, by him ..... and the whole Empire's foot(-soldiers?), and the king of Armenia [divergence in the texts! Pahl. has: '(6′) the greatest, and most excellent one, the lordship over the Empire, then too'] .....

(7) ..... has . . ., that now I make, that: and by me ..... -ness becomes, and to (?) Éránshahr ..... and afterwards Sháhpuhr the Grand-Vizier, and Ardashír the Súrén, and (7′) Rakhsh the Spáhpat, and Hormizd-

(8) varáč the commander of the Guards, and other feudal chiefs, and Great ones, and House-lords, and Nobles, and the Persians, and the Parthians, who to our ..... superior and most powerful are (?), by the ...-ness of the gods and ourselves were taken, and an envoy [divergence in the texts! Párs. has a gap of about 37 letters; Pahl.: about 18 letters, then: 'and when we graciously .....']

(9) from the feudal chiefs, and the Grand-Vizier, and the Great ones, and Nobles, an envoy came to us, that the king of kings graciously from Armenia yonder to Éránshahr might return, and the majesty, and the Empire,

Paikuli (continued)

(9) ⟨gap of about 40 letters⟩ .....]ḥ[.....]ʾwrʾn ʾwd ʾpʾdšʾhʾn ʾwd ʾpʾdšʾhʾn ʾwd ʾpʾdšʾh

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

GÁ[S] U p(á)taχšare i nídákán AŽ yazdán PATIGIR / gap of about 16 letters / ást(á)m/.....
gatu yazat(á)n PATIGIR / (9′) / χšatr TÁK avast(á)m NŠT..

(10) ..... / UT AMÁ KU HÁN fravartake VÉN[(é)m U P]AT ohormizde U vispán yazdán UT an(á)hét i BÁNÚK
VÉN(é)m U pati ahurmazd [Č]É BÁNÚK

NÁM A[Ž] armine ó érán šatre róne vihéčume U murčík U kirpak(k)áre UT ANÍK pátkóse KÉ péšíde ózamán
NÁM HAČ arminį ó aryán χšatr [murzí]k U kirpak(k)ár UT ANÍK d avazam(á)n

DÁN(é)t ó é[rán šatre] .....v....e AMÁ KUT ÁŠNAV(é)m [U] (11) / /
DÁNIST ? ò aryán [χšatr] KU ŠUNAV(é)m U χšnás[(é)m]..... (10′) /

/ šatre χvatádíhe ó [érán šat]re róne NMSUN· KUN(é)m U NÉ KUT árande ó érán šatr[e UT ap(á)rí]k šatre U
/ χšatr χvat(á)vípi ó aryán [χšatr] ó aryán χšatr UT apár[ík

gívák I AMÁ VZAĎTNe BDA PA pande U pádése i AMÁ ÉST(én)d UT AGAR év báre harguṇpat pande i
ČÉ AMÁX VYZÀLITN BDA patį pand U p(á)dés ČÉ AMÁX harkapatį pand ČÉ

yazdá[n] / gap of 12 letters / ŠTr U NÉ apačróne BURT]/ ..... (12) ..... gívák gívák hargu
yazat(á)n / / ADAYÁN? pačro? [VITURT] / ? UT ANÍK VYÁK VYÁK

..... [KA]S NÉ HIL(én)d .....A....VA....AT..... PA AS[P] U
(11′) U KAS NÉ HIL(én)d ó / χvat(á)vya patį ASPÁN U

MARD ó vimande i χú / gap of about 18 letters / kun(én)d KU HAN ..ráse U vat(t)are i
/ ..vímand FRÉŠT(én)d U-š[·] YND'Y? KAR(én)d KU AVÉ ČÉ HAČ

Literal Translation

and his own throne, and the royalty of the ancestors from the gods might receive ..... (9′) the Empire until AVSTM NŠT.....

(10) ... and we, when this letter we see, and by Hormizd, and all the gods, and Anáhét, called the Lady, from Armenia to Éránshahr we return, as well by mercy as by piety, and the other quarters which at that time PYŠYDY XVITNT, to Éránshahr ..... we, when we heard and realized

(11) ..... (10′) the lordship over the Empire, to Éránshahr NMSVN I make, and that not ARNDY to Éránshahr, and to the other lands, and to our rank (?) ..... by our counsel, and instruction they become, and if ever the Grand-Vizier on the counsel of the gods ....., and not .....

(12) and another one everywhere HRGU ..... (11′) and anyone they do not leave to ..... the lord of the ... with the horse to the country of Khu.... they send, and him .... they make, that by (?) him a communication (?), and the bad (news) which from Asúristán to the lord of the .... come, and ..... that

Paikuli (continued)

[illegible] ..... [illegible] ..... [illegible] ..... [

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

/ XVATÁY ÁY(én)d U / (13) / . . . . . ne AST Ó asúrist(á)n UT AMÁ
asúrist(á)n Ó . . . . . / / . . . . . XRV KU / Ó asúrist(á)n ÁLAK

VZADTNY ADAYÁN NÉ KA[S] / large gap of about 52 letters [g]/ónake AŽ
(12′) NÉ KAS K . . B U NÉ pati / gap of about 26 letters / KIRtan U ČÉ gónak HAČ . . . . . .

Ó MAN AST
χšnav(én)d AVÉ Ó MAN NVDRNV KU χŠNÁS(á)n? Ó / 16 letters / U HAKAR sak(á)n ŠÁH U vahinám / gap of about

(14) . . . . . /[K]U ŠNÁS(én)d KU-š(á)n TÓ pat(vá)χte AST UT AHNÚN NÉ BAV(én)d /16 letters/
18 letters / . . Y . . t (é)]nt HAKAR XVA(é)m? / /

[ki]rpakíhe Ó / [U-]š(á)n ŠÁHán ŠÁH XVÉŠ . . . . . /
(13′) / .ṪYRZMY ZNBK MA DAH / 11 letters / NIŠÉN?(én)d U-š(á)n ŠÁHAN [ŠÁH] / UZ . . . KTYt

/ about 15 letters / (15) / . . . . . / áwurte ÁY(én)d U h(á)ngón KÉ PA HÁN kárván
hép KA TGVD / / A MSGNV / KUṬ AβÉYÁN ./

AST U-š / [dá]r(én)d UT ÁŽ HÁN
/ NP.án kirtak DÁ[T] . . . . . (14′) . . KIRTak . . ČÉ narésaχv ŠÁ[HÁN] ŠÁH DÁR(é)nt U [HAČ] HÁN

ká[rván]/ about 14 letters / NÉ ʿDYTNd UT avaróne / / gap of about 20 letters / (16)
kárván / / / Ó . A . . ŠndṪ / / Ó ÉN VYÁK RAS(é)m

ÉN far(r)ake kirte ÉST(é)t ADAYÁN š(á)hpuhre í harqupat
KUT ÉN harkapati U p(é)róč. VÁSPUHR U narésaχv [VÁSPUHR í] (15′)

[arta]χšatr í hazá[rupat] súrén UT ohormizde [varáz í varhrán(i)k(á)n
sás(á)nak(á)n U pápak í bít(á)χš UT artaχšatr í haz(á)rupati UT artaχšatr súrén UT

Literal Translation

(13) . . . . . is . . . . , unto Asúristán, and by (?) us VZADTNY then (12′) nobody . . . . to make, and like from . . . . . they think, that one to me is (Pahl.: NDRNV) that he be knowing (?)

(14) . . . . . (13′) . . . . . don't give! . . . . . they put, and them the king of kings his own . . . . . out . . . . . .

(15) that those brought come, and anybody who is with this army, and his . . . . . to do has given, ... (14′) . . to do . . become, Narseh as king of kings they regard, and from this army . . . . . not . . . and beyond . . . . . to this place

(16) I come, that this glory shall be made. Then Sháhpuhr, the hargupat, and Péróz the chief of the clan, and Narseh the chief of the clan (15′) of the Sasanians, and Pápak the margrave, and Ardashír the Grand-Vizier, and Ardashír the Súrén, and Hormizd-[varáč the commander of the Guards], and Kartír Hormizd, the móbed, and X. the . . .

Paikuli (continued)

[illegible] ..... [illegible] ... ...

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

xvatáy]/ /.....(17)...../ raste u raχše í spáhpat ut artaχšatr i taχmš(á)h[puhre]/
/u kartír ohurmazd magu[pati]/ gap of about 21 letters / u raχš aspádpa(ti) ut artaχšatr taχmš(á)h[ipuhr] /

/ / / h(á)ngón vispuhr [u
/ gap of about 21 letters / / [pa]ti χšatrahm(á)r dipér u zúdkirti takarpati /[u]/ (16′) [u] vazurk ut ázát

katakχvat]áy u šatrap(á)v amárk(á)re (18) /
u katakχvat(á)vya u χšatrp(á)v ahm(á)rk(á)r ut apárík párs u partav ké asv(á)r ⟨about 17 letters⟩ [-k](á)r dáń(é)nt

n ó χákán i aqaqatárá[n] .L..PX.rde ám[at]
hamyakdén avarón handém(á)n bov(é)[n]t kut én far(r)ak kirt

/ / [vahuná]m í tatarós[án] [vat(t)ar]e u ké vahunám hamsaχ[vane]
ést(é)t / gap of about 25 letters / u vahinám tatarós(á)n ut avé čé vati u (17′) hamisaχvani ut ADYVam

(19) [ó é]rán šatre róne vih[éχ]te hom ÀIŠ kirte /
H(é)nt ku χšnav(é)nt kut amáx hač armini ó aryán χšatr / yávar ták 'N'YV(én)d

dáń ?(én)d vahunám ....[x]véš ? atúkíhe / / gap of about 27
u hač ? dá [xvat] / ut atasáripi átro(far)nabag čé méš(á)n šáh /

letters / (20)
/ friyát xváh(én)d u méš(á)n šáh patg(á)m ..... (18′) / šáh paraχšt(á)r(á)n áy(é)t aníK hakar

[saká]n šáh rasík adayán-č méšán šáh é ..... / dah(á)n ták arminán šáh dahík
sak(á)n šáh AŠNXM adayán-č méš(á)n šáh hán / šáh dah(á)n ták arminín

andém(á)n apar hargupa[t u] / / gap of about 30 letters /
/ vazurk(á)n ut ázát(á)n ut aníK ké asúrist(á)n / / kIRtan

Literal Translation

(17) and Y. the ... rsty, and Rakhsh, the Spáhpat, and Ardashír, son of Takhmsháhpuhr ..... pat, the minister of the Chamber of accounts of the Empire, and Zúdkirt the takarpat, and any kind of feudal chiefs, (16′) and the Great ones, and Nobles, and House-lords, and officials of the provincial Chamber of accounts, and the other Persians, and Parthians which of the nobility ..... (are and)

(18) -doing know, unanimously to the Khákán of the Aq-Aqatárán..... came, yonder at the court they were, when this glory has been made, ... and Vahunám, son of Tatarós, and those bad ones, and who are Vahunám's (17′) partisans and my(?) enemies(?), that they hear that we from Armenia to Éránshahr

(19) have returned ....Vahunám by his own power, and ...ness, Átrofarnabag, the king of Méshán, ... friend they wish, and to the king of Méshán a message ..... (18′) of the .... king's followers comes, another one (or: otherwise?) if

(20) the Sakánsháh rsyk then too the king of Méshán this ..... to the king of ... is giving, until (or: up to) the king of Armenia dxyk at his court the hargupat, and the Great ones, and the Nobles, and the others who of Asúristán ..... to do, what I do, and by Átrofarnabag, the king of Méshán, (19′) since bad language has been used, by (? or to?) him was said, how Vahunám

Paikuli (continued)

[. . . . .] (17) . . . . . ꣆[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(18) . . . . . [[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(19) [ꣀ] [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(20) [ꣀ][ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(21) [[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . . . ⟨gap of about 26 letters⟩

(61) [ꣀꣁ][ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . . . ⟨gap of about 27 letters⟩

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(62) [[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

. . . . . [ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

(63) [[ꣀꣁꣂꣃ] . . . .

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

(21) /
AVÉ KAR(é)m UT átroꝺfar[nabag ČÉ méš(á)n] (19′) / ŠÁH čivagón [hiz]ván vaṭi DÁt AST ? AVÉ apar VÁXT ČÉ vahuṇám /

[apé]stapte BÚT U méšán TÍRÍ Ó ÉN ÁL[AK / / varhrán i sakán ŠÁH U vahuṇám puṣte
apéstapt / U paṭi ASPÁN U [martán] .. / [U vahiṇá]m pušt

ŠÚT UT A[Ž] /
ŠÚT U [hač] χšatr χvat(á)vípi / gap of about 27 letters / / ṖXMV BOV(én)d UT artaχšatr š(á)h[ipuhrak(á)n] ? ... (20′)

/ gap of about 19 letters / ŠÁH / 12 letters (22) / [saká]n ŠÁH U vahuṇám UT ÓY KÉ-š(á)n APÁK DÁN .. / gap of about
/ / / / / /

19 letters [-ṅ] / de yávare dašne U sókande XVAR(é)nd KUT AMÁ-č MAR[T] ..... / gap of about 16 letters / /
/ nt XVAR(é)[n]t V̇SV̇ /

/ large gap of about 1/3 of an entire line / [Š]ÁHán ŠÁ[H] / ..... (23) [P]A ASP U MART Ó SAR
Ò . V .. MYN / / -t ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH (21′) /

RAFT UT AŽ AM[A]/ / BÚT Í vat(t)are KÉ ASVÁR péšíde TGRDe /
about 18 letters / -d / χšatrist(á)n niyák(á)n [XŠNA]v(é)nt

KU patiy(á)χtị ..... RASÍT HOm U-š(á)n / gap of more than a quarter of an entire line / -stáp U
/ fraz(á)nag ? U

patám ... (24) / [fr]áč Ò asúrist(á)n [ví]mande NÉ RAS(én)d / gap of about 32 letters / PA HÁN kárván APÁK S...../
patápévant (22′) / / / /

/ /
/ XVÉPAŠ MṚ ..... Ó AVA . niTPRIV(é)t raχtan ..... [sak(á)n] ŠÁH U vahuṇám TÁK AVṚ /

Literal Translation

(21) without urgency were, and Méshán on the other side of the Tigris, and with the horse ... Varhrán the Sakánsháh, and Vahunám would come to assistance, and from the lordship over the Empire ..... PXMV they were, and Ardashír, son of Shá[hpuhr] ... (20′) ..... king .....

(22) the Sakánsháh, and Vahunám, and those which with them .... the propitious time, and an oath they swear that us the troops ..... king of kings (21′) .....

(23) whith the horse, and men in advance marched, and from us ..... have been the bad ones who as horsemen ... (in ?) the city of the ancestors they hear, what has been announced, ... I have been arrived, and them ... wisely (?) and imploringly (?) (22′)

(24) straight to the country of Asúristán they do not come, ... with that army together ..... own .... the Sakánsháh, and Vahunám until (or: up to ?) ... -TANDY, and by (?) them

Paikuli (continued)

(21) [ꭱꭰꭼ]ꭰꭵꭱ ꭰꭼꭵꭱ ꭰꭼꭵꭱ ꭰꭼ

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

/ large gap of more than a quarter of entire line / -tánde UT o[š(á)n] (25) / ..... / sakán ŠÁH
/ -nt U-š(á)n / avandík(á)n χvat(á)vya (23′) /

[U va]hun[ám]/ about 11 letters /-tarán RAS(é)m / gap of about 20 letters /[ér]án [šat]r[e] ÁĎM ŠÁH
/ / / / aryán χšatr ..... ŠÁH fravartak

/ about 15 letters / [-á]n K[É] ..... U fráč Ó DAR Í / gap of about 20 letters /
FRÉŠT(é)m / / niyák(á)n KÉ TÓ apéniyápak ... / /

/ BUNist AST fráč (26) / about 18 letters / fráč Ó asúrist(á)n / about 11 letters / framánake U šátak[e] gap of about
/ Ó asúrist(á)n Ó (24′) / / / / /

18 letters / Ýme méšán ŠÁH gap of about 24 letters AŽ SAR ŠÝ ....
/ méš(á)n ŠÁH .A.... fravartak ČÉ AMÁX DÍT ..... [HAČ] SAR víšát U HAČ gatu U

p(á)taχšare BÉ AFKAN(é)t U kirte / about 12 letters /[ázá]t U VAZURK dédéme / ... (27) ..... /
/ / / /[U χša]tr χvat(á)vípi Ó AMÁX (25′) /

/ ....(é)]t U vahunám KU VÉN[(é)t ..... Ó év ÁLAK k gap of about 18 letters / ASP U MART fráč Ó ...
/ /

..... / -ič TAR yazdán U M / gap of about 12 letters / NÉST U PA vímése U pahréč /
/ KAS HAST KÉ ..... PAS-ič TAR yazat(á)n U / / buχt NÉST U pati /

/ gap of about 23 letters / atúkíhe í-m kirte (28) / about 20 letters / D]AH(én)d UT AMÁ ADAYÁN-č
/ / / ..... BÚT civagón (26′) /

HÁN ví ..... [nar]sahe ŠÁHán ŠÁ[H] / gap of about 22 letters / e U parastáy BAR(én)d UT a / gap of about 20
/ / /

Literal Translation

(25) the lord of Avanti, (23′) the Sakánsháh, and Vahunám ..... -TRAN I arrive, ... Éránshahr ÁĎM king a letter I send, ... the ancestors who thou APYNYAPK-..... and is, straight to the Porte of ..... BVNist straight (divergence in Pahl.: to Asúristán to) (24′)

(26) ..... straight to Asúristán ..... order, and pleasure ..... -YMY, the king of Méshán .A.... saw our letter ..... from his head was pulled down (?), and from the throne of the royalty was thrown out, and made ..... [Nob]les, and the Great ones the diadem, and the lordship over the Empire

(27) on us (25′) ....ed, and Vahunám when he sees ..... on one side K-..... horse, and men straight to ..... somebody exists who ..... and afterwards over the gods, and M-..... a soul (or: chance?) does not exist, and with care, and forbearance ..... able, which by me is made,

(28) ..... been, what kind (26′) they give, and by us then, too, that VY-..... Narsahe, king of kings, ... -Y, and homage they pay, and A-..... that (?) Narseh, son of Bagsháhpuhr, before the followers who with the Sakánsháh, and Vahunám ..... Narseh, his majesty may increase,

Paikuli (continued)

[12]..... ⟨gap of about 22 letters⟩ ⟨gap of about 20 letters⟩

(29) ..... ⟨gap of about 23 letters⟩

(28) .....

..... ⟨gap of about 18 letters⟩

(27) ..... ⟨gap of about 19 letters⟩

(25) .....

..... ⟨gap of about 18 letters⟩

(24) ⟨gap of about 20 letters⟩ (26) .....

..... ⟨gap of about 10 letters⟩

⟨gap of about 20 letters⟩

(23) ⟨large gap of more than ¼ of an entire line⟩ (25) .....

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

letters / [ku narsa]he ı́ bagš(á)hpuhr[e PÉŠ huparast(á)r]án ı́ APÁK saká[n] ŠÁH U vahuná[m] / gap of about 21
/[k]u narésaχv ı́ ba[gš(á)hipuhr] PÉŠ χvab paraχš[t(á)r(á)n /

letters /[nar]sahe ı́ afžút XVARRÉH (29) / 10 letters / [U]-š APAR XAR ı̀ riš[te]. . . . . [vahu]nám GRIFT U
/ / -] tan U-š apar XA[R] UT ALMYN

BAS[T] / anák avbám rav(én)d p / gap of about 23 letters / APA]R XAR ı́ rište /
HARVín? [. . naré]saχv ı́ bagš(á)[hipuhr] (27′)/ / / /

/ about 14 letters /[š(á)]hpuhre Ó DAR [ı́] AMÁ ÁVAR(é)t dánet [vahu]nám GRIFT U-š
/ / AMÁX ÁBAR(é) U sak(á)n ŠÁH KU XŠNÁS(é)t KU vahinám

bas[te] (30) / gap of about 20 letters / BVNist UT AMÁ PRŠ / gap of about 16 letters / U frapá. /
/ / / / V KÉ .. AβÉ drózanípi /

/ gap of about 15 letters / U šatrapán U padk... š[at]r[e] / PA SAR /
/ / paṪḰṪṠṄ patį yazat(á)n UT AMÁX .TVB patį aryán χšatr (28′) / /

/ about 16 letters /-de pa...ráse KUN(é)m U PA / gap of about 24 letters / hamáke šatre DÁN[(én)d] (31) /
/ / / / -nt /

/ OY / gap of about 21 letters / šatre anjumane U ..... KUN(é)m
/ XŠṪḰVŠTNYV KÉ Ṙ. AṘ. AMÁX QYMt AVÉ KTŠV(é)m / about 19 letters /

U hargupat U [šatrdárán U VISPUHRán U VAZURKán UT ázátán U katakχva]t(á)yán / about 14 letters /
VAZURKán UT ázát(á)n U katakχ[vat(á)y(á)n]/ / KÉ masištU

DÁN(én)d patgám frést(é)m KUT ÉN / gap of about 19 letters / yazdán vas? ..nče ..V .... (32) / gap of
U fratar DÁN(é)nt patg(á)m fréšt(é)m (29′) / / / /

Literal Translation

(29) ..... -TN, and him upon a wound donkey ..... Vahunám captured and bound (divergence in Pahl.: 'and ALMYN all') .. Narseh, son of Bagsháhpuhr, (27′) a wicked time they go (live?) P-..... upon a wound donkey ..... Sháhpuhr to our Porte he brings, and the Sakánsháh when he hears that Vahunám is captured and bound

(30) ..... -BVNist, and by us PRŠ-..... and deceiv[- which that falsehood....., and the satraps, and the commanders of the quarters (?) by the gods, and ourselves .TVB for Éranshahr (28′) at the head ..... -DY PA a communication (?) I make, and by ..... the whole Empire (they) know,

(31) and ŠṪḰVŠTNYV which Ṙ. AṘ. by us has been affirmed, that I KTŠVm ..... a meeting of the Empire, and ..... I make, and the hargupat, and [the princes, and the feudal chiefs, and] the Great ones, and the Nobles, and the House-lords ..... whom as the greatest, and the superior they regard, a message I send (29′) that this ..... the gods much . NCY ..V ....

Paikuli (continued)

[ ]ra ..... ⟨gap of about 24 letters⟩ ..... (31)

[ ] ..... (29)

⟨gap of about 15 letters⟩ ... . ⟨gap of about 16 letters⟩ ..... (30) [ ] ..... ⟨gap of about 20 letters⟩

⟨gap of about 23 letters⟩ ..... (27) [ ] ..... (26)

⟨gap of about 21 letters⟩ ..... (25) [ ]

⟨gap of about 14 letters⟩ ..... (24) [ ]

⟨gap of about 19 letters⟩ ..... (23) [ ]

Transliteration

about 23 letters /[PA kir]pakíhe ér(á)n [šatre mahiste χvatádí]he U déhpatí DA[T] HOM UT AGAR év báre / gap of
/ [ary]án χšatr masišt χvat(á)ví[pi] U déhpati DÁT HOM /

about 24 letters / ŠÁH púšte HÁ[N]/ gap of about 16 letters / hamáke šatre XVÁSTst ADAYÁN AŽ É kirte KU ČÉ ... /
/ / / χšatr XVÁST /

/ artaχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁH (33) / gap of about 24 letters / [K]U-š(á)n š(á)[puhre] .....
/ Ó toχm ČÉ AMÁX PUHR[ín] artaχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁH (30′) / /

BAG artaχšatr ŠÁHán ŠÁH avagón dár- AGAR év báre š(á)hp[uhre]
] VḾLNV. XRT̂V ṘẊV TẊTNV...Ḥ AVÉy(á)n HAKAR hé[p] yávar

..... [pa]sdárín ki(r)te ..p.. V̇Ń pasdárík(á)n p(á)taχšare DÁT ADAYÁN-č-iš / / about 17 letters / ósane í
/ -/ ČE

érán šatre (34) / gap of about 18 letters / É avagón kirte /
aryán χšatr / / U masišt U-š(á)n VYŠRV HÁN zanak KIRT KUT AMÁX HAČ (31′) /

·.....[ká]ríhe š(á)hpuhre ŠÁH kirte BÉ KÉ Y / gap of about 26 letters -/e í AŽ š(á)hpuhre
/ š(á)hipuhr ŠÁH rámíštar [U fra]tar

U PA yazdán kirtak(k)áre L.ÁV̇P.Š... U PAS? ÉN érán šatre NTT / gap of about 15 letters / atúke daštane U
U pati yazat(á)n / / [U]

framáta[ne] (35) / gap of about 18 letters / KU]T-(á)n KÁM(é)t KUT-(á)n / ša]tre XVATÁY HÁN
framétan KU / / AVÉ? hép VÁČ(é)t ČE AMÁX KN KAMIVt (32′) /

BAV[á]t KÉ yazdán nisaχte / .....e BAR(é)t UT érán šat[re] .....
KÉ yazat(á)n nísaχt ŻÁḤm ...RKNY ČÉ yazat(á)n /

Literal Translation

(32) ..... graciously over Éránshahr the supreme lordship, and sovereignty I have been given, and if ever ..... the king behind that ..... by the whole Empire was wished, then by this one was made, that what ... to our family, the sons of Ardashír, king of kings (30′)

(33) ..... that them Sháhpuhr ..... the divine Ardashír, king of kings, thus rule[- .... those if ever Sháhpuhr ..... SDARYN is made ..P..VN of the PSDARYKN, the royalty is given, then too him ..... -VŠNY of Éránshahr

(34) ..... and supreme, and by (?) them VYŠRV that in this way was made that we from (31′) ..... -ness Sháhpuhr king was made but who Y-..... ... -e who than Sháhpuhr the king more serene, and superior, and with the gods more active (?) L.ÁV̇P.Š... and afterwards (?) this one Éránshahr NTT..... able to rule, and to command

(35) that ..... that us he wishes that us [divergence in Pahl.: 'he prays that to us so be convenient (?)'] (32′) over the Empire lord that one shall be, whom (?) the Gods NISAXTE ZAHM...RKNY what the Gods ..... he bears, and Éránshahr ..... serene, and confident to rule, and to command, and that from (or: by) Sháhpuhr, king of kings, the most just, and the most good, doing

Paikuli (continued)

[. . .] ...] ...] ...

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

ráme U vistáχve dáštane U framátane U KUT AŽ š(á)hpuhre [ŠÁHán ŠÁH rástum]e U VÉH U kirtakántume (36) /
rám U vištá)χv DÁŠtan [U] framétan KU HAČ š[(á)hipuhr] ŠÁHÁN ŠÁH rašti[star /

/ ..... fráč hamáke šatre [/ gap of about 16 letters / UT AGAR-t(á)n
/ ham(á)k χšatr pati yazat(á)n / / ahurmazd ? BOV(é)nt HAKAR [ŠMÁX BAGÁN

kuzénake ANDAR TR ..... / / large gap of
(33′) / / rášt KIRT U ŠAIVt H(é)ndi ADAYÁN-č AMÁX HAČ XVÉPAT /

nearly a quarter of an entire line / yazdán vahikáríhe í
ČÉ aryán χšatr AVÉ? HAČ? KN KAMIVt KUT AVÉ ganz U

(37) / .....[P]A pušte í yazdán ANDAR
abig(á)m ČÉ AVÉy(á)n BAGÁN / [pati] pušt ČÉ yazat(á)n ANDAR χšatr ..... AVÉ a.rš...-ágant

gáse / U? NDRŠne AST / /
yazat(á)n ANDAR χšatr ..... (34′) / / .... pati rámistar U vist(á)χv ÉST(én)d HAKAR χšatrd(á)rí[n /

/ large gap of about 33 letters / U kirtakántare AST ayávP
/ / HAČ AMÁX patiyazat(á)n raštistar U fratar U kirtak(á)nistar H(é)ndi HAKAR-am aryán

/ .B.... MR..... / (38) / tane HÁN NÚN év
χšatr HAČ AMÁX pati rámistar U / / U zúnán / U dúšmanín patisaχv ....tan AVÉ ós hép

GOW(é)t [KU]ke / AST šatre dá[štane
VAČ(é)t KU χšatr U patikós .....(35′) / 14 letters / ASt U χšatr DÁŠtan U framétan U HAČ harkapati [U χšatrd(á)rín

U VÁSPUHRán U VAZURKán UT ázát(á)n U párs(á)n] U partaván HARvín patg(á)m U patisaχv KN ÁBARt KUT AMÁX

Literal Translation

(36) ..... straight the whole Empire at the gods ..... Hormizd (?) they were. And if Your Majesties (33′) in the treasury (?) TR-..... just made, and SAIVt would have been, then, too, by ourselves ... the gods the dutyfulness which to Éránshahr from him (?) thus is convenient (?), that that treasure, and time which Their Majesties

(37) ..... by the help of the gods in the Empire .... the gods in the Empire ..... place (34′), and NDRŠNE is .... pati more serene, and confident (they) become, if the princes ... than we towards the gods more just, and superior, and (good)-doing would be, or if by me Éránshahr then we with more serene, and ..... and ZVNAN,

(38) and the enemies answer ... that now he may say, that the Empire, and the quarters ..... (35′) ..... is..., and to rule the Empire, and to command, and from the hargupat, and [the princes, and the feudal chiefs, and the Great ones, and the Nobles, and the Persians], and the Parthians all message and answer thus is brought, that us the princes, and the feudal chiefs, and the Great ones, and the Nobles, and .... that from Your Majesties

Paikuli (continued)

(36) ..... ⟨gap of about 16 letters⟩ [ꭱꭰꭶ]ꭴ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲꭴ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

(33) ..... ⟨large gap of nearly ¼ of an entire line⟩
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ [ꭵꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ] ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

(37) ..... [ꭶ]ꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

(34) ..... ⟨large gap of about 33 letters⟩ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ..... ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ..... ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

(35) ..... ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ..... ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ..... ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ
ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭵꭲꭲ ꭱꭲꭲꭲ ꭴꭵꭶꭲ ꭱꭲꭴꭵꭴꭵꭶꭲ

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

šatrdáre U VISPUHR VAZURK [/ ..... / KÉ? T.RA ...E ..... / (39) /
χšatrd(á)rį U VÁSPUHR U VAZURK UT ázát U/ / KU HAČ ŠMÁX BAGÁN /

KUN(é)t AGARt(á)n AŽ kuzénake [avaróne] / /
patį HÁN χš..tás KAR(é)t HAKAR ŠMAX BAGÁN HAČ XSYNak AVARÓN ..... (36′) / about 13 letters / čivagón

ŠMÁ BAGán patgám / large gap of about 34 letters /
HÁN KÉ HAČ ŠMÁX BAGÁN patg(á)m ÁBART / / fratar U kirtak(á)nįstar H(é)ndį AVÉ patį

[ví]SPUHR U VAZURK UT ázát pár[se] ..... /
χšatr χvat(á)vípį ÉST(én)d . χšatrd(á)rį U VÁSPUHR U VAZURK / yazat(á)n vahįk(á)r

(40) / [P]ÁYÁNtųme ÉST(é)t / A
ADAYÁN ASKTV RAS(é)t UT aryán χšatr / ADAYÁN drózaštistar U PÁVÁN[a][įstar] (37′) / .....] párs

yazdán ráste kirtakán / gap of about 31 letters /
U partav ham(á)[k] HÁN KÉ patį yazat(á)n rašt [/ /[U hų]narávant AST KU TÁK

/ [.artaχšatr ŠÁHÁN] ŠÁH KÉ-t(á)n nídák BÚT
yazat(á)n χVARRÉH U χšatr [U šá]t O tǫχm ČÉ sás(á)nak(á)n DÁT /

/ KḊPan P..Te ..Te ... ne (41) /
/ patį yazat(á)n NÁM ham(á)k χšatr far(r)ak KIRT ANIK-t(á)n KAS hamįgónak NÉ BÚT ..... / .... (38′) / yazat(á)n

. / kirpakíhe U frazánakíhe [/ about 12 letters / XVÉŠ GÁSE
fraKSIVt AST . / [U] fraz(á)nak(í)pí U χvépaš MṠ..... χšatr AṠṪŃḆḰ /

U p(á)taχ[šare]/ gap of about 23 letters / / gap of about 30 letters / / gap of
/ [ÉST]/(é)t KU / /U χšatrd(á)r(í)n U VÁSPU[HRán]/

Literal Translation

(39) to that XŠ..TÁS he makes, if Your Majesties from the treasury yonder ..... (36′) ..... because that one which from Your Majesties a message brought ..... superior and more (good)-doing would be, that one in the lordship over the Empire they install, . the princes, and the feudal chiefs, and the Great ones, and the Nobles of Persia ..... (to) the gods dutiful, then ASKTV arrives, and Éránshahr

(40) then DROZŠTSTR and best protected becomes (37′) ..... Persia, and Parthia the whole, that one who by the gods righteous acting ....., and honourable is, that until by the gods the Majesty, and the Empire, and the pleasure to the house of the Sasanians (is) given [and by Ardashír, king of] kings, who your grandfather was, in the name of the gods to the whole Empire glory was made, another one your equal was not...

(41) ..... (38′) by the gods FRAKSIVT has been, . the right acting, and the wisdom, and the own MŠ-..... the Empire AṠṪŃḆḰ ..... his own throne, and the royalty ... becomes that ....., and the princes, and the feudal chiefs ..... Empire any step at all not ..... (39′), and (to) the Nobles, and the House-lords .....

Paikuli (continued)

ꭺꭹꮯꮋ ꭱꭺꮯ ⟨gap of about 30 letters⟩ ꮋꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꮋꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꮋꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ[ꭱ] ⟨gap of about 23 letters⟩ ꭲꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ

ꮋꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ⟨gap of about 23 letters⟩

ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ⟨gap of about 31 letters⟩

ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ ..... ꭺꭹꮯꭺꮯꭹꮯꭺꮯ

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

about 23 letters / šatre ČIŠ gáme NÉ / gap of about 21 letters -t / (42) /
/ / / (39′) / UT ázát(á)n U katakχvat(á)vy(á)n ..... / .....

L XV[/
patg(á)m FREŠT(é)m KU XSYN[ak] .....ŚVTÝ χšatr χvat(á)vy(á)n? ....H nuχvišt pati yazat(á)n SAXVAN /

/ ....[á]zát U ka[tak] about 15 letters / / gap of about 20 letters / / large gap of
/ / /[K]U χšatr χva[/t(á)vy..] / patisaχv DÁTan /

about 1/5 of an entire line / ÀḎát UT atVk [..... / Ḍ Ý Ḍ Y
/ (40′) / U χšatrd(á)r(í)n U VÁSPUHRán [U VAZURKán UT ázát(á)n]

(43) / AGAR év báre
párs(á)n UT partav(á)n / PAS-ič ..... pati [AVÉ] ÁBARt KU HAKAR XŠNÁS(é)m KU.. HAKAR-am

/ about 14 letters / hamáke VISPUHR U VAZURK UT áz[át UT érá]n šatre U hamáke [ša]tre K[A]S HAST / about
AMÁX / / χšatr U ham(á)k χšatr KAS HAST /

18 letters / ŠMÁ BAGán / / about 17 letters / U [ki]rp / large gap of 1/5 of an entire line / Í ŠMÁ
/ .... fratar ASt U χšatr / / / (41′) /

BAG[án] (44) / Ó GÁS Í fraškirte
BAGÁN néVNG U /·néápaktar ..... gatu ČÉ yazat(á)n DÁT .....K DÁN(én)d U TÁK fraškirt

zamán šatre DÁR(á?)te U framád(á?)te U PA XVÉŠ XVARRÉH U šatre šáte bav(é)t PAS AMÁ PA pušte U /
žam(á)n χšatr DÁR(á?)t U framéd(á?)t AMÁX pati pušt U NÁM ČÉ /

/ / PA Lápík(á)ríhe UT aŠṚ / / gap of about 22 letters / U-n
/ [yazat(á)n] gap of about 25 letters / / ÉST(é)nt U kuš(á)n ŠÁH / /

Literal Translation

(42) ..... a message I send that the treasury .....·ŚVTÝ the lordship over the Empire ...H the first one by the gods a word ..... the Nobles, and the House-lords ..... that lord over the Empire ..... to give answer .... ÀḎat and atVk ... (40′) and the princes, and the feudal chiefs, [and the Great ones, and the Nobles, and] the Persians, and the Parthians

(43) then too ..... with him brought that if ever I think that if we ..... all the feudal chiefs, and the Great ones, and the Nobles, and Éránshahr, and the whole Empire somebody exists ..... Your Majesties .... superior is, and the Empire .... and grac[- .... of Your (41′) Majesties néVNG

(44) and NYAPKTR ..... to the throne of the gods is given ..... -K they know, and until resurrection's time the Empire shall rule and command, and by his own Majesty, and the Empire shall be glad, then by us with the aid and in the name of [the gods ..... by .....-ness and AŠR. they become. And the king of the Kúshán ....., and to us the Caesar, and the Roman ...

Paikuli (continued)

[illegible] ⟨gap of about 25 letters⟩ [illegible]

(41) [illegible] ..... [illegible]

⟨gap of about 17 letters⟩ [illegible]

⟨large gap of ⅛ of an entire line⟩

[illegible] ..... [illegible]

(43) [illegible] ⟨gap of about 15 letters⟩ ⟨gap of about 20 letters⟩ [illegible]

⟨large gap of about ⅛ of an entire line⟩

[illegible] ..... [illegible] ⟨gap of about 21 letters⟩

(42) [illegible] ..... (46)

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Transliteration

késare U hróme ..... (45) / ..... / U zám(á)sp í kúšdán / U
/ (42′) / U χv(á)razm(á)n ŠÁH U zám[ásp] / ..... patį U .g.mbak .....

sédí í harváník šékán U páke í MYXMAN U béruván í spandǫr(á)tán U páradán ŠÁH U varáčgurte ŠÁH U
s(é)dí í arv(á)ník šék(á)n [U p]ák MXYMAN U béruván as[pandǫr(á)t(á)n]

žandar[ník] / ..... Š]ÁH U tírd(á)t ŠÁH UT am[rú / gap of about 30 letters /
žandafrík ŠÁH U makúr(á)n ŠÁH / ŠÁH UT amrú apgar(í)nán / /

/ UT ábírán ŠÁH U síká [..... (46) / about 13 letters / KU-š(á)n BYTK / gap of about
/ / (43′) / ..... úrín YPPṪ /

19 letters / / ... zgirde í saχúričán XVATÁY U χvarasmán í mókán XVATÁY U bagd(á)t
/ .sátrap gónak góna[k]/ saχúrič(á)n χ[vat(á)]vya U χvara[s]m(á)n mók(á)n

í zúrádičín XVATÁY U mitrÀĽasén í bóraspičí[n XVATÁY] / /...[ap]r(í)šųmičán
/ U bátí zúradatč(í)n χvat(á)vya U /

XVATÁY U vaLad .. / gap of about 24 letters / í éraχčín XVAT[ÁY] / ..... (47) / /
χvat(á)vya U márwak ištakvín [χvat(á)vya U] / / / gap of about 26 letters /

/ XVATÁY UT ap(á)rík šatrdáre / gap of about 33 letters /[pá]dése í AMÁ ÉST(én)d U hamáke šatre PA nóke
/ (44′) / /[p(á)dés ČÉ AMÁX

XVÁH(é)m U KÉ XVAT Ó DAR Í AMÁ ÁMAT énya frésta[kán]..... / /.....me U-š
XVÁH / PAKR /

šatre U gívák / ..... / / DÁR(e)t ÓY APAR GÓW ..... /
TGṘŘ / U sp(á)sį ČÉ AMÁX ÁY(é)nt / ..... / /

Literal Translation

(45) ..... (42) and the king of Khwárizm, and Zámásp the ... pat of the Kúshdán, and Dígpambak (?) [the ..., and Sayyidí, the Shaikh of the Arabs, and Pák, the eunuch, and Béruván, son of (?) Spandorát, and the king of the Páradán, and Varáčgurt the king, and the king of Žand-Afrík, and the king of Makŭrán, and X. the king of ...., and Tírdát the king, and 'Amru, the descendant of the Abgars, ... and the king of Ábhírá, and Síká- .....

(46) ..... (43′) ..... -ṾRYN YPPṪ that their BYTAK ..... -satraps of all kind, (Varά)zgirde, the lord of the Sakhúričán, and Khvarasmán, the lord of the Mókán, and Bagdát, the lord of the Zúrádiąn, and MitrÀĽasén, the [lord of the] Bóraspičín, and Bátí, the lord of the Zúradatčín, and X. the lord of the [Ap]rĕšumičán, and Márwak, [the lord of] the Ishtakvín, and ..... the lord of the Térakhčín, ...

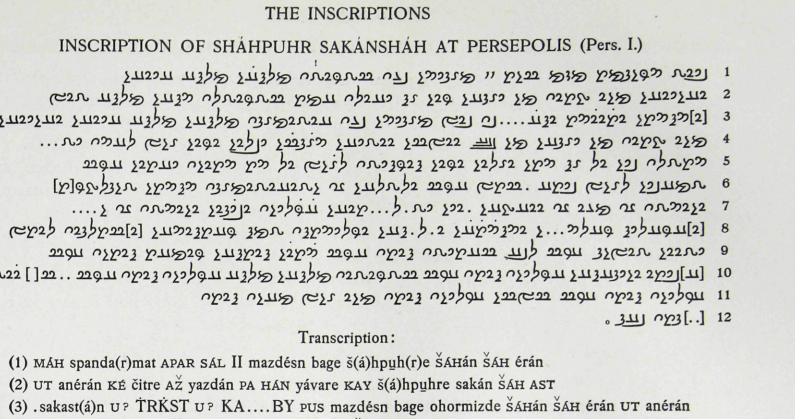
(47) ..... the lord [of the ...], and the other princes ..... our instruction they become, and the whole Empire anew (?) I wish (?) (or: they congratulated me) and some came personally to our Porte, others envoys ..... PAKR ....., and by (?) him the Empire, and the place ....., and to our service they come ..... he holds, on him [they] say ..... End.

Paikuli (continued)

— End —

THE INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION OF SHÁHPUHR SAKÁNSHÁH AT PERSEPOLIS (Pers. I.)



Transcription:

(1) MÁH spanda(r)mat APAR SÁL II mazdésn bage š(á)hpuh(r)e ŠÁHán ŠÁH érán

(2) UT anérán KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán PA HÁN yávare KAY š(á)hpuhre sakán ŠÁH AST

(3) .sakast(á)n U? TRḴST U? KA....BY PUS mazdésn bage ohormizde ŠÁHán ŠÁH érán UT anérán

(4) KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán AŽ DAR óš(á)n BAGán saŻdaŠ(á)n BURT U PAT ÉN rase YX....

(5) staχre ANDAR Ó HÁN st(á)n ŠÚT U PA kirpakíhe LŻNH Ó sat stúne ÁMAT U-š

(6) hamáBYN IM XÁNAK .ŠTH U-š varhrán í naχv-ohormizde sakast(á)n handarčpa(t)

(7) U narsahe í magu í varáčán .VYN YX.L... tarán afríne KIRT U narsahe í na....

(8) UT apárík párs...n U sakaŠ̈TÁn U .L.kán U fréstake ham(á)k pátkósán [U] šatrd(á)re APÁK

(9) BÚT H(é)nd U-š VAZURK šátíhe kirte U-š stún kirtakán framát kirtane U-š

(10) (p)itar U nídákán afríne kirte U-š š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán ŠÁH afríne kirte U-š ...Š.

(11) VVX.A? afríne kirte U-š óš(á)n afríne kirte KÉ ÉN máne kirte

(12) ..DTY bád.

Literal Translation:

(1) In the month Spanda(r)mat of the year II of the Mazdá-worshipping God Sháhpuhr, king of kings of Iran

(2) and non-Iran who is a scion of the Gods, at that time when Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh is,

(3) of Sakastán and ..... and? ...., son of the Mazdá-worshipping God Hormizd, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran

(4) who is a scion of the Gods, from the Porte of Their Majesties..... he carried away, and on this occasion....

(5) in Stakhr to that spot he went, and graciously .... to Sat Stúne he came, and by him

(6) everything? in this palace was ...., and by him (together with?) Varhrán Nakhv-Hormizd, the Andarčpat of Sakastán

(7) and Narsahe the magus, son of Varáz, ... a blessing was offered, and Narsahe son of? Na....

(8) and the other Pers... and Sak.... and messengers from every quarter, and the princes with (them)

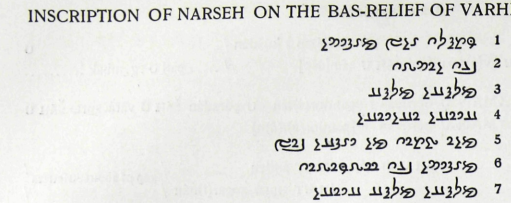
(9) have been, and by him great pleasure was caused, and by him the masons were ordered to work (or: the workmen were ordered to make a pillar) and by him

(10) to (his) father and (his) ancestors a blessing has been offered, and to Sháhpuhr, king of kings, a blessing has been offered, and by him to Their?

(11) Majesties? a blessing has been offered, and by him to those a blessing has been offered by whom this house has been built.

(12) ..... be it!

INSCRIPTION OF NARSEH ON THE BAS-RELIEF OF VARHRÁN I AT SHÁHPUR (Sháhp. Nrs.)



Transcription:

1. patkarí ÉN mazdésn
2. bage narsahe
3. ŠÁHán ŠÁH
4. érán UT anérán
5. KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán PUS
6. mazdésn bage š(á)hpuhre
7. ŠÁHán ŠÁH érán
8. UT anérán KÉ čitre AŽ
9. yazdán nape bage
10. artaxšatr ŠÁHán
11. ŠÁH

Translation:

1. The image is this of the Mazdá-worshipping
2. god Narsahe,
3. king of kings
4. of Iran and non-Iran,
5. who is a scion of the gods, the son
6. of the Mazdá-worshipping god Shápuhr,
7. king of kings of Iran
8. and non-Iran, who is a scion of
9. the gods, the grandson of the god
10. Ardashír, king of
11. kings.

INSCRIPTION OF SHÁHPÚR II IN THE SMALL CAVE AT THE ṬÁQ I BUSTÁN (T. i B. A)

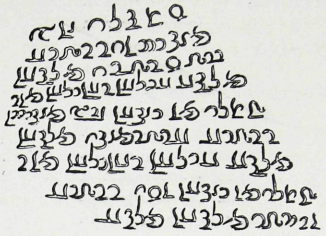


FIG. 40

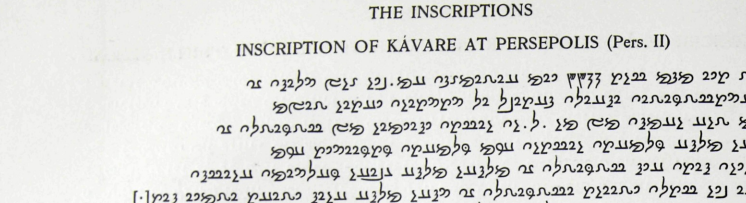
Transcription:

1. patkarí ÉN
2. mazdésn BAG
3. š(á)hpuhre ŠÁHán
4. ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ
5. čitre AŽ yazdán PUS mazdésn
6. BAG ohormizde ŠÁHán
7. ŠÁH érán UT anérán KÉ
8. čitre AŽ yazdán nape BAG
9. narsahe ŠÁHán ŠÁH

Translation:

1. The image is this
2. of the Mazdá-worshipping god
3. Sháhpuhr, king of
4. kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is
5. a scion of the Gods, the son of the Mazdá-worshipping
6. god Hormizd, king of
7. kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is
8. a scion of the Gods, the grandson of the god
9. Narseh, king of kings.

INSCRIPTION OF KÁVARE AT PERSEPOLIS (Pers. II)



Transcription:

1. MÁH tír APAR SÁL XLVIII RÓŽ ohormizde AM.BYN ÉN slóke í
2. (r)ástš(á)hpuhre U kávare dátavbar ó sat stúne ÁMAT H(É)m
3. U-m É námake ČÉ AŽ .L.NE nivište ÉSTÁT ČÉ š(á)hpuhre í
4. sakán ŠÁH framáte nivištane U-m framáte patpursét U-m
5. afríne kirte KU š(á)hpure í ŠÁHán ŠÁH MARDán párszume anóšake
6. U yár ANDAR šatre BAV(é)t U š(á)hpure í sakán ŠÁH anók BAVát U hamév kirt(.)
7. KUN(é)t AŽ yazdán U š(á)hpuhre í ŠÁHán ŠÁH χvape MXRXít UT IM-ič UT ANDAR
8. ..KA kirte KUN(á)n ČÉ yazdán UT óš(á)n BAGán š(á)hpuhre í ŠÁHán ŠÁH kirpake
9. .YT UT AŽ ÉN dúrdast fráč ó DAR í óš(á)n BAGán RAS(á)n UT ÓY BAG
10. š(á)hpuhre í ŠÁHán ŠÁH PA kirpakíhe dúrdast RASít U .BV. PA kirpakíhe dúrdast
11. Ó kávare ÁY(á)n.

Literal translation.

1. In the month Tír of the year XLVIII on the day of Hormizd AM.BYN this Seleucus, the
2. son of Rástsháhpuhr, and Kávar, the judge, to Satstúne we have come,
3. and by us that inscription which formerly had been written, which Sháhpuhr
4. Sakánsháh had ordered to be written, by us was ordered to be read out, and by us
5. a blessing was offered that Sháhpuhr, king of kings, the best of men, and immortal,
6. and the saviour in the Empire is, and Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh *anók* may be, and every? action
7. (which is) done by the Gods, and by Sháhpuhr, king of king, is well ..... and therefore? and for what in
8. ..KA is doing, which the Gods, and Their Majesties Sháhpuhr, the king of kings, piously
9. ....d, and thereby *dúrdast* straight to the Porte of Their Majesties is coming, and His Majesty
10. Sháhpuhr, king of kings, graciously *dúrdast* has come. and .BV. graciously *dúrdast*
11. to Kávare is coming.

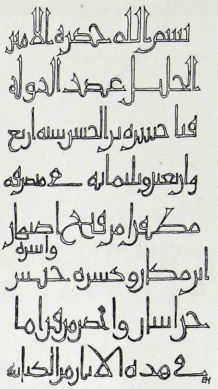


FIG. 42

INSCRIPTION OF ʿADUD AL-DAULAH AT PERSEPOLIS

Text:

(1) بسم الله حضره الامير (2) الجليل عضد الدولة (3) فناخسره
بن الحسن سنة اربع (4) واربعين وثلثمائة فى مُنْصَرَفه (5) مظفرا
من فتح اصبهان واسره (6) ابن مكان وكسره جيش (7) خراسان
واحضر من قرا ما (8) فى هذه الاثار من الكتابة

Translation:

(1) In the name of Alláh! Has visited this the mighty (2) Amír ʿAḍud al-daulah (3) Faná-Khusrah, son of al-Ḥasan, in the year four (4) and fourty and threehunderd, at his victorious departure (5) from the conquest of Iṣpahan, and his capture (6) of Ibn Makán, and his annihilation of the army (7) of Khorasán. And he brought to the presence one who was able to read all (8) the inscriptions to be found on these monuments.

This inscription was treated for the first and, as far as I know, the only time by Silvestre de Sacy in his *Mémoire sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* in 1790. His deciphering of the inscription, ingenious as it was if one taker into consideration the insufficiency of the copies available to him, was not complete. The Cufic inscriptions exceed the frame of the present work, but since the inscription is legible on our plate, and since it is the earliest Muhammedan inscription from Persia hitherto known, I did not wish to leave it apart completely, the more so, as it is interesting to learn, that in the year 955 A. D. there were still people in Istakhr capable of reading the Pahlaví inscriptions. I must refrain from giving a historical commentary, and confine myself to refer, beside the *Mémoire* of de Sacy, to Ibn al-Athír's chronicle, and to Weil's *Geschichte der Khalifen* vol. II pp. 616 ss.

INSCRIPTION OF SHÁHPÚR III IN THE SMALL CAVE AT THE ṬÁQ I BUSTÁN (T. i B. B)

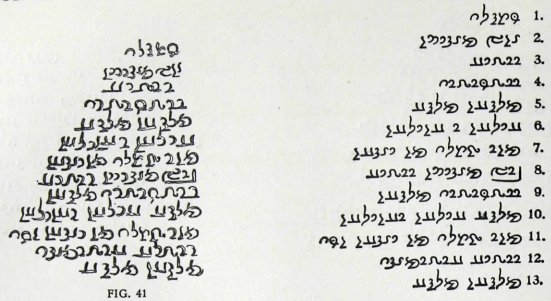


FIG. 41

Transcription:

1. patkarí
2. ÉN mazdésn
3. BAG
4. š(á)hpuhre
5. ŠÁHán ŠÁH
6. érán UT anérán
7. KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán
8. PUS mazdésn BAG
9. š(á)puhre ŠÁHán
10. ŠÁH éran UT anérán
11. KÉ čitre AŽ yazdán nape
12. BAG ohormizde
13. ŠÁHán ŠÁH

Translation:

1. The image is
2. this of the Mazdá-worshipping
3. god
4. Sháhpuhr,
5. king of kings
6. of Iran and non-Iran,
7. who is a scion of the Gods,
8. the son of the Mazdá-worshipping god
9. Sháhpuhr, king of
10. kings of Iran and non-Iran,
11. who is a scion of the Gods, the grandson
12. of the god Hormizd,
13. king of kings

the auxiliary verb 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭬, cf. 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭮𐭬. As an auxiliary verb it would require our word to be a past part. pass. of the form *𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭬, and without any personal suffix. Hence, it is more probable that the word in question should be the ideogram of a noun with enclitic pronoun 1st p. sg. *-am*. The context requires something like 'my adversaries'. Cf. Ar. عدو

12 Hjb. 10; N. i Rjb. Krt. 10; C 3,4; C 4,1; F 12,2 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭲
Hjb. 10′; B′ 11,3; F′ 11,5; F′ 13,5 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭 𐭠𐭩𐭲𐭩
13 Hjb. 5 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭-𐭩𐭲 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲
14 D 2,2; E 2,4; 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭-𐭲𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩
15 C′ 4,5; F′ 3,2 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭-𐭱 𐭠𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭱
16 F 13,3 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭-𐭰𐭰 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭰𐭰

Particle 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭭, to which are appended the copula 𐭲 *-ič* in Pársík, *-iš* in Pahlavík, and in one case the same copula plus the enclitic pronoun 3rd p. sg. 𐭱𐭱 *-iš*. In Aram. אדין *(ăḏayin)* with the sense of 'then, afterwards' is used as a particle opening a new sentence, if the action of the foregoing one is accomplished. In an old Aram. document from Assur, dating from the 6th century B. C., the form אז *(azay* as in Psalm 124,3-5) appears instead of *ăḏayin*. The MP. Turfan texts, in which no traces of ideographical writing are to be found, write *adayán*, cf. Bthl. *ZAirWb.* p. 42 s., 76 s. Therefore, it seems that in this case the Aramaic, and Iranian particles nearly coincide in sound. The defective writing, nevertheless, induces me to consider אדין an ideogram. Hence, I transcribe ADAYÁN. Bthl. has recently read *(Mitteliran. Mundarten* IV *pass.)* aδak for 𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭭, apparently induced by Turf. Estrang. אנ. In PhlB. there are several ideograms, easily confused, 𐭮-𐭲𐭩, 𐭮-𐭩𐭲, and 𐭮-𐭲 cf. *Frhg.* XXV 2, 3, and 8. 𐭮-𐭩(𐭩) must represent אדין. The frequently occurring PhlB. 𐭮-𐭩𐭩𐭭, MP.T. *édá'ón*, OP. **aita-gauna* does not occur in the inscriptions.

17 E 6,1 𐭠𐭣𐭱 𐭠𐭣𐭲𐭱

The reading is very doubtful. The corresponding word in Pahlavík is missing.

18 D′ 8,3 .𐭠𐭩𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭫.

Apparently 1 letter is missing at the end.

E 6,5 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭱 19

This word is the same as Pahlavík 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭩𐭲 *abig(á)m*, PhlB. 𐭩𐭲𐭮 or 𐭩𐭲𐭲, 'time, duration'. MP.T. אאגאם *'ágám*, Salemann, *Manich. Stud.* I p. 153. The word appears in the *Frhg.* XXXI 1, and being explained by the synonymous 𐭲𐭲𐭩 *hangám* 'time', it must have been an obsolete word, or must at least have been regarded as an archaic writing. Marquart explains the development of the word from OP. *abigáma* by the intermediary stages of *óγám, ó'ám, óvám,* considering the *v* or *b* as formed out of a slurring between the two vowels. If this interpretation be not considered as satisfying, one may regard 𐭥𐭩 as graphical expression of a bilabial β, and the *g* or γ as lost in Pársík whereas it survives in Pahlavík, and Soghdian. Hence, the reading is *óbám* or *aβám*.

D′ 10,3 (doubtful) 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭩𐭲.𐭥 20
Hjb. 9; N. i Rjb. Krt. 3; N. i Rst. Krt. 8; 13 *ult.*; Paik. F 3,4; F 6,3. 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭱 21
N. i Rjb. Krt. 10 (doubtful reading) 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭱 22

avagón, ógón 'such, so, in such a manner, something of the kind', with negation 𐭥𐭠 NÉ 'nothing of the kind'. Cf. 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭲, and 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭲, and PhlB. 𐭩𐭲𐭲, which may be read *avagón* as well as *h(á)ngón*. The Pahl. equivalent is 𐭫𐭲, see this. Compare MP.T. *avagón, a'ón, édá'ón, éna'ón, či'ón, čivagón,* Pahlavík 𐭫𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭩𐭲 *šivagón*, which are other compounds of various pronominal stems with OP. **gauna-* > *gón* 'colour, way, manner'.

N. i Rst. Krt. 30 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲 23

uzdése, cf. MP.T. *uzdés* 'idol', Bthl. *ZAirWb.* p. 36 n.*). The passage is too fragmentary to allow us to ascertain its exact reading and meaning.

B′ 11,2 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭲 24
B 11+12,4 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭱

Apparently this word consists of the pron. dem. *ava* 'that' and *žamán* 'time', hence 'at that time', *avazam(á)n, ózamán*, or *óžamán*.

see 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲, 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲 25

D′ 15,3 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭩𐭲 26

avandík(á)n, the Pársík equivalent is missing; n. pr.

CHAPTER VII

GLOSSARY

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢

1 G 2,5 . . . 𐎢

2 E 6,4 ult.; G 14,3 *copula* and 𐎢 . . ./𐎢

3 B 6,6 𐎢 ./

4 B′ 9,6 /. . . 𐎢

5 F′ 8,2 אבנם 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹

abg(á)m 'time, duration'. Cp. 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 𐎢𐎠𐎲 *óbám.* OP. *abigáma.*

6 H 14,3 אבירן 𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎫𐎢

ábirán n. pr. gent. from *ábirá,* Ind. *ábhirá,* a country situated on the peninsula formed by the gulf of Cutch, and that of Cambay. It covered parts of Cutch and Káthiáwár, and was ruled during the 3rd, and the 4th centuries A.D. by Śaka Kṣatrapas. Cf. V.A.Smith, *Early Hist. of India,* 3rd ed. Oxford 1914 p. 274; Cunningham *Anc.Geogr.* p.498; Rapson, *Grdr.Indo-Ar. Phil.* II 3 B p. 22 § 84; Lassen, *Ind. Altertsk.* 2nd ed. pp. 106, and 652; Rapson in *Cambr. Hist. of India* I. pp. 224, and 543.

Ábhirá is mentioned under the form Ἀβηρία in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei,* written about 80—89 A.D., and as Ἀβιρία by Ptolemy VII, 1 § 55. Ptolemy clearly states that Ἀβιρία, together with Παταληνή, and Συραστρηνή formed a part of Ἰνδοσκυθία, i. e. *Sakastán,* see 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎫𐎢, 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢, 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢, and 𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎫𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢. In our inscription the *Ábirán šáh* is one of the prominent Mahákṣatrapas ruling over the Indian territory of Sakastán, see 𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎫𐎢, 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎫𐎢

Pers. I 10 אבי־תר 𐎢𐎠𐎲[𐎢]𐎼𐎹 7

Ideogr. אבי, i. e. אב with suff. of pers. pron. 1. p.sg. י, plus the phonetical complement *-tar*; *Frhg.* XI 4 𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎼𐎹, read *pitar* 'father', OP. *pitar,* אב, and אבי occur in Aram. I.

F′ 13,2 אגנת . . 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 . . ./ 8

. . . *ágant,* cf. *ágantan, parágantan.*

G 12,7 אדאת 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 . . . 9

. . . *ádát.* perhaps 𐎼 is to be read instead of 𐎲: . . *ákát*

Manére gem Paris אדולי 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎲𐎫𐎢 10

áḍure, with *scriptio plena* of the *u* in the second syllable, as in PhlB. עשוו, and in MP.T. *áḍur* (beside *átar*). Elsewhere we find the forms — 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢, — 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 *áṭur,* all representing historical writings rather than the actual pronunciation in Sasanian times, viz. *ádar* or *áδar,* as shown by the Pázand transcriptions. Cf. Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* p. 139 § 23 etc., *Arm. Gram.* p. 110 No. 72; Bthl. *ZAirWb.* p. 23, and 33. Av. *átr-, átar-, átərə-,* NP. آذر áδar. Cf. Kirste, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* vol. 182, 2 1917, pp. 4 ss. ΑΘΡΟ. See 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢, and 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎲𐎫𐎢 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢.

C′ 2,4 אדיורם 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎲𐎫𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 11

ADIV-m; has the form of an ideogram, 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al of a verb לא plus the Iranian phonetical termination 𐎹 *-am,* cf. 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢. The following word is

opposite of *frárón* 'good', nor is its meaning to be interred from the PhlB. translation of Av. *aora* 'down, downward' by *avarón*, cf. BTHL., *Air.Wb.* 43. It forms rather an analogon of *andarón*, *bérón*, and *parón (frón)*, formed by the strongly demonstrative *ava-*, referring to the more distant, and, possibly, more elevated object, e. g. Darius N. i Rst. a § 1: *a^hura^{h}mazdá hya^h imám búmím adá^h hya^h avam asmánam adá^h*', meaning 'that, yonder', and by *rón* 'side'. Hence, the meaning is 'yonder, beyond' together with the idea of 'above'. As a noun it means 'a superior', e. g. the sentence quoted by SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 319, § 123: '*andar avarón patkár má kun*' 'with a superior do not dispute'. 'superior in rang' is also the meaning in N. i. Rjb. Krt. 23. Cf. SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 283, and BTHL., *Air.Wb.* 163 s. v. *ava* 1).

33 Hjb. 11 אולנדלי אבלענלה

avarondare; it corresponds to Pahlavík לן‌שתמל, Hjb. 11′, see this. The word is the comparative of the foregoing *avaróne*, meaning 'more beyond, farther beyond, in front'. The translation of Av. *ava.antare* by *avaróntar*, cf. BTHL., *Air.Wb.* 168, therefore, does not exactly give the sense 'adjoining to the which is inside'.

34 C 2,3 אולתי אבלעה

Apparently a past part. pass. in the phrase אבלעה כנאעצנצ. Therefore we must read *ávurte* 'brought', from *ávurtane*, written ideographically בכיעצ for the aorist base, see בכיעצ, and אנתנב.

35 E 15,2 אואת [אנענ]ע

36 B 4+5,2; G 12,4 אצאת אנעענע

37 A 1,3; A 9,4; B 3,3; Hjb. 6 אואתאן אנענעענצ

C′ 1,3; F′ 8,4 אואת אנענצ

Hjb. 6′; A′ 10,1; C′ 9,5; E′ 12,3; G′ 1,2 אואתן אנענצב

ázát, ážát, ázátán, ázát, ázát(á)n, PhlB. ـ‌ازاد, 'free, freeman, noble', Germ. 'Freiherr'. The forms ending in *-án* are plural, the others collective singular. Av. *ázáta-*, NP. آزاد, Arm. loan-word *azat*, cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 91 No. 2. Its translation in early Arab. is *al-ashráf* الاشراف. Designation of a special rank in Sasanian society, cf. CHRISTENSEN, *L'empire* p. 22, 28 and 44—45, preceding the *katakχvatáyán*, and following 1) the *šatrdárán*, 2) the *vispuhrán*, 3) the *vazurkán*.

N. i Rjb. 20; Pers. I 9 אואתיחי אנענבעתה 38

ázátihe, PhlB. ـ‌ازادیه, NP. آزادی, 'nobleness, nobility, honour', abstract noun from the foregoing. The abstract nouns in Pársík terminate in *-ihe*, NP. ی *-i*, whereas those in Pahlavík have the termination *-i/épi*. MP.T. has *-i/éft*, Soghd. *-yá*, cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 42, n. 1.

C′ 9,6 אול־ת אנעלבת 39

N. i Rjb. Krt. 19; D 6,3; Pers. I 5 עולון אבלבצ 40

N. i. Rst. Krt. 14 עולונ־ת אבלבנצ 41

Ideogram. אנעלבת is the 3rd. p. sg. perf. Pə'al plus the phonetical termination of the past part. pass. *-t*, אבלבצ the 3rd. p. pl. perf. Pə'al, as always irregularly terminating in ן-, with ע instead of א; from Aram. אזל 'to go, to walk'. *Frhg.* XX 6 & 7 explains וישיון by ישיון, hence read ŠUT, present base ŠAV-, Pahl. *šáv-*, BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV p. 26, § 28,5. Av. and OP. *šiyav-*, *šav-*, Soghd. and MP.T. *šav-*, NP. شدن 'to go, to walk, (to become)'. אבלבנצ is the ideogram of the present base plus the phonetical termination of the 3rd p. pl. *-(én)t*, hence read ŠAV*(én)t*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 6; 10 אוש אנעבב 42

aziš. The reading in both the cases is not absolutely certain, but probable; אנעבב i.e. KAS may also be read. *aziš* would be the purely Iranian writing of the preposition *az* with the 3rd p. sg. of the enclitic pronoun *-iš*, Soghd. *ačiš*. — Since the word in both cases occurs within a phrase containing some comparatives, the meaning seems to be 'than he', NP. از with the comparative.

ethn., formed by adding the MP. suffix *-k* to the final vowel *-i* of Skrt. *avanti*. Avanti is the old historical name of Málwá, the capital of which, Ujjain, is situated about 100 miles W. of Bhópal. At the time in question, 293—296 A. D., Málwá was ruled by the descendants of the Chashṭana dynasty of Śaka Mahákṣatrapas, cf. Ptolemy's Τιαστάνης. Their era begins in 58 B.C. The last Great Satrap known to us is called Dámasena about 225 A. D. After that time all the Indian sources — inscriptions, coins, and literary works — dry up. Our inscription most fortunately fills this lacuna in Indian history. In line 22′ of the Pahlavík version the *avandik(á)n χvat(á)vya* is a retainer of Varhrán III Sakánsháh in his war against his grand-uncle and successor Narseh. A number of other Śaka Kṣatrapas appear in the long list of '*šatrdáre*' paying homage to Narseh after his victory. Therefore, in the notice preserved by the Armenian chronicler Agathias, about the conquest of Sakastán by Varhrán II, and about his appointing his son Varhrán III Σεγανσαὰ, Sakánsháh, the expression τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος must be taken in the political sense of the term, equivalent to the expression '*harva sakastana*' in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription. Ábhírá, Suráshṭra, and Avanti, — the land stretching from the mouths of the Indus as far as the Vindhya mountains —, not only recognized the suzerainty of the ruler of Sakastán, modern Sístán, after the Kúshán had wrested from them their northern dominions, but the Sasanian kings Varhrán II, and III, too, held the suzerainty over them. The internal strife between Varhrán III, and Narseh must have furnished an opportunity to these Śaka Kṣatrapas to regain their independence. For, in the list of the congratulants at the end of the inscription, they appear not as vassals, but as independant princes. About 398—401 A. D. these last survivals of the once mighty Śaka Empire were incorporated into the Gupta Empire by Chandragupta II.

Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Altertk.* pp. 145—148; Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.* pp. 498 ss.; V. A Smith, *Hist. of India* 3rd ed. p. 29, 217 s.; Rapson in *Cambr. Hist. of India*, I. p. 310; Rapson, *Grdr. Ind.-Ar. Phil.* II 3 B p. 21 §80.

See 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀, 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬀, 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬀𐬵, and 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀.

Hjb. 11′; A′ 6,5; F′ 12,3 𐬀𐬵 *avá* 27

AVS, probably to be read *ós*. Since F′ 12,3 corresponds to G 2,2 𐬀𐬵𐬀, i.e. ideogramm for *nún* 'now, at present', the meaning of *AVS* is surely the same, 'now'. In Hjb. *AVS* has no equivalent in Pársík in the protasis, but the concluding sentence in Pársík has a redundant 𐬐𐬀𐬯 *pas* 'then, afterwards'. So there, too, the meaning 'now' fits perfectly. *ós* is OP. *avaθá* 'then, so'.

A′ 10,2 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬯 *avastik(á)n* 28
A 2,4 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵[𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬯]

avastik(á)n, *óstikán* 'faithful, steadfast', PhlB. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵 *óstigán*, *Frhg.* XIII 4. There is a Parthian loan-word in Arm. *ostikan* 'overseer, prefect', Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 215 no. 492; later on the title of the governors of the Khalifs; cf. Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* p. 20 no. 125. *óstikán* was a title already in Parthian times, translated into Greek as πεπιστευμένος in the inscription of Mithradates the Great at Bístún, Herzfeld, *Tor v. Asien* p. 39. In our inscription the word is an adjective qualifying the substantive *dastakirte*, see this, 'camp', and must, therefore, have the sense 'fortified'.

B′ 1,2 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 29
B 14,3 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙

avast(á)m, *ást(á)m*, PhlB. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙, 'refuge', better 'stand', cf. Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* p. 20, No. 135.

Hjb. 10′ 𐬀𐬵𐬐𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 30

upadišt 'directed, instructed', past part. pass., the present base would be **upadés-*. MP.T. *abdésá*, imper. 'show', √*dáes-*; see 𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙, and 𐬀𐬵𐬐𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙; cf. Bthl. *ZAirWb.* p. 165. In the Pársík version its equivalent is 𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬐𐬀𐬛 *framát* 'ordered'.

A 11+12,2 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀 31
cf. B 12,6 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀

This word possibly consists of the pron. dem. *ava-*, and n. s. *ráse* 'way', 'in that way, in that manner, in such a way'. Or: PhlB. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙 *Frhg.* XV 3, XXXI 2, explained by 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙 *áfráh* 'instruction, information, news'. Compare also *avrást* 'upright, straight up'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 23; B 7,3; C 11,3 𐬀𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵 32

It corresponds to 𐬀𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵 in B′ 9,1, see this. The word is not to be confounded with *apárón*, 'bad' the

preposition 'behind, after'. It is the OP. preposition *pasá* and the conjunction *pasáva*, NP. پس. אחר appears in Hebr. (*Gen.* 18,5; *Ex.* 5,1; *Num.* 19,7) as temporal adverb 'afterwards, then'; in Nabat. as prep. 'after'. Cf. NPun. I. אש אחר 'after that, afterwards'. In Aram. it is scarcely used in the strictly Iranian sense of 'PAS', but quite the same meaning appears in the Lydo-Aramaic Bilingual from Sardis, dated 445 or 394 B.C.; cf. LITTMANN, *Sardis* VI, Part I, p. 29 L. 6.

The Pahlavík equivalents are 𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭬, the 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭬 of the *Frhg.*, and 𐭠𐭤𐭩𐭥 in Hjb., in other cases the Párs ík 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭬 is not expressed at all.

53 N. i Rjb. 4 אחלאדיהי 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭣𐭰

ahrádihe, PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭲𐭩, *Vidévd. Gloss.* p. 12, 'piety, holiness, righteousness'. Soghd. *artáv-*; MP.T. *ardāwīy*, cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 11. Compare the Párs ík word 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭶𐭲𐭱. For the 𐭣 cp. 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭶𐭲𐭱.

54 A 9,2 אחלמני 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭬𐭩

N. pr. *ahrmane*, Ahriman. PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭬, NP. اهرمن and اهريمن, Av. *aŋ́ro. mainyuš*, OP. **ahra-maniyuš*, Gr. Ἀρειμάνιος, Ἀρειμάνης, Arm. loan-word *arhmn*, Syr. אהרמן cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 26 No. 23. HOFFM., *Syr. Akt.* p. 64 n. 559. — Cf. al-Khwárizmí p. ٣٨ f:

يزدان خالق الخير بزعم المجوس وأهْرَمن خالق الشر بزعمهم

55 B′ 9,2; B′ 13,3; C′ 2,5; C′ 10,5 אחרן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤

56 F′ 12,5 אחרנתן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭲𐭩

N. i Rjb. Krt. 26; B 10,4 אחרן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭣

Ideogram אחרן 'other, another'. In F′ 12,5 the termination *-t(á)n* is the 2. pers. encl. pron. pl. The ideogram is missing in the *Frhg.* We might insert it in *Frhg.* XXXI 5: 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭣 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤. As *apárik* has a corresponding ideogram, we must look for another synonym to pronounce our ideogram. There is Av. *ainya-*, OP. *aniya-*, Soghd. *aniv, ani*, for which we must presuppose the Párs ík form *ANIK, cp. BTHL., *ZAir Wb.* pg. 62 *s.* n. 3.

57 E 4,3 אן 𐭠𐭲𐭥

én, in the phrase ó(ʔ) *én* ÁLAK *k*...; the Pahlavík equivalent is missing. Evidently, this *én* is not the optative particle *én*, nor the particle indicating the duration, as in *én báre*, see 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭤, but, since it precedes a noun, it is probably the OP. numer. *aiva*, the NP. یای وحدت, PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭥 *én*, appearing beside 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭣 *évak* NP. یك.

G 12,2 איוך 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭶𐭪 58

N. i Rjb. Krt. 26 איוך ... איוך 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭶𐭪 ... 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭶𐭪

PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭶𐭪 *Frhg.* XXV 3, explained by 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭶𐭪, which in comparison with Párs ایا, see SALEMANN, *Pars. Hdschr.* p. 82 and 88, must be read *ayáf*. Therefore, the best interpretation seems to be this: the 𐭶𐭪, hardly to be explained etymologically, is a graphic *glossa perpetua*, 𐭶𐭪 representing a bilabial φ at the end of a word, as 𐭥𐭲 represents a bilabial β generally used in the middle of a word. Cf. Pahlavík 𐭪 as phonetic *glossa* indicating the bilabial β or φ in 𐭪𐭠𐭱𐭪, the *status rectus* of 𐭠𐭱𐭠. — Cf. also Tokhar. or Sak. *á vá, au, ó* and *á tí vá*, LEUMANN, *Z. Nordar. Sprache* p. 110, and BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV and V pass., s. v. *aδáp*, and IdgF. *38.* 45 *ss.* I transcribe *ay(á)vᵖ*. It is NP. یا

N. i Rst. Krt. 8; N. i Rjb. Krt. 28; איהרפת 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭱𐭶𐭲𐭥 59

éhrpat, Av. *aéθrapaiti-*, PhlB. 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭥, e. g. *Frhg.* XIII 2, NP. هربذ. The *éhrpat* was a priest whose special duties have been differently described, see CHRISTENSEN, *L'Empire* p. 36; BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 243; al-Khwárizmí p. ١١٩ says: الهربذ خادم النار, and Ya'qúbí, *Histor.* I p. ٢٠٢: وكانت تسمّى قيّم النار الهربذ; according to the *Nihâyatu'lirâb*, BROWNE, J. R. A. S. 1900 p. 228, the *herbadhán herbadh* announces to the king when the holy fire is extinguished. We may translate 'fire-priest'.

Hjb. 8′; B′ 7,1. 4. 5; B′ 9,6; B′ 11,4; C′ 2,4; C′ 3,4; C′ 10,1. 3; D′ 8,2; E′ 7,2; E′ 12,6; E′ 15,5; F′ 6,6; F′ 7,1. 2. 4; F′ 11,4; F′ 12,3; F′ 13,3; G′ 3,2; G′ 5,3; G′ 6,2 *bis* incompl.; G′ 9,1; אך 𐭠𐭲𐭫 60

43 A′ 11,6 אחד-ת 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭬

44 A 9,5; B 12,2; E 4,5 עחדון 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭥𐭭

Ideogram. 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭬-ת is 3. p. sg. Perf. Pə'al אחד plus phonetical termination *-t* of the Iran. past part. pass.; 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭥𐭭 is 3. p. pl. perf. Pə'al ending in ן־ instead of ו־, with ע replacing א, from אחד, 'to seize, to take'. PhlB. וחשן, *Frhg.* XX 10 reads GRIFtane, and GIR-. √*grb-*, Av. *gərᵊpta-*, OP. *agarbáya*[3], MP.T. *gript, grift*, 'to seize, to take'.

The Pahlavík form 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭬 stands for the preterit base of the verb, read GRIFt, for the pres. base we must suppose the form *𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭫-, read GIR-. The Pársík form without terminations stands for the preterit: GRIFT; and with terminations for the pres. base which must be read GIR-.

45 N. i Rst. Ohorm.; B′ 4,2; C′ 6,2; F′ 13,1 (?) אחורמזד 𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭

pre-Sasanian coins from Soghd. 𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭[𐭩]

46 coins of the Kúshán-sháh אוחלמזדי 𐭠𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭𐭩

47 N. i Rst. Ohorm.; N. i Rjb. Krt. 28, 29, 30; C 11,4 אוחרמזדי 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭𐭩

N. i Rst. Krt. 5, 9, 33; Pers. I 3; II 1; T. i B. A 6; B 12.

ahurmazd, ohormizde. — On the Soghdian coins, DROUIN, *Rev. Num.* 1895 pl. II 1—8, the termination *-ן־* is certain, the foregoing *-𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭* ... probable. — For the reading *ohormizde* see MARQ., *Éránš.* p. 48, n. 3. — Av. *ahuró mazdå*, OP. *a(h)ura mazdá*, Elam. *uramaš-t'a*, Arm. older form *aramazd*, younger *ormizd*, cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 24 *s.* No. 21, and p. 62 No. 139; Gr. Ὠρομάσδας, Ὠρομάσδης; Syr. *hormazd, hormizd*, הורמיזד Ar. هُرْمُز. Therefore, the Iranian form *ohormizd* was obviously pronounced *hormizd* already in Sasanian time. PhlB. 𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭 is written with the misleading ligature ـــ of an abbreviated 𐭣 and 𐭦. Observe the spelling changing between 𐭣 and 2. 𐭣 appears always on the coins of Hormizd III. N. i Rst. Orm., N. i Rst. Krt. and B′ 4,2 = B 4,4 refer to the God, N. i Rjb. Krt. 28, N. i Rst. Krt. 9 and the coins of the Kúshánsháh to king Hormizd I; Pers. I 3, T. i. B. A 6 and B 12 to king Hormizd II; Pers. II 1 to the day, the first of the month. C 11 to a high personage, probably *hormizd varáž*, see this; N. i Rjb. Krt. 29, 30, N. i Rst. Krt. 33 and C′6,2 to *kartir hormizd*, see this.

48 A′ 2,6 [אחורמ]זד וראז 𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭[𐭩] 𐭥𐭣𐭠𐭩

cf. C 11,4 [אוחרמזדי (וראז)] 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭𐭩 [𐭥𐭣𐭠𐭩] 𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭦𐭭𐭩

ahurmazd varáz, ohormizde varáž, 'Hormizd's boar', honorary title like *varáž-narseh, varáž-péróž, varáž-šáhpuhr, varáž-tirdát*. Cp. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 81, No. 183. The boar is the totem animal of the god *vərəθraγna, vurhrán*. Cf. JUSTI, *Namb.* p. 348 *s.* The name Hormizd refers to the king who bestowed the title. Cf. 𐭠𐭧𐭥22. Ohormizde-varáž was the commander of the *Vartragnikán*, the Life-Guard, see 𐭣𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭩, and this office followed in rank immediately that of the chiefs of the great feodal houses. The honorific name seems to have a peculiar military meaning, cf. *Šahrvaráz*.

Áwr. 3 אחי 𐭠𐭧𐭠𐭩 49

AḤY, probably ideogram for the 1st p. sg. of the auxiliary verb, see 𐭣22𐭦 — 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭬.

C′ 3,3 אחמרכר 𐭠𐭧𐭠𐭦𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭫 50

C 11,5 אכאלכלי 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩 51

áhm(á)rak(á)r, ámárk(á)re, compound of PhlB. *ámár* 'number, reckoning, account', and *-kár* 'the one who does, the maker', hence 'member of the chamber of accounts' or 'book-keeper, tax-collector'. Arm. loan word *hamarakar*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 80 *s.* No. 182, and p. 171 No. 314. For the word *hamár, ámár* cf. BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* I p. 44 n. 1. There were several chambers of accounts or revenue offices in Iran. From the Armenian historian Sebéos we know of the *vaspurakan hamarakar*, the revenue officer of Váspuhrakán having his seat at Ispahan, MARQ. *Éránš.* p. 29. In our passage the *šatrpáv ámárkáre* or revenue officer of the satraps is meant. Cf. the titel *χšatr áhm(á)r dipér*, the 'secretary of State for the chamber of accounts of the Empire'.

Hjb. 11,14; N. i Rjb. Krt. 9; B 8,1; doubtful F 12,4. אחר 𐭠𐭧𐭥2𐭫 52

Ideogr. אחר, the *Frhg.* XXV 9 gives: 𐭠𐭧𐭥 (𐭠𐭧𐭥𐭣) ◦ 𐭠𐭧𐭩 ◦ hence read PAS, 'then, afterwards, also', or as

68 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎲𐎭𐎼𐎲 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 Gem Coll. DE CLERCQ no. 152.

érán KHVARRÉH *šáhpuhre,* official name of the old city of Susa or Šúš. For the gem see MENANT, *Cat.* DE CLERCQ p. 53, and pl. VII, A. D. MORDTMANN, *Z.D.M.G.* XXXI No. 8; for the reading of the ideogram cp. 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽. For the city see NÖLD., *Ṭab.* p. 58, n. 1; MARQ., *Éránš.* p. 144 s., n. 8.

69 B′ 1,4; D′ 7,6; F′ 13,6; G′ 9,3 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 B 3+4,6; H 7,1 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽

Ideogram Hebr., Phoen., Aram. אי(ש) 'anyone', also in Ar. I.; PhlB. *Frhg.* XI 1 𐭠𐭩𐭮 · 𐭮𐭣𐭩, read KAS, NP. کسی 'anyone'. Cp. BTHL., *AirWb.* 424, 426 and *W.Z.K.M.* XXX. 28. The word occurs in the phrases KAS HAST, and KAS NÉST, cf. Darius *Bh.* § 13: *naiy áha*^{h} *martiya*^{h} *naiy pársa*^{h} *naiy máda*^{h} *naiy amáγam tau*^{h}*máyá kasčiy* etc.

70 D 3,1 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽𐎲𐎢𐎼𐎹

aŸŠkirte, reading doubtful, but apparently not *fraškirte,* comp. *hašákird* 'disciple', NP. شاگرد.

71 D′ 7,6; D′ 10,6; G′ 9,3 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 N. i Rjb. Krt. 18 *bis*; H 7,1 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽

Ideogram 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽, Pal. I. 𐭠𐭩𐭮, Nab. I. 𐭠𐭩𐭮, PhlB. 𐭮𐭮𐭩 · 𐭮𐭮𐭩 *Frhg.* XXIV 2, read HAST, NP. هست, 'there is, exists'. Cf. the gem published by HORN, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIV p. 669 No. 629: 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 *yazate* HAST, 'God exists', Arab. الله موجود. With negation Pahlavík writes 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽, Pársík 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽, read NÉST, see this.

72 Hjb. 9′; Paik. B′ 9,5; B′ 13,5; C′ 3,5 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 E′ 7,5; F′ 3,3; F′ 12,3; G′ 5+6,3;

Ideogram אך. Where the corresponding parts of the Pársík version survive, we meet with 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 in stead of 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽, read HAKAR, AKAR 'if', see this, e. g. Hjb. 9′ and Hjb. 9, F′ 12,4 and G 2,4. In G′ 6 5,3 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 alone corresponds to 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 in H 2,1; in E′ 7,5 we have 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 corresponding to 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽. Hence it is clear that 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 must be another ideogram for HAKAR.

C 2+3,6 [𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽]𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽 73

AKKTLA(N), n. pr. of a Turkish tribe, the ruler of which bears the Turco-tatarean imperial title *χáqán,* see 𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎽. Therefore, these Turks must have formed an organized state at the time in question. Their territory must have been in the neighbourhood of the Sasanian Empire, as it is just in the preceding sentence that Armenia is mentioned.

In the following discussion I greatly depend upon MARQUART's *Osteurop. und Ostasiat. Streifzüge,* p. 41 n. 2, though my conclusions diverge from his.

The Byzantine chronicler Priskos, *Frgmt.* 8, MÜLLER, *Frgm. Hist. Graec.* IV p. 89, relates that Attila's (433—454) eldest son ἦρχε τῶν 'Ακατίρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν νεμομένων τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πόντον Σκυθικήν. Cassiodorus, the famous senator of Theodoric and his successors, in the first half of the 5th century A. D., said in his *Historia Gothorum,* handed down to us in Iordanis' *Getica* (composed about 550 A. D.), ed. MOMMSEN c. 5 § 37: *'Quibus (Aistis) in Austrum adsidet gens Acatzirorum fortissima, frugum ignara, quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat. Ultra quos distenduntur supra mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes, ... Hinc iam Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifarium populorum rabiem pullularunt. nam alia Altziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas: iuxta Chersonem Altziagiri, quo Asiae bona avidus mercator importat, qui aestate campos pervagant effusas sedes, prout armentorum invitaverint pabula, hieme supra mare Ponticum se referentes.'*

The Geographus Ravennatis, ed. PINDER & PARTHEY, p. 168, IV 1, reports on the authority of Iordanis: *'(Scythia) quae patria longe lateque spatiosissima esse dinoscitur. Item ponitur in locis planiciis longe lateque nimis spatiosissima quae dicitur Chazaria, et usque maior Scythia appellatur. quam Iordanis cosmographus in modum fungi scarifum esse dixit. quos Chazaros supra scriptus Iordanis Agaziros vocat. per quam Chazarorum patriam plurima transeunt flumina, inter cetera fluvius maximus qui dicitur Cuphis.'* (That river is called Κοῦφις by Constantius Porphyro-

Hjb. 8; 9; N. i Rjb. Krt. 3; 17 *ult.*; 22 *ult.*; 25; 27; N. i Rst. Krt. 8; B 2,4; B 3,1; B 5,3. 5; B 11,6; C 2,2; D 6,4; E 2,3; F 12,5; F 13,1. 2. 5; Pers. II 5; אך 𐬀𐬉𐬐

61 F 3,5 (perhaps twice; incomplete) איכן 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐

62 C 2+3,2; F 3,3; H 2,4 איבשן 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬱𐬀𐬐

Ideogram אך, PhlB. 𐭠𐭩 *Frhg.* XXV 1, read KUT, later KU(H), before vowels KUT, NP. کُ. Soghd. *qw* is consec. part. 'that'. אך means in Aramaic 'how'; and this meaning has developped into 'that'.

63 H 8,5 איניא 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐

énya, PhlB. אנט, *Frhg.* XXV 3, 'else', cf. BTHL. *W. Z. K. M.* XXV. 390. The PhlB. writing is ambiguous, the Pársik has but one possible reading.

64 see אלעגא 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐

65 see אלעגא כגאלעגא 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐

66 Vahd. Sháhp. gem אילאן אנבלכפתי אגאלעגא London 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐

érán anb(á)rakpate, 'administrator (or minister) of the magazines of Empire'. On the significance of that office see NÖLD., *Ṭab.* p. 444, CHRISTENSEN, *Empire* p. 27 & 62. Theophylaktos Simokatta means this office when he speaks of 'κηδεμόνα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐπιστατεῖν' III 18,9. There was an *ambárak* of that kind at *Péróž-šáhpuhr*, founded by Sháhpuhr I on the eastern bank of the Euphrates where the river enters the Babylonian alluvium. The town is the βηρσαβωρα of Zosimus, the *Pirisabora* of Ammianus Marcellinus. It was called *Ambár* afterwards, see NÖLD., *Tab.* p. 24, and 57 n. 5; PETERS, *Nippur* pp. 171—179. An other Ambár was situated in the district of Gózgán, around Shibirgán in NW. Afghánistán, see Yaqút I 364. Compare אגאלעגא, and 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐.

67 אילאן אסאן כלכאואת Gem W. WRIGHT 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬐

érán ásán karkávát, abbreviated form of *érán ásán kirt kavát*, i.e. 'Érán is made peaceful by Kavát', is the official name of a city founded by Kavát I (488—531 A. D.) according to the *Šahrihá i Érán*, transl. J.J. MODI p. 113 § 54: אגאלעגא כגאלעגא (the name of the king must be supplied). The same name appears again in the Armenian *Geography* of *Moses of Corene*, MARQ., *Éráns.* text p. 8, transl. p. 16, comment. p. 22, under the full form *Eran asan k'art Kavat*. The older eddítions of this work by PATKANIAN, SOUKRY, SAINT-MARTIN, and the Venice eddition have the remarkable variants *eran sankar kavat* (S. p. 370) and *eranas(t)an karkavat* (M. p. 22, P. and V.). The same abbreviation *karkavát* is found on our gem. PATKANIAN, as quoted by NÖLDEKE, *Ṭab.* p. 58 n. 1, enumerates this city under the head of the province Khúzistán, whereas in MARQUART's edition it appears under the head of Párs. This seems to be an error caused by the complicated arrangement of the columns. NÖLDEKE is apparently right in identifying the abbreviated form of the name, *karkavát* with *karχá, Kárχ*, the Syriac and early Arabic *karχá də láδan*, a city on the bank of the river *karχáb, karχá*. The spot is marked by the ruins of *íván i karχ*, see RAWLINSON, *J. R. G. S.* IX p. 71, DIEULAFOY, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, vol. V pl. VII—IX, p. 79—86. The peculiarities of the building are in perfect accordance with this late date. Hence the contradictions in the statements about the names, and the founders of the four great cities in Khúzistán must be solved in the following way: 1) Súq al-Ahwáz, or Ahwáz was founded by Ardashír I under the official name *Hormizd-ardašir;* 2) Susa or Šúš was founded by Sháhpuhr I under the official name of *Érán χvarréh šáhpuhr*, meaning 'Érán's majesty is Sháhpuhr' (the still more complex name was possibly *éránšahr χvarréh šáhpuhr*); 3) Gundéshápúr was founded by Sháhpuhr I under the official name of *Véh antiók* (or *andév*) *šáhpuhr'*, meaning 'Good Antiochia of Sháhpuhr', probably the modern ruins of Sháhábád between Dizful and Shúshtar; 4) Karkhá dë Ládhan was founded by Kavát I under the official name of *Érán ásán kirt kavát*, abbreviated to *karkavát*. Cp. my essay *Khorasan* in *Islam* XI 1921 p. 149, and my review of P. SCHWARZ, *Iran im Mittelalter*, in *Islam* XII 1921 p. 132 *s.* For the gem see HORN, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIX p. 676 No. 142, pl. III.

hence read XVAR*(énd)*. The literal meaning of אכלו 'they ate' is out of question in the context. But the meaning 'to swear', *sókant χvartan*, cf. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌, would suite exceedingly well before the word 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭩 'witnesses', which follows. Cp. the various use of NP. خوردن in the phrases: جهان یا ملك خوردن, بسر خوردن; شادی یا غم خوردن; بهشت یا مال خوردن, and بر خوردن BTHL., *Z. Sasan. Recht* IV, 1922, p. 41 conjectures that in MP. there were originally two words *χvartan*, etymologically different, 1) to swallow, 2) to swear, the former used with *sókand* 'sulphur-water', the latter alone. The former prevailed, the latter became obsolete.

75 F′ 7,3; G′ 6,2 אכם 𐭠𐭪𐭬

𐭠𐭪𐭬 in F′ 7,3 corresponds to 𐭠𐭪𐭩𐭬 in G 12,2. Hence it seems to be a compound of the ideogram 𐭠𐭪, and the 1st p. sg. encl. pron. *-am*, read HAKAR*am*. The transition of signification from 'if' to 'whether', and to 'or' is not improbable.

76 Hjb. 9′ אכסי 𐭠𐭪𐭮𐭲

ák(á)s PhlB. 𐭮𐭪𐭮𐭲, 𐭮𐭪𐭮𐭮, NP. آگاه 'knowing, known'. Cf. Av. *ákasat* 'he perceives', and NP. نگاه 'view, attention'. Arm. loan-word *akah* 'knowing', HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.*, p. 94 No. 9. — 𐭠𐭪𐭮𐭲 corresponds to Pársík 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐 in Hjb. 9 (NP. ایدا), see this.

77 B′ 1,6 אל 𐭠𐭤

N. i Rjb. Krt. 17 אל 𐭠𐭤

Ideogram אל, prohibitive particle, PhlB. 𐭤𐭠 or 𐭤𐭮, *Frhg.* XXV 7, read MÁ, MA. In B′ 1,6 follows the ideogram 𐭭𐭫𐭥𐭬, used for the Aorist base, and indicating the Imperative when used without phonetical termination. In N. i Rjb. 17 follows 𐭠𐭤 כרת, the Optative indicated by the particle *én*.

78 N. i Rst. Ohrm.; N. i Rst. Art. 3′; N. i Rjb. Sháp. 4′; אלהא 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠

79 Frátadára coins 𐭤𐭫𐭮𐭥

80 N. i Rst. Art. 1′; N. i Rjb. Sháp. 1′; 2—3′; Hjb. 1′; 3′; A′ 1,1; מזדישן בגי 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠

81 N. i Rst. Art. 1; N. i Rjb. Sháp. 1; 3; Gotha Sháp.; Hjb. 1; 3; Sháp. Nrs. 1-2; 6; Pers. I 1; 3; Devons. מזדישן בגי 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐

82 T. i B. A 2; 5-6; B 2-3; 8; מזדיסן ערחיא 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩

83 Paik. F 5,3; T. i B. A 8; B 12; Pers. II 9; ערחיא 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩

84 F′ 3,5; F′ 11,4; F′ 12+13,4; G′ 1,4; לכם אלהין 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠

85 G 6,4; H 8,1; H 14,1 לכום ערחיאן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩

86 F′ 8,2 לחוין אלהין 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠

87 Pers. II 8; 9; עלהשן ערחיאן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩

88 Pers. I 4 ערהשן ערחיאן 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭩

Ideogram Ar. I אלה 'god', *stat. constr.* אלה, *stat. emph.* אלהא, *pl. stat. constr.* אלהין (OAr. I) and אלהין, *pl. stat. emph.* אלהיא. — Pahlavík 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠 correspondsto Pársík 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐 in all cases in N. i Rst. Ohrm.; it refers to the God *Ohormizd*; in N. i Rst. Art. 3, and N. i Rjb. Sháp. 4 to the ancestor of the Sasanian dynasty, *Pápak*; and generally as the royal title 'the Mazdá-worshipping god', in N. i Rst. Art.; N. i Rjb. Sháp.; Hjb.; Paik. This title, written 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐 occurs also in the unilingual Pársík inscriptions Gotha Sháp., Sháp. Nrs.; Pers. I, and Devonsh. Only in the inscriptions of the Ṭáq i Bustán and of Persepolis II we meet with the form 𐭲𐭥𐭩 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐. The only exception is 𐭲𐭥𐭩 occurring once in Paikuli F 5,3, where probably it was not preceded by 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐. On the other hand in Hjb. 4′ the Iranian phonetical writing 𐭪𐭤 appears as equivalent of 𐫀𐫄 Hjb 4. The Greek versions of N. i Rst. Art., and N. i Rst. Sháp. have θεός.

Hence, it is obvious that the Pahlavík ideogram 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭠, the Ar. *stat. emph. sg.*, signifies 'god', and is to be read BAG, and that the Pársík originally did not use an ideogram for this word. The Pársík ideogram 𐭲𐭥𐭩, Ar. *stat. emph. pl.*, with ע instead of א, and ר instead of ל (compare MARQUART in HERZFELD, *Tor v. Asien*, n. 107) is explained by the *Frhg.* I 3: 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐 . 𐫀𐫄𐫒𐫀𐫐 i. e. BAG*án*, and consequently must be considered as the adj. *baγán* 'divine' although the Greek versions render it by θεός, not θεῖος. Soghd. has *βaγánik*. It occurs once in Paik. F 5,3 preceding the name of the king Ardashír I and is generally used as a form of address to

gennetus, Κούφης by Cedrenus; modern Kuban, which rises at the Elburs mountain, and flows into the Sea of Asow.) — In the *Getica* of Iordanis the name is written *Agazziri;* the cosmograph Guido, following the Ravennate, writes *Agazaros.*

Turning to the oriental authors we find the following passage in al-Mas'údí's *tanbíh* p. ٨٣: While speaking on the different human races, viz. 1) the Persians, *furs,* 2) the Chaldaeans, *kaldániyyún,* 3) the Greeks, *yúnániyyún,* 4) the Nubians, *lúbiyya,* 5) the Turks, *turk,* 6) the Indians, *hind,* 7) the Chinese, *ṣín,* he says:

والامّة الخامسة اجناس الترك من الخَرْلَخيّة والغُزّ وكَيْماك والطُّغُزْغُز والخَزر ويدعون بالتركيّة سَبِير وبالفارسيّة خزران وهم جنس من الترك حاضرة فعرّب اسمهم فقيل الخزر الخ

Here it is stated that the Khazars were called in Turkish *Sabír,* i. e. the Sabirian Huns, and in Persian *Khazarán,* a statement confirmed by Cassiodorus and Iordanes. Now, we learn from Aḥmad ibn Faḍlán, the Envoy of the Caliph al-Muqtadir billáh (908—932 A. D.) to the Slavs, that the Khazars were divided into two different tribes, the Black and the White Khazars. His report is handed down to us by Yáqút II p. ٤٣٨, and by Istakhrí p. ٢٢٣. There we read:

والخزر لا يشبهون الاتراك وهم سُودُ الشعور وهم صنفان صنف يسمّون قراخزر وهم سُمْرٌ يضربون لشدّة السمرة الى السواد كانّهم صنف من الهند وصنف بيضٌ ظاهرو الحسن والجمال والّذى يقع من رقيق الخزر هم اهل الاوثان الّذين يستجيزون بيع اولادهم واسترقاق بعضهم بعضاً الخ

Hence, the Khazars were divided into two obviously different races, the *Aq χazar* and the *Qara χazar.* H. Howorth, in his essay *'The Khazars, were they Ugrians or Turks?'* Trav. du IIIe Congrès des Oriental. tenu à St. Petersbourg 1879 II pp. 135 & 142, has set forth the hypothesis, that the various forms Ἀκατιροι, Ἀκατζιροι, *Agaziri, Agazari,* were all renderings of the original *Aq-Xazar.* The commonly accepted interpretation of Ἀκατζιροι, is that they are identical with the Turkish tribe of the *aγač-äri* or *aqač-äri,* i. e. 'forest-men'. Now we return to *AKKTLAN* of our inscription. The double writing of the *K* proves sufficiently that it is a compound name, the first element being the Turkish *aq* 'white'. We may pronounce the name *aq-katirán* as well as *aq-aqatärán.* For we observe the same spelling rule as in NP., that an initial *mater lectionis* א becomes suppressed after any prefixed syllable, cf. אירכלכלכ. *-án* is the Iranian termination. I must leave it to Turcologists to decide the question: but it seems to me very probable, that *aqač-äri* is indeed the older form of the name *χazar,* which does not appear before the beginning of the 6th century A. D. and that the *AKKTLAN* of the Paikuli inscription is indeed to be read *aq-aqatärán,* where *t,* as in Greek Ἀκατιροι, may represent one of those variants of the palatal *č* which W. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördl. Türksprachen,* designates by *č, ć,* and *c.* There are other examples of a dental being substituted by a palatal in Turkish languages. The change of *q* or *γ* into *χ* is known to occur in Turkish; but perhaps there is some truth in al-Mas'údí's remark, that *χazar* was the Iranian, not the Turkish, name of the nation. At any rate, the *AKKTLAN* of the inscription, whose ruler bears the distinctly khazarian title *χáqán,* are the 'White Khazars', and the best pronunciation is *aq-aqatärán.*

Cf. Marq., *Osteur. u. ostasiat. Streifzüge,* p. 41 n. 2; the same, *Das Volkstum d. Komanen,* Abhdl. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen XIII 1, 1914, ind. *s. v.*: J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde,* p. 16; Houtsma, *Ein türk.-arab. Glossar,* p. ٣.; 49; Tomaschek, *Kritik d. ält. Nachr. üb. d. skyth. Norden* II, p. 13; the same, *Agaziri,* and *Chazar* in Pauly-Wissowa.

Áwr. 4 אבלו אכלכלכ 74

Ideogram אבלו, 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al from אבל 'to eat'. Aram. I. אכל. The spelling seems clear, and if it represents what the writer originally intended, the only Iranian reading possible is xvartan, expressed in later documents by the synonyms אכלתנ or אשתנ. The form of the ideogram is that of the present base,

disappeared, but was still visible when RAWLINSON copied the block. N. pr. Arab. [ع]مر *ʿamru*, *ʿamr*. For the substitution of א for ע see the names on the earliest Umayyad coins: אבד = عبد, אמר = عمر.

The name *ʿamr* is common among the members of the Lakhmid dynasty of Ḥíra in the earlier period. Jadhíma al-Abrash is the first of these kings, whose reality is confirmed and whose epoch is fixed by the famous inscription of Umm al-Jimál, cf. E. LITTMANN, *Nabataean Inscript.* P.P.U.A.E.S. IV no. 41; the same *Floril.* DE VOGÜÉ pp. 386 *ss.* This inscription must be assigned to the time of queen Zenobia of Palmyra, thus supplying an astonishing proof for the reliability of the oral tradition of the early Arabs. Jadhíma's successor was the son of his sister Raqásh, *ʿAmr ibn ʿAdí*, who was the actual ancestor of the Lakhmid dynasty. The early Arab poets sing of their warfare against Zenobia. The second fixed date is the death of ʿAmr's son Amrulqais I. on the 7th of December 328 A.D., which the inscription on his tomb at al-Namára commemorates. Cf. R. DUSSAUD and F. MACLER, *Mission dans les régions désert. de la Syrie Moyenne*, 1903, pp. 314 *ss.* no. 20; NÖLDEKE, *Der Araberkönig von Nemára*, *Floril.* DE VOGÜE pp. 463—66; HERZFELD, *Mshattá, Ḥira und Bádiya*, in Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlg. 1921 p. 108 *s.* Whereas Jadhíma bore the title, *malik tanúḫ*, this second successor calls himself *malik al-ʿarab kulliha* 'king of all the Arabs'. This together with the alterations in the titles of the kings of Southern Arabia at the same epoch, shows that important changes must have taken place at that time in the politics of Arabia. We must set aside the accounts of the Arab genealogists of the 8th century on the duration of their reigns as purely legendary. Hishám al-Kalbí makes Amrulqais reign 114 years. Another tradition handed down to us by al-Yaʿqúbí speaks of 35 years. This would fix the date of his accession in the year 293 A.D. Now September 293 is the date of the accession of Narseh. So the 35 years are evidently still too many. If Jadhíma reigned and fell at the time of Zenobia, viz. 267—273, and his second successor died in December 328 A.D., evidently ʿAmr ibn ʿAdí was reigning about 272—300 A.D., his son Amrulqais I. about 300—328 A.D. Hence, ʿAmr ibn ʿAdí was the Lakhmid prince reigning at Ḥíra at the time of our inscription, and it is very probable, that even this ʿAmr ibn Adí is meant by the *Amru Apgar(i)nán* of the inscription. Therefore, a third figure of the Lakhmid house steps forth from the darkness of myth into the full light of history. Cf. for the whole problem ROTHSTEIN, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden v. Ḥira*, 1899, pp. 38—44, 50—64, and see גלעלעד.

Hjb. 5′; B′ 1,1; B′ 7,6 אמת גלעת 96
Hjb. 5; Pers. I 2 אמת גפיע

Both readings in B′ are doubtful. Ideogram Aram. אמת(י), Talm. אמתי, interrogative temporal conjunction, 'when?' PhlB. *Frhg.* XXV 2 פּ or פּפּ. פּפּ, read KAδ, later KAY or KA, NB. کی 'when'. Cf. SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 323. Soghd. *qat*, MP.T. *kad* relative, *key* interrogative. In Iranian the interrogative and the relative conjunction are etymologically identical. So KAD, KAY may be used in both meanings 'at that time, when', and 'at which time? when?'.

E 6,5 אנאך גנגנג 97

If the word is complete at its beginning, it must be the adj. *anák* PhlB. אנאכ, NP. ناك, 'evil, wicked'. Cp. BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* I, p. 9, and 10. *anák* was the surname of the treacherous member of the house of Súrén, father of St. Gregor, the Illuminator, who killed king Khosrov of Armenia 238 A.D.

Vahd. Sháhp. London אנבלכפתי גנגלקפעי 98

anb(á)rakpate, compound of *anbárak* 'magazine', and *-pat* 'chief, admistrator'. Cf. the Arm. loan-word *ambar* 'storage-place, ἀποθήκη', and the arab. loan-word انبار 'store-house, granary', in India: 'the Government share of the produce'. The Iranian noun is derived from the root of the verb *anbáštan*, 'to store', written generally with the ideogram גנגלקפעי, see this. Cf. also גנגלקפעי גנגלגנג, and גנגנגנג גנגנגנג.

see גנגלגנג אנדימן גנגנפפגנ 99

the Sasanian kings 𐭱𐭧𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭱𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭲, šmáx bagán 'Your Divinity', lit. 'You Divine Ones', where PhlB. prefers the phonetical writing 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲, e. g. *Zarérnámak* 48, *Kárnámak* 60, and in the third person 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 avén baγán, and 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭲 ošán bagán 'Their Divinity', lit. 'They Divine Ones'. This was well known to the early Arab scholars, cf. al-Khwárizmí p. ١١٦: ولذلك يسمّون الملك يغ وهكذا الامام والسيّد and: فانّ يغ عند الفرس هو الاله والسيّد والملك; cf. Grierson, *Ishkashmí, Zebaki* &c. § 67: Ishkáshmí *fak* 'you, your honour'. The termination 𐭩- indicates the plural **baγánán*, or with haplologic shortening baγán. Hence, the sg. and the pl. of the adjective are identical in form, and both are identical with the pl. of the substantive baγ: baγán. This explains the use of 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 in the late inscriptions of Ṭáq í Bustán, and Persepolis II in stead of the normal 𐭩𐭠𐭲: 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 is taken (without the termination 𐭩-) as the sg. *baγ* of the pl. *baγán* 'the gods'. In Pahlavík, the Ar. *stat. constr. pl.*, 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 corresponds to the Ar. *stat. emph. pl.* used in Pársík. Hence 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 must be read baγán 'divine' or 'divine ones'. This fits perfectly well in the formula 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 𐭱𐭧𐭮𐭲 šmáx baγán, as well as in the once occurring sg. 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭪𐭠𐭲. Cf. Bthl., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* III, p. 9 n. 2, and p. 11, 6d.

Hence we have the two equations: Pahlavík 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 = Pársík 𐭩𐭠𐭲 for the substantive *baγ* 'god', and Pahlavík 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 = Pársík 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 (for the sg., with termination 𐭩- for the pl.) for the adjective *baγán* (sg. and pl.), and in the late inscriptions 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 substituted for 𐭩𐭠𐭲 as the substantive sg. From this observation there follows a very important conclusion:

The first Frátadára coins add to the name of the ruler the formula 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲 𐭫 read í baγán, 'the divine'. Apart from the very archaic and correct form of the ideogram later on deformed into 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭, we have in that short formula pure Pársík forms, and not Pahlavík ones. For, the Pahlavík would neither use the 𐭫 = í of the Iḍáfat, nor the Ar. *stat. emph. pl.* for the ideogram. In Pahlavík the title would be 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲 following the name without 𐭲. Hence, the Pársík system of ideographical writing goes back to a period earlier than the earliest Pahlavík documents, earlier even than the foundation of the Arsacidan Empire. The Pársík system was not invented by the scribes of the first Sasanian kings, nor was it influenced in any measure by the system prevailing in the Arsacidan offices. And it is only logical to conclude that the Arsacidan system, too, which is apparently more archaic than the Sasanian, was not invented by the scribes of the first Arsacids, but that both systems were already in use during the Achaemenian period.

E′ 14,1 אלמין 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲 .. *89*

Apparently a pl. form of a substantive, but as the reading is very dubious it is impossible even to ascertain, whether the word is an ideogram or an Iranian pl. terminating in *-ín*. Cf. מלכא לעלמין חיי, book of Daniel.

Pers. II 3 אל.ני 𐭠𐭥𐭤.𐭩𐭫 *90*

Very doubtful reading. But the photograph shows that the word can be deciphered on the spot.

A 1,4 אם 𐭠𐭥𐭤 *91*

am. The preceding word is 𐭠𐭥𐭤𐭱 u-*m* 'I too', the following is 𐭩𐭩𐭤𐭩𐭩 xvat 'myself'. Hence, *am* must be the emphatic suffix of the 1st p. sg. of the pers. pronoun, see Fr. Spiegel, *Gram. d. Huzváresch-Sprache*, p. 83 § 75.

see 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭 *92*

Pers. II 1 אמ.בין 𐭠𐭥𐭤.𐭩𐭩𐭤 *93*

The third letter is indistinguishable on the photograph, and the last three, although looking like the ligature of 𐭭, 𐭲 and 𐭩, which is common in Pers. II, are not certain; see 𐭱𐭥𐭧𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭭.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 7 אמורצי 𐭠𐭥𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭩 *94*

ámurže, 'pardoning, forgiving, remission'. Cf. PhlB. 𐭠𐭥𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭩 *Ardá-Vír. Gloss.* p. 36, NP. آمرزيدن. Av. *mərəžd-*, √*mrd*, *mrz*, MP.T. *ámurzíd* 'forgiven', *ámuždéft* 'forgiveness, pity, mercy'. See 𐭩𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭩 and 𐭠𐭥𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭩.

G′ 11,5 אמרו 𐭠𐭥𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭥 *95*

H 11,3 אמ[רו] 𐭠𐭥𐭤[22]

Amru. Only the first two letters of the name were to be seen on the Pársík block H 11; the 𐭤 has now

rendering of the name is Ἀναΐτις, cf. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *s. v. Anaïtis*. The Pahlavík rendering of the name is unfortunately uncertain. There appear the two characters 𐭠𐭭 before 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 in B′ 6,2, which may be either the termination of the name, or, if we assume that the first letter is fragmentary, and originally crossed the joint between the two blocks, it may be the pron. relat. 𐭠𐭭 čéh.

107 see 𐭣𐭦𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 אנצמני 𐭣𐭦𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭

108 D′ 10,4 אנת 𐭠𐭭𐭕

Ideogram אנת, the 2nd pers. pron. sg. 'thou'. It is in every respect the counterpart of 𐭱𐭣𐭕. The Pársík equivalent does not survive, but was probably *𐭣𐭦𐭕. For the *casus obliquus* we find several times 𐭤 in Pársík. The reading of the *cas. obl.*, from the Av. genitive *tavå̊*, is in Soghd. *tvá*, MP. tó; the reading of the *cas. rect.*, from OP. sg. nom. *tuvam*, would probably be *tu, cf. Salemann, *Gr. Ir. Ph.* I III p. 291 § 70, and Bthl., *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I II p. 240 § 424.

109 C′ 4,3 אסור... 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭...

This fragment of a word may be easily completed into 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤, *asúrist(á)n*. But I would prefer to restore here 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤 or 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤, *asv(á)rak(á)n* or *asv(á)rín*, and to recognize in this word the equivalent of the Pársík ideogram 𐭱𐭤𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤, see this. The meaning would be 'horsemen', or 'knights'. אספוארכאן both in the *Zarérnámak* (Geiger), and the *Kárnámak* (Nöldeke) is a misreading for *váspuhrakán*, see Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* p. 77 No. 749. The word might be the prototype of the Ar. الاساورة Mas'údí *murúj* II p. 153, used in the sense of *vispuhrán*.

110 A′ 1,4; B′ 9,4; B′ 13,4; C′ 10,5; D′ 15,4; אסורסתן 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤

C 3 2,1 ?; D 2,6; E 2,2 אסורסתן 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤𐭦𐭩𐭕𐭠𐭭

A 11,4 סתן[.... 𐭦𐭩𐭕𐭠𐭭[....

Asúristán, Iranian name of 'Irâq or Sawád of Babylonia, in which was situated the capital Ctesiphon, MP. *téspón*, see *dar*. The name is the translation of Aram. *béθ aramáyé*, 'Land of the Aramaeans', and is not the OP. *aθurá*, i. e. *Aššur*. — Arm. loan-word *asorestan*, PhlB. 𐭱𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤 *súristán*, with the dropping of the initial short *a*. Cf. al-Khwárizmí p. ١١٧: السريانية لغة منسوبة الى كور سَورِسْتَان وهى سواد العراق والسّريانيّون هم الذين يقال لهم النبط. al-Khwárizmí p. ١١٥: سورستان هو السواد واليه ينسب السريانيون وهم النط. This PhlB. name of the province is the prototype of Müan-čuang's *su-la-sa-t'ang-na*, cf. Beal, *Buddh. Rec.* II p. 277, apparently through Sanskrit mediation. Cf. Marq., *Éránš.* p. 21, and Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 22 No. 17. OP. *aθurá* is Aram. אתור *attúr*. Strabon, Arrian, and Stephanus have Ἀτουρία, Dio Cassius Ἀτυρία.

F′ 11,5 אסכתר 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 111

Reading doubtful, especially 𐭤, and 𐭤.

Áwr. 2 אסמך 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 112

Áwr. 7 אסמכן 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤 113

N. pr. of the vineyard: *ásmak*, *ásmakin*? Etymology and vocalisation obscure; the ending *-n* in line 7 unexplained. J. M. Unvala (in the *Bull. School of Orient. Stud. London Inst.* 1920 p. 138 s.) reads 𐭤 instead of 𐭣, and suggests an ideographical interpretation of the name as maθ-dêh, of which I do not feel convinced. Dr. A. Cowley reads 𐭣, in which he is no doubt right.

see 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 אספארפתי 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 114

see 𐭱𐭤𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭤 אספ... 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭.... 115

A′ 6,2 אסר-ת 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 116

E 4,5; E 15,5 עסלון 𐭦𐭱𐭫𐭤 117

Ideogram. 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 is the 3rd p. sg. perf. Pe'al of אסר 'to bind, to imprison', with phonetical termination *-t* of the Iranian past part. pass. — 𐭦𐭱𐭫𐭤 is the 3rd p. pl. perf. Pa'al of the same verb with the termination *-ún* as usual in Pársík ideograms, used without terminations for the preterit base of the Iranian verb, with ע instead of א. Cp. Arab. اسر 'to seize, to capture, to make prisoner'. PhlB. *Frhg.* XXI 11 𐭱𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭭 read

100 𐭠𐭲𐭣𐭩𐭬𐭠𐭭𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭮𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭫 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭

Corn. STEUART

andémánkárán sardár, 'Chief Gentleman Usher, εἰσαγγελεύς', cf. SALEMANN, *Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums*, Mém. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences St. Pétersbourg, vol. VI no. 6, p. 25 *s.*; HORN, *Avesta stud.* I 225; BTHL., *ZAir.Wb.* p. 159, and 169, and *Zum sasanid. Recht* IV p. 16 N. 2. Before this title the gem shows clearly the word 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭. As the usual sense of this word 'corpse' does not fit in the title of this high official of the Empire, we must look for another meaning. The officials of the highest rank are denoted by the titles which have the word *érán* (in two cases *érán ut anérán*) as their first element, e. g. *érán anbárakpat*, *érán spáhpat*: their duties were concerned with the whole of the Empire. There are other titles whose first element designates a local delimitation of the office, e. g. *dar andaržpat*, *sakastán andaržpat*, the '*Andaržpat* of Ktesiphon' or 'of Sakastán', and *váspuhrakán hamárakár*, which may have the meaning 'revenue officer of Isfahán', cf. 𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭. The sphere of notions in which we must seek the meaning for 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭 is thus limited. 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭 can neither mean 'corpse', nor has it anything to do with the ideogram 𐭩𐭲𐭮, i. e. 𐎲𐎭𐎢𐎰, ŽAN, but must be explained as n. pr. of a province, possibly *Nisá*, cf. MARQ., *Éráns.* pp. 74 and 78.

101 Pers. I 6 [𐭲𐭪𐭣𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭲][𐭯𐭠𐭲]

Corn. Petersb. 𐭠𐭲𐭣𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭩

handaržpat, *andaržpate*. — *(h)andarž*, PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭣𐭠𐭫𐭣, NP. اندرز, means 'instruction, testament', Arm. loanword *andarj*, cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 98 No. 28. According to the letter of Tansar the '*andarz*'-literature served the purpose of promoting moral instruction among the people. Hence the title *andaržpate* seems to designate something like a 'Minister of Public Instruction'. Cp. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Emp.* s. v. *andarzpet*. In the Armenian literature we meet the *movan (h)andarjapet*, or 'A. of the Magi', in the part of Great Inquisitor, the *der anderjapet*, or 'A. of Ctesiphon', see 𐭲𐭪𐭣𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭲 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭, the *sakstan anderjapet* or 'A. of Sakastán' as general, see 𐭮𐭪𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭲 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭, lastly, in the *Kárnámak* there appears the *andaržpat i váspuhrakán*, a title which refers to the province of Isfahán, cf. 𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 3; 27 𐭠𐭲𐭪 102

N. i Rjb. Krt. 9 𐭠𐭲𐭪-𐭨 103

Ideogram 𐭠𐭲𐭪 pron. pers. 1. p. sg. 'I', in N. i Rjb. 9 with the enclitic conjunction 𐭨 *-ič* 'and'. The Pahlavík equivalent does not appear in the inscriptions. But we may reasonably suppose that the same ideogram was used in Pahlavík also. Apparently the inscriptions, like the oldest PhlB. texts discriminate between the *casus rectus* and the *casus obliquus* of the pers. pron. of the first and second p. sg., using 𐭩𐭲𐭪 and 𐭥𐭲𐭪 for the *cas. rect.*, and 𐭤 or 𐭩 for the *cas. obl.*, cf. SALEMANN, *Gr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 291 *s.* § 70. The pronunciation of the ideogram must be derived from OP. *aδam* 'I', and was probably ⱥⱦ, cf. Sogh. *zú*, Kurd. *az*.

Pers. II 6 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭫 104

The spelling is pretty clear, but I am unable to interpret this word. It must be an adjective, and we must expect something like 𐭲𐭪𐭫𐭫𐭫𐭠𐭩 or 𐭲𐭪𐭫𐭩, *anóšak* or *amurk*, both resembling 𐭲𐭪𐭫𐭩 to such a degree that we may conjecture a miswriting of the word. There are other miswritings or misspellings in the inscription Pers. II.

Pers. II 5 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭮𐭥𐭠𐭲𐭩 105

anóšake, PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭮-𐭥 'immortal, deathless'. MP.T. *anóšag*, Arm. loan-word *anušak* 'imperishable, immortal'. — *anóšak bavát*, 'mayest thou be immortal' is the ceremonious term of address for the Sasanian king, corresponding to the NP. قربانت شوم, already in the book of Daniel: מלכא לעלמין חיי; cp. CASARTELLI, *Discourses of Khosroes the immortal-souled*, Bab. & Or. Rec. May 1887.

B 5+6,4 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭲 106

N. pr. *an(á)hét*, OP. **anáhita*, NP. ناهيد. PhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭲-𐭥. Other forms of the name are Av. *anáhita*, OP. *anahata* (erroneous writing for *anáhita*), Syr. *anáhéδ*, Arm. *anahit*, NP. *anáhéd*. The Greek

bears the name 𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭭 i. e. Arab. عمرو *'Amru*. For the interpretation of the term 𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭩 we have to find out an Arab patronymicum, a *kunya* or a gentilicium. The first Muhammedan coins with Pahlaví legends present a considerable number of transcriptions of Arab names in Pársik, like: 𐭥𐭤𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭤 for عبد العزيز *'abdu'l-'aziz*, 𐭥𐭤𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭭 for عبد الرحمٰن *'abdu'l-raḥmán*, 𐭥𐭤𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭠𐭣 for عبد الله *'abdu'lláh*, 𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭣 for عبيد *'ubaid*, 𐭥𐭬𐭥 for عمر *'umar*, 𐭥𐭧𐭧𐭤 for مصعب *muṣ'ab*, 𐭥𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭠𐭤 for مهلّب *muhallab*, 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭩𐭭 for ابو سفيان *abú sufyán*, 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭧 𐭩𐭭 for ابو صفره *abú ṣufra*. We see, that 𐭠 represents Arab ب before a following *d* or as the last letter of a word, but not before a vowel; and not only the long vowels *ú* and *í* are expressed in Pársik, but also the short *u* is regularly rendered by a *mater lectionis*.

If we accept the identification of 'Amr with the Lakhmid prince 'Amr ibn 'Adí, reigning at that time, 𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭩 cannot be identified with the name of his father, nor can it be a *kunya*, for it is not correct to assume that 𐭤𐭥 could render Arabic ابو, because there is no reason to change the Arabic *b* into *p*, and not only the long, but even the short *u* is expressed in Pársik transcriptions of Arabic names. Moreover, I do not know how to explain the letters 𐭥𐭤𐭫 as the radicals of an Arabic word.

There is but one reasonable way to interpret the word in question. 𐭥𐭤𐭩- is clearly the Iranian patronymic suffix, meaning 'the son or the descendant of'. According to orthographical rules, it must be written with *scriptio plena*, for these rules do not allow two 𐭩 to follow one after the other without indicating the vowel. There is another orthographic rule, not to write two *scriptiones plenae* immediately following one after the other, their use in the same word being also limited. Hence we are allowed to assume a long vowel between 𐭥𐭤𐭩 and 𐭤, and there can be no doubt, that we must insert a long *i*. Leaving the Iranian termination aside, we have 𐭥𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭭, i. e. אבגרין, the Aram. pl. of אבגר, *b* followed by another consonant being expressed by *p*, i. e. 'the Abgars'. Even without the following *scriptio plena* of the Iranian termination, the Aram. pl. *-in* is often rendered by 𐭩 alone, cf. תלבנין 𐭥𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭭, for ערבאין. Therefore, 𐭥𐭤𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭭𐭩 means 'the descendent of the Abgars', the famous dynasty of Edessa.

'Amr's father 'Adí, according to Arabic tradition, was a Lakhmí, and there are three contradictory versions as to the origin of that family. We do not know wether any of them contained the truth. Commonly they are regarded as Southern Arabs, but excellent authorities like Ṭabarí, Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn Hishám, call them Ma'add or Northern Arabs. There is a third statement, very precise, but surprising, in Ibn Qutaiba's and Ibn Hishám's works, that 'Adí was the son of al-Sáṭirún, i. e. Sanatrúk, the king of the Suryániyún, lord of Ḥaḍr *(Hatra)*, who was a native of Bájarmai *(Garamaea)*, the province of modern Karkúk. Sáṭirún, the giant, was held to be a purely mythic personage, until his inscriptions in the ruins of Hatra were deciphered. I have already suggested the reading in my article on Hatra, Z. D. M. G. LXVIII 1914, p. 663: 'Aber man umschreibe sich die 2 Worte חוטריא מלכא von Halévy nur in Hatrener Schrift, um zu sehen, welche Möglichkeiten sich da ergeben!' Halévy failed to recognize the ת of the Aramaic script of Hatra, and transcribed it by נ. As כ, נ and ל are identical in that script, Halévy's נרכללנא and תנללכל do not differ but in the last character. The subsequent publication of the inscriptions has proved תנללכל Sanaṭrúk to be the true reading. Cf. J. P. Jensen, *Erschließung d. aram. Inschr. v. Hatra*, Berl. Sitzungsber. LIII 1919, p. 1051. Now, this Sáṭirún must have been the first king of Hatra, reigning during the last decades before the Christian era, and was already a mythic personage, when Mání spoke of him in his 'Book of Giants'. He cannot have been the father of 'Adí. Sáṭirún is more than once mistaken for the last king of Hatra, called al-Ḍaizan. Al-Ḍaizan was killed when Sháhpuhr I. destroyed Hatra in the beginning of his reign, about 245 A. D. Chronologically, he might have been the father or grandfather of 'Adí. But the Paikuli inscription proves that this Arabic tradition contains only a part of the whole truth. Just at the time of the fall of Hatra, Edessa was permanently incorporated in

BAS*tan*, BAND-, 'to bind'. In E 15,5 the phonetical writing of the past part. pass. [𐭥𐭮]𐭱 *baste*, 'bound' occurs beside the ideogram 𐭥𐭱𐭲.

118 N. i Rjb. Krt. 20; 21 אסתונדי 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭥𐭭𐭣𐭩

astavande, Phl B. 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭥𐭭𐭣 'corporeal, material'. The adjective terminating in *-vant* or *-mant*, and expressing the notion of possession or of similarity, are to be found in Phl B. with 𐭠𐭮𐭭-, traditional reading *-ómand*. In the inscriptions we meet with but few examples, viz. Pársík 𐭭𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭭, and the fragmentary ....𐭩𐭭𐭣, and in Pahlavík 𐭭𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭭𐭣, 𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭭𐭣[𐭩] and the ending 𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭭𐭣-, but this last may represent the termination of a verbal ideogram with the phonetical complement *-nt*. In two of the four certain cases we observe the termination *-avande*, or *-avant* in contradiction to the Phl B. *-ómand*. Hence it appears, as if the Phl B. spelling be a graphical *glossa perpetua* only, in which the added *m* indicates either the ambiguity of the reading or a dialectical difference. MARQUART supposes that the ending *-avand* is the southern or Persian, *-amand* the northern or Median form. His hypothesis is based on pecularities to be found in geographical and ethnical proper names. Cf. BTHL., *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I II p. 97 *s.* § 181 and SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 280, 15 and 16.

119 G′ 5,1 אסתנבך 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭭𐭥𐭤𐭪

Since this block is only known through RAWLINSON's copy, and since the Pársík equivalent of the first line is missing, the reading cannot be considered as perfectly certain, although his copy does not indicate any uncertainty. He gives a marked gap between the two words of the first line of the block 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭭𐭥𐭤𐭪 and 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭱, and inserts the 𐭪 into the angle of the 𐭤, and so it is impossible to divide the words in any other way, e.g. 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭤𐭪 𐭪 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭱.

120 N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 24; N. i Rst. Krt. 9; A 1,4; B 3,1; Pers. II, 3; 4 *bis*; אפם 𐭠𐭯𐭩

121 N. i Rjb. 21–22; C 4,3; E 2,5; E 15,5; H 11,5; Pers. I 5; 6; 9 *ter*; 10 *bis*; 11; Hjb. 4; 6; 7; H 14,2 אפן 𐭠𐭯𐭭 *122*

A 11,3 אפשן 𐭠𐭯𐭱𐭭 *123*

Ideogram 𐭠𐭯, (a word used also in Aram. Inscr.), with the Iranian enclitic pronouns *-am* of the 1st p. sg., *-š* of the 3rd p. sg., *-an* of the 1st p. pl., and *-š(á)n* of the 3rd p. pl. The ideogram is never used without phonetical terminations. Where the Pahlavík equivalent survives, thrice in Hjb., and in A′ 8,3 = A 1,4, E 12,1 = E 2,5, we meet with the simple 𐭤 corresponding to Pársík 𐭩𐭭. The emphasized form 𐭤 𐭩𐭭 in A 1,4 is rendered by 𐭤 alone in A′ 8,3, and in Hjb. 5′ 𐭤--𐭤𐭩 corresponds to 𐭩𐭭 Hjb. 4. On the other hand we have in Pahlavík 𐭤𐭩 and 𐭤𐭩𐭤 without their Pársík equivalents. Hence it is pretty clear that 𐭩𐭭 'too, also' replaces the shorter ideogram 𐭲 'and' in those cases where enclitic pronouns are appended to the copula. In accordance with this observation the *Frhg.* XXIV explains 𐭩𐭱 with 𐭩𐭫, 𐭩𐭱 with 𐭩𐭬, and 𐭩𐭱𐭪 with 𐭩𐭫𐭪. Therefore, our Pársík ideograms must be read *uš*, *uš(á)n*, *um*, just as we have in Soghd. *uš*, *ušán*, and NP. اش, شان cf. SACHAU, *Sitzb. Wien. Ak. Wiss.* LXVII, p. 805 *ss.*, and BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 63 n. 3, and pp. 87 *ss.* n. 3. The only divergence between the Sogh. and the Pársík is to be found in the 1st p. pl., which has the encl. pr. 𐭥-, see this. The only way to pronounce this word seems to be *un*, as UTA-*n* would conflict with the 2nd p. pl. *után*. Soghd. has *umán*, with the fuller form of the suffix. It is improbable that 𐭥- should be a graphical abbreviation only of 𐭥𐭤-. Cp. MARQ., *Z. D. M. G.* XLIX p. 667, and SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 291 § 72 n.

B′ 4,3; C′ 3,3; cf. A′ 8,2 אפאריך 𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭪 *124*

Pers. I 8 אפאליך 𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭪

B 2+3,2; H 2,5 (𐭩𐭭 according to RAWLINSON) אפליך 𐭠𐭯𐭫𐭩𐭪

apárik, *ap(á)rik*, Phl B. 𐭠𐭯𐭫𐭩𐭪 'others, remaining'; MP. T. *abárig*, cp. 𐭠𐭡𐭫𐭩𐭢 *anik*. The *scriptio defectiva* might mislead one, as there is a different word *aparík* 'superior', see BTHL., *Z. sasan. Recht* IV 1922, p. 30 n. See ..𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭪.

G′ 11,5 אפגרנאן 𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭫𐭭𐭠𐭭 *125*

APGRNAN, n. pr. ethn. or patronym.; the man

abstract nouns 𐭩𐭯𐭩- *-ipi*, or that of the comparative 𐭬𐭫- *-tar*.

130 C′ 4,6 [𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭯𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭬𐭠

the Roman Empire. The last Abgar was defeated in 244 A. D. Not the last king of Hatra, but the last Abgar was the ancestor of 'Adí, and through him, of the Lakhmids of Ḥíra. Now we may understand, why the king of Ḥíra, Jadhíma, being without an heir, gave his sister Raqásh in marriage to that scion of the old Royal house. Still another objection is refuted by this fact revealed by the Paikuli inscription: NÖLDEKE, in *Floril.* DE VOGÜÉ, doubted the probability of Imrulqais, king of Ḥíra, and margrave to the Sasanians, having been allowed to have his sepulchral monument built on Roman territory under the sway of so strong an emperor as Constantine. Al-Namára is not exactly in the Roman territory, but very near its frontier. The conception of the kings of Ḥíra being margraves to the Sasanians already in the 3rd century, was expressed by NÖLDEKE in his translation of Ṭabarí, but even at that time it was contested by A. v. GUTSCHMID in his review of that great work, Z. D. M. G. XXXIV p. 745: 'we do not know whether the relations of the dynasty of Ḥíra to Persia even in earlier times, were as intimate as they were in the sixth century'. In my essay '*Mshattá, Ḥira und Bádiya*' I have set forth that if the inscription contradicted in this point Arabic tradition we ought to follow the precise indication of the inscription that Imrulqais was indeed the 'king of all the Arabs', and ought to consider the conception of his being a Sasanian margrave as derived from the state of affairs of later times that were well known to the Arabs, who, however, were ignorant of the conditions prevailing during the early days. Now, the Paikuli inscription settles the matter: 'Amr appears in the group of independent kings. About 275 A. D. none of the old Arabic kingdoms in Mesopotamia or Northern Arabia survived. Hatra was destroyed, Edessa became a Roman province, and Palmyra was annihilated. One of the sons of the last Abgar fled to the court of Jadhíma, and marrying Jadhíma's sister Raqásh founded the Lakhmid dynasty of Ḥíra. These Lakhmids were the only Arabic power surviving in that whole territory. They were independent kings, neither subject to Rome nor to Persia. The inscription of al-Namára gives us their true title: 'king of all the Arabs'. This old house is still flourishing today, and it is the most ancient aristocratic house of the world. It is the Arabic house of the Amír Arslán of the Libanon, see v. OPPENHEIM, *V. Mittel. z. Pers. Golf* I p. 112 *ss.*, and the genealogical table opposite to p. 116.

A 2,3 אפולסת 𐭱𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭮𐭮𐭩 *126*

The word is perhaps incomplete at the end. The *scriptio plena* may indicate a long as well as a short *u* in the second syllable, but the third syllable must have had a short vowel. Therefore, I transcribe *ápurišt*. The context gives no clue to the sense of the word. Cf. PhlB. *áfuritane*, MP.T. *ápurídan*, 'to bless'.

N. i Rst. Krt. 17; 31 אפואליהי 𐭱𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭮𐭩 *127*

afzárihe, cf. PhlB. 𐭠𐭯𐭦𐭠𐭫 = NP. افزار *afzár*, *Vid. Gloss.* p. 47, 'arms, implements' 'hence' 'successful, powerful, supreme'. *afzárihe*, an abstract noun derived from *afzár* would mean 'successfulness, power, superiority'. Cf. BTHL., *Z. sasan. Recht* V. 52.

Corn. Petersb. אפזו 𐭱𐭯𐭦𐭥 *128*

Last word of that difficult inscription. The letters are neatly cut, only the character of the script makes the distinction between 𐭦 and 𐭮 very difficult. But I am convinced that 𐭦 *-zú* is the true reading. This we may interpret as the imperative of *afzúdan*, 'to increase' of which verb the forms *afzún* 𐭱𐭯𐭦𐭥𐭭, and 𐭱𐭯𐭦𐭥𐭲 *afzút* generally appear on the late Sasanian coins, and on a great number of seals. It is a common form of blessing. If we ought to read 𐭱𐭯𐭮𐭥, it would mean *afz(á)y* with the same sense. Cf. 𐭱𐭯𐭦𐭥𐭲 𐭪𐭢𐭩 and n. pr. like *afzút-kavát*, the name of the Great Wall in the Caucasus, built by Kavát.

D′ 10,4 אפינאפכ.. 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭠𐭯𐭪.. *129*

One or two characters are missing at the end. Compound of *apé-*, PhlB. 𐭠𐭯𐭩 'without, except', a negative element in compound words, and *né(y)ap(á)k..*, cf. 𐭭𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭯𐭪, 𐭮𐭠𐭭𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭯𐭪, and 𐭮𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭯𐭪. As the Pársík 𐭭𐭩 shows, 𐭭𐭩 cannot be a second negation, but must be for the OP. *naiba*, NP. نیو 'good, well, nice'. The missing termination may be that of the

assumed the higher title *šáhánšáh i érán ut anérán*, by reason of his extensive conquests of non-Iranian countries, whereas his grandfather Pápak bears the simple title of a hereditary provincial satrap, born for centuries by his predecessors, *šáh*.

144 N.i Rst.Sháhp.2′; Hjb.2′; A′2,1; אריאן ואנאריאן כנצלנצ

145 N.iRjb.Sháhp.2; Hjb.2; Gotha; A 1+2,1; A 4 +5,1; Sháhp. Nrs. 4; 7—8; Pers.I 1—2; 3; איראן ואניראן נצרכנצ

146 T. i B. A 4; 7; B 6; 10; Devonsh. אילאן ואניאן נצרכלנצ

aryán ut anaryán, *érán ut anérán*, 'Iran and non-Iran', in the title assumed for the first time by Sháhpuhr I and born by all his successors. The reason for this title are the extensive conquests of non-Iranian lands made by Sháhpuhr I. His conquests in the West, his victory over Valerian are well known. In the East Sístán, Gurgán, the whole of Khorásán, and perhaps Khwárizm and Soghd were under his rule. But the title may perhaps signify even more than the sovereignty over Iranian and non-Iranian kingdoms, it may express the old Oriental as well as old Indian aspiration to the supreme sovereignty over the whole of the world, 'roi de l'Iran et de tout le reste de la terre', as SILVESTRE DE SACY interpreted it. The term appears only twice in places other than the royal title, viz. in the title of the Grand-Vizier of Yazdkirt I., Mihrnarseh, called by Eliše Vartabed (transl. LANGLOIS II. p. 190) *vzruk hramatar eran evt aneran* or *mec hazarapet arikʿ ev anarikʿ* (LANGLOIS II. p. 192). The notion of Iran and non-Iran as a designation of the whole of the world must be older than the Sasanian time, for *arikʿ ev anarikʿ* must have been borrowed by the Armenians, already in the Arsacidan time, see HÜBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 25 No. 22. It would be the OP. *ariyánám utá *anariyánám*. Cf. the foregoing נצלנצ.

147 see נצלכלתנ ארכפתי נצלכלתנ

B′ 7,2; C′ 4,4 ארמני נצלתנ 148
A 2,2; B 7,4 אלמני נצלפנח

armini, *armine*, n. pr. 'Armenia', OP. *armina-* and *armaniya-*; Gr. Ἀρμενία, because the Greeks have borrowed the name from the Persians, not from the Armenians directly, who call themselves *haikʿ*, cf. MARQ., *Entstehg. d. arm. Nation*, (1920) p. 12.

C′ 6,5 ארמנין נצלתנצ 149
A 1,2; A 12,5; D 5,2 אלמנאן נצלפנצ 150

arminín, *arminán*, n. pr. ethn. 'the Armenians', OP. *arminiya*, Elam. *(h)arminiyá-*, Greek Ἀρμένιοι. In the title *Arminán* šáh, cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih p. ١٧: بزرك ارمنيان شاه *buzurg Arminiyán šáh*.

B 6,5 אלנדי נצלנזנ 151

arande, apparently an adj. or part. pres. act. in *-ande*. It may be read with long or short *a*, and with *l* instead of *r*. The meaning is obscure.

B 10,3; G 6,6; H 2,2 אלשא נצלכנצ 152

Ideogram עֲרשָׂא *stat.emph.* of ערש, PhlB. 𐭠𐭫𐭮, i.e. עֲרשִׁיא *stat.emph.pl.*, read GÁS 'throne'. In Pahlavík corresponds עמש, H 2,2=G′ 3,4. Sometimes נצלכה *gáse* is written phonetically, and it seems that the ideogram is reserved for the word 'throne', whereas the phonetical writing indicates the meaning 'place', see עמש and נצלכה.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 21 ארתאדיהי נצלתנצנכתנ 153
N. i Rjb. Krt. 8 אלתאדיהי נצלתנצנכתנ

artádihe, Soghd. *artáv-* 'righteous', MP.T. *ardā'iy*, from Av. *arəta-*, *ərəta-*, OP. *arta-* 'the holy right', cf. BTHL. *ZAirWb.* p. 11, 'piety, righteousness'. The word is the same as נצלתנצנכתנ, see this, which approaches nearer the actual pronunciation in Sasanian times, whereas נצלתנצנכתנ is a very archaic spelling. By careful observation we may distinguish two classes of words in which archaic spellings occur. The first represent some political notions and proper names, which are written in Arsacidan fashion, the other represent religious words, in which we find an Avestic spelling.

instead of the phonetical writing, see this under ק. OP. *upariy*, Soghd. *par*, NP. بر.

135 A′ 8,2 אפרו .. גלגלן ..

The reading לא is doubtful, לא is possible. The last letter may be read כ or נ. So it is difficult to complete and to interpret the word. One expects גלגלנ, but this is generally written with ג in the second syllable. *aparik*, with a short *a* in the second syllable, would be 'superior', see Bthl., *Z. sasan. Recht* IV 1922, p. 30 n.

136 Pers. I 7; 10 *bis*; 11; Pers. II. 5 אפליני שפלבנה

áfrine, Phl B. שלאן and שוען, MP.T. *áfrin*, *áprin*, NP. آفرين 'blessing, benediction'. שוען ופיזון *áfrine kirtane* 'to offer blessings', cf. Soghd. *afrivan qatárat* 'he blessed'.

137 see גלגלנל אפליך שפלבנ

138 see פגלבנהיי אפלסומי שגפלבנהיי

139 G′ 5,5 ארונך גלבלנל

140 H 5,3 חרואניך תלבגנגנ

arv(á)nik, *harvánik*, n. pr. ethn. 'the arab'. *-ik* is the OP. termination *-yaka*, NP. *-i*, the *yá i nisbat*. Hence *arv(á)n*, *harván* is the base of the name. Here the *-án* is certainly not the Iranian plural termination, nor is the word *hárván* the immediate rendering of an Arabic plural like عربان *'urbán* 'the nomads'. It rather represents the Aram. pl. *stat. abs.* ערבאין *'arbáin*, and this supports the explanation of גלגלנל as Aram. pl. *stat. abs.* אפגר(י)ן *abgarin*. The name of the land is *harvástán*, e. g. *Vid.* I 20 ed. Dast. Hoshang Djamasp, Bombay 1907, p. 18: שלמעשוי ד שלכ *harvástán i hrúm*, i. e. Roman Arabia, and Nöldeke, *Kárn.* p. 51 n. 6. This is not the Provincia Arabia, but Roman Mesopotamia, Syr. *béθ 'arbáyé*, Arab. *bá 'arbáyá*, as *asúristán* is the Iranian rendering of *béθ aramáyé*. The Southern or Central Arabian people are called in Phl. תשיזוש *tázikán*, NP. تازيان and تاجيك, cf. Nöldeke, *Kárn.* p. 52 n. 1; Ibn Khurdádhbih p. ١٧: تازيان شاه *táziyán šáh*, from the great tribe of the Ṭayy, Aram. *ṭaiyáyé*, with the Iran. termination *-čik*, *-zik*, which forms ethnical nouns. Unfornunately the name of the Arab chief is not given. מכנה (see this) is apparently the allocution 'my lord', Arab. سيّدى, not the proper name. The title is בבנבגנג *šékán*, i. e. Arab. شيخ *šaiẋ* with the Iranian termination *-án*, see גלגלנל.

Áwr. 1 ארוחת גלכלכת 141

arvat(á)t, name of the 3rd month of the year, Av. *haurvatát-*, NP. خرداذ. The ג is clearly written, whereas we would expect an ד. Phl B. writes שוען, *harvad(á)t*, Khvárizm. هروداذ *harwadâδ*. Marq. *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, Philol. Suppl. X 1 1905, p. 214 n. 6 reads Phl B. שוען and שוען *harôt* and *amurt*, deriving both from the OP. nom. *haruvatâh* and *amrt(at)âh*, hence the names of هاروت and ماروت, *hárút* and *márút* in Muhammedan legends. The Pahlavík גלכלכת compared with Khvárizm. هروداذ does not support the suggested reading. Unfortunately both names do not occur in Pársík inscriptions, which would have decided the question.

142 N. i Rst. Art. 2′; N. i Rjb. אריאן גלגנגל
Sháhp. 3′; Hjb. 4′;

143 N. i Rst. Art. 2; N. i Rjb. איראן גלכבנגנ
Sháhp. 4; Hjb. 3;

aryán, *érán*, n. pr. 'Iran', from the OP. gen. pl. not occurring in the Achaem. inscriptions but in the Elam. transliteration *nap (h)arriyanam* 'the god of the Arians'. This gen. pl. is rendered in Greek as βασιλεὺς βασιλέων APEANΩN on a rare coin of Gotarzes II., and as APIANON in the Greek versions of the inscriptions of Ardashír I, and Sháhpuhr I. Marquart (*Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Sage v. Eran*, Z. D. M. G. XLIX p. 628 s.) recognized, that the designation *Ariana*, Gr. APIANH, is nothing else but the application of the name *érán* to the extent of the Arsacidan Empire at the time of Eratosthenes (230—195 B. C.). The name was twice borrowed from the Iranians by the Armenians. Arm. *arik'* is the loan-word from Ars. *arya-*, Arm. *eran* from Sas. *érán*, cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 39 No. 63. *érán* alone appears only in the title of Ardashír I *šahánšáh i érán*. Already Sháhpuhr I

verbal prefix; the Aryan stem is *šᵣnau-*, cf. Bthl., *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I p. 72 § 131. Hence the MP. verbal bases are *šnút-*, *šnav-*, or *ášnút-*, *ášnav-*. All the forms occurring in the inscriptions bear phonetical terminations. 𐭭 or 𐭮 indicates the 1st p., probably sg., the 𐭩 inserted in the Pahlavík ideogram may be regarded as taken over into Pahlavík from Pársík. Both 𐭥 and 𐭤𐭥 indicate the 3rd p. pl. The Pahlavík ideogram 𐭠𐭱𐭧𐭥𐭭 represents the present base, for the preterite base we must expect 𐭠𐭱𐭧𐭥𐭭. The Pársík ideogram represents the preterite base without terminations, but the present base with terminations. Therefore, we must read the various ideograms: ÁŠNAV*ém*, or Š(U)NAV*ém*, and ÁŠNAV*(é)nt*, ÁŠNAV*(én)d*, 'I hear, they hear'.

160 C′ 3,5 אשנחם 𐭠𐭱𐭩𐭠𐭭𐭧

The last letter is very doubtful. The context requires a verb. But in Párśik D 2,2 the corresponding word is 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭤 (see this), apparently a noun. Hence, the verb may have been an auxiliary verb remaining unexpressed. I am unable to offer any suggestion for Pahlavík 𐭠𐭱𐭩𐭠𐭭𐭧.

161 H 11,2 [אש]ר [𐭫𐭫]𐭩

Only the first letter 𐭩 is now remaining, but Rawlinson has copied the following 𐭫𐭫 also. Still, the reading is doubtful, and the word evidently is incomplete. It seems to stand parallel to the abstract noun 𐭠𐭱𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭥𐭲.

162 B′ 13,5 אשתונת 𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭫

D′ 7,1 אשתונת 𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭫

163 D 6,4 עשהנד 𐭢𐭱𐭧𐭧𐭫

164 Pers. I. 6 שהה. 𐭧𐭧.

Both these ideograms are derived from Aram. שׁתא, 'to drink', occurring also in Aram. inscriptions, with א or ע *prostheticum*. Pahlavík 𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭫 is the regular 3rd p. pl. perf. intrans. Pa'al, Pársík 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫 is the 3rd p. sg. perf. Pa'al, preserving the original ה (or א) of the root, instead of changing it into י. *Frhg.* XIX. 8—9 gives ס ווסשפשנו · ווסשפשנו, hence the Iran. equivalent is XVAR*tane* 'to swallow, to eat, to drink', Soghd. *χvar-*, NP. خوردن. One of the many metaphorical meanings of the verb is in the phrase 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫 𐭢𐭩𐭩𐭱 'to swear', cf. 𐭢𐭩𐭩𐭱. The easiest way to complete 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫. in Pers. I. 6 is 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫, which would represent the preterit base of the verb. In that case the verb must be used there in one of the metaphorical meanings, cf. 𐭠𐭲𐭣𐭥. 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫 with terminations represents, like 𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭫, the present base XVAR-. The phonetical terminations are those of the 3rd p. pl.; in B′ 13,5 the reading is 𐭤𐭥 and so the meaning of the 1st p. sg. is not excluded. Therefore, read XVAR*(é)nt* (or XVAR*(é)m*?) and XVAR*(é)nd*; 𐭧𐭧𐭫𐭫 would be XVART.

G′ 11,6 אשתכרנ 𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭣𐭫𐭢𐭫𐭩 165

ištakvín, n. pr. ethn. pl. The ruler bears the Iranian name *márvak*, see 𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭢𐭣, and certainly the title *χvatáy* 'lord'. He appears in the long list of princes paying homage to the victorious king of kings Narseh. This list is divided into three groups. To the first belong the Kúshán sháh, and the Caesar of Rome, Diocletian, independant rulers of mighty foreign Empires. The princes of the second group bear the title *sháh*, or they have no special titles like the *shaikhán* of the Arabs. Among them are the Khwárizm sháh, the kings of Makurán and Páradán (modern Balúchistán), Tírdát the Great of Armenia, the king of Zanzibar, that of Ábhírá, and others, all certainly independant. The third group following the word *sátrap* begin with Varázgird, the lord of the Sakhúričán; then follow the Mókán, the Zúrádičín, Bóraspičín, (Apa)rshúmičán, Ishtakvín, and the Térakhčín. All bear the title 'lord'. Apparently the principle of the arrangement is not geographical, but social. They are all comprised under the designation *šatrdár*, and this class precedes even the *vispuhrán* in the Hájjiábád inscription. Hence, not only the rulers of great Empires, but all the princes of this list were independant. As the names of the third group of 'lords' are Iranian and as we cannot assume that there were any important Iranian tribes not under the sway of the Sasanians, we must consider all these tribes as Sakas, as is surely the case with the Zúrádičín. The words opening the third group may have stated this fact expressly, as the word *sátrap* indicates. The Ishtakvín were probably

154 Artaχšatr, Frátadára of Párs, successor of Vahuburz, Artaχšatr, Šáhs of Párs: A. II, son of Dárayáv II, A. III with Mitre ŠÁH on the Rev.; A. IV, son of Ménóčihr III, on coins; Ardashír I: N. i Rst. Art. 1′; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 3′; Hjb. 3′; E′ 14,4; Ardashír I: N. i Rst. Art. 1; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 3; Hjb. 3; N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 2; F 15,2; Sháhp. Nrs. 10; A. Hazárgopate: C′ 3,2 „ B 12,1; C 9,4 „ A. Súrén: C 3+4,5 „ A. son of Taχmšáhpuhre: C′ 10,2 „ C 4 3,4 „ A. son of Š[áhpuhre?]: C′ 14,6 „

𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓 𐭀𐭓𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭔𐭕𐭓

Artaχšatr. This famous Iranian name is born by different personages. At first there are four pre-Sasanian rulers of Párs. The oldest is the third of the Frátadára, called *Artaχšatr I.*, the second is a son of *Dárayáv II.*(?), whose coins belong to the third series of the coins of Persis. The third is he whose coins show on the Rev. the words *mitre* ŠÁH, possibly the name of his father. The fourth is a son of the last *Ménóčihr III.*(?), and must have been nearly contemporaneous with Ardashír I. Pápakán. In most of these cases *Ardashír I.* is meant. *Ardashir Hazárgopat* or 'Grand-Vezir', and *Ardashir Súrén* may be identical with one of their namesakes, A. son of *Taχmšáhpuhr*, or son of *Š(áhpuhr?)*. As Taχmšáhpuhr is a title of honour bestowed by Sáhpuhr I., the owner's son belongs to the same generation as king Narseh. Ardashír, son of Ardashír, is evidently not among the personages bearing this name in the inscriptions.

The name *artaχša*$^{\theta r}$ meaning 'who gives the sovereignty to the holy right' is old and religious. The Elam. transcription of the name is *irt'ak'š'aš'š'a*, the vowel *i* indicating the sonantic prononciation of the *r* in OP. *arta-*, Av. *ərəta-*, OI. *ṛtá*, and the double *s* (the only sibilant in Elam.) indicating the highly sibilantic pronunciation of OP. θ^r. In the early Greek forms Ἀρταξέρξης or Ἀρτοξέρξης the latter half of the name is assimilated to the well known royal name Ξέρξης. The younger form Ἀρταξάρης shows the later Iranian pronunciation *Artaχšahr*, and the Byzantine Ἀρταξίῳ the MP. pronunciation *Artaχšir*. Cf. HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* p. 234 *s.*, and *Arm. Gram.* p. 28 *s.* The MP. writing is archaic and conservative, and does not show the development of the different stages of the word from OP. to NP. Apparently this development was irregular, as is often the case with proper names which preserve archaic forms for a longer period than other words. PhlB., like Pársík, uses the old Arsacidan form *artaχšatr*, and rarely *artašir*.

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artaχšatr XVARRÉH. For the reading of the ideogram see this. N. pr. of the town of *Gór*, modern Fírúzábád in Párs, cf. NÖLDEKE, *Tab.* p. 11 n. 3. *Šahrihá í Érán*, ed. J. J. MODI § 44: Artašír Pápakán founded the city of Gór, . Arab.-Pers. اردشير خرّه. The ruins of Ardashír's palaces and one of his basreliefs lie at Fírúzábád and in its neighbourhood at Khúnáifighán. Cf. HERZFELD, *Khorasan*, in Islam XI 1921, pp. 147, 149. & 155.

B′ 13,2	אשמעון-נם	156
B 14,4	[עשמ]הונ-ם	157
B′ 6,5	אשמעון-ד	158
C′ 3,4	אשמעון-נת	159
D′ 8,2	[אשמ]עון-נת	

The Pahlavík ideogram is , the Pársík . Both are irregular formations from Aram. שמע 'to hear', treating that verb ל״ע like a verb ל״א. The Pahlavík preserves in script the original ע and adds a א, the Pársík changes the ע into ה, just as it replaces the ע in the n. pr. by ה. Both have the א prostheticum, the Pársík replacing it as usual by an ע. The *verba tertiae* ע are as a rule treated like *verba tertiae* א both in Pahlavík and Pársík. That must have been a peculiarity of the dialects from which the ideograms are taken. (Compare e. g. the similar cases in Assyrian of *ištê-*, *išmé-* etc.) The *Frhg.* XXII 5 explains by , ĀŠNÚtan. The long *á* is

Fire has been made for the military profession, and the Buržínmihr Fire has been made for the agricultural profession'. Cf. A. V. W. JACKSON, *The Location of the Farnbag Fire* in J. Am. Or. Soc. XLI. 1921 pp. 82.

180 N. i Rjb. Krt. 23 *ult.*; N. i Rst. Krt. 12; 17; 34; 𐬀𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬈 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬈

átraván, Av. *áθrava-*, Phl. B. 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭭. One may read *áturván* instead of *átraván*, but I prefer the above reading because the word seems to be an archaic Avestic form. Cf. Phl B. 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭪 *ásrók*. It means 'fire-priest', 'priest' in general. Here it is always combined with the ideograms 𐬀𐬭𐬎 (see this), probably to be read MAS.

181 C′ 9+10,4; C′ 14,5 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎

182 seal London 569 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎

183 seal London 569 [𐬀]𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎

átrofarnabag or *átu̯rfarrakbag(e)*, and *átu̯rfarrakbagán*. *átrofarnabag* is the n. pr. of the *Méšán* ŠÁH, this man's name being formed from the name of the fire-temple, meaning 'the fire of the glory of the gods'. Phl B. 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭢 *Artávir. Gloss.* p. 7, NP.-Ar. آذرفرّا and اذرخرّی, see HOFFMANN, *Syr. Akt.* pp. 281 *ss.* On the London seal, the father of the priest bears the same name, and the son the name of the fire compounded with the word *-sačín*, probably meaning 'becoming'. The spelling is different in Pahlavík and in Parsík. Pahlavík writes *átro-*, hardly the actual pronunciation of the word in Arsacidan time, but an Avestic writing. Parsík writes here and in other cases, 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 *átu̯r*, cf. 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎, with a long *ú* contrary to the true pronunciation. Since the *scriptio plena* is very often used for a short *u* to distinguish it from a short *a*, we may consider the spelling of 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 from this point of view. But we are not allowed to regard this spelling as a proof of the word *átu̯r* being pronounced in Sasanian times with a short *u*, and not with an *a*, as in modern Persian. For it is obvious, that 𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 may be an erroneous interpretation of an older 𐬀𐬀𐬞𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉, wich ought to be read according to the Pahlavík, *átro-*, not *átu̯r-*. Pahlavík writes also *farna-*, whereas Pársík has *far(r)ak* in the name on the gem of the magus. The figure in the Z.M.D.G. does not allow one to ascertain, whether in the father's name the same spelling is used, or the 𐬭 is replaced by 𐬫. There are other instances in Pársík where a word is written with *-rn-* as in Pahlavík. *farna-* is again an Avestic spelling of the word, *farrak-* approaching nearer to the actual pronounciation. Cf. 𐬭𐬀𐬫 and the ideogram 𐬀𐬭𐬎. Apparently already in Sasanian times two different forms of the same Av. word *χvarənah-* were in common use, *farrake* and *χvarréh* or *χvarrake*, as in NP. *farr* and *χurra*. And it seems that *farrak*, *farr* followed the phonetical laws of the Pársík and NP. dialects, whereas *χvarréh*, *χvarrak*, *χurra* is an irregular form, the irregularity of which is either caused by its being a religious term preserving Avestic similarities, or by its being a loan-word from a northern dialect. Cf. MARQ., *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran* p. 184 *ss.* n., HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 43 No. 79—81; *Pers. Stud.* p. 83 No. 808, p. 259, and 271 *s.*; BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 47 § 33.

The firetemple *átu̯rfarrakbag* was situated at *Káriyán*, near Harm in the province of Párs. Káriyán appears on the map of Ḥ. Mírzá Ḥasan Shírází under long. 53° 30′, and lat. 28° 12′ in the district of Gúyum and Bídshahr. This district is surrounded by the districts Afzar in W., Jahrum and Dáráb in N., Láristán in E. & S., Khunj in SW. The place Káriyán lies SE. of Kárzín, S. of the town Jahrum, W. of Gúyum, NW. of Bídshahr, N. of Khunj. The same localisation we owe to G. HOFFMANN, *Syr. Akt.* pp. 284 *ss.*, and 292, who determined the site of the place even without having at his disposal the Shírází map. A. V. W. JACKSON (*The Location of the Farnbag Fire*, J. A. O. S. XLI 1921 pp. 81—106), adds some valuable information to the material furnished already by HOFFMANN. So we may consider the fact as established beyond any doubt that Káriyán in Párs was the place of the *átu̯rfarnabag*.

Among the Zorastrian books it is the *Bundahišn* XVII. 5—6 which deals with the home of the fire. Both, the Indian and the Iranian recensions of that work agree in saying that the *átu̯rfarnabag* was at first established in Khvárizm by Yim, Jamshéd, and transplanted later on to another land by Vishtásp. The Ind. rec. reads: ANDAR *χvatádih višťásp* ŠÁH .... AŽ *χvárazm ó róšan kóf* PA *kávulistán kávul i* DÉH

Indian Śaka kṣatrapas, having become independant in 293 a.D. See the proper names mentioned, and 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭.

166 𐭥𐭬𐭭 ... 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 .. 𐭠𐭯 𐭥𐭫 ...

This fragment of word probably belongs to the phrase: 𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭱 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭱 'the nobles and house-masters'.

167 F 15,4; G 12,7 𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭩 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭

atúke, adj., PhlB. עשוק, cf. Bthl., *Z. sasan. Recht* III. p. 15, and 53 n. Arm. loan-word *atak*, cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 110 no. 71 *atak-em* 'I can'; from OP. **ati-tuvaka*, 'mighty, able'. Same sense in MP. Cf. NP. توان.

168 D 6,1; E 15,3 𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭩 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭

atúkihe, n. subst. abstr. of the foregoing formed with the termination *-ihe*, hence: 'power, capability'.

169 B′ 6,1 𐭠𐭯-𐭲 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭

170 B 4+5,3; H 8,5; Pers. I 5; II 2 𐭩𐭠𐭲𐭭 𐭥𐭬𐭭

171 C′ 2,5 𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭣-𐭲 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭲

172 G′ 11,7 𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭣-𐭭𐭲 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭫

173 B 14,6; C 2,3 𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭥-𐭣 𐭥𐭬𐭭

174 Pers. II 11 𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭥-𐭭 𐭥𐭬𐭭

175 C 4,6 𐭩𐭠𐭲 ... 𐭥𐭬𐭭

The three ideograms are derived from the Aram. verb אתא 'to come', occurring already in Aram. I. אתי seems to be the 3. p. sg. whereas אתיה might be interpreted as a part. Pə'al. יאתון is the regular 3rd p. pl. Impf. Pə'al. The Pársík ideogram 𐭥𐭬𐭭 corresponds to the Pahlavík 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 in B′ 6,1 = B 5 4,3. Both represent the preterite base of the Iranian verb. 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭲 like 𐭥𐭬𐭭 with terminations represents the present base. *Frhg.* XX. 6 gives עשוויו · עשוויו. Hence the Iranian reading is Ámaťan. OP. *ágmatanaiy*. *á* is verbal prefix. The preterite base is formed from the stem √*gma-*, the present base from √*yá-* or √*i-*, hence preterite Ámať, present Áy-. 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 and 𐭥𐭬𐭭 read Ámat, 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭲 Áy(*é*)t, 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭫 Áy(*é*)nt, 𐭥𐭬𐭭 Áy(*én*)d, 𐭥𐭬𐭭 Áy(*á*)n. In C 2,3 we find *ávurte* Áy(*én*)d, cp. the use of آمدن as an auxiliary verb in Firdósí, Salemann, *Pers. Gram.* § 62 p. 69. For the termination *-(á)n* see ز-.

There is another ideogram derived from the Haph'el of אתא, see 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭.

C′ 9,4 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭩 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 176

atisár(i)pi, n. abstr., parallel to *atúkihe*, formed with the Pahlavík abstract termination *-ipi*, and apparently with the prefix *ati-*. The reading is somewhat doubtful, but it is not impossible that the Pahlavík word is the equivalent of the Pársík form mentioned above.

Hjb. 8′; C′ 9,1 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 177

B′ 13,3 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭

Ideogram אתרה, i. e. אתר 'place, spot', with suffix of the pers. pron. 3rd p. sg. 'his'. This ideogram does not occur in Pársík nor in PhlB. But in Hjb. 8′ we have 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 corresponding to 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭, and the repetition of the word with the Aram. prep. ל in B′ 13,3 corresponds to 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 B 2,6. Hence, 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 is equivalent to Pársík 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭, NP. (جا)ى, 'place', Soghd. *vyák*, hence read vyák. The repetition has a distributive sense, 'every single place'. The construction is not Aramaic, in spite of the Aram. ל, but purely Iranian.

A 9,3 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱 ... 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 ... 178

ATR ..., As a Pársík word this fragment is certainly not parallel to the Pahlavík ideogram 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭; it may be a compound with *átur-* 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭- as its first element.

Báfarrak gem, Paris 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭱𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭 179

áturgušnaspe. The script is nearly the same as PhlB. עשוויטעשוו, NP.-Ar. آذرجشنسپ. N. pr. of one of the three great fire-temples of Sasanian Persia, situated at Ganjak in Media, cf. Hoffmann, *Syr. Akt.* pp. 281 ss. The second fire was the *áturfarrakbage*, see 𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭𐭪𐭧𐭪𐭭, situated at Káriyán in Párs; the third was the *áturburzmihre* at Hévand near Néshápúr in Khorásán.

We read in the *Dénk.* VI 293: *átur i farnbag* PA *ásrav(á)nán gás kirte* ÉSTÉT UT *átur i gušnasp* PA *artéštárán gás kirte* ÉSTÉT UT *átur i burzinmitre* PA *vástryóšán gás kirte* ÉSTÉT 'the Farnbag Fire has been made for the ecclesiastical order, and the Gušnasp

'eternal', Gr. ἀεί, αἰών, wherefrom is derived *év bár* 'always', and in the indefinite sense 'ever'. Cp. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭣 and 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭. Consequently in PhlB. we must distinguish between 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭣 𐭭𐭩 *év bár* 'always, ever' and 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭣 𐭥𐭭 *évak bár*, NP. یك بار 'one time, once'.

190 G′ 9,6 𐭡𐭠𐭬𐭩 𐭡𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭭

bátiy, n. pr. of the 'lord' of the Zúradatšán. The name may be explained as a hypocoristicon of a name formed with *váta-*, *báδ-*, the name of the genius of the good wind (cf. OAΔO on the Kúšán coins and Soghd. *vát*) presiding over the third day of the month. Cf. Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* p. 15 s. v. باذويه. The patronymic form of this shortened name actually occurs as *BáδάN*. The full name might be e. g. *Vátafradáta*. Cf. Justi's remarks s. v. *Bigthá* and Bãτις, Namenb. p. 68 and 65. But the initial 𐭲 is very much in the way, as in Pahlavík we must certainly expect 𐭡𐭠𐭬𐭩𐭭. There is, however, another much more probable possibility. The Pahlavík *zúradatš(á)n* or *zúr(á)datš(i)n* evidently is identical with the Pársík *zúrádačín*, see 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭡, although the places where these names occur do not exactly coincide. It seems that the order of the long list of names is not exactly the same in both versions. In that case *bátiy* might be the equivalent of *bágd(á)t*, see 𐭡𐭠𐭪𐭣, and ought to be explained as a shortened form of that name. This is not at all improbable, since OP. *baga-* in Soghd. and MP. has become *bá-*.

191 A′ 10,5 𐭡𐭠𐭬𐭫 𐭲𐭠𐭬𐭠𐭥

192 A′ 2,5; D′ 8,6; G′ 3,3 𐭡𐭠𐭬𐭫-𐭱 𐭲𐭠𐭬𐭠𐭥𐭠

Ideogram 𐭡𐭠𐭬𐭫, also occurring in Aram. I., 'behind, after' with the archaic *scriptio plena*, also occasionally found in Aram. It is used in Pahlavík as a conjunction, three times with the encl. copula *-iš* or *-ič*. The equivalent of 𐭲𐭠𐭬𐭠𐭥𐭠 in A′ 2,5 is Pársík 𐫀𐫄𐫃 in B 8,1, and of the equivalent of D′ 8,6 only the last letter 𐫁 is left in E 9,3, probably to be restored to 𐫀𐫄𐫃𐫁, as *vice versa* we find 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭣𐭭 as an equivalent of 𐫀𐫄𐫃 in Hjb. 11 and 10′. Therefore, Pahlavík 𐭲𐭠𐭬𐭠𐭥 is the ideogram corresponding to Pársík 𐫀𐫄𐫃, to be read PAS, and as the sense in Aram. is the same, the reading evidently is the same in Pahlavík too. See 𐫀𐫄𐫃 and 𐭲𐭠𐭱𐭠𐭥.

N.i Rst. Krt. 3; E 11,4; E 12,1; H 7,5; Pers. I. 4; II. 9; 𐭡𐭡𐭠 193

Ideogram 𐭡𐭡𐭠. Occurring already in Aram. I., *stat. emph.* of 𐭡𐭡 'door, gate'. *Frhg.* II. 5 gives 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭲 · 𐭩𐭫𐭩, to which the codd. J. U_2. U_5. O. add 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭲 𐭥𐭠, U_4. M. K. 𐭥𐭠. I think we must restore: 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭲 · 𐭥𐭠 · 𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭲 · 𐭩𐭫𐭩, 𐭡𐭡𐭠, DAR, DARGÁS', cf. NP. درگاه. Unfortunately the Pahlavík equivalent nowhere survives. *dar* is derived from Av. *dvar-*, OP. *duvará-*. We find the Armen. loan-words *barapan*, *barapet*, *baravor*, cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 119 No. 106; Soghd. has *dbar-*, MP.T. *bar*, and in the PhlB. text of the *draxt i asúrik* OIr. *du-* has been replaced by *b-*, not *d-*, cf. Bthl., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 26 and 39. *bar* still appears in NP. dialects. Therefore, we must consider *bar* as the Pahlavík equivalent of Pársík DAR 'door, gate, residence, Porte'.

The DAR 'Porte' κατ' ἐξοχήν was *Ctesiphon*. In this restricted meaning the ideogram is used as the name of the mint of Ctesiphon on Sasanian coins. We have to ascribe to it the same meaning in the title *dar andaržpat* and wherever it occurs in the Paikuli inscription. In the Persepolis inscriptions it cannot signify the Sasanian residence of the neighbourhood, *Stakhr*, since this town appears in phonetical writing. It may be that the ideogram is used there and in N. i Rst. Krt. in the general sense of 'residence'. The phonetical writing of the name of Ctesiphon occurs in § 21 of the *Šahrihá i Érán*, where we must read (cf. Marq., *Éránš.* p. 21 n. 4): 𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭩 𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭠𐭭 𐭩 𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭠𐭭 𐭥𐭠𐭭 *šatrestán téspón až framán i tós varážak i néfakán kirt* 'the city of Téspón was built by order of Tós by Varážak í Néfakán'. This personage being the Barázak of the Dínkard, one of the Seven Immortals, the Baráza, son of Naifighán of Ṭabarí, and Guráza i Gévgán of Firdósí. From Pársík *Téspón* derive early Arab. طيسفون *Ṭaisfún*, طوسفون *Ṭúsfún* and Chin. *Tái-ts'un* (On this a paper by J. J. Hess, Zürich, will soon appear.)

There is a very interesting notice by the best early Muhammedan autority on Iranian matters, Ibn al-Muqaffa', handed down to us by al-Khwárizmí and al-Yáqút. He speaks about 5 dialects spoken in Sasanian

NIŠAST. The Iran. rec. has: *ó róšan kóf i kavărvand kár*e DĒH *VŠT nišást* HĒ*(n)d*, i. e. 'during the reign of Vishtásp Sháh from Khvárizm ..... to the Róshan hill which is K., district K., VSHT it (pl. maj.?) has been located'. DARMESTETER, *Le Zend-Avesta* I. p.154 reads *Kárikán MTA* 'le pays de Kárikán', adding 'le pehlvi Kárikán serait en persan Káryán'. The NP. paraphrase of *Avesta Siróza*, translated by SPIEGEL III. p. 199 no. 2 places the fire 'on the mountain Kánkarah' بر کوه کانکره. Now, since there is a discrepancy between the two recensions of the *Bund.* viz. in the words of Ind. rec. 𐭥𐭫𐭲 𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭭𐭣 𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭭𐭣 𐭮𐭥𐭩 and those of Iran. rec. [𐭮𐭥𐭩] 𐭥𐭫𐭲 𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭭𐭣 𐭮𐭥𐭩, evidently the tradition is uncertain, and although the Indian recension is less reliable, it would be erroneous to assume that the Iranian recension has preserved the genuine text, the more so as the word 𐭮𐭥𐭩 following the passage in question is quite obscure, and even the grammatical construction is not incontestably etablished. DARMESTETER's *Kárikán* requires a PhlB. *𐭪𐭫𐭲𐭮, and the NP. paraphrase reflects something like 𐭪𐭫𐭲𐭮 or 𐭪𐭫𐭲𐭭. Therefore the Iranian recension, as offered by the ANKLESARIA edition, does not preserve the original name. The question can only be decided by a critical comparison of all the Mss. extant. I feel convinced that DARMESTETER's reading *Kárikán* is the nearest approach to truth. For the name must be the Párs*ík* form of NP. *Káriyán*. To verify the fact by means of the Zoroastrian writings would be of the highest importance. For, the transplantation of one of the three oldest and holiest fires to that province would imply that Vishtásp, the protector of the prophet Zoroaster, was an Achaemenian, and that this Avestic dignitary might be identical with *Vištáspa maná pitá* of the *Bistún* inscription II. 93—94 § 35, the father of Darius I., and satrap, *šáh*, of Parthia and Hyrcania at the beginning of his son's reign.

184 N. i Rjb. Krt. 8 אח.יחי. ס״ט.בע.

Abstr. n. being parallel to *artádihe*. The photograph does not allow us to decipher the missing letters.

Manére gem Paris אחשי ס״בבה 185

átaše. 'fire'. BhlB. 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭮 *átaxš*, commonly written with the PhlB. ideogram 𐭠𐭲𐭩 or 𐭥𐭲, *Frhg.* I. 4, 5, on the Sasanian coins אבבנב, i. e. Aram. נורא or נוריא *st. emph. sg.* or *pl.* of נור 'light, fire'. The word *átaš* is a religious word, Av. *átarš*; the common or popular word is *átur*, which survives in NP. آذر. Cp. 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭩𐭭.

כ ב ל

F′ 11,2; F′ 13,2 ב כ 186

Ideogram ב 'in'; in Párs*ík* corresponds 𐭥𐭩, see this. כ occurs also in the ideograms כנתכ and 𐭥𐭩𐭩𐭩. The reading is the same as that of Párs*ík* 𐭥𐭩, viz. ANDAR, 'in'.

Pers. I. 12 באד ס״נד 187

bád, 3rd p. sg. subj. from *bútan*, NP. باد, 'be'. PhlB. writes ideographically 𐭱𐭥𐭥𐭲, for 𐭱𐭲, see רבנבע. This form, therefore, is identical with רבנבע, whereas the shortened form of the ideogram בכר (see this) must represent the imperative BÁŠ.

Báfar. Berlin באפלכי ס״פלנ 188
Báfar. Paris באפלך ס״פלנ

báfar(r)ake, *báfar(r)ak* (with double *r*, doubling of letters never being expressed in writing), n. pr. containing the same elements as *farnabag*, *farrakbag* in reversed order; 'the god's glory'. Xenophon rendered OP. **Bagafarná* by Μεγαφέρνης.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 9; B 11,5; באלי ס״לה 189
F 6,2; F 9,3; H 2,1;

báre, PhlB. 𐭱𐭠𐭤 'times', forming *adverbia numeralia*. Pahlavík uses נעכל *yávar*, see this, in E′ 7,5 = F 9,3: *hép yávar* = *év báre*. The word occurs always in this phrase, to which is added נכל or ינס: HAKAR *év báre* 'if ever, when ever'. Apparently we must distinguish in *év* two words of different derivation: *év* may be OP. *aiva-* 'one' wherefrom is derived the NP. *yá i ta'rif* and on the other hand the indefinite article *-i*. Secondly, *év* may be Av. *áyav-* 'duration, age', cf. Soghd. *'ayqún-čiq*

195 Hjb. 4′ 𐭁𐭂 𐭁𐭂𐭠

N. i Rst. Art. 1; 3; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1; 3; 4; Hjb. 1; 3; 4; Sháp. Nrs. 1; 6; 9; Pers. I. 3; Devonsh. 𐭁𐭂𐭩 𐭁𐭂𐭠

bag, bage 'god', Greek version: θεός. Except in Hjb. 4′ = 4, wherever there are Pahlavík equivalents we find 𐭁𐭂𐭠𐭲 (see this) corresponding to Pársík 𐭁𐭂𐭩. In N. i Rst. Ohrm. the termination 𐭠 only survives out of the Pársík 𐭁𐭂𐭩. *bage* is the title of Pápak, and of Sháhpuhr, son of Pápak. The word is regularly used in the phrase *mazdésn bage*, where Pahlavík writes 𐭁𐭂𐭠𐭲. The late inscriptions only replace 𐭁𐭂𐭩 in this phrase by 𐭁𐭂𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭥22. The word is Av. *baγa-*, OP. *baga-*, Elam. *p'ak'a*, Arm. loan-word *bag-*, Soghd. *baγ-*, MP.T. *baγ-, bay, bá;* Nestor. βγύ. This too, is, the form of adress *fak* in the Ishkashmí story, which word was left unexplained by G. A. Grierson, *Ishk., Zebak. & Yazghulamí*, Prize Publ. Fund vol. V 1920, § 67. Cp. Arab. فغفور. The Pársík 𐭁𐭂𐭩 and Phl B. 𐭁𐭂 are historical writings, which conceal the true pronunciation of the word in Sasanian times. This cannot have been more archaic than in Soghdian, and must have been *bay, bá, bé*, as compounds like *báfarrak* show. In the modern Pers. *Bistún*, OP. *Bagistána*, it has become *bí-*. Cp. 𐭁𐭂𐭠𐭲 and 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭭𐭮𐭭.

196 Frátadára coins; H 7,4 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭯 𐭁𐭂𐭩𐭥𐭯

bagad(á)ta, bagd(á)t, n. pr. of the first known Frátadára of Párs. In Paik. it is the name of the 'lord' of the *zúrádičin*, see this. The name, meaning 'given by god' and since the *baga* κατ' ἐξοχήν is Mitra, synonymous with *Mithradates*, occurs already in Assyrian inscriptions, cp. Justi, *Namenb.* p. 57. In the name of the city *Baghdád*, we see the personal name changed into a local one. If on some of the Frátadára coins the letters transcribed by Hill in his Catalogue as 𐭁𐭉𐭥𐭥𐭮 actually occur, I think they ought to be read 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭯, with scriptio plena of 9, in Avestic fashion, cf. *átrofarnabag* and other examples, for the Av. form of the name is **baγó.dáta*, beside OP. *baga.buxša*. Probably the equivalent of *bagdát* in Pahlavík is *báti*, see this.

197 E′ 6,1; E′ 15,1 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭦𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭫 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭦𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭲

E 9,4 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭦𐭥𐭲𐭥 𐭁𐭂𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭦𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭩

bagš(á)hipuhr, bagš(á)hpuhre. In the Pahlavík version there remain only fragments of the word, but the restoration is certain. Neither the Pársík nor the Pahlavík text allows us to ascertain, whether any termination, say *-akán*, was appended to the name or not. Apparently it was the name of the father of a certain Narsahe, Narésaχv, who may be identical with the *bít(á)χš* of that name. This is much more probable than that *bagšáhpuhr* should have been an honorific name of that Narsahe himself. It is an honorific name, bestowed by Shápúr I. and must be compared with *Taχmšáhpuhr, Ohrmizd-Varáž, Kartír-Ohrmizd, Farraχv-Šáhpuhr* and others.

198 B′ 6,3 𐭁𐭃𐭀 𐭁𐭃𐭀𐭲

B 9,5 𐭁𐭃𐭀 𐭁𐭃𐭀

BDA, apparently an ideogram of a particle. The context is very obscure on account of the occurrence of some unknown verbs and nouns just in that part. It might contain the Aram. pron. demonstr. דא with the prepos. ב, cf. דא לדא 'together', דא מן דא 'asunder', cp. the ideograms 𐭠𐭋𐭠𐭲, 𐭠𐭋𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭋𐭠𐭲.

199 Coin of Péróz Kúshánsháh 𐭁𐭅𐭣𐭣𐭀 𐭁𐭅𐭣𐭣𐭀𐭲

N. pr. *Budd(h)a*, called *yazde* 'god' in the short legend.

200 D′ 10,6 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭲

buχt, or *bóχt* 'saving, deliverance, salvation, redemption'. PhlB. 𐭥𐭲𐭮. The Pársík equivalent is missing. One expects 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮𐭩 Av. √*buǰ*, 'to save, to deliver'.

201 N. i Rjb. Krt. 31 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭁𐭩 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭁𐭩𐭩

Buχtake, n. pr. of the artist who carved the Naqš i Rajab inscription. The name is a hypocoristicon of names like *Sébuχt, Yazdánbuχt* etc. The father of the famous Grand-Vizier of Yazdkirt II. bore that name.

202 N. i Rjb. Krt. 30, N. i Rst. Krt. 33; 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮 𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭀𐭭 𐭁𐭅𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭀𐭭

buχt ravbân, lit. 'of saved soul' (in the sense of 'late, of blessed memory') PhlB. 𐭥𐭲𐭮 𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭀𐭭. This is one of the cases where 𐭫+2 are used in a peculiar

Érán and called *Pahlaví, Pársi, Darí, Khózi* and *Suryáni*. Pahlaví and Pársí are the languages of our inscriptions. The Khózí is the language of Khózistán, a descendant of the language of the third column of the Achaemenian inscriptions. Suryáni is the Aramaic language of Asúristán, the 'Iráq. *Darí* is explained as لغة اهل مدن المداين 'the language of the inhabitants of the cities of al-Madá'in' and Ibn al-Muqaffa' adds that this language was spoken by 'those who were at the king's Porte' وكان يتكلم بها من بباب الملك. The remarks of the author concerning the geographical distribution of these languages are reasonable and more or less correct. But what he says about their different uses reminds us of the anecdote told by al-Muqaddasí in his chapter on the different dialects of Khorásán, ٣٣٤ *ss.*, and so we cannot lay great stress upon the details.

In any case, the *darí* was a dialect actually spoken by the inhabitants of Ctesiphon, not only a peculiar style of literary language spoken by the people of the court. That Persian was spoken at the capital, as again Aramaic in the province, is a fact which need not surprise us. The history of the city is a sufficient explanation of it. Its similarity with the *Balkhí* dialect, as noted by Ibn al-Muqaffa', need not be taken in the modern philological sense. He has not quoted examples, but if he had done so, these similarities would not have stood the test of a modern critic. When al-Muqaddasí, too, speaks of a *darí* language in the chapter on the dialects of Khorásán already quoted, we would commit a great mistake in considering both these languages as identical. He calls that language Darí which was used in the official correspondance of the kings of Khorásán of his time. For *darí* has its appellative meaning applicable to every *dar* or Porte at any epoch. The *darí* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' had nothing to do with Eastern Iranian dialects, but was the language of Ctesiphon, the word *dar* being limited in this case, as in the use on the coins, and the Paikuli inscription, to the city of Ctesiphon.

For the *darí* see J. Olshausen, *Parthava und Pahlav*, Monatsber. d. Kgl. Akad. d. Wiss. in Berlin, 1877, an authoritative work, although the details are no longer in conformity with the standard of our present knowledge (Marq., *Éránš.* p. 89 and 123 n. 5) and the Oriental authors: al-Nadím, *Fihrist* p. ١٣, al-Khwárizmí, *mafátiḥ* p. ١١٩ *ss.*, Yáqút *mu'jam* III. p. ٩٢٠; Muqaddasí p. ٣٣٤ *s.*, Mas'údi *tanbih* p. ٧٨٠ and ٩٧. I am unable to verify the passage of the *Farhang i Jehángiri*. For the history and monuments of Ctesiphon see the chapter *Ctesiphon* in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise* vol. II. 46—93.

Corn. Petersburg 𐡁𐡁𐡀 𐡀𐡍𐡃𐡓𐡑𐡑𐡀𐡕𐡉 𐡓𐡑𐡑𐡀𐡕𐡉𐡌 194

DAR *andaržpate* 'the andaržpat of Ctesiphon', cf. 𐡓𐡑𐡑𐡀𐡕𐡉𐡌 and 𐡓𐡑𐡑𐡀𐡕. This title occurs in the History of Elisaeus Vartabed, ed. Venice 1859 p. 47, trad. Langlois p. 196 *(grand maître du palais)*, as one of the highest ranks of the grandees at the court of Yazdkirt II. at Ctesiphon. Yazdkirt II. reigned from 439—457 A.D.; the Petersburg cornelian must belong to that very time, as appears both from the style of the bust and from the style of the writing, and I feel perfectly sure that it is the official seal of the man mentioned as the great enemy of the Armenian Christians by Elisaeus. In the inscription Pers. II., we meet with the *Sakastán andaržpat*, flourishing in the reign of Shápúr II., and this man, too, is mentioned by the contemporary Armenian historians. Hence it seems that these titles were not the ordinary titles belonging to the office, but personal titles showing, indeed, the rank of the office, but different in case of different persons who hold it. The modern Persian system of bestowing titles, in contradistinction to the Arabic and Turkish, is only a developed form of the old one. The second element of the modern Persian titles, e. g. *-daula, -saltanet, mulk* indicates the rank, the first elements change with the various personages; hence, the title alone is sufficient to clearly signify a person, and thus entirely replaces the proper name. It looks as if the same system was already in use in Sasanian times. This would modify the views set forth in Christensen's valuable work *L'Empire des Sassanides;* cf. especially p. 40.

208 G′ 6,5 בילואן 𐭁𐭉𐭋𐭅𐭀𐭍

H 6,3 בילואן 𐭁𐭉𐭋𐭅𐭀𐭍

Béraván, n. pr. The man is either ŠÁH of the *Spandǫr(á)tán* and *Páradán*, see 𐭯𐭦𐭭𐭣𐭫𐭬𐭭 and 𐭯𐭫𐭬𐭭; or he is the son of *spandǫr(á)t* and the *Páradán* ŠÁH is a different personage. The name occurs as that of the father of a scribe of Khusrau I. in Ṭab., cp. Nöld. *Ṭab.* 247.

209 Hjb. 10 בילוני 𐭁𐭉𐭋𐭅𐭍

béróne 'outside, outward, beyond', PhlB. 𐭁𐭉𐭓𐭅𐭍. Pahlavík uses the ideogram 𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭥, see 𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭥, instead of this word. Cp. 𐭁𐭉𐭓𐭅𐭍, 𐭁𐭉𐭓𐭅𐭐.

210 see 𐭁𐭉𐭓𐭇 בירח

211 Frátadára coins בר 𐭁 or 𐭥

Abbreviation of בירתא, 𐭁𐭉𐭓𐭕𐭀, ideogram, *stat. emph.* of בירא 'strong place, stronghold, manor, castle', cf. Assyr. *birtu*. Cf. Littmann, *Sardis*, Lydo-Aramaic Bilingual l. 2 and p. 25: בספרד בירתא 'in the stronghold of Sardis'. In exactly the same way פרס בירתא means 'the stronghold of Párs', to be read *P(á)rsa staχra*. בירתא is the old ideogram of *staχr*; see 𐭯𐭫𐭮𐭭. This is the oldest reference to the city of *Staχr*, *Istaχr*, and at the same time the oldest Pársik *uzváriš*, ideographical writing in general. Apparently this is Marquart's ingenious discovery, alluded to, but not recognized by Hill, *Catal.* p. CLX n. 3, cf. Holwerda, *Levensbericht van* J. P. Six, *Jaarb. d. Kon. Akad. v. Weetensch.*, Amsterdam 1902, p. 46.

212 B 6, 2; Pers. I 6 ביתא 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭀

213 A 11 + 12, 3; ביתאבי 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭀𐭁𐭉

H 2, 4 ביתב . . 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭁 . .

Ideogram ביתא, *stat. emph.* of בית 'house', PhlB. 𐭯𐭦𐭭 *Frhg.* II. 5, read *χának* 'house'. The reading is clear and the sense fits perfectly in Pers. I 6. In A 12, 4 and B 6, 2 the letters 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭀 are clear, but the word is not complete. In H 2, 4 the 𐭁 following 𐭁𐭉𐭕 is doubtful. In that passage, therefore, the reading 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭀 *χának* is not certain. The words 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭫𐭩 . . . . 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭀 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭫𐭩 remind one vividly of the passages Beh. II, 16 (§ 24) *kára*^{h} *máda*^{h} *hya*^{h} *vîθápatiy hauv hačáma*^{h} *hamiθriya*^{h} *abava*^{h} and Beh. III 26 (§ 40) *kára*^{h} *pársa*^{h} *hya*^{h} *vîθápatiy hač yadáyá fratarta* etc. cf. also the obscure *vîθaibišča* Beh. I, 65, § 14, and Bthl., *Air.Wb.* 1456 and W. Foy, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXXV p. 37, XXXVII p. 556. Against the authority of Bartholomae I prefer to take OP. *vîθa-* there and in other places not in the literal sense of 'house', but in the metaphorical one of 'clan', cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsrel.* p. 16 n. 2. And I assume a similar meaning for the mutilated forms of the word in Paik. But cf. the ideogram 𐭯𐭦𐭭 *Frhg.* XI 5 and 𐭯𐭦𐭭 *Zarérnámak* Geiger p. 53 n. 23: NP. خانگی, '*domesticus*?'.

214 C′ 2, 2; ביתחש 𐭁𐭉𐭕𐭇𐭔

B 11, 1 בתחשי 𐭁𐭕𐭇𐭔𐭉

bit(á)χš, *b(i)t(á)χše*, ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ of the Ašuša seal; title of the margraves of Armenia and Assyria, cf. Marq., *Éránš.* pp. 23—25 and Excurs II pp. 165 *ss.* Nöld., *Ṭab.* p. 449, Z.D.M.G. XXXIII p. 159 n. Christensen, *Empire* pp. 11, 12, 42 and 113. The office of the *bit(á)χš* was one of the highest in rank in the Empire. In line 7 it is preceded only by the *hargupate* and by the chief of the Sasanian clan, and is followed by the *hazárǫpat* and by the chiefs of the Arsacidan houses of Súrén and Spáhpat. In line 15′ again it is preceded only by the *harkapatį* and by the two chiefs of the Sasanian clan, one of them being the uncle of the ruling king, and is again followed by the *hazárǫpatį* and by the chief of the house of Súrén etc. Since the lists are evidently arranged according to the rank of these grandees, it seems that the *bit(á)χš* was a member of the Sasanian clan, too. He bears the name *Pápake*, born by the father of Ardashír I. He surpasses in rank even the *hazárǫpat* or Grand-Vizier.

It is difficult to give the etymology of the word. Obviously the Pársik word is derived from the Pahlavík form. That means that the name just like the office was Arsacidan. The Arsacidan word was borrowed by the Armenians under the form of *bdeašχ*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 119 No. 109. The Georg. *pitiaχši* and *patiašχi* are even still more archaic forms. The Arm. *bdeašχ* presupposes an older **bidiaχš*. This appears as late as the 5th century A.D. on the (Aš)ušay seal as πιτιαξης, cf. πιταξης de Lagarde, *Gesam. Abhandl.* p. 187, *Arm. Stud.* p. 29. The later Greek βιταξης is

orthographical fashion to denote a bilabial β. Cp. the Khatti cuneiform rendering *βo* or *βu* by WA+U, *φo* or *φu* by WA+PU, *aφ* by WA+AB, Forrer, Z.D.M.G. N.F. I 2. 1922 p. 224 *s.* In both inscriptions the word refers to Varhrán II., who died in 293 A. D. This eulogy corresponds to others, like *afzút* xvarréh and the fragmentary *farrake* .... used after the names of the reigning king or his predecessors. Like Arab. مرحوم, مغفور it can only be used after the name of a deceased person. There is a point of peculiar interest in this eulogy. If the inscription is written after the death of Varhrán II., it must date from the reign of one of his successors, Varhrán III. or Narseh. But the long inscription does not contain the slightest hint at the ruling king. The assumption that the mint-warden was dismissed from his office is no sufficient explanation, for if he had been in disgrace, he certainly would not have been allowed to create two monuments just at the side of the old bas-reliefs of the dynasty, visible to all the world. Now, the Paikuli inscription relates the internal war between Varhrán III. and Narseh. Therefore, the fact that the ruling king is not mentioned, and the emphasis laid on the mint-warden's loyalty to the former kings, especially to Varhrán II. 'of blessed memory', seem to indicate that he avoided to take part with one of the pretenders. This attitude would well suit a man who was mint-warden during the reign of four kings. And if this assumption be true, the eulogy and the omission of the name of the reigning king would place the date of the two inscriptions of Naqsh i Rajab and of Naqsh i Rustam exactly in summer 293, the period of the war between Varhrán III. and Narseh, which the Paikuli inscription commemorates. Later on the Kartír has taken the victor's side, as the mention of his name in the list of dignitaries in line 15′ of the Paikuli inscription shows.

203 Áwr. 4 בומחותו 𐭥𐭫𐭬𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭮 *búmχvat(á)v, búmχvat(á)y* 'landlord'. Compound not to be found, as far as I know, in MP. The word is composed of *búm-*, Av. and OP. *búmi-* 'land, earth', Elam. loan-word *p'umi*, PhlB. 𐭡𐭥, NP. بوم, and the well known *χvatávya, χvatáy* 'lord'; see אבחתו. So the meaning is perfectly clear. The last letter may be read ב or נ, graphically nearly identical, in the Áwramán parchment. Since Pahlavík writes regularly אבחתו, I would prefer the reading ב (for נ) in *búmχvat(á)v(i)*.

E 2,4 בונד... 𐭡𐭥𐭣.... 204

E 2,6; E 15,1 בונמת.... 𐭡𐭥𐭭.... 205

-BÚN-*d*, BÚN-*ist*, fragments of ideograms of verbs ending in -BÚN with the phonetical terminations *-(é)d* or *-ist*. The following verbs may be compared; for the first -BÚN*(é)d*: 𐭡𐭮𐭲 DAH*(é)d*, 𐭡𐭩𐭭𐭲 NIVÉS*(é)d*, 𐭡𐭩𐭭 NIŠÎN*(é)d*, possibly 𐭡𐭮𐭡 XVÁH*(é)d*, 𐭡𐭤𐭫𐭲 ŠKAND*(é)d*, 𐭡𐭤𐭫𐭣 XAND*(é)d*; for the second-BÚN*ist*: ŠKAST, XVÁST, NIŠAST.

H 8,4 בולספצין 𐭡𐭫𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭦𐭩𐭭 206

bór(á)spačin, n. pr. ethn., the ruler, probably a 'lord', bears the name *mitrÄLasén*; see this. The name of the tribe is Iranian: 'possessing bay or chestnut horses', cf. Βωραχος, Βορασπος, Justi, *Namenb.* p. 70. *-čin* is the termination of most of these names. This explanation seems to be preferable to another one: *B(é)var(á)sp* — written defectively without the long *é*. Like the *ištakvín*, I think, this tribe must be a Śaka tribe, formerly subordinate to the Śaka kingdom.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 5; 12; N. i Rst. Krt.34; G 2,2; G 6,1; Pers. I. 5; II. 6; 7; בין 𐭡𐭩 207

Ideogram בין, prop. 'between, within', PhlB. 𐭩𐭭, *Frhg.* XXV 7, read ANDAR 'in, within'. OP. *antar.* NP. اندر. It corresponds to the ideogram 𐭭 in Pahlavík. In the inscription Pers. II., which shows a marked change in the script, the 𐭡 is joined with the following letters. In all the older inscriptions the following letters are inserted into the angle of the 𐭡. There, differently, the horizontal stroke of the 𐭡 crosses the following letters. In this way the ideogram 𐭡𐭩 receives a shape which reminds us of the PhlB. ligature 𐭩𐭭. Therefore, it is quite beyond question, that PhlB. 𐭩𐭭 is nothing else but the ideogram 𐭡𐭩, בין.

224 C′ 14,1; F′ 8,4 & 5 — 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠 — ברביתא
G′ 11,1 — 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢 . . . — ברב . . .
225 Hjb.6′; A′8,2; B′4,1; G′1,3 — 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎶 — ברביתאן
B 3,2; B 10,1; C 9,5; G 12,3 & 4; H 5,1 — 𐎶𐎲𐎹𐎢𐎰 — בלביתא
Hjb. 6 — 𐎶𐎲𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎶 — בלביתאן

Ideogram 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰 בר ביתא, 'son of the house', cf. Pal. I. בני ביתא, Arab. اهل البيوتات, *Frhg.* XII c gives 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱 · 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱, *vispúr*; N. i Rst. Krt. 6 has the adjective 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱𐎪𐎿𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎪𐎿𐎲 *vispurak(á)n*. The Arm. loanword is *vaspurakan*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 80 No. 182, PhlB. also 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱[ı], Nöld., *Kárn.* p. 62. Therefore, we must distinguish the Pahlavík form *váspuhrán* (from **u̯áis-*, Vṛddhi from **u̯is-*, surviving in the Arm. and as the longer form of PhlB.) and the Pársík *vispúr* (from Av. OP. *visó.puθr*, **viθa.puθr-*) a hybrid form. The true Pársík form occurs in the *Vid. Phl. transl.*: *vis pus pat.* Bthl., *Air. Wb.* 1455 *s.* — If we were allowed to interpret the curious ideogram 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱 (read *pil* 'elephant') as 'beast of burden or riding-beast of the *vispuhrán*', we would have a perfect analogy to a class of Babylonian ideograms, e. g. iměr.kur.ra (i. e. mountain-ass) read *sísú* 'horse'; cf. Bthl., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 21 *s.* *bárak* 'horse'.

The word signifies the highest rank in the Sasanian aristocracy, the 'sons' *vis-puhr*, originally the 'chiefs' *vis-pati* of the clans or feudal houses of Arsacidan times. These were originally Arsacidan like Káren Pahlav, Súrén Pahlav, Aspáhpat Pahlav, the Spandiyár, Mihrán and perhaps the Zik; cf. Christensen, *Empire* p. 23 *ss.* With the ascendancy of the house of Sasan the Arsacidans were supplanted, and the Káren were annihilated during the wars between the Arsacidans and Sasanians. Our inscriptions do not enumerate a great number of feudal houses; besides the Sasanian family, see 𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎱𐎪𐎿𐎲𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎰𐎠𐎪𐎿

the model of Ammian. Marcell.'s *vitaxa*. ANDREAS, quoted by CHRISTENSEN p. 113 regards **patyáχštar* as the original form from which the later ones are derived, the nom. of this word, *patyáχšt(á)* having become **péδáχš* and **páδáš*. BTHL. *ZAirWb.* pp. 180 and 182 gives Ary. **patyakš-*, proto-Iran. **paθyaχš-* as prototype of Soghd. *padaχšar*, *pahaχšar*. According to ANDREAS *l. c.* p. 11 n. 3, **patyáχšt*, had become *pâδešáh* by an erroneous etymology, already in Sasanian times. Now, we have the word 𐭯𐭲𐭯𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭱 in the inscriptions, in contradistinction to 𐭯𐭲𐭯𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭱. Therefore, if the etymology given by ANDREAS be correct at all, we must regard Arsacidan Pahlavík *bit(á)χš* as taken back by the Pahlavík language from the Armenian. That may be possible, but on the other hand it seems necessary to reexamine the whole question. NÖLDEKE (*Ṭab.* 449) was of opinion that *bdeašχ* was an Armenian word, see 𐭯𐭲𐭯𐭧𐭮𐭠𐭧𐭱.

215 Hjb. 9′; 11′ בניה 𐭺𐭭𐭢

Ideogram בני Pa'il of בנא 'to build, to create', with the Iran. termination *-t* of the p. p. p. In Párs'ik the equivalent is 𐭯𐭲𐭯𐭧, see this. Apparently the Pahlavík ideogram has a wider meaning than the Párs'ik *čite*. But PhlB. does not seem to use the ideogram בני unless 𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭩 in SALEMANN's *Frhg.*, and in *Frhg.* XVIII 5, explained by 𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭩 i. e. KIRtan 'to do, to make' has any connexion with it. Cf. *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* p. 327. BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 13 § 13 and p. 18 no. 4, discusses the verb 𐭮𐭩𐭭-𐭲𐭩𐭭 *hanbáyénénd* 'to erect, to build', and *bé óbáyéd* 'lay, pull down, raze!', MP.T. אובאינד *ubáyénid* 'erected'. Apparently *báyén-* is the PhlB. and MP.T. counterpart of the pronunciation of the ideogram we are in want of.

216 see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩 [𐭥𐭣] בנפשה 𐭥𐭢𐭯𐭠𐭮𐭩

217 E 15,5 בס[תי] 𐭥𐭮[𐭲𐭩]

The last two letters of the word are lost, but the completion is certain. *baste*, part. perf. pass. of *bandan* 'to bind', hence 'bound', Soghd. *bést-*, PhlB. 𐭱𐭮𐭲, NP. بست. The verb generally is rendered by the ideogram 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭩, see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩. As in some other cases, the part. perf. pass. is written at sometimes phonetically.

see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩 בעיהון 𐭠𐭢𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭 218

Gem Berl. 1385 בעבי 𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲 219

bačake, PhlB. 𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪𐭩, NP. بزه 'crime, sin'. The meaning of 𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲 𐭥𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲 is 'ill-gotten property, wealth', see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭣.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 19 בצכלי 𐭥𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲 220

bačak(ká)re, PhlB. 𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪𐭩 for 𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪𐭩𐭫, also 𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪𐭩, NP. بزه گار 'the evil-doer, sinner'. Párs'ik and PhlB. write the element *-kar* defectively. This may be etymologically right. According to the NP. orthography بزه گر or بزه گار in the surname of Yazkirt I. we may spell *bačak(ká)re* or *bačak(k)are* the double consonant being left unexpressed. Cp. the gem J. R. A. S. XIII. No. 19 where we must read: 𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲 𐭫 .... 𐭥𐭠𐭢𐭠𐭢𐭲.

see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩 בר כל or 𐭠𐭢 221

Hjb. 7′ ברא 𐭡𐭫𐭠 222

Hjb. 8 בלא 𐭡𐭠𐭫

F 6,4; E 11,2 ברא 𐭡𐭫𐭠

Ideogram ברא, occurring already in Aram. I., 'outside, without, except'. PhlB. *Frhg.* XXV 6 𐭥𐭲, read *bé*, Soghd. *bé-sa* 'out', MP.T. *bé(d)*. Hence the Pahlavík ought to be pronounced BÉT, i. e. BÉÐ. In PhlB. there are three different significations, apparently of different origin, 1) an independant particle 'but, however, yet'; this being the sense of 𐭡𐭠𐭫 in Hjb. and in F 6,4; 2) a verbal particle, which limits the action expressed by the verb to a special case, NP. ب; 3) the preposition 'outside, apart, away', NR. بی in *bérún*. It is not absolutely certain, whether 𐭡𐭫𐭠 in E 11,2, preceding the verb 𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭠, must be taken in the sense of NP. ب, or as an independant verbal prefix 'out of, away'. Cp. 𐭡𐭠𐭫, 𐭡𐭠𐭫 𐭡𐭠𐭫 and 𐭫𐭡𐭠𐭢𐭠.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 9 בראם 𐭡𐭫𐭠𐭥 223

BRAM, possibly the foregoing 𐭡𐭫𐭠 as independant particle with the 1st pers. enclitic pron. I would prefer to take the word to be an ideogram, Aram. ברם, with superfluous *scriptio plena*, 'however, still, yet, but', corresponding to NP. ولیکن. Reading doubtful, but cp. Soghd. *báv* 'but'.

236 F′ 7,6 גדה 𐭲𐭣𐭫

B 9,3; E 15,4; H 7,2 גדה 𐭲𐭣

Ideogram גדה, Aram. *stat. constr.* גד with the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. of the pers. pron. 'his fortune', viz. גדה דמלכא 'the fortune of the king'. *Frhg.* I. 2 explains the ideogram 𐭲 by 𐭧𐭫𐭭, 𐭧𐭫𐭭, 𐭧𐭫𐭭, 𐭧𐭫𐭭, hence, read XVARNÁ, XVÁR(R)AH, XVARNÓ or XVAR(R)ÉH. Obviously, Pársík discriminates between this word, written ideographically, and *far(r)rake*, written phonetically, see 𐭩𐭫𐭱. The OP. form is *farna-*; *farrake* is derived from this by adding the MP. *k*-suffix. The forms beginning with *χv-* descend from Av. *χvarənah-*. Armen. preserves the elements *χoŕ-* and *χoŕoχ*, i. e. *χvarraχv*, in some Iranian names, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 43, but otherwise uses the much younger loan-word *p'ark'* = δόξα, too, HBSCHM., *l. c.* p. 254. The MP.T. form resembles the OP. and NP.: *far(r)éh*. MARQUART assumes an old Median form **vχarəna-*.

The spelling *-farna-* in Pahlavík *átrofarnabag* does in no way speak against the assertion that *farna* is the OPers. form, since it renders the name of the chief fire temple of Párs. *χvarréh* (or *χvarrake*) may be the Median form of the word, and it may have penetrated into the Pársík dialect with other Arsacidan words, or it may be an Avestic word, thus preserving a form not subject to the phonetical laws of the Pársík dialect. In any case, we have two forms of the same word, not only in the Sasanian inscriptions, but surviving in NP. also, *χurrah* خرّه and *farr* فرّ. Unfortunately the Pahlavík equivalent of Pársík 𐭩𐭫𐭱 does not survive. A single 𐭱, being merely the termination of the word, and occurring in A′8,1, is not sufficient to decide the question. Cf. 𐭲𐭩𐭱 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭭, 𐭲𐭩𐭱 𐭠𐭧𐭣𐭣𐭥𐭫𐭭, 𐭲𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭫𐭱𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭭, 𐭩𐭫𐭱𐭫𐭭.

237 N. i Rst. Krt. 30 גוכאניהי

gókánihe. There are only two words of that line approximately legible, גוכאנ, and גוכאנ. One feels inclined to connect it with PhlB. 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭱 *gókás* 'witness' and 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭱𐭩𐭣 *gókásih* 'testimony, evidence'. Cp. the ideogram 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭫𐭭.

238 B′ 4,5 גונך

239 C 9,1 [ג]ונכי

G′ 3,6 גונך גונך [𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭱]

gónak, gónake, gónak gón(ak), PhlB. 𐭲𐭥𐭭, NP. گونه 'colour, kind, species, manner'. Arm. loan-word *goin*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 128 *s.* In the first instance Pahlavík has 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭱 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭱, viz. *čéh gónak*, and we must complete, therefore, the Pársík form into 𐭩𐭫𐭱𐭣 𐭲𐭩 or 𐭩𐭫𐭱𐭣𐭩𐭫𐭱, cf. 𐭣𐭣𐭩𐭫. *čéh gón, čégón* means 'how, in what manner', NP. چگون or چون, and it seems that there was no semasiological difference between *čéh gónak* and *čégón*. It may be used as an relative or as a interrogative, cf. *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I. p. 321. The expression *gónak gónak* means 'various kinds', or 'in various manner', NP. گون گون, کون گونه, گونه گون. Cp. the other compounds with *gón*: *avagón, šivagón, hamgón, hargón*.

240 N. i Rst. Krt. 3; B 7 8,5; H 11,5; גיואך 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭣

B 2,6 גיואך גיואך 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭣 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭣

N. i Rst. Krt. 4; 8; 11; 13; 31; גיואך על גיואך 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭣 𐭥𐭤 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭣

241 Hjb. 8; 9 ויאך 𐭥𐭥𐭣

givák or *viyák*. *Frhg.* II. 2 explains the word 𐭲𐭧𐭱𐭭 by 𐭲𐭩𐭥, with the variants 𐭲𐭩𐭣 and 𐭲𐭩𐭣. Soghd. and MP.T. *vyák*, NP. جا(ی) 'place'. In Hjb. 9′ as in B′ 2,6 we find Pahlavík 𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭩𐭱 corresponding to the Pársík word. The phonetical explanation of the two forms is very difficult; but *vyák* seems to be the older, *givák* the younger form; cf. HORN, *Grdr. d. neup. Etymol.* N. 417, and HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* p. 50; SALEMANN, *Mittelp. Stud.* in *Mélanges Asiat.* IX. p. 236 no. 37.

The expressions *givák givák* and *givák ó givák* mean 'in various places' or 'at any place, everywhere', NP. جا جا.

242 F′ 7+8,2 גנו 𐭲𐭭𐭥

243 F 15,1 גנצי 𐭲𐭭𐭱𐭩

ganz, ganje. It is doubtful whether the Pársík word is complete, or whether it is only the last part of a longer word; see 𐭲𐭭𐭱. Pahlavík *ganz* is PhlB. 𐭲𐭭𐭱, NP. گنج 'treasure, treasure-house, treasury'. Like Dastakirt this noun is used as n. pr. of cities, cf.

especially when there is enough space for writing the missing נ. On the coins of Persis, 𐭥𐭲𐭭 is written regularly as a ligature. The ן crosses the following letter, a peculiarity which we never find in the inscriptions before the time of the inscription Pers. II. We may suppose that in cursive writing these ligatures were always in common use. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the coins of the fourth series show highly cursive forms, e. g. of the 𐭭 and 𐭲, which reappear only as late as on the coins and seals of the 5th century A. D.

Frhg. XI 3 gives the reading 𐭯𐭥𐭮 *puṣ* for 𐭯𐭥𐭲. This is the true Pársík form of the word. The Pahlavík form is 𐭯𐭥𐭲, as shown by the word 𐭯𐭥𐭲𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭫 *puhripuhr* and the name *š(á)hipuhr*.

228 N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 4′ ברי לברי כלן לכלן

Ideogram, consisting of the repetition of ברי with the Aram. prep. ל. The construction is not only non-Aramaic, but altogether non-Semitic. It reminds one of the undetermined genitive construction 'a son to the son of . . .'. The phonetical rendering of this ideogram appears in Hjb. 4′: 𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭫, *puhripuhr*, see this. Both the phonetical and the ideographical writing are rendered in Pársík by נפס *nape* 'grandson'. It appears as if the etymological equivalent of *nape* had not been used in Pahlavík. The termination ן of *puhri*, is to be compared with the *i* in Pahlavík *š(á)hipuhr*, cf. Bthl., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* III. p. 7 n. 4.

229 see כלנגצ בתחשי נעשתבפה

ע ג ב

230 B 6,6 וג . . . בג . . .

Fragment of a word beginning with ב or with וג; the ב is apparently the copula.

231 G′ 3,5 .ג.מבך .ע.מעכ.

N. pr., very dubious reading. The first or possibly the two first characters may be א, לן or לן. The character missing in the middle of the word is possibly א. The last character may be כ or ל. Unfortunately the Pársík equivalent has not been recovered. If *dégpambak* be the real spelling of the name, one might compare the first element with the words *dég-dán*, *dég-páya*, and the second with *panbak*, NP. پنبه 'cotton'. It recalls also NP. دیگ شب. The title and the name of the tribe whose ruler this man was are also lacking in both the versions. He is followed by the *šékán* of the Arabs.

G 12,6 נאמי גנאפיה 232

gáme, PhlB. 𐭪𐭠𐭬, NP. گام, Av. *gáma-*, Arm. loan-word *gam*, 'step, pace'.

G 6,2 נאסי גנאסיה 233

gáse, PhlB. 𐭪𐭠𐭮, NP. گاه 'throne, rank, order, profession, estate, dignity, place'. The Pahlavík equivalent is עתם *g(á)tu*, which, however, is not preserved at the corresponding place. Pahlavík does not distinguish between *g(á)tu* in the sense of 'throne' and in that of other meanings. Pársík seems to employ the ideogram גלבגנא exclusively for the first meaning. Cp. עתם and גלבגנא. For 'place' there is the synonym גתלהה, גבגנג or גבגנג, NP. جای. For 'rank, profession, estate' an excellent instance is the passage of the *Dénkard* quoted *s. v. áturgušnasp.*

B 8,6; D 2,5; E 6,3 גברא גבנא 234
A 11+12,5; D 6,4; גבר . גבנ .
Pers. II. 5 גבראן גבנגנ 235

Ideogram גברא, *stat. emph.* of גבר, 'man', *Frhg.* XI 2 𐭥𐭲𐭫 read MART, Soghd. and MP.T. *mart*, NP. مرد 'man'. This signification fits badly in the case of the incomplete גנב in A 11+12,5, where we expect a verb. Apart from the other incomplete גנב in D 6,4 the word appears always in the phrase גבנבנא גבגבנא, both being ideograms and both being used as sg. coll. The meaning of this inseparable pair of words, ASP U MART, is 'cavalry, horsemen'. Pahlavík writes תכתנא, see this, for גבגבנא, the equivalent of גבנא being lost in all the instances. We may surely consider Pahlavík כלכלנא to be equivalent. Pahlavík does not use the sg. coll. in this case, but the pl., as it prefers e. g. the pl. in כלכלנתגא, where Pársík more than once makes use of the sg. coll. Pers. II. 5 is the pl., with phonetical termination *-n*: MARDÁ*n*.

is the arabicized form of Pers. *gahbaδ*. The first syllable contains the word گه, which we find in VULLERS' *Dictionary* under the longer form of گاه: '*catinus liquatorius*', according to the *Burhán i qáti'* بوتهٔ که طلا ونقره وامثال آن در آن بگدازند, hence 'crucible', the characteristical utensil of the mint. The inscriptions discriminate between בגה *gate* and בגהגה *gáse* 'place, throne', and it seems that two words of different etymological origin have been fused into one in NP. by the phonetical development of the language. As far as I know the word *gate* or *gatpate* does not occur in the PhlB. literature. It is, of course, outside the range of thoughts of the Avesta, and the OP. inscriptions do not mention it. But we may assume **gatupatiy* as the OP. form of the word. Evidently the word and the office cannot be older than the introduction of mints in Iran, viz. the reign of Darius I. 521 B. C. and *gate* may probably be a foreign word. Its translation is 'mint, coinage'.

Al-Khwárizmí gives us some information on the management of the office of the *gahbadh*, in saying: الخَتْمه كتاب يرفعه الجهبذ فى كلّ شهر بالاستخراج والجُمل والنفقات والحاصل كانه يختم الشهر به الختمة الجامعة تعمل البَرَاءة حجّة يبذلها الجهبذ او الخازن and: كلّ سنة كذالك للمؤدّى بما يؤدّيه اليه. The mint-warden kept an account, called *al-ḫatma* (cf. חתמתא of the inscriptions!). This account was balanced (and as the verb يرفعه may perhaps imply, submitted to the king) every month. A general discharge (this apparently is the signification of the expression الختمه الجامعة) took place at the end of every year. The surveyors of the metal got written receipts on their deliveries, called *bara'át* 'justification, immunity'. Such an office required exceptional moral qualities on the part of its keeper. Therefore the short wort בגה explains the particular tone of the Naqsh i Rajab inscription. The mint-warden Kartír Hormizd was *gatpate* under four kings. Sháhpuhr I., who died in 272 A. D. entrusted the office unto him, and he kept it up to the beginning of the reign of Narseh. So he must have held the post for more than 22 years. This is indeed an extraordinary case in Eastern history and implies quite an unusual honesty and loyalty on the part of the mint-warden. So he is fully entitled to display his virtues as he does in the inscription and to sermonize and admonish the reader in a fashion which would have remained incomprehensible without the true under-standing of the short word בגה.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 26 גתכי בגגה 248

gatake, n. subst. in the passage: 'whosoever see the inscription, be it a *gatake* or another one, shall know &c.' It is clear that this word is a derivative of the preceding one, meaning 'mint-official'.

ל ד ג

Coins of Persis דאריו גגבבכ 249

dáray(á)v, n. prop. Darius, OP. *dárayavahuš*, Inscr. of Artaxerxes II. at Hamadán *dárayavaš*, Hebr. דריוש, Ktesias Δαρειαιος, both agreeing with the later Achaemenian form, whereas Pahlavík papyri furnish the highly archaic לדרשכ. The later development is *dárayáv* > *dárávv*, Arab.-Pers. داراب, NP. *dárá*. Cf. JUSTI, *Namenb.* p. 78 *ss.* Av. **dárayaδvanhu*, 'holding, supporting the good'.

F 6,3; F 12,5; F 15,4; G 6,3 דאשתני גגבבבעגה 250

dáštane, inf. PhlB. דשתאן, NP. داشتن 'to hold, to keep, to rule'. In F 6,3 the fragmentary גגבב corresponds to the very doubtful characters in E′ 6,5 (RAWLINSON's copy), which must be a misreading of גגאתגלב. In all the other cases this infinitive is coupled with the other one פלאגגבעגה, Pahlavík גלגאתגלב. In Pahlavík the verb is written ideographically, see גגאתגלב, and the same is the case for the present base of the verb in Pársík, written כתכגבע. Therefore, we have here one of those verbs, in which the phonetical writing is used for the preterite base, the ideographical for the aor. base, as in גבעגה and גגבע. And we may postulate with certainty the form גגבבעגה for the part. perf. pass.

The phrase *šatre dáštane* ʊ *framátane* on G 6,3 has an etymological interest, too, as it seems to connect intimately the meaning of the two words *šatrdáre* and

Greek Γάνζακα, Γαζάκω, γαζοφυλάκιον, Lat. Gaza, Gazaka, Ganzaga, the Arm. loan-word Gandzak (not Ganjak), Arab.-Pers. جنزة, جنزق and گنجة. HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* p. 231 *s.* § 123 suggested *-nz* as the original termination of the word in Arsacidan Pahlaví, and that in this case all the words containing the group *-nz* ought to be considered as Median. His hypothesis is proved by our inscription.

For the meaning cf. NP. بی گنج وگاه 'without wealth and rank'. Cf. אתרנ and אגנזבר.

244 N. i Rjb. Krt. 12 גשתי אבבעא

The distinction between ד and ר in the N. i Rjb. inscription being very difficult, if possible at all, we may transcribe *gašte* or *zašte*. I cannot offer any interpretation.

245 B 6,6 ...נת... ...בע...

Fragment; the Pahlavík equivalent is lacking.

246 D′ 10,5; G′ 3,4; possibly E′ 6,5 נתו אתס

g(á)tu 'place, position, seat, throne, rank, dignity'. Av. *gátu-*, OP. *gáθu-*, Elam. loan-word *k'at'-*, Soghd. *γádúk*, Arm. loan-word *gah*, Pársík *gáse*, NP. *gáh*. The Pahlavík אתס corresponds to the Pársík ideogram גדבנד as well as to אגנמא, see both. In the phrases *g(á)tu* U *pátaχšare* and *g(á)tu* ČÉH *yazat(á)n* it apparently means 'throne'. We must discriminate between אתס, גדבנד, אגנמא and NP. گاه, on the one hand, and אתלזא, גדבנדג, אגנדג and NP. جای on the other hand.

247 N. i Rjb. Krt. 24; 25; N. i Rst. נתי אבעא
Krt. 7; 18 *ult.* 32;

gate. This short word is very important for the understanding of both the inscriptions. We meet it in the passages: *gate pátaχšatre HTYMUN;* NÁM ..... APAR *gate pátaχšatre* U *MATán* NIPIŠT ÉSTÉT; U *gate pátaχšatre* U *MATzdán; pátaχšatre* [U *MATán?*] *HTYMUN(é)nd* U *gate . . .;* and *pátaχšatre HTYMUN(én)t* U *gate* [*pá*]*taχšatre . . .* Hence: the word appears always in one and the same context. The ideogram *HTYMUN* must have the meaning 'to seal', *pátaχšatre* means somewhat like 'royal', *MATán* and perhaps *MATzdán* seems to express 'provincial' or something similar. Obviously the word *gate* has something to do with a royal privilege and the use of a seal.

There can be no doubt that *gate* is the Pársík equivalent of the first element forming the very rare title, rendered in early Muhammedan literature by جهبذ. This title is mentioned by al-Khwárizmí in the chapter

فى مواضعات اسماء الذكور والدفاتر والاعمال المستعملة فى الدواوين

of his *mafátíḥ al-'ulúm* p. ٥٤ l. 9 and p. ٥٥ l. 13, under the catch-words الختمة and البراءة. In the first instance it is connected, as in the inscription, with the word ختمة, in the second it stands parallel to *al-χazámu* 'the treasurer'. It is a pity that al-Khwárizmí does not explain the title itself. We find it again in the *'Uyún al-akhbár*, in the charming story, how the eccentric 'Omar ibn Mihrán, in the year 176 A. H., succeeded to make the rich Egyptians pay their overdue taxes. His first measure after the highly amusing circumstances at the time of his accession to office, is to declare that he would not accept presents other than what could be put in a bag, that means money or money's worth. The presents come in lots. He notes down the names of the senders on every object. His next work is to secure, by a shrewd trick, the arrears. He inspects the presents and orders the *jahbaδ* to be present. This officer weighes the bags with money. The other valuables are put to the hammer. When this is done, he discloses to the owners that he has put those sums to their credit until the current taxes wile be fully paid. In the course of three terms the full amount of the Egyptian taxes was paid and, as he had stipulated with Hárún al-Rashíd when accepting the office, he retired from Egypt as suddenly and as secretly as he had come. The part played by the *jahbaδ* in this story is clearly that of a state-official, and that of a most reliable one, whose special capacity is to know and to handle money. It is obviously the same office as alluded to by al-Khwárizmí. Searching through the dictionaries we may establish, apart from the later and secondary meanings of the word, 'mint-warden', as the original meaning of the title *jahbaδ*. *jahbaδ*

the passage: 'and His Majesty Sháhpuhr, the king of kings, deigned to be ...ing and from that *dúrdast* straight to the Porte of Their Majesties was arriving, and His Majesty Sháhpuhr, the king of kings, graciously *dúrdast* arrived and .... graciously *dúrdast* to Kávare was coming'.

255 N. i Rjb. Krt. 5; 8; 18 דושחוי 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭧𐭩
N. i Rjb. Krt. 19 דוסחוי 𐭤𐭥𐭮𐭧𐭩

dóšaχve, dósaχve. PhlB. 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭧𐭩. *Frhg.* II. 6 explains by this Iranian word the ideogram 𐭮𐭲𐭬, Hebr. שאול, and the variants show 𐭤𐭥𐭮𐭧𐭩 *dózoχ*, 𐭮𐭲𐭬 *dóžoχ*. It is derived from Av. *dužaŋhav-, daožahva-* 'hell'. The *š* replacing the *ž* is caused by a popular etymology, interpreting this syllable by *dúš-* 'ill', not only in Párśik but also in Soghd. *dóšoχ*. The Arm. loan-word is *džoχ-k'*, hence the PhlB. seems to have preserved the original *ž*; cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 142 No. 196. In NP. the word appears as دوزخ.

For the history of religion it is highly important to observe that the words of N. i Rjb. Krt. 17—18 'KU *vahište* HAST U *dóšaχve* HAST etc.' reoccur word by word in the confession of faith enumerating the religious 'truths' on the Muhammedan tombstones, *šawáhid*, of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Hijra. The most complete example known to me is the tombstone in the Jámi' al-'Omariyya in Mosul, SARRE-HERZFELD, *Arch. Reise* vol. II. p. 283 *ss.*, where we find:

والخير والشر كله من عند الله والموت حق والبعث حق
والحساب حق والجنة حق والنار حق ومنكر ونكير حق
وان الله تعالى يوم القيامة يرا بلا شك

(The last words are corrected according to NALLINO, *Rivista* IX. 1921, p. 210.) Cf. al-Khwárizmí, p. ٢٨ f.:

يزدان خالق الخير بزعم المجوس واهرمن خالق الشر بزعمهم

256 F' 11,3 דושמנין 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭬𐭭𐭭

dušmanin 'the enemies' lit. 'evil-minded'. Soghd. *dušmanin*, Arm. loan-word *t'šnami*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 154 No. 248. Av. *duš.mainyu-*. The Párśik equivalent is lacking. PhlB. has 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭬𐭭𐭭 *dušmane;* occasionally the writing *dušmén* is found. NP. دشمن. The word is a religious one and seems to have wholly supplanted OP. *arika-*.

D 6,2 דחיך 𐭣𐭲𐭩𐭪 257
dahík, probably an adjective.

E 11,6 די... 𐭣𐭩 ... 258
-de, termination of a noun.

G' 3,5 see 𐭩 . 𐭫𐭥𐭣 259

A 4,3; E 15,2 דידימי 𐭣𐭲𐭣𐭲𐭥𐭩 260
dédéme, MP. loan-word from Greek διάδημα, possibly through Aramaic. NP. دیهیم, دهیم or داهیم: تاجی که مخصوص پادشاهان است

E' 7,4 דיהפתי 𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩 261
F 5,2 דיהפתי 𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩
déhpati, déhpate. Av. *daŋhu.paiti-*, OP. **dahyauvapatiy*, PhlB. writes 𐭤𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩 *dahyupat*, cf. *magupat, hazárupat* etc., al-Bérúní: دهوفذيه *dahúfaδih*, SACHAU's translation 'office of watching and reigning over the world and of reigning in it'. Arm. loan-word *dehpet, dehapet*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 139 No. 187. *Frhg.* XII. 1 has 𐭤𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩 . 𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩 viz. שליטא *pátaχšá, dahyupate.* The ideogram is etymologically identical with Assyr. *šalṭán-iš* Arab. سلطان, *sulṭán*. The two corresponding passages are:

'...*kirpakihe ér*[*á*]*n* [*šatre mahéste χvatádí*]*he*
... *ary*]*án šatr masišt χvat*(*á*)*ya*[*pí*]
U *déhpate* DÁT HOM'
U *déhpati* DÁT HOM'

The termination 𐭩𐭮 of Párśik *χvatádihe* is clearly visible, so we may supply the two letters 𐭩𐭪 at the end of the line of RAWLINSON's copy. If this be right we must expect an abstract noun **déhpatihe*, al-Bérúní's دهوفذيه, but both the Pahlavík and the Párśik versions have clearly the termination 𐭲𐭣𐭩- and 𐭯𐭲𐭩-. But we must note that 𐭣𐭲𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩 is the only case in the inscription of Paikuli where the termination *-pat*, OP. *-pati*, Mp.T. *-bed* (beside the pl. *-padán*), is written with the ending *-e*. Av. *dahyu-*, Soghd.

framátáre, as parallel formations, 'the one who holds the Empire' and 'the one who holds the command', an etymology sometimes doubted, cf. 𐎶𐎢𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶.

251 Pers. II. 2 𐎭𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎿 𐎭𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎿𐎼𐎠𐎲𐎶

dátavbar, PhlB. 𐭣𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭥, NP. دادور and داور. From OP. *dátá-*, Elam. loan-word *t'at't'a*, Arm. loan-word *datavor*, Aram.* דתבר *dəθáβár*, 'judge'. Pers. II. 2 shows a remarkable graphical peculiarity, the joining of the ـب with the following ـل, in the same way as we find it in certain PhlB. writings, misunderstood in most of the cases by the traditional reading. Hence, the inscription Pers. II. shows the two fashions of forming ligatures from the letter ـب, 1) by the horizontal stroke of the letter crossing the following ones, 2) by joining its curved stroke with the following one.

252 D 3,3 𐎶𐎢𐎼𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶

Ideogram דגלתי n. pr. *Dighláth*, name of the Tigris. The primeval Sumerian name of the Tigris is *idigna*, rendered in Bab.-Assyr. *idiqlat*, *diqlat*. Therefrom descended the Hebr. חדקל, Aram. (targ. talm.) *diγláθ*, Syr. *deqlat*, Arab. دجلة *dijlah*. Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 170 *ss*. This original and Semitic shape of the name was in common use during the Hellenistic and Roman epochs, as is proved by Josephus' and Zonaras' ΔΙΓΛΑΔ, Isidor of Charax' ΔΕΓΛΑΔ (so to be corr., codd. ΣΕΛΛΑΣ) and Pliny's *Diglito*.— Beside this Semitic name there was an Iranian one for the river. Strabo has handed down to us (XI 14,8 C. 529) that '*Tigris*' was the Persian name of the river Μήδων τίγριν καλούντων τὸ τόξευμα. Eusthatius in his commentary to Dionysius Periegetes § 976 quotes these words, adding ταχὺς ὡς βέλος. Curtius IV. 9, 16 says: '*celeritate qua defluit Tigri nomen est inditum, quia persica lingua tigrim sagittam appellant*'; cf. Solinus ch. 40. This information of the ancients is perfectly right. In the inscriptions of Darius we meet OP. *tigrá-*, Elam. *t'ik'ra*, as the name of the river. *Tigrá-*, Av. **tiγri-* means 'arrow'. Therefore, the Iranians have changed the old name *diqlat* into *tigrá-*. Since their language was lacking the sound *l*, they replaced it by *r*. In a great number of cases we observe that the OP. nomenclature was decisive for the Greek one. So the Greeks borrowed the name of the river Τίγρης, Τίγρις, Lat. *Tigris* from the Persians, not from the Aramaic population of those countries. The phonetical development of the Iranian language changed the old *tigrá-* into *tír*, and that this was the common name in Iran for the Tigris is proved by the Greek rendering of that form by the Byzantine Theophanes, 52,23: θὴρ ποταμός. So we have two names for the river, one Semitic and the other Iranian. And if we meet in our inscription the Semitic form 𐎶𐎢𐎼𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶, in the Bundh. 51,17 𐭣𐭩𐭤𐭠𐭲, we must regard this as an ideogram for the Iranian name. This ideographical form is known to the early Arabs, since Yáqút II. ٥٥١, l. 11 quotes Hamza who pretends that ديلد was the MP. name of the Tigris. This would be 𐭣𐭩𐭤𐭠𐭲 in PhlB., and 𐭣 is easily understood as the often occurring misreading of 𐭩. The Iranian termination ـه may be the یای تعریف, and we ought to pronounce *tiré*. Cf. Marq., *Éráns.* p. 150. See 𐎶𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶.

Áwr. 3 𐎭𐎭 𐎹𐎠𐎲𐎠 253

I cannot offer a better interpretation of these two letters, whose reading is not perfectly certain, than that already given by Dr. Cowley: *d(á)d* 'given'. The following 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶, I am inclined to interpret as ideogram of the 1st p. sg. of the auxiliary verb 'I have', see 𐎶𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶, hence *dád* HOM would mean 'I have given'. But just the 𐎹, not yet distinguished by any diacritical point in the script of the Áwramán parchment, is a highly ambigous letter. There are two other objections: first we expect 𐎹𐎠𐎹 instead of 𐎹𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎹, and secondly, the verb is always written ideographically in the Paikuli inscription; see 𐎶𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶.

Pers. II. 9?; 10 *bis* 𐎭𐎢𐎼𐎭𐎢𐎿𐎢𐎼𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎶 254

dúrdast. Except II 9 where the ـ is very dubious, the reading of the letters is certain. The word has been interpreted by Nöldeke in his introduction to Stolze's great work on the antiquities and buildings of *Persepolis*, viz. *dúr*, Soghd. *dúr*, 'far' and *dast* 'hand', hence 'far reaching', recalling the surname of Artaxerxes I. μακροχειρ or *longimanus*, NP. درازدست. But this translation gives no satisfactory sense in

restored to something like this: 'Khusrau, son of Kavát, founded and named after himself five cities: (the names of the first four cities could only be made out by a careful examination of the Mss.), 5) *šát far(r)uxv χusrave.*' The last name is the official name of *Dastakirt i Khusrau.* Since the notices on Sasanian buildings in the *Šahriḫá* are remarkably trustworthy and probably go back immediately to a *χvatáynámak* of the late Sasanian epoch, we must consider both the name and the foundation of the city through Khusrau I. as correct, although Arab authorities like Hamza and Ibn Qutaiba name Hormizd I. as its founder and the Chronicle of Se'ert mentions the city as the theatre of the assasination of Bahrám IV. Kirmánšáh. These different notices are not altogether irreconcilable.

264 R. i Rjb. Krt. 31 דפירן גפּבּגּ

dipér. The last letter is not quite discernible on the photograph. If it be a ג, we would not have the simple title *dipér*, but *dipér(á)n mahést* for instance 'scribe, secretary'. Pahlavík uses the ideogram מתלא, see this. *Frhg.* XV 1 explains גשׂן by the clearer ישכל. The title corresponds to the Bab. *dupšarru*, Sum. *dub-sar*, and is to be traced back to Sumer. *dub*, Bab.-Assyr. *duppu*, Elam. *t'ip'p'i*, OP. *dipi.* The Skrt. loan-words *dipi, divira, lipi* depend on the Iranian form of the word, and were obviously introduced as terms of social organization into India during the time of the Achaemenian domination over the Northwestern provinces of India. Soghd. and MP.T. have *dipér*, and we may best assume this vocalisation for Pársík, too, for it seems that the title was formed, in Achaemenian times, with the element *-varya*, cf. *zarér, dilér*, Afgh. *namér*. Arm. loan-word *dpir*, Hbschm. p. 145. The word occurs on the seal Mordtmann III. 26: גפּבּג יעבּגע זר *tird(á)t i dipér.* NP. دبير *dibir.* The chief of the scribes bore the title *dipérán mahést*, cf. Nöldeke, *Kárn.* p. 62, Tab. p. 444. See רבּתעבּן and גזגתל תלתא גזגתל.

265 Gem Berlin 1385 דרוצנאן געגע־223

dróžanán, pl. of the noun *dróžan* 'a false one, liar'. OP. *draujana-*. PhlB. 𐭣𐭫𐭦𐭦 *dróž* 'lie' and 𐭣𐭫𐭦𐭦𐭭 *dróžan* 'liar'. Cf. Bthl., *ZAirWb.* p. 175, and the 266 following word.

A′ 2,2; E′ 12,2 דרוזניפי לילכּוזעלא

drózanipi, n. abstr. of the foregoing word, formed by the Pahlavík termination *-ipi*, the equivalent of Pársík *-ihe*; MP.T. has *-i/éft.* The only suffix to which we may trace back this termination seems to be Ar. *-tụa-*, Av. *-ŭwa-*, gen. *-ŭwahya*, cf. Bthl., *Grdr.Ir.Phil.* I. II B p.106 § 200,6 and p.111 § 209,12; *ZAirWb.* p. 42 n. 1. Hence the meaning is 'mendacity, falsehood' and probably simply 'lie'. We must assume the Pársík form ס־ע־ג־223 **dróžaníhe* to be the lost equivalent of the word. The Zoroastrian range of ideas comprised by this term is remarkable. The same term is often to be found also in the Bístún inscription: *avaŭá adurujiyaʰ* 'thus he lied' or *hauv adurujiyaʰ avaŭá aŭahaʰ* 'he lied, thus he spoke'.

F′ 13,5 דרוושתסתר לילכּוזעתמל 267

The reading of the third and fourth letters is very doubtful. It is the comparative form of an adjective used in the sense of the superlative degree. In many cases the corresponding Pársík version uses the superlative form. The word in question looks even like a double superlative, cp. the Av. termination *-išto.təma.* We might compare it with Av. *draéγišto.təma* 'the very poorest'. On the other hand it resembles the preceding word *drózan*, too, superlative *drózišt*, but the context requires a word of quite another meaning, something like 'praiseworthy, meritorious', parallel with ס־ע־ל־ב־ג־ע־ס־ג 'best guarded', referring to the country of Iran, cf. Arab. الحروسة following the name of cities. But I cannot discover such an etymology for the signs visible.

Hjb. 7; 13 דרבי רגּג 268

dar(r)ake. The Pahlavík equivalent of this word is כנע, Av. *vaéma*, PhlB. 𐭥𐭩𐭬 *vém*, Arm. loan-word *vém* 'fissure, cleft in the rocks'. The same is the original meaning of *darrake*, formed with the MP. suffix *-k* from the root √*dar* 'to split, to cleave', Av. *darəna-* in the sense of 'lurking place'. In NP. the meaning of 'cleft' has widened to that of 'valley' in general,

dixâv-, MP. *déh-* is the political designation of the provinces or the lands which constitute an empire. This notion finds its expression in the Achaemenian title '*χšáyaθiyaʰ vazṛkaʰ χšáyaθiyaʰ χšáyaθiyánám χšáyaθiyaʰ pársaiy χšáyaθiyaʰ dahyunám*' whereby is expressed that the king of Pârs is at the same time the king of the other countries, in accordance with the title king of kings. The combined words *šatre χvatá-dîhe* and *déhpate* suggest the same idea. The first refers to the rulership over the whole of the empire, the second to that over the total of the single countries. Cp. CHRISTENSEN, *Empire* p. 6.

262 Dénak gem. דינכי

dénake, n. pr. fem., hypocoristic shortening of *dénázád*, cp. the Arab. *dînázâd* of the Arabian Nights. We owe to the sagacity of A. D. MORDTMANN, Z.D.M.G. XXXI 1877, p. 582, the attribution of the seal to the queen of that name, mentioned by Ṭabarî, NÖLDEKE, p. 118.

263 A′ 8,3 דסתכרתי

A 2,4 דסתכרתי

dastakirti, dastakirte. N. subst., *Vidévd.* V. 10 has it in the following clause: 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌-𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌-𐬌𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬎. The Armen. loan-word is *dastakert*, something like 'settlement, estate' γεώργιον or κτήσεις. In the Armen. political system the *dastakert* occupies the lowest rank: city, market-town, village and *dastakert*. A similar meaning is evidently implied in the passage quoted from the *Vidévdád*. And if we read carefully the passages in the Paikuli inscription it is clearly perceivable that the original meaning of the word is nothing else but '*castrum*, camp'. This agrees well with the literal sense of OP. **dastakṛta-* 'hand-made or improvised (settlement or town)'. The next step in the development of the meaning of the word is its application to a single farm-building, always adapted for defence in those times. This is an exact analogy to the use of Arab. قصر *qaṣr* from Lat. *castrum*, Greek κάστρον. The second stage is to be found in the Armenian loan-word, and we find it again in the *Kárnámak*, NÖLDEKE p. 48, where we ought to translate: 'many villages *(déh)* and farms *(dastakirt)* were founded by him'. (𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬀𐬥 *ápátán* is the same as the element -اِبَاذ in NP. used innumerable times for a village or a farm called after its founder).

The Arab. *qaṣr* and also *qasṭal*, i. e. Lat. *castellum*, are sometimes used as proper names, and this last stage, too, may be observed in the history of the word *dastakirt*. There are several towns of that name in Persia and in 'Iráq. The most famous is Δασταγερδ or Δασταγερχοσαρ, *Dastakirt i Khusrau*, NE. of Ctesiphon; with its history and buildings I have dealt in the chapter Dastagerd, pp. 76—93 of vol. II. of the *Archaeol. Reise*. Now, the word *dastakirt* appears once more in the *Šahṛîhá i Érán*, § 20 of J. J. MODI's translation. The preceding § 19 is apparently in utter confusion. The names of the kings who founded and named five cities, look much more like place names, than those of kings. The subsequent paragraph refers to one city only. As J. J. MODI and H. JUNKER, *Frhg.* p. 104 b, understand the paragraph in question, the name of that city is not mentioned. The text runs as follows: 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌

24; 25; 28 *ter*; — Pers. I. 2; 4; 5; 7; 8 *quin.*; Pers. II. 2; 6 *ter*; 7 *bis*; 8; 9 *bis*.

Following MARQUART, I consider the copula 𐎢 and 2 as an ideogram, read U, older pronounciation UA. Before vowels I write UT; OP. *utá*, Soghd. *'at*, NP. *ú* (the NP. *va* is an Arabism). This is proved by the Armenian rendering of the term Éran and Anérán by *eran evt aneran*, Elis. Vart. ed. Venice p. 20 l. 5, and further by the fact, that Pársik does not append enclitic words to this form of the copula, as Pahlavík does, but uses in those cases the synonymous ideogram 𐎠, see this.

273 A 5,3 ...1 ...2

Seems to be the beginning of the ideogram of a verb, possibly to be read 𐎮.

274 ואסלושאן סרדאל בנאסלבבנבנ בנבנבל

Corn. Petersb.

vásrósán sardár. Av. *vástryó.fšuyant-* means the agriculturists, peasants, the 'third estate'. In Sasanian times the high office of the 'Chief of the agricultural class' seems to have been turned into that of the 'director general of the taxes'. Cf. CHRISTENSEN, *Empire*, index *s. v.* The person in possession of the title seems to have been at the same time DAR *andaržpat* during the reign of Yazdkirt II. 439—457 A. D., see 𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠𐎢𐎮𐎠

𐭣𐭫𐭲𐭰 *darrah.* The word rightly designates the peculiar geological formation of the rocky cleft, in which the Hjb. inscription stands. See FLANDIN et COSTE vol. IV. pl. 193.

269 D 5,4 דשני 𐭣𐭱𐭭𐭩

dašne, Av. *dašina,* PhlB. 𐭣𐭱𐭭, NP. دشن 'right' (opposite to 'left'). Cf. *Frhg. i Oim,* REICHELT p. 181 *haóyó dašinó,* rendered by Phl. *hóy* u *dašn.* Here in the phrase *yávare dašne* the sense seems to be the 'favourable moment', the 'right time'. But another interpretation is possible. We have the Armenian loan-word *dašn,* HÜBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 134 No. 164, with the meaning 'contract, treaty'. As the following words are: u *sókande χvar(é)nd* 'and an oath they swear', 'treaty' would well fit into the context.

270 Pers. I. 12 ...דתי 𐭭𐭩...

..*DTe,* fragment of a short word at the beginning of the last line of that inscription. The two first letters have disappeared by a splintering of the edge of the pillar. There follows only the word *bád* 'may be'. The preceding sentence ends with the foregoing line. So these two words can only be a blessing or affirmation, cf. the common NP. مبارك باد 'be blessed' or the Biblical אמן. The word in question has the termination of a past part. pass. or an adjective. I must leave it to philologists to complete the word.

𐭭 𐭲 𐭬

This letter is never used except in Aramaic ideograms. It is PhlB. 𐭬, and was formerly read *man,* later on (WEST) double 𐭩. The honour of having found the true reading is due to the Aramaist Dr. M. A. LEVY of Breslau cp. his article in Z.D.M.G. XXI. The failure in recognising this letter, was one of the most retarding causes in the progress of the interpretation of the Aramaic element in Pahlaví. From the time of the Sasanian inscriptions onwards this letter is never employed within or at the beginning of a word, where we find it regularly replaced by 𐭲, but exclusively at the end of the ideograms. In older times this rule was not yet in existence, for on the early *frâtadâra* coins we meet one of the two exceptions, the word 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭯𐭲𐭥 written correctly with 𐭲, not with 𐭭 as in the Sasanian 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭯𐭥, and in line 6 of the Áwramán parchment: 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭫𐭩𐭯𐭲. This last example, at the same time furnishes the only occurrence of this letter in an Iranian word, apparently caused through the external identity with the ideogram 𐭲𐭫𐭩.

F 3,1 ה.. 𐭭..[271]

....H. The corresponding word in Pahlavík is 𐭲𐭫𐭩; hence, the isolated 𐭭 must be completed to 𐭭𐭫𐭩.

2 ו כ

Hjb. 5′; 6′; 7′; 12′; — Paik. A′ 1,5. 6; A′ 2,1. 2. 3; A′ 4,1. 2. 3. 4. 5; A′ 6,3. 6; A′ 8,3. 5; A′ 10,2 *bis.* 6; A′ 11,2 *bis.* 3. 5; B′ 1,1. 5; B′ 7,3; B′ 9,2. 5 *bis*; B′ 11,5; C′ 1,2. 3. 4; C′ 2,2. 3 *bis*; C′ 3,1. 3; C′ 4,2 *bis*; C′ 6,2. 4. 6 *bis*; C′ 10,2. 5; C′ 13,1. 3. 4; C′ 14,2. 3 *bis.* 5. 6; D′ 7,4; D′ 8,6; D′ 10,3. 5. 6; D′ 15,2. 5; E′ 6,2. 3 *bis.* 6; E′ 7,4; E′ 12,3 *bis.* 4; E′ 14,2. 3; E′ 15,1; F′ 2,2. 3. 4; F′ 3,4 *bis*; F′ 7,1. 2. 3 *bis*; F′ 8,1. 3 *ter.* 4 *bis*; F′ 11,3 *bis*; F′ 12,4; F′ 13,3; G′ 1,2 *bis.* 3 *bis.* 4. 5 *bis*; G′ 3,1. 3. 5. (7); G′ 5,3. 4. 5 *bis.* 6; G′ 6,3. 4; G′ 11,1 *bis.* 3. 4. 5. 6. 7; [272]

Hjb. 6 *ter*; 13; Paik. A 1,3 *bis*; A 2,1. 2. 3. 5; A 4,2. 4; A 5,3?; A 9,2. 3. 4 *bis*; A 10,3. 4; A 11,6; A 12,4. 5 *bis*; B 2,1. 2. 3; B 3,2. 3; B 4,2 *bis.* 4; B 5,4. 5; B 6,2. 6; B 7,1; B 8,1. 2. 4 *bis.* 6; B 9,1. 3 *ter.* 4 *bis.* 5; B 11,2; B 12,1. 2. 6; B 14,5; C 2,3; C 3,1. 5; C 4,2; C 9,1. 3; C 11,3. 4. 5; D 2,1. 3; 4 *bis.* 5; D 3,5; D 5,4; D 6,3 *bis.* 4; D 16,5. 6; E 2,3. 4. 6; E 4,2. 5. 6; E 6,3. 4; E 9,3; E 11,1. 3; E 12,2. 3. 4. 6; E 15,2; F 5,1. 2; F 6,1. 2; F 9,5; F 11,4. 5; F 12,4. 5 *bis*; F 15,1. 4. 5 *bis*; G 2,6; G 6,2. 6. 7; G 12,2. 3. 4. 7; G 14,4; H 2,3. 5; H 5,3. 5; H 6,1. 2. 3. 4; H 7,2. 3. 4. 5; H 8,3. 4; H 11,1. 2. 3 *bis.* 4. 5; H 12,2. 3 *bis.* 4 *bis.* 7; H 14,1. 2??. 3 *bis*; — N. i Rjb. Krt. 1 *ter*; 2; 4; 5 *bis*; 6; 8 *bis*; 10; 11 *bis*; 12 *bis*; 13; 14 *ter*; 15 *ter*; 16; 18 *bis*; 19 *ter*; 20; 23; [273]

of the genius *vaχšu*. Quite a distinct representation appears on a rare and much later Kúshán coin, A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Kúsháns*, Num. Chron. 1892, p. 121 pl. XXIII 12 and p. 156, with the legend OAXÞO, the Greek rendering of the name of the signet-ring, but with the peculiar Kúshán Þ for š. Cf. MARQUART, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, Phil. Suppl. X 1 p. 26 n. 2. The figure is, according to CUNNINGHAM, 'that of an old man, holding a long sceptre in his right hand, and carrying what looks like a dolphin or fish in its left hand. If I could be sure as to the fish or dolphin, I should be inclined to accept the figure as the god of the 'Ocean'. MARQUART recognized the true signification of this figure as that of the genius of the Oxus. We must not make the mistake of identifying OAXÞO with the common legend OKÞO or OHÞO, sometimes accompanying the representation of the Nandi bull of Śiva, sometimes of a four-armed standing god. Cp. M. AUREL STEIN, *White Huns and Kindred Tribes*, Indian Antiq. XXXIV 1905, p. 79 n. 11. KIRSTE, *Orabazes*, Sitzungsber. Wien vol. 182 No. 2 p. 18.

291 Hyrcanian coin וחשורי כגאבכבלן

vaχšuvarya, n. pr. Gr. Ὀξυάρης. The legend of the coin adds כל to the name, which is an abbreviation for כלכל, see גגנ22, just as 2J is an abbreviation for בבעגנ *staχra*. Cf. HILL, *Catal. of Greek Coins, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia* p. CLV s. CLIX; MARQUART, *Unters.* Phil. Suppl. X. 1 p. 26 n. 2, and MARQUART quoted by DROUIN, Bull. de Num. 1900 p. 95, from HOLWERDA, *Levensbericht van J. P. Six*, Jaarb. d. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Amsterdam 1902 p. 47. HILL refers to Oxyartes, the name of the satrap who received Paropamisus and India after the death of Alexander, his father-in-law, Arrian VI. 15,3. But this name would be **vaχšuvarta* 'sheltered by vaχšu or *vaχšiyárta*' 'making the arta grow', cf. FOY, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschg. N. F. XVII., 4 p. 544, whereas *vaχšuvarya* signifies 'having desired growth'. MARQUART fixes the date of this ruler of Hyrcania during the reign of Antiochus Theos, about 250 B. C., and the style of the coin well agrees with this date. It is not dissimilar from the earliest Frátadára coins of Persis.

see גבבגנג ויאך גבגנג 292

Védšáhp. gem Paris וידשחפוחרי ר2ת29ת22גבר 293

*véd*š*(á)hpuhre*; from Av. √*vaéd-* 'to venerate, gratify' and the n. pr. *šáhpuhr*. Cf. MORDTMANN, Z. D. M. G. XVIII no. 10; CHABOUILLET, *Catalogue* Paris no. 1339; LAJARD, *Culte de Mithra* pl. LXV 14; HORN-STEINDORFF, *Sasan. Siegel.* p. 27. The personage is a Móbed of Ardashír-khurra in Párs.

B′ 6,3 ויואלינן כרגבלנתב 294

B 8,5; C 3,1 ואלתני רגבגצגח 295

The כ and 2 at the beginning of the words may easily be taken for the copula. In that case we should read *zádt(á)ne* in Párśik, explaining the *dt* as a phonetical gloss, as used in PhlB., for instance in the word שאשן, i. e. *yazadte*. But there are two objections: first, the defective writing of the pl. termination would deviate from the usual spelling; secondly, the termination ר- would remain quite unexplained. Again this manner of interpreting the Párśik word is not applicable to the Pahlavík form. The Pahlavík word looks much more like an infinitive than like a substantive, and this would explain the termination ר- in Párśik too.

Hjb. 6′; 12′ וים כרגל 296

vém, corresponding to Párśik *darrake*; see ר323. Av. *vaéma-* 'fissure, cleft in the rocks', Arm. loan-word *vém*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 247 No. 619, PhlB. ֆ. The word signifies the peculiar geological formation of the rock near which the Hájjiábád inscription stands.

E 11+12,3 וימיסי בבבגבבח 297

vimése, n. subst. The text runs:

. . . . . כבגבת לב גבתר ם לתתר

ֆבלבת2ת9 2 בבבגבבח ל29 2 בתתלב [תתבבן]

Therefore, *vimése* stands parallel with *pahréč* 'abstemiousness, caution'. Cf. Av. *vimá(y)-*, BTHL. *Air. Wb.* 1450, possibly: 'care, attention'.

B′ 6,4 ויכנד כרגלן 298

B 9,6; D 3+2,6 ויכנדי בבבגבח 299

vimande n. subst. PhlB. ֆ,ֆן 'territory, frontier-

280 D 2+3,1 החי[ה]תי 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙[𐬞]𐬀𐬙2
281 B 9,3 החיית 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬙
282 B 8+9,4 והיצומי 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙2𐬌𐬐𐬙

Iran. verb *vihé[χ²]te, vihečét, viheču̯me*, the first form being the past part. pass., the second the 3rd p. sg. opt. (with the particle *év*), the third the 1st p. pl. pres. The three forms occur in similar passages. In 1. 9 the text runs (in a message addressed to the king staying in Armenia): ʻKU ŠÁHán ŠÁH PA *kirpakíhe* AŽ *armine avaróne* ó *érán šatre év vihečét* U XVARRÉH U *šatre* U XVÉŠ GÁS U *pátaχšare* í *nidákán* AŽ *yazdán* PATIGÍR*(ét)*... ʻthat the king of kings graciously from Armenia yonder to Éránshahr might ....., and the majesty and the empire and his own throne and the kingdom of the ancestors from the gods might accept...ʼ In line 10: AŽ *armine* ó *érán šatre róne viheču̯me* ʻfrom Armenia to Éránshahr we .....ʼ, and line 17′ and 19: KUT ŠUNAV*(é)nt* KUT AMÁX HAČ *armini* ó *aryán šatr* / *róne vihé[χ]te* HOM (or *hém*) ʻthat they hear that we from Armenia to Éránshahr have .....ʼ. The meaning of the verb, therefore, is pretty clear, it must be the Greek καταβαίνειν ʻto descend, march backʼ. The verb is a compound of the prefix *vi-* with the roots √*hič*, part. perf. pass. *héχt*, NP. *héχtan*, *áhéχtan*, pres. *héz*, PhlB. *Kárn.* NÖLDEKE p. 65 𐭧𐭧𐭭 ʻhe pulled, drew outʼ, and NP. *χástan*, pres. *χéz*, e. g. خیز ʻrise!ʼ, PhlB. 𐭧𐭧𐭭 𐭪𐭩, cf. *Zarérnámak*. But since just these roots √*hič*, √*hanj-* and √*χiz* are most obscure as to their phonetical and etymological development, I must content myself with only hinting at the problem.

283 F′ 11,5 החיבר 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬙
284 G 12,1 והוכאליחי 𐬀𐬵2𐬀𐬉𐬵𐬀𐬤𐬌𐬙

vahi̯k(á)r, vahu̯kárihe. ʻa man who does good, or his dutyʼ; compound of *vahi̯-*, *vahu̯-*, to be pronounced *véh* ʻgoodʼ and *-kár* ʻthe one who does'. The Pársík noun is the abstract of this one, ʻdoing good, doing one's duty; dutifulness'; see *kirpakihe* 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬙.

285 A′ 1,2; B′ 9,5; C′ 13,3; E′ 7,2 והינאם 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬨
286 A′ 8,4; C′ 4,6; D′ 10,3 והונאם 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬨
287 A 4,2; C 11,6; D 2,4; D 5,1 D 6,3; E 2,3; E 12,4; והונאם 𐬀𐬵2𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬨
A 2,5; — E 4,5; E 15,5; — ב....., בשנ..., ...2ת2 288 C 9,6.

vahi̯nám, vahu̯nám, n. pr. ʻ(of) good name', Syr. בהנם, Arab.-NP. بهنام *Bihnám*. The writing *vahinám* seems to be an archaic one even for Pahlavík. The writing *vahu̯nám* in Pársík belongs to the group of Avestic spellings. This spelling is met with also thrice in Pahlavík obviously being influenced by the Pársík orthography. The pronunciation in Sasanian times, and as Soghd. *véh* and the Arm. *veh* show, in Arsacidan times too, was *véhnám*, like *véhdén*. Cf. also the seal, MORDTMANN, Z. D. M. G. XXIX. p. 206 No. 16 with the legend: *vahu̯nám* í *véródpuhre*.

Several times *vahu̯nám* is called í *tatarósán*, and since nowhere any title like ŠÁH or XVATÁY follows that name, it is apparently the patronymic name ʻson of Tatarósʼ; see this. Not the slightest historical notice is found referring either to the son or the father. And yet this *vahu̯nám* was apparently the chief supporter of Varhrán III. against his grand-uncle Narseh.

N. i Rjb. 4 *ult.*; 8; 18 *bis* והישתי 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬌 289

vahi̯šte, PhlB. 𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭲, NP. بهشت ʻparadise, heavenʼ, etymologically the superlative of *vahi̯* ʻgoodʼ, the ʻbestʼ scil. world. Cp. a similar thought in Arab. الآخرة ʻthe futureʼ for the ʻparadiseʼ. See also 𐬀𐬵2𐬀𐬙2𐬌𐬐𐬙 ʻhellʼ and the remarks there on the analogous passages on early Muhammedan tomb-stones.

Seal from the Oxus treasure והשו 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬥 290

vaχšu̯, n. pr. cp. Av. √*vaχš* ʻto grow, thrive, to make grow thrive, increaseʼ and Av. *vaχša-* ʻgrowth, thrift, thrivingnessʼ. Name of the genius of water, in particular of the river Oxus with the Khvarizmians, cf. al-Bérúní ed. SACHAU p. ٢٣٧. Gr. Ὦξος, Arab. NP. وخشاب, i. e. water of *vaχš*, which in early Muhammedan times became the name of the adjoining country. Cf. MARQUART, *Éránš.* pp. 232 *ss.* On the gold-signet-ring No. 104 of the Oxus treasure, O. M. DALTON, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pp. 103 *ss.* and pl. XV, we see a winged bull with a human head, the old Persepolitan *lamassu* of Assyrian or better Chaldean descent, and we must consider it to be the artistical representation

yazdán UT *anáhét* I BÁNÚK NÁM 'by Hormizd and all the gods and Anáhét who is called 'Lady''. It recalls the words in the inscription of Darius at Persepolis: *aʰuramazdáʰ upastâm baratuv hadáʰ viθaibiš bagaibiš* occurring again in other inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, whereas Artaxerxes II. invokes *aʰuramazda, an(á)hita* and *miθra*. The OP. version is illegible in that place, the Elam. has *owarmasʻtʻa annahitʻtʻa utʻtʻa misʻsʻa hu in nisʻkʻesʻni*, the Bab. *aḫur(u)muzdu anáḫitu' u mitri anáku liṣṣurâ'*.

308 see כרסאסב וסהאהותלי מרמעבסלח 309 see עבלבאן וצלבאן עבלבסב

310 H 5,4 [ולא]זגרדי רגבבסר[עבב]

[*varâ*]*zgirde*, n. pr. of the 'lord' of the *saχúričân* or *saχvaričân*. Only the second half of the name survives, but the completion is very probable. Cf. *varáčân* and *varázak*, and *varážgurte*. The name is at any rate Iranian; the tribe must have been a Śaka one.

311 Pers. I 7 וראצאן עבעבבב

varáčân, patron. 'son of *varáč*'. OP. *varáza-*, cf. the beautiful Achaemenian seal of the British Museum showing a horseman killing a boar, with the legend כרכיב, *var*[*â*]*zak*. In the *Šahriḫá i Érân varážak i népakân*, the *barázak* of the Dénkart, one of the Seven Immortals, the Causer of Strife, is called the founder of Téspón; see 𐭥𐭩𐭫. The Greek rendering of the name is βαράζης, οὐαράζης; Armen. *varaz*, NP. گراز *guráz*. *varáč* means 'boar' and is the totem animal of *vərəθraγna*, Bahrám. It is very often used in compound names, like *šâhpuhr-varáč, varáč-péróč* &c. Cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 81 No. 183; JUSTI, *Namenb.* p. 348 *s.* and see ערמבבבב.

312 H 8,3 ולאצגולתי ערמבבבבב

varáčgurte, n. pr. of a 'king' ŠÁH, appearing in the long list of independent princes who paid homage to the king of kings. His land or tribe is not named. *varáč* is 'boar'; see עבבבבב, *gurte* Phl B. 𐭪𐭥𐭲𐭩, Soghd. *gurdân* (plur.), NP. گرد *gurd* means 'hero', cf. Germ. *Eberhard*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 28; 29. 30; N. i Rst. ולחלאן עבלבב 313 Krt. 33; Paik. D 5,3; Pers. I. 6; Devonsh.

varhrán, n. pr. born by six of the Sasanian kings. The name is Av. *vərəθraγná-*, OP. **vrθʳagná-*; see ...כלבלבב. Syr. *waraθrán*, Arm. *vahagn*, name of the god 'Heracles', borrowed in early Arsacidan times and presupposing a Pahlavík *varhraγn*, found in the Paik. inscription in the spelling *v(a)rtr(a)gn*. The Sasanian *varhrán* is reflected by Greek Οὐαραράνης, Βαραράνης, and the still younger stage in the development of the name, *vahrám* by Arm. *vahram*, Gr. βαράμης, βαράμ. Cf. NÖLDEKE, *Ṭab.* p. 46 n. 5; HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 75—78, No. 176.

In N. i Rjb. Krt. 28 the name refers to the Great King Varhrán I., in N. i Rjb. Krt. 29 & 30 and in N. i Rst. Krt. 33 to Varhrán II. The Devonshire Amethyst belongs to Varhrán IV.; unfortunately, it does not mention the name of his grandfather, thus leaving a doubt whether he was the son of Sháhpuhr II. or III., but the greater probability is in favour of the former. In Pers. I. 6 the name refers to a high official, the *Sakastán andaržpat*, see מרבבבבב עבבבבבב.

For the true understanding of the Paikuli inscription, it is absolutely necessary to know who was *Varhrán sakánšáh* of D 5,3. Indeed, we cannot doubt that the name refers to Varhrán III. Sakánsháh, 293 A. D. According to the Naqsh i Rajab inscription Varhrán I., who succeeded his elder brother Hormizd in 273, was the second son of Sháhpuhr I., and Varhrán II. was his son. Therefore, the genealogical tree given by NÖLDEKE *Ṭab.* 436 a, is right in this point, and the correction proposed by v. GUTSCHMID, Z. D. M. G. XXXIV. p. 746 is unacceptable. Unfortunately, no inscription reveals the relationship of Varhrán III. with his predecessors. But the Oriental tradition is unanimous in asserting that he was the son of Varhrán II. or the son of 'two Varhrán's'. His surname Sakánsháh is correctly preserved in Persian works like the *mujmil*, the *ta'rikh i guzida*, and the *Sháhnáma*. But of Syriac and Arabic authors only a few have preserved the true reading, e. g. the Syrian Elias of Nisibis, Hamza al-Ispahání, al-Khwárizmí. The latter says p. ١٠٧:

district, frontier', see BTHL., *Air.Wb.* 1449 and *ZAirWb.* p. 174.

In l. 11′ and 12 the construction is not perfectly congruent. Pársík has ὁ *vimande* ἰ *χú* ....., Pahlavík (ὁ *χú* ....) *vimand.*

300 N. i Rst. Krt. 6 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭯𐭫𐭥𐭪𐭠𐭭

vispuhrak(á)n. Phonetical writing of the ideogram 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭯𐭫𐭥𐭪𐭠𐭭; see this. The *scriptio plena* of ɔ indicates the pronunciation *viš-* or *vis-*, in contradistinction to Phl B. 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭯𐭫𐭥𐭪𐭠𐭭, Arm. loan-word *vaspurakan*, from Pahlavík *váspuhrakán*. Therefore, it seems that we must assume the form with *i* to be the Pársík pronunciation, that with *á* to be the Pahlavík one. The former would go back to OP. *viθa-*, the latter to Ar. **u̯áiš*. Even if *viš-* is the Persian form, the second element *-puhr*, instead of Pársík *-pus*, is a 'Pahlavíkism'.

The word is an adjective, formed by the termination *-akán* from the subst. *vispuhr-*. Unfortunately the existing photographs of the Naqsh i Rustam inscription do not enable us to understand the context in which the word is met with. The adjectival form was the n. pr. of a great Armenian province east of the lake of Van. Cf. MARQUART, *Éránš.* pp. 108 and 176 *ss.* HBSCHM., *Altarm. Ortsn.* p. 261 *ss.* And I think we have good reason to assume that it was an additional or qualifying name of the province of Ispahán, too. Ispáhán was, according to Sebéos (cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 81 n. 1, and MARQUART, *Éránš.* p. 29), the seat of the *vaspurakan hamarakar*. And from Ispáhán came 70 men at the time of the Muhammedan conquest, to embrace Islam, according to al-Madáïnī (Beládh. p. ٣٧٣, 12 *ss.* and Ṭab. I ٢٥٩١, 13 *ss.*, see MARQUART *l. c.*):

الرؤساء الذين خرجوا معه من اصبهان من عظمائهم

The high feudal houses possessed their fiefs from the time of the Arsacids in various parts of the empire. But the idea is most improbable that the class of the *vispuhrân* as a whole should have had any common property or kept a special tax-collector at a particular place. I think it preferable to explain the two titles *vispuhrakán ahmárkár* and *andaržpat i vispuhrakán* not as 'the tax-collector' and the 'minister of instruction' 'of the vispuhrán', but 'of Vispuhrakán', viz. '*Ispahán i vispuhrakán*', and, hence, to connect the adjective not with the feudal class, but, as in the case of the Armenian province, with the implied province of Ispahán.

D′ 10,5 וישאת 𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭠𐭲 301

višát, apparently a part. perf. pass. It corresponds to the fragmentary Pársík form ...בבב in E 9,2. From the external appearance the word seems to be an ideogram, a verb *tertiae* א, for which we ought to presuppose the ideogram in the aor. base *𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭠𐭲. But I cannot explain the Aramaic verb. On the other hand *višát* recalls NP' گشاذ *gušáδ* 'opened', but since the sense of the passage requires 'to remove, to pull down, to tear away', the comparison with *gušáδ* does not hold good.

E′ 14,5 וישרו 𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭫𐭠 302

VYŠRV, the separation of the word is doubtful; the כ may be the copula.

F′ 2,3; F′ 6,1 וישתחו 𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭲𐭧𐭲𐭠𐭧 303

F 11,5 ויסתאחו[ן] 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭧𐭲[𐭭] 304

višt(á)χv, *vistáχv(ê)*, n. adj. Phl B. וישתאשן, Arm. loan-word *vstah*, HBSCHM., *Arm.Gram.* p. 249 No. 630. NP. گستاخ and بستاخ, from OP. **vistáhva-*, 'bold, reliant, confident'. RAWLINSON's note-book leaves some doubt whether the word in F 11,5 is written with or without כ.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 6; 13; 16 וסתאחותלי 𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭧𐭲𐭠𐭧𐭲𐭠𐭤𐭩 305

N. i Rst. Krt. 10 ותלי..... 𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭤𐭩.....

vistáχvtare, comparative degree of the foregoing *vistáχve*. 'bolder, more confident'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 4 וכלתאו 𐭥𐭩𐭤𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭱 306

VKartáy. The first two letters are extremely doubtful.

B 4+5,4 וספאן 𐭥𐭮𐭯𐭠𐭭 307

vispán, pl. of *visp*, Phl B. וספ, וסף 'all'. Soghd. *visp-*, MP.T. *vīsp*; OP. *vispa-* beside *visa-*. The Pahlavík equivalent is missing; if it were לגדרנ, the Pársík word would give a clue to its interpretation; see לגדרנ s. ר. The passage in which the word occurs is very remarkable: 'PAT *Ohormizde* U *vispán*

to look through the veil of documents covering the truth, and we must go still a step further. Ṭabarí and others call Narseh a just ruler. But as they do not know a single fact of his life and reign, their general judgment is evidently a futile filling up of a gap in literary tradition. We know one fact of his life. He has done what rarely, if ever, any king has done: he has falsely put his name on the bas-relief of his elder brother Varhrán I. We know one bas-relief of his own at Naqsh i Rustam, SARRE-HERZFELD, *Iran. Felsrel.* pl. IX, and we know the bas-relief of Varhrán I. with the added inscription of Narseh at Shápúr, *l.c.* pl. XLI. The difference in style and in attributes are an unshakable evidence of that forgery. Narseh was not a candid person, and we may assume that his claim to the throne was very contestable. There is a striking notice by Ibn al-Athír, as quoted by Mírkhond, that Varhrán III. was compelled by the dignitaries of the empire to accept the crown against his will, and that he seriously declined to do so. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the Paikuli inscription prevents us from conciliating this statement with what we learn from it. But there must be some truth in that tradition.

In any case, Narseh was the victor. The Paikuli inscription does not tell us, what was Varhrán's fate after his defeat. Narseh must have had a vital interest in doing away with an adversary whose strength depended upon his just claims. If there is any truth in Hamza's and the *mujmil*'s words that Varhrán III. died in Párs, we may infer that either he fell in battle in that province, or that he died in prison on one of τῶν ἀναστάστων νῆσοι or in any 'castle of oblivion' *anóšbard*.

314 A′ 2,6 [ו]רהרן[ניכן] [כ]לה[לא]

315 B 2,2 [ו]לחלא[ניכן] [ג]זנ[בלא]

vartrag.... and .....*ik(á)n*. The fragments are those of one and the same word. It is a happy chance that the two elements just completing each other have survived. The following word is 𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭪𐭥 *χvat(á)vya* or 𐭧𐭅𐭕22𐭩 XVATÁY. Hence, the completion of the Pahlavík word to *vartragnik(á)n* is certain. The proper name of this 'lord of the Vartragnians' is *ohormizd-varáz*. Since the Av. *vərəθraγna-* appears in Parsík under the form 𐭢𐭠𐭫𐭭2 *varhrán*, we must expect **varhránik(á)n* XVATÁY as the Parsík equivalent of the title. *vartragnikán* probably must be supplied before 𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭪𐭥 in B′ 4,4.

The *vartragnik(á)n χvat(á)vya* is considered in the inscription as one of the *vispuhrán*; hence, we have two ways of interpreting this title, which has the gramm. form of an adjective formed with the suffix *-ik*: 1) The 'lord of the *vartragnikán*' appears as the last of the *vispuhrán*. He is preceded by 1) the *hargupate* (see 𐭤𐭫𐭪𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭪), 2) the chief of the Sasanian clan (see 𐭤𐭫𐭪𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭪), 3) the *bit(á)χše* (see 𐭮𐭲𐭠), 4) the *hazárupate* or Grand-Vizier (see 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭪), 5) the chief of the *Súrén* clan (see 𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠), and 6) the chief of the *spáhpat* clan (see 𐭱𐭤𐭫𐭪). So he is the seventh of the *vispuhrán*. In line 15′ of the Pahlavík version we meet with a similar list. 1) the *harkapati*, 2) two chiefs of the Sasanian clan, 3) the *bit(á)χš*, 4) the *haz(á)rupati*, 5) the *Súrén*, — the *Spádpati* is missing —, and 6) *ohormizd-* ....., the gap being just large enough to allow the insertion of *varáz vartragnik(á)n χvat(á)vya*. Then follows *kartír-ohormizd*, the *móbad* and mint-warden, the author of the inscriptions at Naqsh i Rustam and Naqsh i Rajab, and after him there is a still longer list of other grandees, all counted among the *vispuhrán*. Therefore, we are led to see in *vartragnikán* the name of a clan. But we do not know of such a clan; we know only of the Sasanian, the *Súrén*, the *Spáhpat* — the *Kárén* being extinguished during the wars of Ardashír I. —, and further the *Mihrán* whose mention in the inscriptions is not certain, and the very doubtful *Spandiyár* and *Zik*. Again the adjectival form of our word creates a certain obstacle, and the title *χvatáy* is not that of the chief of a feudal house; cf. 𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭪𐭥.

Hence, we must look out for another explanation. The Armenian historians Elisaeus of Vardan and Faustus of Byzantium mention a picked regiment of Persian troops, the *gund-n matean* or *matenik gund-n*, 'the regiment of the Immortals'. Procopius, in his description of Belisar's battle against Mihrán, Khusrau I's general at Nisibis (*Bell. Pers.* I 14), mentions the τῶν ἀθανάτων λόχος several times. This name evidently continues or resumes the old Achaemenian designation of the body

بهرام بن بهرامان لاتّه بهرام بن بهرام
بن بهرام ولقبه سكستان شاه اى ملك سجسان ﴾

'Vahrán, son of two Varhráns, for he was Varhrán, son of Varhrán, son of Varhrán, and his surname was Sakistánsháh i. e. king of Sijistán'. Others, like Ṭabarí, NÖLDEKE p. 49, Ibn Qutaiba, the *cod.* SPRENGER, and Eutychios, present the old erroneous reading *šáhánšáh* شاهانشاه instead of *sakánšáh* سكانشاه.

Now, Agathias mentions the conquest of Sakastán by Varhrán II. and the appointment of his son Varhrán III. to the vice-royalty of that country; and this fact is established beyond all doubt through the evidence of the Paikuli inscription. Therefore, we have not the slightest reason, not to trust the unanimous assertion of the historical tradition. Varhrán III. was indeed the son of Varhrán II. and the son of 'two Varhráns'. In this case, his successor Narseh must have been his granduncle, and the only thing we have to examine is, whether this strange succession is compatible with the chronological facts.

The date of the conquest of Sakastán and Varhrán III.'s nomination is 284 A. D. The prince may have been 16 years of age at that time, for we have other examples of the fact that princes were designated to be heirs to the throne at this age. Then, he would have been born about 268, and would have reached the age of 25 at the date of his accession. His father Varhrán II. would have been born about 248, for we must assume very early marriages in a Royal house of Zoroastrian faith, where early marriage was held to be a religious duty, see *Dénkard* VIII 20, 95, cf. CHRISTENSEN, *Empire* p. 49, and he would have reached the age of 27 at the date of his accession in 276 A. D. Varhrán I. would have been born about 228, and would have been 48 when he succeeded his elder brother Hormizd I., and 51 when he died. Sháhpuhr I. would have been about 21 years old when his second son was born, and would himself have been born about 207. He would have reached the age of 17 at the date of his father's victory over Ardaván in 224 A. D., when he gained his first laurels, his brother Ardashír having been nominated Kirmánsháh shortly before. He would have been 34 years old when he succeeded his father, and died at the age of 65. Ardashír I. must have married Ardaván's daughter about 206, before his rebellion, even before Ardaván became Great king, in ca. 213—224. All this is, as we know, in perfect accordance with other historical fact.

Narseh, a younger son of Sháhpuhr I., came to the throne in 293 and died in 302 A. D. On his own bas-relief at Naqsh i Rustam, SARRE-HERZFELD, *Iran. Felsrel.* pl. IX, obviously executed in 293/4 A. D., we see him as a man in the prime of life, with his juvenile son before him. Just as in the representation of Sháhpuhr on the bas-relief of Ardashír I. at Naqsh i Rajab, the small size of the figure of the heir to the throne signifies youth in general, not any particular age. The representation like that of the crown-prince on coins of Ardashír I. and Vahrhán II., points clearly to the appointment of his son, the later Hormizd II., as heir to the throne. Therefore, we may reasonably assume that Hormizd II. was about 16 years of age in 293, and Narseh seems to have been a man of 40 at that date. He would then have been born about 253, when his father Sháhpuhr I. was 46 years of age. This is all possible and indisputable, even if we make allowance for a more or less considerable deviation from the figures assumed.

Therefore, in 293 A. D., Varhrán III. seems to have been a young man of about 25 years of age, his granduncle Narseh a man of 40, and thus it is quite possible that the grand-uncle succeeded the grand-nephew. There is no valid reason at all for changing the tradition of the Oriental authors. And there is no doubt that Varhrán Sakánsháh of the Paikuli inscription is that very Varhrán III., son of Varhrán II.

The Paikuli inscription is dated from between 293 and 296 A.D. and is probably from the year 294 (see 𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭮), the date of the accession of Narseh, and the year when he began his war against Rome by attacking Tírdát of Armenia, and the inscription relates the events of the year 293, which saw the short period of Varhrán's I. reign. We need not be surprised that Narseh never calls his antagonist by the full royal title to which he had a just claim. We must be thankful that he did not suppress his name as well. He had a good reason not to hint at Varhrán's rights by birth and appointment. The inscription, written by the winner in the contest, is not unprejudiced. But it is the duty of the historian

The same sound probably appears in the Elam. n. pr. of the town *Atlila*, founded by the Cossaean *(Kaššú)* king Simbar Šipak. Cf. Hüsing, *Die Sprache Elams*, 86. Jahresber. d. Schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Cultur, Breslau 1900 p. 10 and the same *Die einheim. Quellen z. Gesch. Elams, Assyr. Bibl.* Delitzsch-Haupt vol. XXIV. 1 p. 91 *s.*

Again proceeding northward, we find the name of the city *ku-ud-mar*, conquered by the Great King of Khatti Šubbiluliuma about 1390 B. C., mentioned on a tablet from Boghazköi, *Keilschrifttexte v. Bogh.* I. 1 obv. 1. 26. The same town is called *Kul(l)imeri*, *Kul(l)am(m)eri* in the *Annals* of Asarhaddon, 673 B. C. We owe the localisation of this place to the sagacity of Marquart, *Éráns.* p. 141 and 158 *s.* It is τὸ χλωμάρων, χλομάρων κάστρον of the Byzantine historians, the *k'limar*, *k'lmar* of the Armenians, Syr. בלימר. Moses of Khorene explains by *k'lmar* the Iranian *Kutemran*, in which the old dental of *kudmar* reappears, showing that we must not consider the case as a simple change of sounds, but as a vaccillating spelling between dental and liquid. Cf. beside Marquart *l. c.* E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung d. Assyr. Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, p. 20 and 87; the same Z.D.M.G. Neue Folge I. 1 p. 229; Gelzer, *Georgius Cyprius* p. 167 *s.* Wrongly: Andreas, in Pauly-Wissowa s. v. *Aluaka*. Hbschm., *Altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 306—308. We may compare with this instance the name of the town in South Armenia, Arm. *balēš*, Greek τὸ Βαλαλήσων, Arab. *Bidlis*, mod. *Bitlis*. And perhaps Assyr. *Kunalua*, mod. *Gindere* between Alexandrette and Aleppo, presupposing an original **kunatlua*.

In the interior of Asia Minor we find on the cuneiform tablets from Boghazköi the names of two towns, not yet identified, written *ugulzi/ad* as well as *ugulzil-*, and *kudbinas* as well as *gulbinas*, cf. Forrer, Z.D.M.G. I. 1 p. 229. The most striking example from the Khatti language, in the restricted meaning of this word in contradistinction to the modern term 'hittite', is the name of the king, reigning about 2000 B. C., rendered in cuneiform by *labarnas* or by *tabarnas*, indifferently. Cf. Forrer, *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Or. Ges.* 1921 no. 61 p. 28 *s.*, the same Z.D.M.G. p. 183; Hrozný *Boghazköi-Stud.* No. 5 III, 2 p. 28 n., p. 32 n. 6, p. 49 *s.* Cp. Strabo I. 2,21 Λύγδαμις, chief of the Cimmerians, called *Tukdamme* in the inscriptions of Ašurbánipal, A. H. Sayce, *Academy* 30. Sept. 1893 n. 1117 p. 277 and Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, XI. Beiheft zur Klio, p. 136; Marquart, *Unters.* p. 227; H. Winckler, *Altor. Forschungen* I. p. 485.

Therefore, we must conclude that those languages possessed one peculiar sound, possibly several sounds of that sort, absolutely foreign to Semitic as well as to Indo-European languages, something like *tl*, an *l* pronounced with the tip of the tongue at the edge of the upper teeth, and being a strong sibilant. There is a word which we can follow through a great number of the languages concerned: Avar. (NW.-Caucasus) *tladi*, Lyc. (SW. Asia Minor) *ladi*, Urart. cuneif. *lutu*, Mitanni (old Mesop.) *rutu*, Elam. *rutu*, meaning 'woman, wife'. We may go a step farther to the West. In Pisidia we meet with local names containing that sound *tl* e. g. in Τλούα, ethn. Τλουηνός, an exact rendering of Lyc. TAAFA, and phonetically identical with the Lycian name *Tlos*; ΤΑΛΒΟΝΔΑ identical with Ptolemy's ΤΥΜΑΝΔΟΣ, hence originally *Tlabonda*; **tlbbă-ta*, Sundwall p. 209. There was at the same time a ΔΑΛΙΣΑΝΔΟΣ in Cilicia, and ΛΑΛΙΣΑΝΔΟΣ, ethn. ΛΑΛΑΣΣΕΙΣ in Lycaonia. Or ΤΡΗΜΙΣΣΟΣ in Pamphylia, ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΟΣ in Lycia. Cf. Sir William Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor* pp. 366, 402, 414, 424 &c. Still more apparent is the *tl* at the beginning of names in Lycia. I recall only the name of the city ΤΑΩΣ, at the foot of the Aqdagh in the Eshenchay valley near Düver, ethn. Τλωεύς, Τλωίτοι, rendered in the Lyc. inscriptions of Xanthos and Pinaris by *tlawa*, *tlãñ*, *tlãñna*, and the words *atl-* 'self' the verbal root √*ttli* 'to pay' in these inscriptions. Cf. Kalinka & Heberdey, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Wien 1901, J. Sundwall, *l. c.* p. 13 *kñtlah*; p. 18 *mutleh*, *mutlēi*; p. 21 *petlezēi*; p. 24 u. 209 *tlãñna*, *tlawa(d)*; p. 45 *adla-adra*; p. 66 Δαλασις Δαλισανδος; p. 134 *Lalasis*, Λαλασσευς; p. 162 u. 209 *tlla-muwa* Τλαηοας; p. 206 Τευτλουσσα; 209 Τλως, Τλουμνος; p. 209 *s. tlm̃me-*, *tla-*, *tlbba-*; p. 212 s. *tra-*, *trbbe*; p. 216 *tr̃mme*; p. 225 Υδη; p. 227 Υλη,

of the 10000 ἀθάνατοι. The Achaemenian 'Immortals' consisted of ten regiments of a thousand men each, commanded each by a χιλίαρχος '*hazárapatí*'. The first regiment, the μηλοφόροι, was the life-guards, represented in the enamelled bas-reliefs at Susa, and the commander of this choice body of troops, the *hazárapati* κατ' ἐξοχήν, held '*secundum gradum imperii*' and was never allowed to leave the king alone, and hence was at the same time Chief Gentleman Usher, as the gloss of Hesychios says: ἀζαραπατεῖς· οἱ εἰσαγγελεῖς παρὰ Πέρσαις, cf. MARQUART, *Unters.* Philol. vol. LIV. p. 224, and see 𐎠𐎶𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎭𐎠 and 𐎠𐎶𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎭𐎠𐎹.

During the period of the Muhammedan conquest of Iran, we hear of a similar body of troops, called by al-Dínawarí المستميتة 'those who face (or seek) death'. NÖLDEKE, *Ṭab.* p. 365 n. 2, considers this to be the Arabic translation of Pers. *jánapaspár*. To these two names we must add as a third that of the *vartragnikán*. Av. *vərəθraγna-* literally meaning 'the striking back of an attack', then 'victory'. The adjective *vartragnikán* means 'the victorious'. We sometimes meet with the synonymous '*péróžgar*' in the PhlB. translation. This is a name so well suited to a picked troop and so perfectly in concurrence with that of 'immortal', or 'facing death', that we may take it as certain that it was the name of a regiment of the Sasanian guard. The Syrians may well have used the name 'immortals' in continuation of the Achaemenian name, and the Greeks as well as the Arabs have taken the name from the Syrians. 'Facing death' seems to have been substituted for 'immortal' as the latter expression was, perhaps, objectionable to the Muslims. The title *χvatáy* too, suits excellently the commander of the guard. The Sasanian *vartragnikán χvatáy*, therefore, is the counterpart of the Achaemenian ἀζαραπάτης τῶν μηλοφόρων, whose title in Sasanian times has become the purely civil title of the Grand-Vizier.

The Pahlavík form of the name, written *VRTRGN-* is the graphical expression of a phonetical *varθraγn*. The Arm. loan-word *vahagn*, a transmutation according to an Armenian phonetical law from *varhraγn*, proves that this latter form was the actual pronunciation even in early Arsacidan time; hence *vartragn* is an archaic spelling even from the point of view of that early period. There is a ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ among the Śaka kings, the predecessor of Gondophares, reigning over Sakastán and NW. India at the beginning of the Christian era. Hence, we observe that in the dialect of Sakastán the *r* of *θr* has been dropped, whereas in the dialect of Parthia the *r* survived, and the *θ* was changed into *h*. A third form of the name, nearly contemperaneous and very similar, is ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ, the name of the war-god on some of the Kaniška coins of the second half of the 1st century A. D. In this form, belonging to the Iranian dialect of Northern Afghanistan, the old Bactria, the *θr* has been changed into *l*, whereas the preceding *r* in this complex consonantic group of *rθr* has become *š*. Cf. M. A. STEIN, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 5 of the reprint; WEST, Bibl. & Or. Rec. II. p. 237 and MARQUART, *Ērānš.* p. 88, also the unnecessary protest of KIRSTE, *Orobazes* p. 32.

Here we touch a problem of so far-reaching consequences for Iranian archaeology, that we must broach it, even if it leads us far away from our present object. This problem is that of the genesis of the *l* in MP. dialects. It is well known that the Avestan and the OP. languages have no *l*, and that even the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) had originally lost the Indo-European *l*. In MP. the *l* reappears.

Within the limits of the old country of Elam, of wider extent than the modern Khúzistán at the Persian Gulf, we meet with the geographical and ethnical name for the land itself, *Hatamti*, compared by V. SCHEIL with Assyr. n. pr. *Adamdun*, the modern *Lamlún*. Another geographical name belonging to that region, is given in the Annals of Asurbanipal col. I. 1. 58 as *Hulun*, in 1. 80 as *Hudanai* (ethn.). Proceeding farther to the North, we find the tribe of the *Yasubi*, e. g. Salmanassar III. *Balaw.* col. V. This tribe, kindred to the *Kaššú*, *Lullú* and *Elli*, is called *Yasubi gallai* in the Sanherib Prism col. I. 1. 64 and *Yasubi gaddu* in the tablet K. 1072. We observe here a vacillation between dentals and *l* in the Assyrian spelling of these foreign names. In the Elam. root √*hutla* the *tl* must be considered as a cuneiform graphical expression of a single and distinct sound *tl*.

For those men, half ancient Asiatic priests, half pirates, the Homeric epics must have been 'Hecuba'; they must have had a special reason to substitute the Homeric names for those of their own old language, and to consider the names of their gods *Troko-* and *Eia-* to be identical with *Teucros* and *Aias* respectively. And that reason must have been that they believed those gods to have been their primal ancestors, and kept a legendary tradition that they descended from, or were kindred to the Trojans, a tradition perfectly well known to Strabo. The language of the land or the city of *luya* is the *Trojan* language.

This is the linguistical and ethnographical basis, that underlies the strange phonetic transmutations which we observe in the Iranian, and as far as Semitic tribes have entered the territory in question, in Semitic languages too. We may trace an aboriginal population, or at least a population occupying these lands from time immemorial, and spread towards the East as far as the frontiers of India. The transmutations of sounds in question are not the only ones which prevail over this wide area. There is for instance KRETZSCHMER's 'Anatolian phonetic law' that every *t* following *n* becomes *d*, valid in the same territory. MARQUART quotes a very characteristic example: Δάραψα or Ἄδραψα, Δράψακα, i. e. *aṅtar-afš* 'between the rivers', mod. *Andarâb* in Bactria. Perhaps we may distinguish the western half under the general name of *Hittites*, the eastern under the name of *Caspians*, the latter comprising beside the Caspians, the Elamites, Kaššu, Lullu, Elli &c. The striking phonetic transmutations, reappearing wherever Semitic and Iranian tribes intermixed with that population, cannot be explained but by an admixture of their blood.

The earliest instance is the change of Assyrian sibilants before subsequent dental into *l*, cf. DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Gram.* § 64,3, a change which clearly separates the Assyrian from the Babylonian dialect, nearly identical in other respects. One of the most striking examples of this law is the name of Middle-Babylonia, Ass. *kaldú*, nom. gentil. from the land *kašda*. The Bab. form of the n. gent. is represented by Hebr. כשדים in *Ur Kasdim*, the home of Abraham, cf. DELITZSCH, *Paradies* p. 55, 129 *s.*, 134 *s.* This name must be derived from that of the *Kaššú* or Cossaeans, who ruled Babylonia during the greater part of the second millennium B. C. Before invading Babylonia about 1900 B. C., the *Kaššú* were inhabiting the country North of Elam, where the road from Babylon to Egbatana enters the Iranian hills. Some specimens of their language, handed down to us by learned Babylonian scribes, and the great number of their personal names, prove their connection with the Elamites as well as with the Mitanni population of Northern Mesopotamia and with some of the inhabitants of Asia Minor. — An example of the contrary transmutation of a foreign *r* or *l* in *š* we meet with in the Babylonian rendering of the name of the central Armenian district around the mount Ararat, *uraštu*, Assyr. *urarṭu*, Hebr. אררט, Armen. *ayrarat*, Herodot Ἀλαρόδιοι, in later times Syr. *orṭâyé*, Arab. *arṭân*, i. e. *orṭân*, cf. HBSCHM., *Altarm. Ortsnamen* p. 278—282, MARQUART, *Entstehung d. arm. Nation*, pp. 12 and 16 *s.* Here the Babylonians have treated the foreign name like an Assyrian one, restoring Bab. *št* for Ass. *lt.* — The genesis of an absolutely non-Semitic *l* out of a sibilant standing by the side of a dental, therefore, is to be judged as an instance of the physiologic and linguistic peculiarities of the older population breaking through the superseding layer of the language of the Assyrian invaders. We meet with the change of *š* and *l* once more in the Mitanni language as well as in the Khatti, cp. FORRER, Z. D. M. G. p. 234 & 235.

In Iranian the liquid *l* springs into existence out of the sounds θr, θr, *tr*, *rd*, *rδ*, *rz*, *rs*. These consonantic groups must have had the character of a strong sibilant resembling 'th' in Engl. 'three', as the regular rendering of OP. θr by Elam. *ss* or *šš* — Elam. cuneiform has but one graphical expression for a sibilant — clearly proves. The *phenomenon* as a whole is in perfect harmony with the wider aspect of the problem. The single dialects differ as to the degree of partaking in it. In the true Persian dialect of the South, OP. θr becomes *s*. θ alone regularly becomes transformed into *s*. The group $r\theta$ preserves the *r* and changes the θ into *s*. In *rš*, too, the sibilant prevails, the *r* is simply dropped. Only *rd*, *rδ* and *rz*, probably all of them sibilants, are transformed into *l*. This change of sounds

inscript. of Khattusil III. *Nda*, cf. Hrozný, *Bogh. Stud.* 5, p. 40 n. 1. — and Th. Kluge, *Mitt. d. Vorderas. Ges.* 1910 1, XV (It seems that the words *intelligere, intellectus, intelligentia* in Latin contain the peculiar sound *tl* of the aboriginal languages of Asia Minor, the word being transmitted to the Romans by the Etruscans).

The name of *Tlos* is phonetically and etymologically identical to that of *Troy*. So we have *Troy*, the theatre of the Ilias, *Tlos* in Lycia, *Tloua* in Pisidia, and I think we may add to these three *Tavium* in Galatia Prima, the modern Nefezköi, so highly important for the topography of Asia Minor; cf. Ramsay *l. c.* p. 243. Here we may pause, for we have continued our wandering from the shores of the Persian Gulf as far as to the straits of the Dardanelles.

The last examples clearly show that the Greek language rendered the above mentioned peculiar sound by τρ, while the cuneiform writers contented themselves to express it only either by a dental, or by the liquid *l*. Now, if a scribe educated in cuneiform writing had to face the task of expressing *tlava, tloua* or the like (which the Greeks render by Τλως, Τροια, Τρωια, Τροιη) he had only two ways of doing it. He could write *tu-u-i-ia* or *lu-u-i-ia*. The name *MAT al lu-u-i-ia* is indeed met with in the tablets from Boghazköi, not as that of any insignificant place, but of one who gave the name to one of the different languages used at that time, called *lu-u-i-li*. Cf. Forrer, *Die 8 Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften*, Berl. Sitzungsber. 1919, LIII p. 1030, 1039 and the same, Z.D.M.G. 1922 p. 190, 215 *ss.*; Hrozný *l. c.* p. 39, 40 and 55. Forrer once suggested to me that the *luvian* (as he reads it, or *lúyan* as Hrozný prefers to read) language might be even that of the Trojans. He never set forth this view in his work quoted above. Probably he refrained from doing so, considering the idea rather revolutionary, and because there is a great probability that the 'land of the city of *luya*' of the Boghazköi tablets must be sought for somewhere in Cilicia. But this is no reason at all to abandon the idea, which is suggested by the fact that *Troy* &c. on the one hand, and *luya* on the other, are phonetically equivalent. On the contrary, the equation becomes strongly supported through this circumstance.

On a pillar of the temple in the Corycian Cave in Cilicia Tracheia, there is a long list of the names of the priests who held their yearly office at that very old sanctuary, beginning with the epoch of Seleucus I. Nicator, reaching down uninterruptedly to the last days of the Roman Republic and continued, not without some gaps, until the time of the Aurelian Emperors. Cf. Heberdey und Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Denkschr. d. Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien vol. XLIV 1896; E. Sachau, *Cilicische Eigennamen*, in Zeitschr. f Assyr. VII. pp. 85—103. I hope to discuss the problem when publishing the long delayed account of the explorations and excavations in Cilicia, executed in 1907 in collaboration with Dr. Samuel Guyer.

The priests of the Corycian Cave bear nearly all of them theophoric names which reveal a good deal of the religion and the language of that interesting population of Asia Minor. The language of the passages is what is called *luili* in the Boghazköi tablets. Now Strabo who knew Cilicia personally, remarks (C. 672): Ὄλβη πόλις, Αἴαντος ἵδρυμα τοῦ Τεύκρου· ..... τὴν τοῦ Τεύκρου δυναστείαν ταύτην ἐκάλουν ..... καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοί γε τῶν ἱερασαμένων ὠνομάζαντο Τεῦκροι ἢ Αἴαντες. 'the city of Olba, founded by Aias son of Teucrus, ... they call them the dynasty of Teucrus .... and most of the officiating priests bore the names Teucrus or Aias'. The city of Olba, whose superb ruins survive, is situated not far from the Corycian Cave. The list of the priests shows that the archpriests of the temple of Zeus at Olba used to officiate, in the first year of their reign at least, simultaneously as the priests of the Cave also. The name *Teucros* in fact appears several times in the inscriptions. A great number of names are formed by the name *Troko-*, *Trokon-*, or *Eias-*, *Eian-* and verbal elements. Moreover, the Trojan name *Telamon*,—which, by the way, contains another instance of the sound *tl* — is met with in the Cilician inscriptions. Before anything was known about the Boghazköi texts, I had thought that the spreading of Greek culture and with it the knowledge and admiration of the great Homeric epics, was a sufficient explanation of these curious facts. Today we cannot maintain this view.

of the Arsacid Empire at that period, when Iranian thought began to react against the hellenization of the episod of the diadochs.

316 N. i Rjb. Krt. 30 ולחלאנבן 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭁𐭥2

varhrának(á)n, patronymic of *varhrán*, 'son of Varhrán'. The inscription confirms the historical tradition, that Varhrán II. was the son of Varhrán I. and the grand-son of Sháhpuhr I., and warns us from following the alteration in the genealogical tree proposed by v. Gutschmid, Z.D.M.G. XXXIV p.746.

Coin of Vaχšuvarya ור כל

317 Sháhak gem Steuart ורכאן 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠22

vur. abbreviation of *vurkán*, n. pr. geogr. mod. *Gurgán*. Av. *vəhrkana-*, OP. *vṛkána*, Elam. *virkaniya*, Greek Ὑρκανία, Arm. *Vrkan*, later *Gurgan*, Syr. (year 430 A. D.) *Gurgán*, PhlB. 𐭪𐭥𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭭 *gurgán (Vidévd.)*. It was situated at the SE. angle of the Caspian, N. of the province *parθava* in Darius I.'s time, when his father Vishtáspa was satrap of Parθava and Vrkána. The old name still survives in that of the village Gurgán. The two letters כל on the coins are certainly the abbreviation of that name, as Marquart has suggested, *Philol.* Suppl. X. 1 1905, p. 26 n. 2; cp. the two letters 2𐭥 on the Frátadára coins which are the abbreviation of 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠22. Cf. Hill, *Cat. of Gr. Coins, Arab., Mesop., Pers.* p. CLVIII *ss.* See כגאבכלן.

318 B′ 6,4; E′ 12,1 וש כא

319 B′ 4,6; D′ 10,2; D′ 15,3; E′ 14,5 ושן כאב

uš and uš*(á)n*, the copula u plus the enclitic per. pron. of the 3rd p. sg. and pl. Pársik writes 𐭥𐭱22 and 𐭥𐭱22𐭥 instead of 2 plus the terminations. 'and him', 'and them'. The encl. pron. stands in the casus obliquus. See 𐭥𐭱.

320 F 15,3 ושני... 𐭥𐭱22...

...*ósane*, n. subst. in the *iḍáfat* construction with *éránšatre*.

321 C′ 2,6; C′ 14,3 ותי כתו

322 B 12,6; C 11,6 (𐭭 only); D 5,5 ותלי 𐭥𐭫𐭠2

vati and *vat(t)are*, 'bad' or 'worse'. The places do not correspond, except the single 𐭭 in C 11,6 being the rest of 𐭭[𐭥𐭫2], and equivalent to C′ 2,6. Pahlavík uses the positive, Pársik the comparative of the word, as PhlB. does. Arm. loan-word *vat*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 243 *s.* no. 605. PhlB. prefers the ideogram 𐭱𐭥𐭲, cp. Sab. באריא, *Frhg.* XXVI. 2: 𐭱𐭥𐭲 · 𐭥𐭫𐭠 · 𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭥. NP. بد, compar. بتر or بدتر. The reduplication of the 𐭥 is expressed neither in Pársik nor in PhlB.

Frátadára coins ותפרדת 𐭥𐭯𐭦𐭫𐭥2 323

v(á)tafrad(á)ta, Gr. Αὐτοφραδάτης, Lyc. inscr. *wa[tapra]ta kssadrapa par[z]a*, which would be rendered in Greek Αὐτοφραδάτης ὁ ξατράπης Πέρσης, OP. **vátafradáta* 'created by *váta*', i. e. the god of good wind, OAΔO of the Kúshán coins. Cf. *Tit. As. Min.* No. 40 d; Sundwall, *Einh. Namen d. Lykier* p. 28; J. P. Six, *Num. Cron.* 1894 p. 326 ss.; Marquart, *Untersuch.* II. p. 64 and 86; Justi, *Namenb. s. v.* See כגאבכלן.

ז ן ר

See כגאבכלן זאדתני 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭁𐭥2 324

G′ 1,5 זאב[סח] [𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭]

H 2,3 זאבאסח 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭁𐭥2 325

Zámasp n. pr. In Pahlavík only the letters 𐭥𐭣𐭫 survive, in Pársik the last two 𐭯2..., the right half of the block being now destroyed. Rawlinson saw the part now lacking, and transcribed the whole thus: 𐭯2𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭁𐭥32, cf. fig. 13 p. 12. Instead of Rawlinson's 𐭁 I read 𐭭; his 𐭭, drawn with marked hesitation, is to be read 𐭫, and his 𐭥, hence, must be corrected into 𐭫. But we must bear in mind that thus the name is a reconstruction. If there were not the 𐭯 I would compare the Saka name Zamotika, cf. Lüders, "*Die Śakas u. d. 'nordarische' Sprache*", Berl. Sitzungsber. 1913, pp. 406 *ss.* The name *zámasp* is borne by one of the Sasanian kings, the brother and antagonist of Kavát I., and it appears on coins in the abbreviated form of 𐭥𐭣𐭫, occasionally as 𐭯𐭥𐭣𐭫 or 𐭥𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭯. Av. *jámáspa-*, Gr. Ζαμάσπης, Syr. *zámásp*, Arm. *jamasp*, Arab. *jámásb*, *jámásf*. Cf. Justi, *Namenb.* p. 109.

takes place just the same in modern days in the Kurdish dialects of the Assyrian territory. When travelling in those countries I used to ask my Kurdish guides for the names of the places, very often formed with *gird* 'mound' or *purd* 'bridge'. In most cases it was impossible to discern, whether the man pronounced *rd* or *l*. In Southern Persia as a whole, the sibilants are stronger than the liquids. Here, at the Southern end of the territory concerned, the admixture of aboriginal blood seems to have been feeblest. All the exceptions from the rule can be shown to be words borrowed by the Pársik either from the official Pahlavík language as terms of social or political life, or from the Avesta as religious terms and as proper names. — In Pahlavík, the MP. language of Khorásán, the old Parthian satrapy, OP. *rθ* is replaced by *hl*, as in the name of the country and its inhabitants itself; OP. *parθava-*, MP. *pahlav*. The same seems to be the case with *rt*, whereas *rd*, *rδ*, *rz* seem to have been transformed into *hl* and *l*, as in Pársik. *θr* becomes *hr* or *hl*, as opposed to the Pársik *s*. It is difficult to distinguish the Pahlavík in its restricted sense of the MP. dialect of Parthia, from the MP. dialect of Media, called *ádhari* by al-Mas'údí *tanbíh* p. ٨٧; since one of the richest sources of information, the Armen. loan-words, may render *ádhari* as well as *pahlavík* words. The basis of the examination therefore, must be the geographical proper names. This examination would yield good results.

The same changes of sounds are common in the Pámír dialects. In Wakhí for instance, initial *d* becomes *l*, and in Ishkashmí we find, beside the regular preservation of the dental, the exception Av. *daéva-* > *léw*. *rt* in Ishk. and Zébakí regularly becomes *l*, e.g. Av. *mərəta* > *mul*, *kərəta-* > *kul*, *karəta-* > *kel*. And more striking than these regular changes, we find medial *-š-* becoming *-l-*, e. g. Av. *gaoša-* > *γol*, *χšvaš* > *χol*, *maeša-* > *mél*, *spiš* > *spul*, *nišasta-* > *nulust*. This is exactly the Assyrian phonetic rule, the mere sibilant *š* becoming changed into the liquid *l*. Cf. G. A. Grierson, *Ishkashmi, Zebaki,* & *Yazghulami*, R. A. S. Prize Publ. Fund vol. V 1920 §§ 24, 30, & 32. — In the dialect of the mediaeval Bactria we find, as Marquart has observed, the instances of Av. *vərəθraγna-* becoming ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ, and OP. *báχtri-* > *báχl*, PhlB. بهل, formerly sometimes mistaken for the name of Bukhárá and even confounded with Pahlava. Hence, *θr* and *tr* become *l*. See W. Foy, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachw. N. F. XVII, 4 pp. 490 n. 1, and 496. At the same time we observe the transformation, common also in other languages of simple dentals into *l*, e. g. in بلخشان besides بدخشان, the name of the country which gave the name to the Balásh rubies. Cf. the OP. *sugδa*, Soghd., with dropping of the *γ*, becoming MP. *Súlik*, Chin. *Su-li*, Marquart, *Chronol. d. Alttürk. Inschriften*, 1898, pp. 56 *ss*. This simple change is the rule in the Afghán language. Therefore, the aboriginal admixture seems to have been even more efficient here in Bactrian territory, than in any other part of Iran. Scarce as the instances of MP. Bactrian are, we may regard Marquart's observation as well founded, and therefore, may follow the conclusion which he draws and which is highly important for Iranian archaeology:

In the first Fargard of the *Vidévdád* § 7 and 8, the name of the city of Balkh, *báχtri-* in the OP. inscriptions, rendered in the Elam. version of the Behist. inscription by *p'ak's'i-* — the n. ethn. in the N. i Rst. Inscr. by *p'ak'ṭ'ṛri-* — is written *báχδiš*. This is a learned, but erroneous recreation of a supposed Avestic form out of the living form *báχl*, caused by the false analogy of living *l* representing old dentals, cf. ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ and ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ. The never existing, never spoken form *báχδiš* must have been invented at a time, when *báχl* was the actual pronunciation of the old *báχtri-*, i. e. not earlier than the beginning of the Arsacidan Empire. This observation strengthens to others which prove, that the first Fargard of the *Vidévdád*, the famous catalogue of Iranian lands, endowed with good gifts by Hormizd and with plagues by Ahriman, cannot have been composed in its present form at an earlier period than that of the early Arsacidan Empire, the Ἀριανή of Eratosthenes, whose limits it actually reflects. This Fargard, on which so many theories of the East Iranian origin of the Avesta, and of the home of Zoroaster are founded, is nothing else than a description

both the names consists in the *t* added in Pahlavík. Hence, I feel sure that the two names represent Ind. *Surāšṭra*, and the Iranians felt some difficulty in rendering the Ind. cerebral. The greater obstacle is the voiced *z* instead of the voiceless *s* of the original. *-šin* and *-čin* are the Iranian terminations of the n. gent. The remaining *zurad-* or *zur(a)dt* resembles more the Prakrit *Soraṭha*, and modern *Surát*, than the Skrt. form of the name. Greek follows the Skrt. form. It is twice mentioned not long before the time in question. The anonymous *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, written about 80—89 A. D. says § 41: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαράκην εὐθύς ἐστι ὁ Βαρυγάζων κόλπος, καὶ ἡ ἤπειρος τῆς Ἀριακῆς χώρας, τῆς Ναμβάρου βασιλείας ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς οὖσα. Ταύτης τὰ μὲν μεσόγεια τῇ Σκυθίᾳ συνορίζοντα Ἀβηρία καλεῖται, τὰ δὲ παραθαλάσσια Συρασθρηνή. And Ptolemy, writing about 150 A. D., says b. VII, 1 § 55: Πάλιν ἡ μὲν παρὰ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πᾶσα καλεῖται κοινῶς μὲν Ἰνδοσκυθία, ταύτης δὲ ἡ μὲν παρὰ τὸν διαμερισμὸν τῶν στομάτων Παταληνή, καὶ ἡ ὑπερκειμένη αὐτῆς Ἀβιρία, ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν Κάνθι κόλπον Συρασθρηνή. In both these cases Suráshṭra is connected with Ábhirá, and Ptolemy clearly states that these countries, together with Patalene, formed Indo-Scythia or the Indian domains of Sakastán. In the Paikuli inscription we meet with Ábirá, and Avantí or Málwá, and a great number of apparently Śaka satrapies of the same region. Therefore, I think, the initial *z* must not prevent us from identifying *zurádičin*, the people of *zurád-* with *Suráshṭra-Surat*.

Hüan Cuang, BEAL p. 268 *s.* describes the country under the name *su-la-ch'a*.

Cf. MCCRINDLE, *Anc. India as descr. by Ptolemy* 1885 pp. 35 *s.* and 136—40; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 317 and 324 *ss.*; LASSEN, *Ind. Altertk.* pp. 134 ss.; RAPSON, BHAGWÁN LÁL INDRAJÍ & BIDDULPH in J. R. A. S. 1890 p. 357; RAPSON, *Grdr. Indo-Ar. Phil.* II. 3 B p. 21 *s.* §§ 80—84; the same, *Cambr. Hist. of India* I p. 585.

334 C′ 2,2; C′ 3,2; E′ 15,1 𐭩 𐭭
Frátadára Coins; N. i Rjb. Krt. 12; 27 *bis*; 𐭩 𐭬 29 *bis*; 30 *ter*; 31; N. i Rst. Krt. 1; 3; 4; 8; 10; 12?; 15; 17; 31; 33; Paik. A 9,2; B 6,4; B 9,6; B 10,1. 5; B 11,1. 2. 3; B 12,1. 5. 6; C 2,5. 6; C 4,3. 4; C 9,4. 5; D 5,3. 5; E 2,5; E 9,4. 5; E 11,4. 5; E 12,1; E 15,4; F 9,4; F 15,3; G 12,1; H 2,2. 3; H 5,3. 4. 5; H 6,3. 4; H 7,3. 4. 5; H 8,4; H 14,4. 5; Pers. I, 7 *ter*; II, 1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; — Dínak; Páp. Ptrbg.; Védsh. Paris; Vahd. Sháhp. Lond.; Sháh. STEUART; Báf. Berl.

Ideogr. 𐭩. In the Aram. letter of Bél-ēṭir, officer of Ašurbánipal, from Assur, M. LIDZBARSKI, *Altaram. Urkunden aus Assur*, Wiss. Ver. d. Deutsch. Or. Ges. 38, 1921 and in other Aram. documents of the 7th cent. B. C. the word appears in the same shape 𐡉, in later Aram., even as early as that of the older parts of Bibl. books, as 𐡄. It is the Aram. *nota relationis*, and used in Iranian to denote the relat. construction of the *iḍáfat*. The *Frhg.* does not enumerate the simple 𐭣, but its compounds with the encl. pers. pronoun. It is the OP. *hya, tya*, Soghd. ɨ, and is to be read ɨ., NP. *i.*

The Pahlavík does not use the *iḍáfat* ɨ. It is obvious that the three isolated occurrences in the inscription, C′ 2,2 corresponding to B 11,1; C′ 3,2 to B 12,1 and E′ 15,1 to E 9,4, are 'Parsíkisms'. The relat. construction, if needed and expressed at all, is rendered in Pahlavík by the ideogram 𐭠𐭩, read ČÉH, cf. *draxt i asúrík* (BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 26:) *šatr čé érán*. But on the Frátadára coins, we meet the term 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭥𐭩𐭣, ɨ BAGÁN 'the divine', a clear indication, like the ideogram 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭥𐭩𐭭 itself, that language and script of the Frátadára coins are Pársík, not Pahlavík.

The ideogram, like all the ideograms of demonstrative pronouns as 𐭠𐭥𐭠, 𐭥𐭠, 𐭭𐭣𐭭, is a very archaic one. We meet the exact form, beginning with 𐡉 in the old Aram. documents of Assyrian and Achaemenian times, but not in the Bibl. Aram. where 𐡉 has become replaced by 𐡄. This is another hint at the true epoch of the introduction of the Pársík system of ideographical writing into the Persian *diwáns*. It must have happened already in Achaemenian time.

326 Áwr. 2 זאת 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀

ZAT. I prefer this reading to the equally possible, and perhaps equally enigmatical *YAT.* Perhaps one is allowed to compare Hebr. זאת, Arab. ذات, fem. of זה, ذو Aram. זי, די. I do not venture to suggest how to pronounce this ideogram in Pahlavík. From the context we must expect a verb 'belonging to' or the relative 𐬛𐬎, and it may be that the verb itself, being the auxiliary verb, is omitted.

327 Áwr. 7 זבנת 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙

328 Áwr. 3 זבנו 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀

Ideogram, זבן 3rd p. sg. perf. Pə'al from זבן 'to buy', with the Iran. termination *-t* of the past part. pass., hence 'bought'. This form represents the part. and preterite base of the Iran. verb. For the pres. base we must assume the 3rd p. pl. 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 met with in line 3. PhlB. uses the ideogram 𐭪𐭩𐭭𐭥𐭭, *Frhg.* XXI 13 *s.* with the short ligated 𐭪, read *χrītane* 'to buy', and the ideogram 𐭪𐭩𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭲, a participle pass. Pa"el or a denom. form (cf. מקבל) meaning 'to sell' for the Iran. *fróštane* 'to sell'. Now, in Áwr. l. 1 we read 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙, see this, and as the context admits that explanation, we may consider it as the ideogram corresponding to PhlB. 𐭪𐭩𐭭𐭲. Therefore, 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙 must be read xrīt 'bought', 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 xrīn*(ét)* 'buys' or xrīn*(án)* 'buyer', 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 fravaxš 'seller' or fravaxš*(ét)* 'sells'.

329 C′ 14,2 זודברתי 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌

zúdkirti, n. pr. of the *takarapati*. Cp. the name *zúδ-ámaδ* 'quick-come' viz. with his advice, Justi, *Namenb.* p. 387. PhlB. 𐭦𐭥, NP. زود 'quick', hence the literal meaning would be 'quick-made'.

330 Áwr. 3; 8 זזן 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙

ZUZN. Ideogram, Assyr. *zúzu*, from *zázú* 'to divide, to halve'. The Assyr. *zúzu* was half a *šiqlu*, and we may assume that in Iran. it had the same denomination. The word is met with in all North-Semitic languages. זוז, pl. abs. זוזין appears in Aram. inscr.; In Aram., Talm., and Syriac we have זוזא. We must take the זזן of the parchment as the *scriptio defectiva* of the pl. abs., to be found in the Aram. inscriptions. From the inscription on the weight of Darius in the B. M., *Dar. Pond. a*, we must infer that the OP. '*mine*' had 6 OP. *karšá*. The Bab. *mine* had 60 *šiqlu*. Hence 1 OP. *karšá* had 10 *šiqlu*, Greek σίγλος, or 20 *ZUZ*. The Aram. papyri from Assuán reveal the system: 1 כרש = 10 שקל, 1 שקל = 4 ד (i. e. δραχμή). Hence, the *ZUZ* would originally be a *didrachm*. As the *Frhg.* XVI 2 explains the ideogram: ∘ (or: 𐭤𐭥𐭭𐭲) 𐭤𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭪𐭥𐭭 · 𐭤𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭪𐭥𐭭 · 𐭤𐭥𐭭, hence: *dram* 'drachm, dirham', it seems that *ZUZ* served in later times for the simple, instead of the double *dirham*. The Arm. loan-word *dram* presupposes the Pahlavík form *drahm*; hence we should transcribe the ideogram in Awr. with drahm.

Cf. Meissner, in Orient. Lit. Ztg. 1918, 7/8 p. 172; Cowley, J. R. A. S. April 1919 p. 149; Sayce & Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* 1906 p. 220; Hill, *Cat. of Gr. Coins, Persia* p. CXXI *ss.*; Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 145 No. 208; Salemann, *Pars. Handschr.* p. 75; Grierson, *Ishkashmi, Zebaki & Yazghulami*, p. 8 n. 1: Dardic *droγum*, Prákr. Karóṣṭhi *draγma* (from Sir Aurel Stein).

331 F′ 11,3 זונאן . 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬐

The first letter is indistinct, the word may be incomplete at the beginning. The following word is *dušmanín* 'the enemies'. Hence, the meaning seems to be a synonym of 'enemies'.

332 G′ 9,6 זורדתשן 𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬱

333 H 7,4 זולאדצין 𐬵𐬀𐬤𐬀𐬛𐬯

zur(á)ditš(i)n, zurádičin, n. pr. ethn. — Although the two names do not stand exactly at the corresponding places, there can hardly be any doubt that they are practically identical. They appear in the list of tribes, bearing Iranian names and being ruled by independent Iranian 'lords'. I consider them as *Śaka* tribes, cp. 𐬛𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀. The ruler of the *zur(á)ditš(i)n* is called *báti*, the lord of the *zurádičin* is called *bagd(á)t. Báti* may well be a hypocoristicon of *Bagd(á)t*. The order of these tribes may not be exactly the same in the two versions. This assumption is more plausible than that there would have been two tribes of practically the same name. For Pahlavík *š* corresponds to Pársík *č*, and as Pahlavík abstains from using *scriptio plena* more than Pársík does, the only difference in

344 G′ 6+5,4 זמן זמן

345 H 5,2 זמאן זמאן

žam(á)n, zamán, Soghd. *žam(á)n,* NP. زمان 'time'. Cp. Hebr. זמן, Aram. Inscr. זמן, Arab. زمان. The Arm. loan-word *žamanak* and Soghd. *žaman-,* MP.T. *žam(á)n* show that Pahlavík *žam(á)n* must be transcribed with *ž*, the Pahlavík *ſ* serving for both, *z* and *ž*. — Pahlavík and Pársík both have the idiom: TÁK *fraškirt zamán* 'until the time of resurrection', viz. 'eternally'.

346 B′ 1,6 זיבך or זבך זבך or זיבך

ZNBK, possibly *ZYBK.* If *ſ* be the true reading, one might think of the root √*ǰiv-* 'to live', *ž(i)vak* 'living'. The context is obscure to me.

347 see ... זלידא זנדפליך

348 N. i Rst. Art. 1′; Ohrm. 1′; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1′; Hjb. 1′; 5′; 12′; Paik. C′ 9,1; C′ 10,1. 3; cf. C′ 4,1; זנה

N. i Rst. Krt. 1; Ohrm. 1; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1; Sháp. Nrs. 1; Hjb. 1; 5; 7; 13; N. i Rjb. Krt. 8; 10; 12; 13; 15; 16; 22; N. i Rst. Krt. 6; 8; Paik. C 2,4; D 3,3; F 12,4; F 13,1. Pers. I. 4; 11; Pers. II. 1; זנה

Ideogram זנה, old Aram. Inscr. (e. g. *Panammu*) זנה, Bibl. Aram. דנה 'this', *Frhg.* *XXIV 4 . עין or ע, hence read ĖN 'this'. Soghd. *in-.* Where both the corresponding words are preserved, we find the ideograms to be identical, except Hjb. 6′ and 7, where זי stands for זיך. Like זי and זך, זנה must be a very old ideogram. Cf. זיך.

Hjb. 8′; E′ 15,5 זנך זנך

349 *ZNK,* the reading of the *ſ* is doubtless in E′ 15,5, that of the ב in Hjb. In both the instances זיך corresponds to Pársík גבנג 'so, such, in a manner'. Hence *zanak* is formed by the *-k* suffix from Av. *zana-* 'race'; OP. *-zana-* 'manner', Arm. loan-word *zan,* HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 148 *s.* N. 222, Aram. loan-word זן, Syr. זנא 'manner'. In Hjb. 8′ לגזרזיך is written without any space between גזל and זיך, so we may take the compound of the ideogram and the phonetic word as the rendering of גבנג.

ג ח ס

A 5,4 ... ח ... ס 350

Fragment, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

C 2,6 האכאן גסגנגג 351

χákán, Iran. rendering of the Turko-tatar. royal title *χaqan,* appearing as *χak'an* in the works of Moses of Khorene. In the *Geography,* cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 159 and MARQ., *Osteur. Streifz.* p. 58 *s.* Moses says: 'The king of the North is the *χak'an,* i. e. the lord of the *Khazirk'*, and the queen is the *Khat'un,* i. e. the wife of the *χak'an* &c'. Gr. χαγάνος, NP. Arab. Turk. خاقان.

According to MARQ. *Éráns.* p. 53, the title does not occur earlier than in the year 402 A. D., in Chinese sources, when it was adopted by the former *šen-yü* of the Žuan-žuan or Avar. *k'iu-tóu-fa k'o-han,* 'the governing and spreading Emperor'. But, since the title occurs in the year 293 of the Paikuli inscription, the Emperor of the Avars evidently adopted this royal title, existing long before his time, instead of the subordinate title *šen-yü.*

The title speaks strongly in favour of the identification of the *aq-aqatārán* with the *aq-χazar,* and I do not feel convinced by MARQUART's emphatic protest against this identification, *Osteur. Streifz.* p. 43, calling this identification *'unphilologisch'*, nor by his statement, *Éráns.* p. 107, that the Khazars did not appear before 585 A. D. in history and that the designation of Turks by the name Khazar in earlier times, be 'proleptical, but faulty'.

Cf. [ג]גגגסגנג.

B 9,6 ... חו ... סס 352

χú ....., n. pr. of a country. I suppose that it must be completed to *χúžist(á)n* גגסגסגסס. The Pahlavík equivalent is missing, and we observe just at this place a difference in the grammatical construction of the passage. Pársík has *ó vímande i χú* ....., whereas Pahlavík must have had [*ó χú* ....] *vímand,* see כגסגלג.

A 4,4 חובד . גבנ . סס 353

The last letter is doubtful; one may read נ, ס, or the like. At this place there is a marked divergence

The frequent Aram. genetive construction with the *nota relationis*, like ברה דאלהא, is the reason for the preserving of the suff. of the pers. pron. in so great a number of ideograms.

Cf. 𐭠𐭮𐭭, 𐭩𐭣𐭭.

335 N. i Rjb. Krt. 24 זיואבוחי 𐭩𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭢𐭥𐭭

The reading is very doubtful. Possibly the first two letters are the *nota relationis*, but the 𐭭 may be read 𐭣, too. Instead of 𐭥 one can read 𐭯. But the word looks like an abstract noun ending in *-ihe*. The whole sentence runs: '*um* MAS XVĒŠ NÁM *ZYVAKYXY* APAR *gáte pátaχšatre* U DĒHÁN NIPIŠT ÉST*(ē)*t' 'and by a great one myself the name (or: myself having a great name) ZYVAKYXY upon the coins of the Royalty and of the provinces has been written'. The passage is of no small importance for numismatics, but the photograph does not allow a reliable reading, although it must be possible to establish the truth on the spot.

336 F 9,2 זיך 𐭩𐭣𐭪

The 𐭣 is supplemented from RAWLINSON's copy. I think we must read 𐭭 instead of 𐭣.

337 E 15,3 זים 𐭩𐭣𐭠

Ideogram 𐭦 plus the encl. pers. pron. of the 1. sg. *-m* read *im*, PhlB. *Frhg.* XXIV 2 has: 𐭠𐭱 or 𐭠𐭱·𐭱𐭮. Soghd. *it, itán, imán, iš*. Cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* § 87 n. 3.

338 N. i Rjb. Krt. 16 זינדכאן 𐭩𐭭𐭣𐭪𐭡𐭭

z(á)yandakán, ziyandakán or *zindakán*, PhlB. 𐭦𐭭𐭲𐭮 *zīvandagān*, 'living, alive' from *√jīv*: *žívistan, žív-* 'to live', cf. NP. زنده.

339 A′ 2,3; C′ 4,1. 5; E′ 14,5; F′ 2,5; F′ 11,4; זך 𐭩𐭪

A 11,4; B 2,4; B 11,6; C 3,3; C 9,3; D 6,6; E 2,4; F 5,5; זך 𐭩𐭣

Ideogram זך; old Aram. Inscr. זך, Bibl. Arm. דך, pron. demonstr.: 'that'. *Frhg.* XXIV 3 𐭠𐭱·𐭲, hence to be read ÁN, or, if we follow the writing 𐭩𐭡𐭭 of the compound of this pronoun with *-gón*, HÁN, a more archaic pronunciation which we may, at any case, adopt for the Pahlavík ideogram. Soghd. *χón-*. MP. does not preserve the great number of dem. pron. of Av. and OP., but it is richer than NP. The use of the pron. dem. apparently was not exactly the same in both languages. For instance, in A′ 2,3 and E′ 14,5 𐭪 corresponds to 𐭦𐭭; in B 11,6 𐭣 corresponds to 𐭤𐭠. There is no absolutely certain example of 𐭪 corresponding to 𐭣; for in C′ 4,1 = B 11,6 the reading is doubtful, possibly we must read 𐭠𐭮𐭭 instead of 𐭪.

This ideogram is another proof of the high age of the creation of the ideographical systems, long before the foundation of the Sasanian and even before that of the Arsacidan empire.

N. i Rst. Krt. 2 וכם 𐭠𐭣𐭪 340

Ideogram זך, read HÁN, plus the encl. pron. of the 1st p. sg. *-am*, hence HÁN-*am*.

F 3,6 זך מנו 𐭩𐭣𐭪 341

Ideogram זך and ideogram מנו, see this; read HÁN KÉH, NP. آن که 'he who, that which'.

B 2,1; G 2,3; cf. N. i Rjb. Krt. 16 זך בען 𐭩𐭣𐭪 342

Ideogram זך and ideogram בען, see this; it is not perfectly certain, whether we must regard both these words as a compound, and attribute to HÁN NÚN a more definite meaning than to the simple NÚN, viz. 'at even that time, just then, just now', or as two separate words, meaning 'that one then'. In Pahl. 𐭤𐭠 𐭦𐭣𐭫 corresponds to it, see 𐭦𐭣𐭫. PhlB. 𐭩𐭪 𐭭 HÁN-NÚN.

A 11,2 זך צבו לא 𐭤𐭠 𐭩𐭣𐭪 343

Three ideograms, see 𐭠𐭤𐭣, read 'HÁN ĒČ NĒ'. The ideogram ēč alone means 'something, anything', with the negation NĒ 'nothing'. Here again the demonstr. seems to indicate a more definite sense, referring to a special case, or only an emphasis laid upon the word, hence 'nothing of that kind' or 'nothing at all'. *Frhg.* XXV 8 gives 𐭭𐭲𐭮·𐭭𐭲𐭮, with many variants of the *Pázand* writing. But apparently the *uzvāriš*, too, is faulty, and we ought to expect 𐭩𐭲𐭮 or 𐭭𐭲𐭮 with ligated 𐭩, instead of 𐭭𐭲𐭮.

1) 1st p. sg.: HOM

Párs. 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 HOM: N. 1 Rjb. Krt. 1; 27;
„ 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱 BÚT HOM: N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 11; 11-12; 13;
„ 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭪𐭠𐭲𐭣 *kirte* HOM: N. i Rjb. Krt. 4; 28; 29; 30-31;
Pahl. Paik. E′ 7,4 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 DÁT HOM
= Párs. F 6,2 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱 DÁT HOM
„ D′ 10,2 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 RASÍT HOM
= Párs. (equivalent missing)
„ (equivalent missing)
= Párs. 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭪𐭠[𐭮]𐭱𐭲 *vihé[χ]te* HOM: D 3,1
𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭱 ÁMAT HOM: Pers. II 2

2) 3rd p. sg.: AST

Párs. 𐭥𐭮𐭱 AST N. i Rjb. Krt. 19
Pahl. Paik. A′ 6,4; A′ 6,5; F′ 2,4 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 *ast*
= Párs. 𐭥𐭮𐭱 AST A 1,5; B 2,1; G 6,3
F′ 6,6 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 [𐭠𐭭] [*hu*]*naravant* *ast*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
G′ 1,1 𐭫𐭤𐭪𐭥𐭣𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 *fraKSYVt* *ast*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
G′ 11,3 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭫𐭤𐭠𐭭𐭤 *fratar* *ast*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
B′ 7,5 𐭩𐭫𐭤𐭫𐭤 (obscure)
= Párs. C 11,1 𐭥𐭮𐭱 AST
Pahl. (equivalent missing)
Párs. C 3,2 𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭯𐭱𐭯𐭲𐭩 *pat(vá²)χte* AST
Pahl. (equivalent missing)
Párs. E 15,1 𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭯𐭪𐭩𐭪 ... *BUNist* AST
Párs. 𐭥𐭮𐭱 AST: C 2,1; C 4,3; G 6,2; Pers. I 2 *ult.*

3) 3rd p. pl.: H*(é)nt*

Pahl. Hjb. 11′ 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭤𐭤 NÉV H*(é)nt*
= Párs. Hjb. 12 𐭥𐭮𐭱 _𐭪 NÉV AST
Hjb. 14′ 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭤𐭤 NÉV H*(é)nt*
= Párs. Hjb. 16 _𐭪 NÉV
Pers. I 9 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱 BÚT H*(é)nd*

C′ 2,4 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 is an irregular form, probably a clerical error, and may be either 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 or better suiting the context 𐭫𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭭 BOV*(é)nt*.

4) conditional H*(é)ndé*:

Pahl. Hjb. 9′ 𐭤𐭤 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭤𐭤 HAKAR BNY*t* H*(é)ndé*
= Párs. Hjb. 10 𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭱 𐭯𐭱 AKAR *čite* AST
Hjb. 10′ 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 BÚT H*(é)ndé*
= Párs. Hjb. 10 𐭥𐭮𐭱 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱 BÚT AST
Paik. F′ 7,3 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 H*(é)ndé*
= Párs. G 12,2 𐭥𐭮𐭱 AST
F′ 3,2 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 ŠAYV*t* H*(é)ndé*
=Párs. (equivalent missing)
F′ 6,5 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 H*(é)ndé*
= Párs. (equivalent missing)

For the ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 see 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱-𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭. This ideogram must not be confounded with 𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭱-𐭫𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭭, nor with 𐭩𐭲𐭱𐭱-𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭. Cf. also the ideograms 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭, 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 and 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭮.

N. i Rst. Krt. 1; N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; חוכאמכי 𐭪𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭 *361*

húkámake, Phl B. 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭱, lit. 'good-minded', in the political sense 'staunch, true to a principle or party; loyal'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 10 חוכאמכתלי 𐭪𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭤𐭪 *362*

húkámaktare, compar. of the foregoing: 'more loyal'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 20 חוסלוביחי 𐭪𐭥𐭮𐭤𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭮 *363*

χusravbíhe, Phl B. 𐭧𐭥𐭮𐭤𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭮 'good fame, repute, celebrity, glory' Av. *haosravaṅha-*, cf. *Frhg. i Oim* REICHELT p. 181; Phl. transl. *χusravih*. The *vb* is the *glossa perpetua* indicating a bilabial v (β); hence *χusraβíhe*. The word is an abstr. noun derived from *χusraβ*, (cp. Av. *haosravah-* n. pr. of one of the Kayanian kings) n. pr. of the two most famous kings of the Sasanian dynasty, rendered in Arabic by كسرى, pl. الاكاسرة *al-Akásira* 'the later Sasanians'. On some of the Sasanian seals and on a great number of the coins, we meet with the curious spelling: 𐭪𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭱, as yet unexplained. I think that the letter commonly written 𐭣, whose shape is much too archaic for these seals and coins, may be a ligature of 𐭤 and 𐭲, appearing already in the inscription Pers. II., not in its originally horizontal position, but in a vertical one, and that we must

between the two versions. This may be due perhaps to some error in the reconstruction of the inscription just at that place. Hence, it is preferable to abstain from giving any interpretation.

354 E′ 7,1 חוב 𐭠𐭥𐭥

χvab, cf. Pers. II 7 𐭧𐭥𐭯𐭠 *χvape* 'good', PhlB. 𐭧𐭥𐭩 NP. خوب; in Pahlavík used in the compound *χvab paraẓšt(á)rán*, corresponding to Pársík 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭯𐭫𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭 *húparastárán*, see this.

355 G′ 1,6 חחדין . . . 𐭠𐭥𐭥 . . .

Reading very doubtful, possibly 𐭤 instead of 𐭣. Pársík equivalent missing. Apparently a noun in pl.

356 חוה 𐭠𐭣𐭣

357 חויהן 𐭠𐭥𐭥

Ideogram, Aram. √חוא. In Aram. Inscr. the Pa"el and Haph'el in the meaning 'to show'. In Bibl. Aram. the Pə'al is already obsolete; in older writings we meet with the Haph'el, in later ones the Pa"el in the causative sense 'to make known, to announce, to notify, to warn'; cf. Marti, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram., Porta ling. Orient.* § 65 c. Both, Pahlavík and Pársík, use the Pə'al, thus indicating the high age of the ideogram. 𐭠𐭣𐭣 may be either the 3rd p. m. sg. perf. Pə'al חוה or the part. act. or pass. Pə'al *חָוֵה or חָוֶה. As a rule, Pahlavík uses two different ideograms, the first or the preterite base of the Iran. verb with the phonetical termination *-t*, hence we must assume *𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕, another form of the Aram. verb with various phonetical terminations for the pres. base, which in the present case cannot be distinguished from the preterite -𐭠𐭣𐭣. Pársík as a rule, has only one ideogram, used without termination to denote the preterite base, and with terminations for the present base, preferring the 2nd p. pl. perf. Pə'al of the verba לא hence חויהון. The *Frhg.* XXIII 5 gives 𐭩𐭲𐭬𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩 · 𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩, i. e. *dánistane* 'to know', also 'to be able'. As to the vowel of the second syllable, I follow the model of MP.T. *dáništ*, written with the *mater lectionis* י and therefore probably indicating the *i*.

In a great number of instances it seems as if this verb was employed for the simple auxiliary verb 'to be', Pahlavík 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭕, Pársík 𐭲𐭠𐭥, unless it has the meaning 'to consider, regard as, to take for'.

We must be careful not to confound this verb with the two other ideograms 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭-𐭥𐭥𐭠 and 𐭲𐭠𐭥-𐭠𐭥𐭥, therefore, I give the following list of the places where the verb occurs:

B′ 11,2 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕 read DÁNIST ≅

B 12,4 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭕 read DÁN*(é)t*

equivalent missing D 3,4 . 2]𐭠𐭥𐭥 read DÁN-

G′ 5,4 (Rawl.) 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭩 read DÁN*(én)d*,

equivalent missing

A′ 8,6 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕𐭩 read DÁN*(é)nt* ≅

B 9,2 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭕 read DÁN*(é)t*

E′ 6,3 𐭩[𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕] read [DÁN]*ént* ≅

E 15,6 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭩 read *dán(én)d*

E′ 15,3 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕 read DÁN*(é)nt* ≅

F 12,1 𐭥[𐭠𐭥𐭭]2[𐭲] read [D]Á[N*én*]*d*

C′ 6,4 [𐭩]𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕 read DÁN[*ént*] ≅

D 5,1 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭩 read DÁN*(én)d*

C′ 6,3 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭭𐭕 read DÁN*(é)nt* equivalent missing

Gem B. M. no. 565 חוחים 𐭧𐭥𐭧𐭲 358

húẓém 'good-natured', PhlB. 𐭧𐭥𐭩, *Ard. Vir.* 85,6. NP. خيم.

359 חוי 𐭠𐭥𐭭

360 חוה 𐭲𐭠𐭥

Ideogram; Aram. הוא 'to be'. Pahlavík 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭 is the Pə'il חוי, Pársík 𐭲𐭠𐭥 may be the part. act. Pə'al הוא or חוה 'being'. The ideogram is used for the *verbum substantivum* or auxiliary verb 'to be', especially for the two moods of the present tense. The following are the conjugated forms met with in the inscriptions:

	Pahl.	read	Pârs.	read	PhlB.
1. p. sg.	𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭	HOM	𐭧𐭲𐭠𐭥	HOM	𐭩𐭫𐭩
2. p. sg.	𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭕	AST	𐭲𐭠𐭥	AST	𐭫𐭩
3. p. pl.	𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭕	H*(é)nt*	𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥	H*(é)nd*	𐭧𐭫𐭩

There is a special form for the optative or conditional in Pahlavík (where Pársík has the simple indic. pres. 𐭲𐭠𐭥), with the phonetical termination of the يای تمنّا or يای شرط, already obsolete and extremely rare in NP., cf. Salemann, *Pers. Gram. Porta Ling. Orient.* § 50 b, n. 2: 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭩 NP. اندی read H*(é)ndé*.

The following list contains all the forms of the verb to be met with in the inscriptions:

phores of Belisar according to Procopius. The name of the tribe is Scythian and so is the name of their 'lord'.

372 B′ 4,4; D′ 15,3; G′ 5,6; G′ 9,6; G′ 11,6; חותוי 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭬𐭥

χvat(á)vya 'lord, sovereign'. As to the etymology of the word, the NP. خدای 'God', cf. Meillet, *Mém. de la Soc. Ling.* XVII 1915, pp. 109 *ss.* '*Persan χudáy*'; Bthl., *Etymol. und Wortbildung*, Heidelb. Sitzungsber. 1919, 10 p. 38 and *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* III., Heidelb. Sitzungsber. 1920, 2 V.: *Vorgesch. des npers. xud(á)y* '*Gott*'. It is comparable as to its literal sense with Greek αὐτοκράτωρ.

The Pahlavík form 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭬𐭥 which I transcribe *χvat(á)vya*, compared with 𐭡𐭥𐭬𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭬𐭥 *búmχvat(á)v* of the Áwramán parchment, seems to be extremely archaic, for it has the termination *-ya* like *vaχšuvarya* of the Hyrcanian stater. In Soghd. and Nestor. texts we meet with the form *χvatáv*, e. g. in the term 'Lord Jesus' corresponding to Gr. κύριος and certainly perfectly identical with the Pahlavík form. Pársík uses always the ideogram 𐭮𐭮𐭩, see this, explained by the *Frhg.* I. 1 by ‌ⵡⵡⵡ, to be read *χvatáy*, as the title *katakχvatáy*, always written phonetically in the inscriptions, clearly proves. At the time of the composition of the *Frahang* the word had the meaning 'God', as the fact that this word opens the first chaper, undoubtedly shows.

In the inscriptions the word never occurs in that sense. In the great majority of the cases, it is the title of the independent *Śaka Kšaṭrapas* belonging to the class of *šatrdáre*, e. g. those of the Saζúričān, the Mókán, the Zurádičīn, the Bóraspičīn, the ..rsúmičān, the Ištakvín, the Téraζčīn, and others whose names are lost. In D′ 15,3 it is the title of the ruler of Avanti too. In B′ 4,4 it is a military title, and with great probability, we may identify that commander with the *vartragnikán χvatáy* of B 2,2. In the Pársík version we meet with the term [š]*atre χvatáy*, corresponding to the abstr. noun *šatre χvatádihe*, and possibly to be supplemented in G′ 9,2: ...𐭠𐭲𐭥 𐭮𐭮𐭲𐭠. Hence, in the inscriptions the word never has a religious, but only a political or social meaning. Cf. 𐭮𐭮𐭩, 𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭲𐭥, 𐭮𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭲𐭥, and 𐭮𐭲𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭲.

B′ 1,3; C′ 10,6; D′ 15,5; E′ 6,4; F′ 7,5; G′ 5,2?; G′ 9,2? 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭬𐭥𐭩 חותויפי 373

B 2+3,5; F 5,2; Corn. Peterbg. 𐭮𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭥 374

χvat(á)vypi, *χvatádihe*, always in the term *χšatr χvat(á)vypi* or *šatre χvatádihe* 'the lordship, sovereignty over the empire'. Abstr. noun of the foregoing. Being uncertain how to pronounce the last but one syllable of the Pahlavík word, I transcribe *-vypi*. If, indeed, *χvat(á)vya* be an archaism, we ought to read *χvatávipi* simply. There is a still greater difficulty in the Pársík form *χvatádihe*. If the 𐭩, the reading of which is beyond all doubt, were a letter belonging to the stem of the word, we ought to explain *χvatáy* as being derived from an older form *χvatád*, and the etymology established with so much sagacity by Meillet and Bartholomae would be faulty. But the Pahlavík and Soghd. *χvatáy* contradict the hypothesis of an older form *χvatád*. Now we have quite a similar case in the word 𐭭𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭪 *nídák*, OP. *niyáka-*, NP. نیاگان, pl. نیا, where we meet with again the 𐭩 inserted in contradiction to the true etymological form of the word. Compare also the spelling *χusravēe*, s. v. 𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭥. I think, we must compare these curious spellings with the Av. form *báχδi-*, a learned but artifical creation of an Avestan form out of the living form *báχl*, caused by the false analogy of younger *l* representing older *d*, see 𐭫𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭩. There is another frequent change of *d* into *y*, which must have induced the Sasanian scribes to create anew a pseudo-archaic *χvatádihe* out of a living *χvatáyih*.

In E′ 6,4 = F 5,2 we have the term, yet more complex than *šatre χvatádihe* : *aryán χšatr masišt χvat(á)vypi* u *déhpati* 'the high sovereignty of Éránshahr', cf. 𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭭.

C′ 2,6 [ח]זואן [נ]רבוב 375

hizván, 'tongue, language'. The first letter is destroyed, but the restored word is not doubtful. The word is Av. *hizva-*, and occurs once in the Beh. inscription col. II. l. 74. There the letters are obliterated. According to King and Thompson the first *HA*, the middle *A* and the last *MA* are certain, of the other letters traces are preserved upon the rock. They adopted the reading *ha-ra-ba-a-na-ma*, according

transcribe the word simply *χusravbe* or *χusraβe*. If this suggestion does not meet with approval, I should propose to compare this 𐭣 to those cases, where 𐭣 is an archaic, but erroneous substitute for *y*, see 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣, 𐭮𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭣𐭮𐭥, *báχδi-*. There is the very obscure passage twice repeated in the legend of the great cornaline seal of St. Petersburg 𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 and 𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲. Here, I think, we cannot read *χusrúde*, for in the second instance there is clearly one letter inserted between 𐭮 and 𐭲. The division of the words is very difficult there. I think we must separate the whole expression before 𐭭𐭲𐭫 and may compare the word with Av. *sraota-* 'hearing, listening, granting' NP. سرود. There remains the difficulty of explaining the foregoing 𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 and 𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲.

364 [𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲] [𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲] Páp. gem Peterbg.

χusrav[*šát*] *ohormiz*[*de*], n. pr. The gap is caused by a splintering of the edge of the gem. The legend has the form typical for a *móbed*'s seal: 'N. N.' of such a city *móbed*'. Hence, the word in question must be the name of the city of which Pápak was the chief magus. The name reminds us of such a name as *Hormizd-Ardashir*, founded by Ardashír I., in which Hormizd refers to the god. In this case, we ought to infer that the city in question was founded by Khusrau I., which is impossible, for the seal belongs certainly to the 3rd century A. D. Therefore, the last element, *Ohormizde* must refer to the king Hormizd I. We know but one city the foundation of which is attributed to Hormizd I., viz. *Rám Hormizd Ardashír*, modern *Rám Hurmuz* or *Rámuz* in Khúzistán, cf. Nöldeke, *Tab.* p. 46 and J. J. Modi, *Šahriḥá* p. 103 § 46; Herzfeld, *Khurasan* in *Islam* XI 1921 p. 151. But the spelling of our seal makes it impossible to complete the name to 𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲. For after 𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 a second 𐭲 or the beginning of 𐭭𐭲 is to be seen. As I have found on Sasanians bulls from Warka (Urukh), which I have seen at Baghdád, the impressions of seals of officials with the name of the town 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 (beeing a pseudo-archaic orthography for *χusrav-šát-ohormizde*), I complete the Petersburg gem to [𐭭𐭲]𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 [𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲]𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 which I believe to have been the name of Warka in Sasanian times.

Pers. II 57 חופי 𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧 365

χvape, Av. *hvapah-*, PhlB. 𐭧𐭯, NP. خوب 'good', see Pahlavík 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥. The Pársík writing looks more archaic than the Pahlavík one, and we may assume that the actual pronunciation in Sasanian times was the same as the NP. *χúb*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; N. i Rst. Krt. 1; חופלהתאי 𐭲𐭧𐭯𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧 366

E′ 7,1 [חוב פרחש[תרן] [𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲[𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥 367

E 11,4 והופלהת]אן [𐭲𐭧𐭯𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧] 368

huparastáy, compound of *hu-*, Gr. εὖ 'good' and *parastáy* 'revering', hence 'devoted'. — In the Paikuli inscription both the Pahlavík and the Pársík words are fragmentary. Nevertheless, we are capable of restoring both the words. In C′ 2+1,5 the word 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥 *paraχšt(á)r(á)n* is clearly legible. This is PhlB. 𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭲 *parastár*, NP. پرستار cf. *Vidévd. Gloss.* p. 182, 'worshipper, devotee, slave, servant'. Therefore, evidently we must restore in E′ 7,1 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭥 *χvab paraχšt(á)r(á)n* and in E 11,4 𐭲𐭧𐭯𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧 *huparast(á)rán*, 'the followers, retainers' in the political sense of the term, and 'worshippers' if used in the religious sense of the word.

N. i Rjb. 10 חופלהתאהלי 𐭲𐭧𐭯𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭩 369

huparastátare, comparative of the foregoing *huparastáy*, hence 'more devoted'.

G 1,5 חורזמן 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭥𐭲 370

χv(á)razm(á)n, n. pr. ethn. 'the Khorazmians'. OP. *hvárazmi-*, Elam. *waras'miya-*; Gr. χωράσμιοι; Arm. *χorazm*, presupposing the Pahlavík pronunciation *χvárazm*, as in the Paik. incription; NP. خوارزم *χárizm*. The land is the modern Khanate Khíwa.

H 6,4 חולסמאן 𐭧𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭩 371

χvarasmán, n. pr. *Khvarasmán*, king of the Mókán, see 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥. The name is Iranian, but never met with except in one case. Justi, *Namenb.* p. 173, we find the name of a Massaget χορσόμανος, one of the *dory-*

Haph'el for the preterite base, and 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭲 , i.e. 3rd p. pl. perf. Haph'el for the present base of the Iranian verb. Pársík has 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭮𐭲𐭭[𐭲], i. e. 3rd p. pl. imperf. Haph'el for the present base, but uses the phonetical writing 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭩𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩 *dášte* for the past part. perf. and its derivatives, as the inf. *dáštane*; see 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭩𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭩. The meaning in Iran. is 'to hold, to rule'. *Frhg.* XXI. 2 has 𐬛𐬁𐬯𐬙-𐬌 . 𐬛𐬁𐬯𐬙-𐬌 and 𐬛𐬁𐬯𐬙-𐬌 . 𐬛𐬁𐬯𐬙-𐬌. The past part. perf. of the Iran. verb is *dášt-*, the present base *dár-*. The following list gives the various forms of the word:

1) 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭 DÁŠ*tan* = 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭩𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩 *dáštane*:

F′ 2,4 complete = G 6,3 ....]𐭧𐭧𐭧, and F′ 6,1 = F 12,5 both complete.

In E′ 6,5 we have 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮[illegible] according to RAWL.'s note-book, corresponding to F 6,3 ...]𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭩𐭩. Therefore, the form must be the past part. perf. or the infinitive; probably we have to restore 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭 and 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭩𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭩.

2) 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭩𐭭𐭲 DÁR*(é)nt* = 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭮𐭲 DÁR*(én)d*:

C′ 3,1 complete = C 9,3 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭲[....

H 14,5 Pahlavík equivalent missing, Pársík 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭮𐭲 DÁR*(é)t*, with an unusual *scriptio defectiva*.

There remains the form G′6,4 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲 corresponding to H 6 + 5,2 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲. The form must be a derivative from the present base, but the decisive letters are quite illegible, and the Iranian verb, too, is of dubious reading. In the same line we have the following verbs: DÁT — DÁN*(én)d* — then the words in question — BAV*(é)t* and ÉST*(é)nt*. Everything depends upon the true interpretation of Pársík 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲, which I am unable to supply.

384 Hjb. 5′; 7′; 8′; 12′; 13′ חטיא 𐭧𐭠𐭤𐭤𐭠𐭭𐭲

385 Hjb. 5; 7; 8; 13; 15 חתיא 𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲

Ideogram, explained by the *Frhg.* XIV. 2 by 𐭧𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭲 . 𐭧𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭠, read TÍR 'arrow'. For the Iran. word cf. 𐭧𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭭𐭲 TIRI, the Ir. name of the Tigris. The Aram. word is missing in Bibl. Aram. as well as in the Aram. inscriptions. But it corresponds to Hebr. חֵץ, Assyr. *uṣṣu* 'arrow', root אצץ, Arab. حظوة, and Mandaean היטיא. Hence, we observe Aram. ט corresponding to Hebr., Assyr., and Arab. ṣ.

Hjb. 12′; 13′; Paik. B′ 7,6; E′ 14,6; F′ 12,3; חוך 𐭧𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫 386

Hjb. 13; 14; N. i Rjb. Krt. 15; 16; 17 *bis*; Paik. B 8,3; G 2,3; אי 𐭠𐭩 387

hép, év, optative and conditional particle, corresponding to NP. یای استمراری or یای تمنا; the original meaning is: 'duration'; hence, it seems to belong to Av. *áyav-*, *Air. Wb.* 333, and to be connected with *hép yávar, év báre,* and with *hamév, hamé,* see these. Cp. also the optative termination in Pahlavík H*(é)ndé,* see 𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭭𐭲. In E′ 14,6 we observe a divergence between the Pahlavík and the Pársík version. In B′ 7,6 the reading and meaning of *hép* is not absolutely certain. SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I. p. 315 § 117; BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 86. MP.T. *héb,* dial. *év,* Jew. Pers. *hé.*

E 7,5; cf. G′5 + 6,3 חוך יאורי 𐭧𐭠𐭫 388

N. i Rjb. Krt. 3; 9; B 11,5; F 6,2; F 9,3; H 2,1; אי באלי 𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭲 389

hép yávar and *év báre,* always in the term HAKAR *hép yávar* or AKAR *év báre* 'whenever'. E′ 7,5 corresponds to F 9,3; H 2,1 to a simple 𐭧𐭠𐭫 in G′ 5 + 6,3. The other Pahlavík equivalents are missing.

The meaning of the term evidently is not 'once', but on the contrary 'always, ever'; hence 'whenever'. Therefore, *év* seems to be the MP. form of Av. *áyav-Air. Wb.* 333 'duration, age', to be compared with Greek ἀεί, αἰών. Etymologically it seems to be identical with the optative particle *hép — év,* and with *ham-év, ham-é*; see these. Then, we must distinguish between Phl B. 𐭠𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭥 *évbár* 'always, ever' and 𐭠𐭩𐭯𐭠𐭥 *évak bár,* NP. یك بار 'once'.

F′ 3,5; F′ 7,4; G′ 5,3 חותת 𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲 390

E′ 6,2 חותיות 𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲 391

E 12,5 חיתיות 𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭲

Ideogram, חיתיו 3rd. p. pl. perf. act. Haph'el from אתא 'to come', Ha. caus. 'to bring'; 𐭧𐭧𐭧𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭲 seems to be a defective writing of חיתי-ת, i. e. 3rd p. sg. perf. Haph'el. The Pársík ideogram is the only exception from the rule of the termination being always ן- in

to OP. cuneiform spelling to be read *harbánam*. This reading is highly unsatisfying, and I feel sure, we must read *DU* instead of *RA*, since both signs differ only in the addition of a ⟨-shaped wedge. Then the sign *HA* either stands for *HI*, or if this assumption it not approved, we must assume that there was still the sign *I* between *HA* and *DU*. The OP. form of the word must have been **hiδuβána-*. PhlB. has a great variety of spellings: 𐭧𐭥𐭱, 𐭧𐭥𐭩, 𐭧𐭥𐭪, which lead to *zuvḇán* as original form. NP. زبان and زوان. Cf. Foy, Kuhns *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachwiss.* N. F. XVII. 4 p. 538.

376 B′ 4,2 חויום גזרכת

377 B 3,4 חוי[יתנם] [גזרכת]

378 D′ 8,5 חויית גזרת

379 B 7,2 p; E 2,3; gem B. M. 558 חויתן [גזרכת], [ג]זרכת

380 gem B. M. 565 חויתנא גזרכת

381 N. i Rjb. Krt. 15; 26 חויתנת גזרכת

Ideogram, Aram. חזא, already occurring in Aram. inscrs. חזי; 'to see', Pahl. חויית is 3rd p. sg. perf. Pə'il, used with the phonetic termination *-t* for the preterite base, חוי is 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'il used with different terminations for the present base of the Iran. verb. Pársík חויתן[ן] is 2nd pers. pl. Perf. Pə'al, as always employed if the verbs belong to the class לא. The *Frhg.* XX. 9 has 𐭧𐭥𐭩𐭩. where the 𐭩 is a miswriting for 𐭪, and this represents short 𐭮 plus 𐭣; the *codices* U_2 and J add the same word in the correct spelling 𐭧𐭥𐭮𐭩. Hence read dítan 'to see'. This verb is defective in Iranian, and becomes supplemented by the √*vin*, MP. *vén* for the pres. base (Soghd. has *vét*, Nest. texts *vít* 'seen', *vénant* 'they see'). Hence: גזרכת and גזרכת is vén*(é)m*, גזרת is dít, גזרכת is vén*(é)t*, the fragmentary forms must be read vén- or dít. On the gem B. M. 558 the simple Pársík ideogram stands for the imperative or optative vén, or vén*á*, on the gem B. M. 565 the phonetical termination *-á* clearly indicates the optative vén*á*.

382 C′ 3,2 חורופתי גזרכלמן

B 12,1; C 9,4 חואלפה [גזרכת], [גזרכת]

haz(á)rupati, hazárpat; OP. **hazárapati*, Gr. Hesychios ἀζαραπέτης, Ctesias ἀζαβαρίτης instead of *ἀζαραβίτης. From Av. *hazaŋra-*, Scrt. *sahasra-*, Soghd. *zár* 'thousand', and *-pati*, hence 'chief of 1000', Gr. χιλίαρχος. The Arm. loan-word *hazarapet* shows that the *mater lectionis* כ in the Pahlavík form of the word is an Avestan archaism.

In Achaemenian time *hazárapati* was the title of the commanders of the ten regiments, each of one thousand men, forming the Guard of the 'Immortals', see כלמלעא. The *hazárapati* of the Ist regiment had the special duty never to leave the king, and became in this capacity, Chief Gentleman Usher. In this way the office, originally military, changed into a civil one. Already during the Achaemenian epoch, this first *hazárapati*, was the second in rank after the king. Hence, in the Sasanian hierarchic state, *hazárpat* has become the title of the Grand-Vizier. The Paikuli inscription mentions him twice, immediately following the 3 members of the Sasanian clan: 1) the *harkapati*, 2) the chief of the clan, and 3) the *bit(á)xš*, and preceding even the chiefs of the Súrén and Spáhpat clans. His name is Ardashír, but we cannot identify him with Narseh's uncle Ardashír I., son of Ardashír I., since this prince was appointed *kirmánšáh*, governor of Kirmán, at the very time of Ardashír I's rebellion against Ardawán in 224, and would have been a man of at least 85 in 293 A. D., an age agreeing well with the dignity of the chief of a clan, but not at all with the burden of the office of the Grand-Vizier. The identity of the office of the *hazárpat* with that of the Grand-Vizier or *vazurg framâtár* is clearly attested by the Armenian historian Elisaeus of Vardan, who, speaking of Mihrnarseh, the Grand-Vizier of Yazdkirt I., calls him in ch. 20,5 *Mihrnerseh vzrk hramatar eran evt aneran*, and in ch. 22,7 *mec hazarapet arikʻ ev anarikʻ*, in passages taken from an official document; cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 174 no. 328; Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, Phil. LIV. pp. 224 *ss.* See גזרכלמן, כלמלעא and גזרכלמן.

383 גזרתש, חחסנו חחסן

יחסנן, [ג]זרכת יחסנן

Ideogram, Aram. root √חסן 'to seize, to take possession'. Pahlavík has the form חחסן, i. e. 3rd p. sg. perf.

𐭧𐭥𐭫 and 𐭧𐭥𐭩 = 𐭧𐭥 '*χar*', NP. خر 'ass, donkey'. Soghd. *χar-*. Always in the phrase χAR i *rište*, see 𐭫𐭩𐭱𐭲𐭥.

401 B′ 1,2; C′ 6, 4-5; D′ 10,3; F′ 6,6; G′ 5,4; 𐭲𐭭 𐭲𐭭

Ideogram *XN*, in C′ 6,5 only the Pársík equivalent survives, D 5, 2 𐭩𐭥, i. e. TÁK NP. تا 'till, until'. The same sense undoubtedly suits G′ 5,4, and also B′ 1,2 and D′ 10,3, possibly one and the same phrase. In C′ 6,4 the reading seems certain, and we may regard the word as postposition to the foregoing *yávar* 'time'. In F′ 6,6 the reading of the 𐭤 is uncertain, possibly there is more than one letter, e. g. 𐭣𐭤 instead of 𐭤. In any case, the Pahlavík ideogram 𐭲𐭭 corresponds to Pársík 𐭩𐭥 TÁK 'till, until'. There is only the Hebr. Aram. adverb חנת 'till here', and Arab. حِيْنَئِذٍ from حين '*tempus*', which might be compared with 𐭲𐭭 'till'. See 𐭩𐭥.

402 N. i Rst. Krt. 13; Paik. A 9,3; D 3,2; F 3,4; F 12,2; Pers. II 3; חנא 𐭲𐭩𐭭

403 N. i Rjb. Krt. 2 ult. חנא-ין 𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭭

Ideogram חנא, pron. demonstr., *Frhg.* XXV 5 𐭲𐭩𐭭. 𐭲𐭩𐭭, hence read é 'this', Av. OP. *aita-*, MP.T. *éd*, BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 93. Pahlavík does not use this ideogram, and the three surviving equivalents show regularly the pron. demonstr. 𐭣𐭭 *hán* instead of é. The ideogram, like the majority of the ideograms of pronouns, does not belong to the Bibl. Aramaic, but probably to an older dialect. In N. i Rst. Krt. 2 the enclitic copula *-č* is appended to the pronoun. Cp. 𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭭𐭫.

C 2+3,5; C 9,5 חנגון 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭥

h(á)ngón, Phl B. 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭥, by which the ideograms 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭥 and 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭥 are interpreted in the *Frhg.* XXV 2. Evidently a compound of the pron. demonstr. *hán* and *gón* 'kind', hence 'thus, in this way'. The Pahlavík equivalents are missing. From this compound we must infer the pronunciation HÁN, not ÁN, cf. the ideogram 𐭲𐭭.

404 C′ 9,3 חנדימן 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭

405 D 6,2 אנדימן 𐭠𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭

handém(á)n, andém(á)n, Phl B. 𐭠𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭 'before the sight of, before, in front of, opposite'. Arm. loan-word *y-andiman* 'in front of' HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 141 No. 194; cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* pp. 159 and 169.

Cp. 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭭.

see 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭭 חנדלצפת 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭫𐭦𐭱𐭦𐭮 406

407 A′ 2,4 חנזמני 𐭲𐭭𐭦𐭲𐭭𐭩 A 11,4; F 5,1 אנצמני 𐭠𐭭𐭦𐭲𐭭𐭩

hanzamani, anjumane, Av. *han-jamana-*. Nest. Soghd. *ančmn*, MP.T. *hanzaman*, NP. انجمن. PhlB. explains the ideogram 𐭠𐭭-𐭲𐭥 by 𐭪𐭪𐭩, i. e. *stat. emph.* pl. כנשיא, from כנשא 'congregation', cf. Arab. كنيسة 'church'.

Hjb. 7; 13 חנחתון 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭭 408

Ideogram חנחתון **honḥatún*, 3rd. p. pl. perf. Hoph'al from נחת 'to be laid down'; *Frhg.* XXI. 12 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭭. 𐭲𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭭, read NIHÁTan, NP. نهادن 'to lay down, to put'. In both the cases the Pahlavík version has the synonymous 𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭮, ÉSTÁTan. In the first instance it appends the phonetic termination *-t*, in the second *-d*; hence the Pahlavík version takes the first instance for the 3rd p. pl., the second for the 3rd p. sg. In fact, there is no visible reason for this change, and this is one of the examples which prove that already in MP. the use of the two numeri of the 3rd pers. was as free as in classical NP., cf. SALEMANN, *Pers. Gram.* § 43 n. 2, p. 58. Assuming that the two versions conform in this use, we ought to transcribe the first ideogram by NIH*(ét)*, the second by NIH*(én)d*. But we may perhaps with better reason assume a divergence in the two versions and regard the Pársík ideogram, as usual, as the representative of the preterit base NIHÁT, since the construction is evidently passive: 'and by us ... was put'.

F′ 6,6 [ח]נראונת [𐭲]𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭲 409

Although the Pársík equivalent is missing, and the initial letter or the two initial letters of the word are destroyed, the restoration is not doubtful, except that we cannot be sure whether the vowel *u* was expressed by a כ or not. *hunaravant*, Av. *hunaravant*, Soghd. *hunarāvend*, Phl B. 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭣, read *hunaravmand*, NP. هنرمند 'capable, skilled, qualified'. The ter-

perf. and imperf. Hence this ideogram seems to be influenced by the Pahlavík ideogram, the more so, as PhlB. writes 𐭥𐭩𐭯𐭩𐭯-𐭭 3rd p. pl. impf. Haph'el. *Frhg.* XX 12 explains the different forms of this ideogram by ÁWURtan 𐭥𐭩𐭯𐭭, and joins to them the similar ideogram 𐭥𐭩𐭯𐭭, i. e. 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬌, which we might expect in Pársík, with the interpretation 𐭥𐭩𐭯𐭭. JUNKER as well as SALEMANN read *ánitan* cp. Soghd *'anid-*. But since this reading is not without difficulties, and as the word can be read ÁVARitan, and considering the identity of the ideograms, I would prefer the reading ÁVURtan, as a merely graphic variant. Soghd. *ábart*, dial. *áβart-*, induces us to read ÁBART-, ÁBAR- in Pahlavík, ÁWURT-, ÁWAR- in Pársík. The past part. pass. of this verb in Pársík is written phonetically 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙, see this. Cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* p. 34.

392 Pers. I 6 חמאבין 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙

HMABYN; the letters are fairly certain. The short sentence, in which the word occurs, is rather obscure: UŠ *HMABYN* IM XÁNAK *YŠTH*. The last word must be the verb, cf. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙. Possibly *HMABYN* is a compound of *hamá-* and the ideogram *BYN*, read ANDAR, like NP. *hamán*, *hamín* &c. The meaning would not differ as to its general sense from the simple preposition ANDAR 'in, within'. See 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙.

393 Awr. 4 חמי 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀

394 Pers. II 6 חמין 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙

hamé, *hamév*. The Pahlavík *hamé*, *hami* apparently is not identical with Pársík *hamév*, a compound of *ham-* and *-év*; for the equivalent of *-év* in Pahlavík is *hép*. Hence Pahlavík *hami* is hardly the NP. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀, although it precedes the verb 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙. Now we meet with *hami-* in all those compounds, in which Pársík has simple *ham-*. Hence Pahlavík *hami* must represent OP. *ham*, NP. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥 'together'.

Pársík *hamév* corresponds to NP. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀 in its original sense 'always, ever', a compound of *ham-* and *-év*, see 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀.

395 C′ 6,3 חמיאבדין 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙

HAMYAKDYN, compound, to be divided into *hami-*, Pársík *ham-*, *ak-* and *dén*. Unfortunately the Pársík equivalent is missing. There are three words resembling this Pahlavík word. 1) *aγdén*, Av. *aγa.daéna* 'devoted to the bad religion', BTHL., *Air. Wb.* 48; but we ought to expect 𐭥 instead of 𐭤, if this were one of the elements of our word. 2) *hamákdén* 'knowing the whole religion', Arm. loan-word *hamakden*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 177 No. 322; but we ought to expect 𐭥𐭤𐭭 instead of 𐭤𐭥𐭤𐭭; 3) PhlB. 𐭱𐭲𐭲𐭩𐭭 'coreligionist' and 𐭱𐭲𐭲𐭩𐭭 'of the same opinion, partisan'. The last one evidently is the meaning of the Pahlavík word. In that case we ought to assume *𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙 *hamdén* as the Pársík equivalent, and ought interpret the second element of the Pahlavík word probably as the num. Av. *aéva-*, NP. *yak*.

F′ 13,6 חמיגונך 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙 396

N. i Rst. Krt. 10; 16 חמגונכי 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙 397

hamigónak, *hamgónake*, compound of *hami-*, *ham-* and *gónak*, Av. *hamagaona-* 'of the same colour, kind', Arm. loan-word *hamagunak*, NP. همگنان pl. in the sense '*socii, aequales*', cf. VULLERS *s. v.*, to be distinguished from the other meanings of the word. Hence 'of a like kind, the same, equal'; cp. REICHELT, *Frhg. i Oim* p. 163 where the similar phrases: KAS *hamigónak* NÉ BÚT and *ham(á)k χšatr* KAS NÉ BÚT.

F′ 2,6(?); F′ 11,1.6; G′ 9,3
A 11,5; E 15,6; F 11,2; G 2,1; H 5,1; H 6, 5,5; H 6,1

ham(á)k, *ham(á)ke* PhlB. 𐭥𐭱𐭲, Arm. loan-word *hamak*, NP. همه pl. همگان 'whole, all'.

C′ 1,4 חמיסחוני 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙 398

C 11,6 חמסחון[. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙[. 399

hamisaχvani, *hamsaχvan* ., compound of *hami-*, *ham-* and *saχvan*, NP. سخن 'word'. OP. √*θah*, PhlB. 𐭮𐭭𐭮. It is the NP. همسخن '*consentiens, unanimis*' 'like-minded, political sympathizer, partisan'. Cf. SALEMANN, *Mittelp. Stud.* I. *Mél. Asiat.* IX p. 244. As to *saχvan* cf. BTHL., *ZAirWb.* § 49; MARQUART, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIX p. 670 n. 5.

E′ 12,5 חמרא 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙 400

E 2,5; E 9,5 חמרא 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬙

Ideogram חמרא *stat.emph.* of חמר 'ass', *Frhg.* VII 2

ἀρχάπετος. The parallel passages B′ 4,1 = B 2,4; A′ 11,5 = B 9,1; B′ 9,3 = B 12+11,5 and C′ 13,1 = C 4,4 prove, that the initial 𐡀 in B′ 4,1 is merely a graphic variant. The fourth letter 2 in the Pársik form is, as in so many titles compounded with *-pat*, an Avestan spelling. The Greek renderings of the title say nothing about the initial sound; for as a rule, the aspiration or non-aspiration is just the contrary to the Iranian in Greek renderings of names and titles. In spite of the Aram. rendering 𐡀𐡓𐡂𐡐𐡈, I think we must assume *harkapati*, with initial *h*, as the original form. Ṭabari I. p. ٨١٥ 1,3, Nöldeke, Tab. p. 4/5 has ارجبذ, but Ṭabari I. ٨٢٣, 16, Nöldeke p. 27 we must restore with Marquart هرجبذ instead of هرجند (*harjand ibn Sám*). According to Justi, in *Indogerm. Forsch. Anzeiger* XVII. p. 117 the first element *ark-* would be an Iranian loan-word from the Latin *arx*, NP. ارگ *arg*. And the usual interpretation of the title is 'lord of the castle'. I cannot feel satisfied either with the derivation of the word from the Latin, or with that interpretation. De Longpérier, *Mém. sur la chronol. et l'iconogr. des rois Parthes-Arsacides*, Paris 1853—82, has published a curious small epigraphical monument, treated also by E. Drouin, Rev. Num. Sér. III. vol. XIII. 1895 p. 63 *s*. There is a monogram between two lines in Pahlavík script. The upper line I do not venture to read: it is certainly not 𐭥𐭫𐭪𐭭, as Drouin thought, the first letter being 𐡀 or 𐡄. The lower line is rather clear: the first letter is 𐡀, and we have 𐡀𐡓𐡊𐡐𐡈𐡓, the *arakpati*, and the sign 𐡉 is that of his rank.

In the Paikuli inscription the *hargupat* opens the series of high dignitaries of the Empire, and it is evident, that he holds the highest rank after the king. On the significance of that office Theophylact. Simocatta says, III. 18,9: καί φασι τὸν μὲν ἀργαβίδην ἐπιλεγόμενον δῆμον τῆν βασίλειαν κατέχειν, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ διάδημα. The Greeks never truly grasped the meaning of the Sasanian feudal houses and of the high offices of the state. They used to call the Súrén, Káren, Spáhpat 'offices', and it is not improbable that they misunderstood in this case the office of the *hargupat* taking it to be the name of a clan. But surely, the *hargupat* belonged to the Sasanian clan. And it may be that Theophylactus is more right than we are apte to suppose. At any rate, the privilege of the *hargupat* was to crown the king. This privilege is certainly that of an aged man. He exceeds in rank even the chiefs of the Sasanian clan, one of them being an uncle of the king. The name of the *hargupat* is Sháhpuhr, and we know of one Sháhpuhr, brother of Ardashír I., but this one was an elder brother, and according to Ṭabarí, Nöldeke p. 8, he was killed before 224 A.D. in Persepolis by stones of a collapsing building crushing him. That the *hargupat* was an uncle of Narseh is improbable, for we cannot assume that Ardashír I. had two sons bearing the same name of Sháhpuhr. So the only probable assumption is that Sháhpuhr was a son of one of Ardashír's brothers, perhaps even of that elder brother Sháhpuhr, possibly bearing his father's name because born after his sudden death.

We know the name of the *hargupat* in Ardashír I.'s reign: *Aparsám*. For we must restore هرجبذ ابرسام in Ṭab. I ٨٢٣, 16 instead of هرجند ابن سام. He was a man of advanced age, and the legend attributes to him the salvation of Sháhpuhr's mother and of the unborn child. In Ṭab. p. 9 the same person is called *buzurgframádár*, and he may have held that office before retiring to the more quiet post of *hargupat*. Ardashír I. himself seems to have been *hargupat* before his accession, for Ṭabarí tells that he was sent to the eunuch Tíré, i. e. *Tiraios*, *hargupat* of Dárábgird, and that he was adopted by that dignitary and succeeded him in his rank after his death. This is the only place where the interpretation 'lord of the castle' seems to be well founded. In another place, Nöldeke p. 111, Ṭabarí states clearly that the *hargupat* held the highest rank in the Empire. The Byzantine historian Petrus Patricius mentions the name of the *hargupat* at the time o Yazdkirt I., ἀρχαπέτου Βαρσαβώρσου, a name which Hoffm., *Syr. Akt.* No. 306 transcribes *Borzšábór*; but this is probably the same personage that appeared together with the *buzurgframádár* Khusrau-Yazdkirt, at the council of Seleucia in 410 A.D., and is called in the *Synod. Orient.* p. 260, (cf. Labourt, *Christian.*

mination in Pahlavík is *-ávant*, a Median termination according to MARQUART, whereas we ought to expect the termination *-ámand* in Pársik. Cf. *ast(á)vande, patápévant,* 𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭢𐭭𐭲, 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭢𐭭𐭲.

410 F′ 13,4; G′ 3,2 חסינד 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭣

In F′ 13,4 the last letter is missing. It corresponds to G 2,4 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣. In all three cases, the context is obscure, and it is difficult to make out the sense of both these words. Pársik 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣 recalls NP. گزینه 'property', and Pahlavík 𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭣 might be an ideogram חסן, cf. החסנו, read DAŠ*tane* 'to take possession of', with the Iranian phonetical termination *-k*, 'wealth, power', to be read *guzénak*. But the addition of this sort of phonetic complements to Pahlavík ideograms is rare, cp. 𐭤𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭣 and the termination 𐭲𐭭𐭩, and I am not sure, whether Pársik *kuzénak* stands at all for NP. *guzénak*. Cf. 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣.

411 גלגנוע, חקאים חקאימו
412 יכויימון כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭

Ideogram, Aram. root קוֹם; Pahlavík uses הקים, i. e. 3rd p. sg. perf. Haph'el, with *scriptio plena* חקאים, adding the Iran. termination *-t* for the preterit base, and יכו[יי]מו, i. e. 3rd p. pl. perf. Haph'el for the present base of the Iranian verb. Pársik uses יכויימון, i. e. the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Po"al or an archaic imperf. Pa"el as the only form. The *Frhg.* XX. 2—3 gives ... פּוֹשׁ, hence read ÉSTÁ*tan*, past part. perf. ÉSTÁT, present ÉST-; OP. *ahištátanaiy*. This verb serves as an independent verb and as an auxiliary verb, indicating the past perfect tense, whereas the moods are expressed by the auxiliary verb BÚ*tan*. In Hjb. Pahlavík גלגנוע corresponds to the synonymous Pársik כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭; see this. The following is the list of the places in the inscriptions where they occur: —

Pahl. A′ 2,3 גלגנוע read ÉSTÁ*tan*
= Párs. A 9,3 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭[כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭] read [ÉS]TÁ*tane*
„ A′ 8,5 גלגנ[גלגנ] read [ÉS]T*(é)t*
= Párs. B 5,1 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(é)t*
„ G′ 9,1 גלגנ[גלגנ] read [ÉS]T*(é)t*
= Párs. (equivalent missing)
„ (equivalent missing)
Párs. C 3+2,4 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(ét)*
Pahl. (equivalent missing)
Párs. G 2,5 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(é)t*
„ F′ 3,3 גלגנוכ read ÉST*(én)d*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
„ F′ 7,5 גלגנוכ read ÉST*(én)d*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
„ G′ 11,4 גלגנוכנ read ÉST*(é)nt*
Párs. (equivalent missing)
„ (equivalent missing)
Párs. B 10,5 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(én)d*
„ (equivalent missing)
Párs. H 5,5 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(én)d*
„ Hjb. 7′ גלגנוכנ read ÉST*(é)t*
= Párs. Hjb. 7 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read NIHÁT
„ Hjb. 12′ גלגנוכ read ÉST*(én)d*
= Párs. Hjb. כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read NIHÁT
N. i Rst. Krt. 8 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 read ÉST*(é)t*; N. i Rjb. Krt. 25 the same;
Pers. II. 3 כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 evidently ÉST*(ét)*. In Paik. C 3+2,4 *kirte* ÉST*(é)t*
N. i Rjb. Krt. 25 NIPIŠT ÉST*(é)t*, N. i Rst. Krt. 8 *nipište* ÉST*(é)t* and
Pers. II. 3. *nivište* ÉST*(ét)*. *éstátan* serves as auxiliary verb to express 1) the perfect: *éstét*, 2) the past perfect: *éstát*.
See גלגנוע.

D 6,2 חרגן כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 413

hargón, possibly incomplete at the end: *hargón(ake)*, compound of *har-* 'all' and *gón, gónak* 'colour, manner, way', hence 'in every way, in any case'. Cf. NP. هرگونه, and see כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 and גלגנוכ. In B 2,6 the fragmentary . . כ𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭭 may be the same word, or more probably, 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣.

A′ 11,5; B′ 9,3; C′ 13,1; F′ 3,4; חרכפתי גלגלתנ 414
B′ 4,1 ארכפתי גלגלתנ 415
B 2,3; B 3+2,(?); B 9,1; B12+11,5; C 4,4; F6,1. חלגופת 𐭧𐭩𐭭𐭣 416

harkapati, arkapati or *hargupat*. Title of the highest dignitary in the Sasanian Empire. Pal. Inscr. ארנבטא, Gr. version ΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΣ Theoph. Simoc. III. 18,9 ἀργαβίδης (mss. ἀρταβιδης), Petr. Patric.

427 B′ 1,3; C′ 10,6; D′ 15,5; E′ 6,4; E′ 7,5; G′ 5,2?; G′ 9,2?. 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬

428 B 2+3,5; F 5,2 *χšatr χvat(á)vipi, šatre χvatádihe,* 'the sovereignty over the Empire'; see 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠. 𐭩𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭩𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠𐭩

429 C′ 13,2 *χšatrahmár* DIPÊR 'the Secretary of State for the Chamber of Accounts of the Empire'. For the reading DIPÊR of the ideogram 𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 see this. For the meaning of *ahmár* see 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬. Cf. also 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠. 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭩𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠𐭩

Al-Khwárizmí p. ١١٧٥ gives the following enumeration of the different ministries or secretariates of State for the Chambers of Accounts of the Sasanian Empire:

اصناف الكتابة الفارسية داد دَفِيره اى كتابة الاحكام وشهر هَمار دَفِيره اى كتابة البلد للخراج وكذه هَمار دَفِيره اى كتابة حساب دار الملك وگنج هَمار دَفِيره اى كتابة الخزائن وآهر هَمار دفيره اى كتابة الاصطبلات وآتش هَمار دفيره اى كتابة حسبانات النيران ورَوانكان دَفِيره اى كتابة الأَوقاف

1) *dád dipér,* the minister of Justice, 2) *šahr hamár dipér,* the minister of the revenue of the Empire, 3) *kada hamár dipér,* the minister of the accounts of the Royal court, 4) *ganj hamár dipér,* the minister of the treasury, 5) *áhur hamár dipér,* the minister of the Royal stud, 6) *átaš hamár dipér,* the minister of the accounts of the fire-temples, 7) *ravángán dipér,* the minister of the *auqáf* (religious endowments and funds). In the inscription the letters *pati* precede the title, and I would assume, that they ought to be completed to *magupati*; in this case, the proper name of the minister must have preceded the title *magupati,* and the second title stands in apposition to the first. There follows yet the *takarapati,* closing the list of the *vispuhrán.* Hence the passage clearly indicates the rank of the minister.

430 F′ 3,3; F′ 7,4; F′ 8,5 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 חשתרדרי

431 Hjb. 5′; Paik. G′1,3; G′11,1 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 חשתרדרין

432 G 12,5; H 2,5 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 שתרדאלי

433 N. i Rjb. Krt. 23 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 שתרדלאן

434 Hjb. 5 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 שתלדלאן

435 Pers. I 8 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬𐭠 𐭧𐭧𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭬 שתלדרי

χšatrd(á)ri, χšatrd(á)rín and *šatrdáre, šatrd(á)rán, šatrd(á)re* lit. 'the holder of an Empire', hence 'sovereign, king'. The word is used as a collective sg. or as a pl. without apparent distinction. The phrase '*šatre dáštane* u *framátane*', several times repeated in the inscription, seems to prove, on the one hand, that the original meaning of the word must have been well understood, and on the other hand, that the noun *framádár,* in the title *vazurg framádár,* must be interpreted in the same etymological way 'the holder of the command, authority', in spite of NÖLDEKE's objections, *Ṭab.* p. 9 n. 2; cf. Soghd. Nestor. texts δ*árē* 'holder'. The title *šatredár* implies the independence of the possessor, and the order in which the word occurs in the *Frhg.* II. 2 is quite characteristic: 1) *pátaχšá,* 2) *šatredár,* 3) *šáh.* In the *Frhg.* the word interprets the ideogram מלכותא 'kingship', whereas *šáh* renders the simple מלכא 'king', the usual title of the Iranian provincial governors.

In the inscriptions the class of the *šatrdáre* precedes even that of the *vispuhrán,* a clear hint at their being independent. A simple provincial governor or *šáh* could never precede the members of the high feudal houses. Hence we must infer that all those princes enumerated in the last chapter of the Paikuli inscription were not subject to the Sasanian king of kings, even those who bear Iranian names. These are Śaka Kshaṭrapas. We may draw another conclusion for the Hájjiábád inscription. There, too, the *šatredáre* are present. Hence the occasion must have been exceptional any great ceremony of which the shooting of the arrow formed a part, in the presence not only of the ordinary retinue of Sháhpuhr I., but of foreign princes.

The title *šatrdáre,* OP. *χšaθrapāvan-, NP. شهريار *šahriyár,* has become a proper name at an early time. We meet the name twice among the members of the Sasanian house. 1) a son of Hormizd IV., 2) a son of Khusrau II. and Shírín, the father of Yazdkirt III.,

dans l'Empire Perse p. 97.) *Mihršábúr argbed.* Cf. CHRISTENSEN, *Empire* pp. 27 *s.* & 38; BTHL., *Mittelir. Mundrt.* I. p. 16.

417 B 11,4; cf. F 6,6 ..חרו.. ..גלכ..

fragment, context obscure, the form recalls the word *harv* 'all', but this is represented by the ideogram 𐭣𐭫𐭤.

418 see 𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭩𐭪 חלואניך 𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭩𐭪

419 H 14,2 חלומי 𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭩

hróme, n. pr. Ῥώμη, *Roma*. The initial Greek ῥ is rendered by 𐭤𐭫, hence PhlB. 𐭥𐭫𐭥 must be read *hróme* too, cf. HORN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I IV p. 97 *s.*; HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram* I p. 362, No. 244 (*Ménókhr.* 94 is no 'learned form'). Cf. also Yáqút ed. Cairo C 7, 375, 24 from Hamza: ماهروم, which is to *hróm* what *májúj* is to *júj*.

The preceding word is *késar*, καῖσαρ, *Caesar*, and the Caesar in question is Diocletian. It is strange that these words are not connected by the *iḍáfat* i, but by the copula u. In the colophons of the *Yóšt i Friyán* the copula is used in the place of the *iḍáfat*, but that seems to be a much younger usage than we are allowed to assume for our inscription. Hence the context must have been different, e. g. 'the Caesar and the Roman senate', or something of that kind. The Caesar is mentioned at the beginning of the last chapter of the inscription, preceded by the Kúshánsháh, and followed by the Khwárizmsháh and other independent kings. So the passage in question opens the long list of foreign princes who come or send envoys to congratulate Narseh. Therefore the mention of Diocletian gives an exact date to the Paikuli inscription. The accession of Narseh took place in September 293 A. D. In 296 he declared war against the Roman Empire. The war took a most unfortunate turn. Galerius, under Diocletian's supreme direction, completely defeated Narseh and captured the king's family. Narseh ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia and parts of the Tigris country to the Romans in order to recover the queen Arsane and his children. The peace concluded in 298 lasted for forty years. Obviously, Diocletian cannot have sent an envoy after the beginning of that war. Hence, the inscription must have been executed and the homage and congratulation to the new king must have taken place before 296 A. D., with great probability at the end of 293 A. D. or early in 294.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 17 חלפלמאן 𐭤𐭫𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭭 420

harframán, adject. noun. The meaning must be 'obedient', therefore, *har-* does not seem to be *har* 'all', but to be connected with Av. *√har-* 'to take care of'.

F′ 12 + 11,4 חש.האם 𐭣𐭱𐭮.𐭠𐭭 421

XŠ.TAS, fragmentary and obscure. The *Š* is very doubtful.

B′ 1,2; F′ 2,4; F′ 7,6; F′ 11,1. 2. 6; F′ 13,2. 3; G′ 5,1. 2; G′ 9,2. 3 bis; G′ 11,3; חשתר 𐭣𐭱𐭮𐭫𐭤 422

N. i Rst. Krt. 3; 4; 11; Paik. A 11,5; B 7,5; B 10; 9,3; F 5,1; F 11,2; G 2,1; G 6,3; G 12,6; H 5,2; H 6,5; H 7,2; שתרי 𐭮𐭫𐭤𐭩 423

N. i Rst. Krt. 34; N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 5; 12; Pers. II. 6. שתלי 𐭮𐭫𐭤𐭠 424

χšatr, *šatre*. Av. *χšaθra-*, OP. *χšaθra*, Elam. loan-word *s'as's'a-* 'empire, dominion, power'. There is the other word Scrt. *kṣétra-*, Av. *šóiθra-*, OP. *šaiθra-* 'country, district, field' partly coinciding with the later development of *χšaθra-* into NP. شهر. The Arm. loan-word *ašχarh* presupposes the Pahlavík pronunciation *χšahr*. Hence not only the Pársík form is an archaic orthography, but even the Pahlavík one reflects a pronunciation earlier than the first period of the Arsacidan Empire. The spoken form was *χšahr* and *šahr*, NP. شهر. The older meaning of NP. شهر is 'land, province, district', the younger one 'city'. There is the younger Arm. loan-word *šah*, reflecting Pársík *šahr*. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 101 No. 36. – PhlB. 𐭮𐭮𐭫, inserted into the *Frhg.* II 2, is an historical spelling, and explained by 𐭮𐭮𐭫 *šahr*.

G′ 9,2 חשתר חו... 𐭣𐭱𐭮𐭫𐭤 𐭠𐭭... 425

F 5,5 תרי כורחי[ש] 𐭮𐭫𐭤𐭩 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭣𐭩[𐭮] 426

χšatr χvat(á)vya, *šatre χvatáy*, see 𐭠𐭣𐭫𐭤𐭣𐭪.

the verb was a loan-word from the Aramaic, as the term الخثمة *al-χatma*, explained by al-Khwárizmí suggests. If the verb was a denominative, we ought to expect something like *muhrítan, muhrénitan* or *χatmítan, χatménitan*. — (As to the word *muhr* cp. JUNKER, *Idg. Forsch.* XXXV. 273 *ss.* On the word *hambāštan* cp. BTHL., *W.Z.K.M.* XXVII. 366 and BTHL., *Z. Kenntnis d. mitteliran. Mundrt.* II. 1917, 37—38.).

𐭥 𐭭 𐭤

This letter, foreign to the Iranian alphabet, is employed exclusively in ideograms. In Pahlavík it is written as a rule for the Aram. 𐡥, but sometimes it is replaced by 𐡧, 𐡤. But in one case, 𐭤𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭣 we doubt whether the 𐭤 stands for the Aramaic 𐡧. In Párśik the 𐭥 is found in one word only, viz. 𐭯𐭥, corresponding to Pahlavík 𐭯𐭤. PhlB. has no traces of this letter. As a whole, Pahlavík is more conservative in the exact rendering of the Aramaic emphatic sounds than Párśik, and this feature makes it look more archaic than Párśik, from the Aramaic point of view. In fact, however, both the systems are of equal age, and the difference may perhaps be explained by the assumption that the Pahlavík system was derived from a dialect in which these sounds were kept distinct, whereas they were wholly confounded in the dialect from which the Párśik system was derived.

447 Hjb. 11′; 14 𐭤𐭤

Hjb. 12; 16 𐭯𐭥

Ideogram, 𐡥𐡤, occurring in Aram. Inscr., 'good, agreable'. It is found twice in the phrase: OY *dast ṬB* 'that one's hand is good', meaning: 'that one is a good shot'. There are several synonyms in Iran. for 'good', e. g. *vah, véh, χvab* or *χúb, névak*. For the first word, we have the ideogram 𐭥𐭥𐭫𐭣 in the inscriptions, the second is met with written phonetically. The third is met with in the inscriptions and is inserted into the *Frhg.* XXVI. 1 as an historic spelling, explained by *nék*. But in chapt. XIII. 5 we find, between the words *óstuvḇár, óstigán* and *χóšyár* on the one hand, and *dužd, vináskár* on the other hand, the ideogram 𐭭𐭩 explained by 𐭭𐭩𐭥 *név*. This is like OP. *naiba-*, and it is the simplex of which *névak* is a derivative. This ideogram obviously is the 𐭤𐭤 or 𐭯𐭥 of the Hjb. inscription, and we must take 𐭣 for the short form of the 𐭯, for which there are many instances, see 𐭪𐭣𐭯𐭥. Hence we must read our ideogram NÉV 'good, excellent'.

𐭭 and 𐭣 𐭩

In Pahlavík there is but one sign for the letter *Y*, used indifferently in the middle or at the end of the words. In Párśik we meet with two signs, 𐭣 and 𐭭, the latter never to be found in the middle of a word. The question, whether the first sign 𐭣 is to be met with at the end of a word or not, must be reserved to a special and thorough examination. I do not feel absolutely convinced that the second sign was merely the final shape of the first one, because there is no other instance of a letter having a special final form. Another question that cannot be solved without a detailed examination of all the facts is, whether the ligatures 𐭰𐭥 and 𐭲𐭥 are formed by 𐭮 and 𐭥 with 𐭣 or with 𐭭. We may regard it as ascertained that in the majority of cases the termination 𐭭 of Párśik nouns represents the old termination of the cas. obliq., which must have undergone the change from *-ahya* to *é* to *e* to *ə*, and which I transcribe by a simple *-e*, in order to avoid the sign *ə* and the highly archaic sound *é*. But Pahlavík does not express this termination. The termination 𐭩 *-i* which we meet at the end of several Pahlavík words, e. g. in *-pati*, and which I transcribe *i* (the underlining signifying the *scriptio plena* without asserting the length of the vowel in the spoken language), has quite a different etymological origin and meaning. I must leave it to philologists to explain why the Pahlavík dialect does not show the termination of the cas. obliq., which is regularly indicated in the Párśik dialect.

In some cases the termination 𐭭 apparently indicates the یای تعریف, the definite article of the NP. language, e. g. 𐭭𐭪𐭲𐭦, 𐭭𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭪𐭲𐭦; an observation which perhaps helps to explain the change of the termination of *-pat*, regularly written 𐭪𐭦-, but 𐭭𐭪𐭦- in the word 𐭭𐭪𐭦𐭮𐭣 and in 𐭭𐭪𐭦𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭥 and 𐭭𐭪𐭦𐭪𐭲𐭥 on

called by Theophanes, ed. Bonn p. 500, Σαλιαρός, with the curious change of *hr* into *l*, not usual in Pársík. Cf. JUSTI, *Namenb.* 174 *ss.*

436 D′ 7,2 חשתרסתן גאתלמתא

χšatrist(á)n; the Pársík equivalent is missing, but must have been *šatristan*, PhlB. שתרستان, by which the *Frhg.* II. 2 explains the ideogram מדינא, i. e. 'province of jurisdiction, city', Arab. مدينة. The Armen. loan-word *šahastan, šahstan*, with *šah* for **šarh*, not the older form *ašχarh* for **χšahr*, reflects already the Pársík, not the Pahlavík form of the word. In classical NP. شهرستان and شارستان, replaced in the modern NP. by شهر, 'city'.

437 C′ 3 2,3 השתרפו אחמרכר גאתלמתא

438 C 11,5 שתרפו אמאלכלי גאתלמתא בבעל

χšatrp(á)v ahm(á)rk(á)r, šatrp(á)v ámárk(á)re, compound of *χšatrpáv-* 'satrap', and *ahmárkár* 'tax-'collector', hence 'provincial tax-collectors' or 'chamber of accounts of the provinces'. Cf. for the first element בבעל גאתלמתא *šatrpán*, for the second *ahmárkár* גאתלמתא. The office apparently is the provincial counterpart to the central office of the *šatre ahmár* DIPĒR. It is of a subordinate rank, as its mention after the different classes of the nobility shows.

439 Hjb. 9; N. i Rjb. Krt. 3; 7; Paik. B 11,5; C 2,2; F 9,3; H 2,1; חת תא

440 G 6,1 חתן תאא

441 G 2,4 חתתן תאתא

Ideogram חת 'if'; PhlB. אג, *Frhg.* XXV. 3 אגר, hence read AGAR, NP. اگر. The Pahlavík equivalent is גד, see this. In G 2,4 and G 6,1 we see the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd p. pl. *-t(á)n* added to the particle, once with the double *t*. In both cases the Pahlavík version writes more explicitly HAKAR ŠMÁX BAΓÁN 'if Your Divinities'.

442 see גגל גגבלא חת אין באלי תא גבב

AGAR *én bára* 'if, when ever' seems to represent the conditional.

443 see גללגב חתיא תאגב

N. i Rst. Krt. 5; N. i Rjb. Krt. 24; חתימון תאבתא 444

N. i Rst. Krt. 18 חתימנד תאבתא 445

N. i Rst. Krt. 32 חתימנת תאבתא 446

Ideogram חתימו 3rd pl. Pə'íl from חתם 'to put a seal, to sign'. חתם is a usual word for 'seal' already in Aram. seal inscriptions. The *Frhg.* XXIII, 2 has the word ניפשתאר in the chapter 'on the *uzvárih* concerning the notions of ניפשתאר *nipištárih* 'writing'. This chapter begins with NIPIŠ*tan*, then follows our ideogram, and after it FRĒSTÁ*tan* 'to send', viz. a letter, and RASÍ*tan* 'to arrive', also said of a letter. Therefore the meaning of the Aram. ideogram fits perfectly into that group. But the *Frhg.* explains the ideogram by ניפשתאן ANB(Á)*štan* 'to fill, collect, store'. This meaning apparently is not original, but secondary. Everything brought into an *anbár* of the state had to be sealed before. Hence 'to seal' became synonymous with 'to put into an *anbár*, to collect'. In the inscriptions the meaning 'to seal' evidently suits the context in every case. The word is always met with in close connection with the term בבעל *gate*, 'the mint, coinage', see this, and al-Khwárizmí states p. 57:

الخَتْمة كتاب يرفعه الجَهْبَذ فى كلّ شهر بالاستخراج والجُمَل والنفقات والحاصل كانّه يختم الشهر به ﴿ الختمة الجامعة تعمل كل سنة كذلك ﴾

Therefore the keeping of these financial accounts was the special function alluded to by the ideogram בבעל. The NP. word for 'seal' is *muhr*, مُهر, and the verb 'to seal' is expressed only in a periphrastic way by بمهر گرفتن, مهر كردن, مهر زدن. There are also the words مهرى 'sealed' and مهرزن 'the sealer'. PhlB. *Frhg.* XII. 3 has מוך or מוכ, explained by מוכ or מוכ, *muhr*, historic writing *mudr* or *mutr*. The Armen. loan-word is *murhak*, HÜBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 197 no. 417, hence we must assume **muhrak*; derivative of *muhr*, in the sense 'deed' already in Pahl. The writing *mudr* resembles closely Scrt. *mudrá-*. No way leads to the pronunciation of the verb written ideographically בבעל. It is not impossible that

significant example is the protocol of the kings: *mazdésn* BAγ *XX* KĒ *čitre* AŽ *yazdán* 'the mazda-worshipping god *(baγ)* who is a scion of the gods *(yazdán)*'. Other characteristic instances are N. i Rst. Krt. 5: *ohormizde* U *yazdán* 'Hormizd and the gods'; Paik. B 6 5,4: *ohormizde* U *vispán yazdán* 'Hormizd and all the gods' (follows: and *Anáhét* called the lady); A 10,6 = B 11,2: *yazdán* UT *amáχ* 'the gods and we' viz. the king; Pers. II 7-8: AZ *yazdán* U ŠAH 'by the gods and the king'; N. i Rjb. Krt. 2: PA *yazdán* U XVATY*(á)n* 'before the gods and the lords', i. e. the kings. Quite an extraordinary case is the legend *buddá yazde* 'Buddha the god' on the silver coin of Hormizd (I) Kúshánsháh.

Cf. גזתרא, גזגאל לאב, מלס, כל and גזלגאב.

455 see גזתרא יאתון פוגזמצ

456 E′ 12,4; G′ 5,7 יבעה . . ולכלאש

457 C′ 13,4 יבעהד ולכלאשל

458 H 7+6,5 בעיהונם נבזגזלאצ

459 F 12,2 בעיהונסת נבזגזלאמ

cf. E 2,6 נבזגזלאמ . . . and E 15,1 נבזגזלאמ . . .

Ideogram, Aram. root בעא 'to try, endeavour', also 'to pray'. Pahlavík יבעה is the 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pə'al, Párs. [j]בעיהד is the 3rd p. pl. Pə'íl. PhlB. עשיתוניש, *Frhg.* XXI 11 עשיתוניש, read XVÁST*an*, past part. perf. XVÁST, pres. XVÁH-, NP. خواستن 'to wish, to endeavour, to try'. E′ 12,4 corresponds to F 12,2; hence the Pahl. verb is the part. perf. pass., too, read XVÁST. G′ 5,7 corresponds to H 7+6,5. The context is not clear enough to exclude the possibility of, in this case, the termination *-m* being taken to be the suffix of the cas. obl. of the encl. pron. of the 1st pers; apart from this possibility read XVÁH*(ē)m*.

Here we observe a fact of great consequence for the understanding of the nature of the phonetic complements. Párs. always has but one form of the ideogram, representing when used without terminations, the past part. perf. In this case the part. pass. perf. terminates in *-st*, not as a special termination like that of the verbs in *-istan*, but the *-s* forming part of the stem. Párs. never expresses the termination *-t* of the part. pass. perf. Hence the ideogram alone clearly means XVÁST-, and the letters added in F 12,2, and in the same way in E 2,6; E 15,1, are merely a phonetic complement of the same type, as that used in Bab. cuneiform. We ought to transcribe correctly XVÁST*st*. We must remember the fact that the Iranian terminations sometimes are really phonetic complements of the cuneiform type, when explaining difficult ideograms like גזתרא and גזלגאבר. At the same time the fact is a clear hint that the ideographic system with its complements is derived from the cuneiform method.

A 5 4,5; B 4,5; Pers. I. 4 יבלין נבזגזלאצ 460

E 6,4 יבלונד נבזגזלאצד 461

F 9,5 יבלונת נבזגזלאצת 462

Ideogram. The Pahlavík equivalents are all missing. Aram. יבל, יבלו 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al 'to bring, conduct'. *Frhg.* XX. 15 עלאיוש explained by עלאיוש, NP. برذن, hence read BURT*an*, pres. BAR- 'to carry, carry away'. There is another ideogram in the *Frhg.*, immediately before this one, written עלאיוש and explained by the same word BURT*an*. In fact, this is but a graphic variant: a short ə instead of the long one, as in אמ, cf. ללכ. In Pers. I. 4 the word before נבזגזלאצ is illegible on the photograph, but obviously the two words must correspond to NP. تشريف برذن lit. 'to carry away the honour', i. e. 'to go away'. In B 4,5 the first letter is doubtful, and I cannot recognize from the context, whether the reading ə be required, or ɔ (see נבזגזלאצ) would give a better sense.

F 6,4 . . . יד . . . נבזמצ 463

Fragment; Pahlavík equivalent missing. The second letter may be ג or ז.

Hjb. 11′; 14′ ידא נלגב 464

Hjb. 12; 16 ידה נבזש 465

Ideogram, Aram. יד 'hand'. Pahlavík has the *stat. emph.* sg. ידא, Pársík ידה is the *stat. constr.* with the suff. of the pers. pr. 3rd sg. *Frhg.* X. 7 עשיתוניש, i.e. DAST, OP. *dasta-*, Soghd. δ*st-*, MP.T. *dast*, NP. دست 'hand'.

B′ 13,2; G′ 6,3 ידהם נלכלאשמ 466

B′ 7,5; E′ 7,2; cf. B′ 11,4 ידה . . נלכלאש . . 467

N. i Rjb. Krt. 17 ידהון נבזמצגזנ 468

the seals. There may even be instances, where the termination 𐭭 indicates the NP. یای وحدت. All this I am unable to decide. For the question of the cas. obliq. in Pahlavík, the words 𐭱𐭲𐭭𐭪𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭲 and 𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭪𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭲 are of high importance.

If, indeed, the form 𐭭 were merely the final form of 𐭩, we ought to compare the fact of the Pahlavík script having developed two signs for the 𐭩, one 𐭩 used in the middle and at the end of the words, and one 𐭭, used exclusively for the copula 𐭥.

448 E 6,4; F 9,4 𐭩.... 𐭭....

-e, termination of nouns, which stood on the lost blocks preceding the surviving ones.

449 Pers. II. 6 𐭩𐭠𐭫 𐭠𐭥𐭲

yár. The word can hardly be read in any other way. The sentence is a benediction of Sháhpuhr II.: KU MARTán *pársume anóšake* U *yár* ANDAR *šatre* BAV(*é*)*t* 'that he be the first of men, immortal and *yár* in the Empire'. The word is identical in outward with NP. *yár* 'helper, friend'. And as just the Pers. inscriptions show the Pársík language nearly at a stage reached by the NP., I think, we may indeed assume that both words are identical. The sense, easily to be derived from 'helper', then would be 'saviour', the σωτήϱ in the titles of the Seleucids and East-Iranian kings.

450 C′ 6,4; E′ 7,5 𐭩𐭠𐭫𐭣 𐭲𐭪𐭥𐭲

451 D 5,4; Pers. I 2 𐭩𐭠𐭫𐭪𐭩 𐭲𐭪𐭥𐭲

yávar, yávare. The *Frhg*. XXV 4 gives: 𐭩𐭠𐭫𐭪𐭩𐭭 𐭲𐭪𐭥𐭲𐭭, and hence it explains the archaic *yávar* by the younger *yár*: 'time, occasion'. In E′ 7,5 Pahlavík *yávar* corresponds to Pársík *báre* in *év báre* 'always, ever'. In C′ 6,4 the word following *yávar* is TÁK, which must be taken apparently as a postposition 'till . . . time'. In D 5,4 *yávare dašne* means 'the right, favourable time, moment'; otherwise we ought to separate both these words and interpret: '(at that) time treaty and oath they swore'.

452 A′ 10,6; B′ 13,1; D′ 8,6; E′ 7,6; E′ 14,2; F′ 2,1; F′ 3,1. 6; F′ 6,3; F′ 7,6; F′ 11,2.5.6; F′ 13,2; G′ 1,1; G′ 3,4; G′ 6,2; N. i Rst. Art. 3; N. i Rjb. Shâhp. 3,4; Hjb. 2,4; יזדאן 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 453

N. i Rst. Krt. 5; 9; 10; 16; 17; 31; N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 2,3?; 7 *bis*; 9; 10; 14; Paik. B 5,4; B 11,2. 3. 5; E 9,3; F 6,5; F 11,3; F 15,1; G 2,2; G 6,5; G 12,1; Pers. I 7; 8. יזדאן 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 454

For other instances see 𐭠𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭱𐭠𐭭 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 *s. v.* 𐭱𐭠𐭭.

yazat(á)n, or *yazatán, yazdán*, pl. 'the gods'. The sg. is not met with in the inscriptions, but on several gems and coins. On the gem Berlin 1385 we read 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭲𐭪𐭥𐭲 . . . . 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 (not 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭, see HORN-STEINDORFF pp. 13 and 39 No. 44), and a similar sentence stands on the gem of the Br. Mus. J. R. A. S. XIII No. 19: 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 . . . . 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭲𐭪𐭥𐭲 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭. On the gem B. M. No. 628, HORN, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIV p. 669 we read: 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭱𐭥𐭲𐭥 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 *yazate* HAST Arab. الله موجود. The silver coin of Péróz Kúshánsháh has 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭩𐭦𐭲𐭠𐭭, *Budd(h)a yazde*. The *yazd* κατ' ἐξοχήν in Sasanian times was *Hormizd*, cf. CASARTELLI, *La philosophie religieuse du mazdéïsme* etc. § 27. In a very remote antiquity, as a number of local names prove, the *baga* κατ' ἐξοχήν must have been *Mithra*. Phl B. writes 𐭱𐭦𐭲, a ligature, which the *Frhg*. I 1 appropriately transcribes 𐭩𐭣𐭲 for we have here all the letters ligated, and for the 𐭮 the short form 𐭣. In this transcription the *d* is a graphic *glossa perpetua*, indicating the pronunciation of the following letter *t* hence we must transcribe the word *yazd̲t* (for *yazat* or *yazd*). The highly archaic form *yazatán* is yet used in the inscriptions of Ardashír I. and Sháhpuhr I. All the later inscriptions write *yazdán*. Pahlavík writes, of course, the archaic form *yazat(á)n*, with a superfluous *mater lectionis* in the first syllable and a *scriptio defectiva*, as usual, in the last syllable. We hardly ever find two *plene* written vowels in one and the same word.

The relation of *yazd* (sg.) to Hormizd, and that of *baga* to Mithra, broaches the question of the peculiar meaning of the word *yazd, yazdán* and its synonym *bay*. In the inscription we find *bay* clearly limited to the kings, and *yazdán* to the gods. A highly

2) 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹

N. i Rjb. Krt. 17 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 read BAV*(é)m*

3) 𐎢𐎠𐎼[𐎹] without termination, and 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎮 with doubtful -*t*:

C′ 3,6 𐎢𐎠𐎼[𐎹]𐎮 read prob. DÁT BOV*(ét)* (equivalent missing.) Possibly instead of supplementary [𐎹] we ought to take 𐎢𐎠𐎼 as 'Pársism' and transcribe it by AST.

D′ 15,6 𐎢𐎠𐎼[𐎹] read prob. *bov(é)t* (equivalent missing)

Paik. A 5,5 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 read BURT BAV*(é)t* (equivalent missing)

Paik. H 7,2 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 read *šáte* BAV*(é)t* (equivalent missing)

Pers. II. 6 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 read BAV*(é)t*

4) 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎮, 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎮 and 𐎢𐎠𐎼

C′ 14+13,6 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎮 read BOV*(én)d* (equivalent missing)

C′ 10+9,3; F′ 13,1 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎮 read BOV*(é)nt* (equivalent missing)

divergence in the two versions

C 4,2 𐎢𐎠𐎼 read NÉ BAV*(én)d*

5) 𐎢𐎠𐎼

(equivalent missing)

Paik. F 6+5,5 𐎹[𐎼]𐎢 (this corrects the suppletory 𐎠𐎢 in pl. 84, 86, and 203-205) read *šatre* XVATÁY HÁN BAV[*á*]*t*

Pers. II. 6 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹 read BAV*át*

6) 𐎢, see the phonetic writing 𐎠𐎼 in Pers. II. *ult.*:

Corn. Petersb.; Kavát gem London 𐎢 read BÁT

7) 𐎠𐎼𐎠

Áwr. 3 𐎠𐎼 read *d(á)d* (?) HOM or BOVOM (?)

477 see 𐎠𐎼𐎮𐎶 יחסנון 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹

478 see 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼 יחמתין 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹

479 B′ 4,6 יטיבוד 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎮

Ideogram. There can hardly be any hesitation as to the reading, although the letter 𐎼 very closely resembles a double 𐎹 or even 𐎹𐎹. יטיבו is a good Aramaic form which may be derived from טאב as well as from the variant יטב 'to be good, to appear good'. The variant יטב is already found in Aram. inscriptions. But the Frhgs. do not enumerate this ideogram, and a more serious objection to this interpretation is, that the whole notion of the verb is distinctly Semitic and has no true equivalent in Iranian. Therefore, I suggest, that 𐎼 replaces in this case a simple 𐎮, and that we must derive the ideogram from יתב 'to sit', 3rd p. pl. perf. pass. Pə'íl יתיבו 'they were seated'. Then, the ideogram would be the equivalent of Párs'ik 𐎢𐎠𐎹𐎢, see this, and PhlB. 𐎱𐎹𐎹𐎱, to be read NIŠAS*tan* pres. NIŠÍN, and 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎮𐎼 ought to be read NIŠÍN*(én)d*.

C 2,2; F 13,5 יך. 𐎢𐎠 *480*

The first fragment is certainly, the second most probably 𐎢𐎠; see this.

see 𐎠𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎶 יבוימון 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 *481*

N. i Rjb. Krt. 25 יבתיבון 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 *482*

Ideogram Aram. בתב, יבתיבו 3rd p. pl. imperf. Pə'íl, PhlB. 𐎱𐎹𐎹𐎱, *Frhg.* XXIII. 1 read NIPIŠ*tan*, NIVIŠ*tan*, OP. *nipišt anaiy*, Soghd. *nipaɣšt-*; NP. نوشتن. This is one of the verbs, like *kirtan* KUN-, *áwurtan* ÁWAR-, *bastan* BAND-, which use or even prefer the phonetic writing of the past part. pass. beside the ideographic writing of the pres. base. See 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢.

D′ 10,2 ימטאת 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎮 *483*

C′ 10,1 ימטאתם 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎮𐎱 *484*

F′ 12,4 ימטאתה 𐎼𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎮𐎮 *485*

N. i Rjb. Krt. 22; Pers. II. 10 יחמתון 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 *486*

[ə is missing];

E′ 4,1 יחמתונם 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎱 *487*

Pers. II. 9 יחמתונן 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢 *488*

D 3,6 יחמתונד 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎲 *489*

N. i Rjb. Krt. 21 *bis* יחמתונת 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎮 *490*

Ideogram, Aram. מטא 'to reach, arrive'. Pahlavík ימטא is the 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pə'al, used with the phonetic termination -*t* for the preterit base of the Iranian verb. — ימטאה is the same form, preserving in script the superflous ה beside the א, as in other ideograms of the same form, e. g. יהוה beside יהו, the longer form being reserved to express with the terminations appended, the pres. base of the Iranian verb. — Párs'ik יהמטון is the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Hoph'al, the Aram.

469 C 2,2 ידעיתנד 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎

470 N. i Rjb. Krt. 27 ידעיתנת 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎

Ideogram, Aram. ידע 'to know', Pahlavík 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙 instead of 𐬉𐬛𐬀, treating the verba ל"ע like the verba ל"א, with the vowel *é*, characteristic for the verba ל"ע already in Bab.-Assyr. Pársík 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍, too, treats the verb as ל"א. Both preserve the ע in script beside the ה or י. In B′ 13,2 the termination 𐬌 is lacking in the text, but may be supplemented with certainty from the foregoing verb. The termination 𐬍 in B′ 7,5 is doubtful. Aram. dialects have the imperf. ינדע, compare B′ 7,4 𐬉𐬍𐬛𐬀𐬉. Unfortunately all the instances are without their equivalent in the other version. The identity of the ideograms cannot be doubted. The meaning of the Aram. verb perfectly suits in every case. But I am unable to discover the ideogram in the Frahangs. As we have another ideogram in the *Frhg.* as well as in Pahlavík and Pársík for the Iran. verb *dânistan* 'to know', see 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 — 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎, obviously we must look for a synonymous verb to interpret our ideogram. I think NP. شناختن, PhlB. *šnáxtan*, pres. *šnás-*, MP.T. *išnás-*, OP. *χšnásatiy*, root √*χšná-*, 'to learn, recognize, realize, think, think over, reflect' is the word meant by our ideogram. The passages recall in a striking degree some of the passages in the OP. inscriptions, if we read the ideogram in this way. Even without the corroboration from the *Frhg.*, I think, we may read in Pahlavík xšnás*(é)m*, xšnás*(ét)*, and in Pársík šnáxt, šnás*(én)d*, šnás*(é)t*. Cf. Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* p. 81 No. 793.

471 Pers. II. 1 יום 𐬉𐬛𐬀

Ideogram Aram. יום 'day', *Frhg.* XXVII. 1 𐬉𐬛, read róč, róž, OP. *rauča-*, NP. روز 'day'.

472 see 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 יחדי, יחדאן 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍, 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙

473 N. i Rjb. Krt. 3 יחדאין 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬍

YZDKAČ, the reading, especially of the fourth and the last character is doubtful.

474 see 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 יחבון 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬁𐬍

475 יחוה-, 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎- 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬁𐬎

476 יחוון, 2𐬉𐬛 𐬉𐬛𐬀𐬁𐬍

Ideogram. Aram. root הוא 'to be, become'. Pahlavík 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 is יהו, 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pə'al with dropping of the final א, and the Iranian termination *-t*, and יהוה is the same form preserving the ה and appending to it the various phonetic terminations of the Iran. pres. base. — Pársík יהוון is the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Pə'al, occurring already in the old Aram. inscr. The special ideogram for the imperative or optative יהו I consider to be the 2nd p. pl. imper. Pə'al. — There is still another ideogram which I feel inclined to connect with the same root, i. e. the curious 𐬀𐬍𐬀𐬍 of the Áwr. parchment taking for granted that the reading is not erroneous, there is the 3rd p. sg. imperf. written in the Bab. Talmud יהי, hence the 1st p. sg. would be אהי. The serious objection against this interpretation is, that *d(á)d* bovom or perhaps *d(á)d* hom in the sense 'I have given' (not 'I was given') would be a highly modern construction if an Iranian construction at all. But the meaning seems to fit well the context, and I am unable to offer a better interpretation of the obscure verb.

The *Frhg.* XXII. 2 has 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 · 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎; hence, the ideogram 𐬉22𐬎 is to be read bút*an*, pres. bav-. Soghd. *but-*, Nestor. βut, NP. بودن The Pahlavík 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 I transcribe by bút, and 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 by bov-, according to Bthl., *Z. Kenntn. d. Mitteliran. Mundarten* IV. 1922, pp. 17 and 25. The following is a complete list of all the instances of this ideogram with their equivalents in the inscriptions:

1) 𐬉22𐬎 — 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎

Hjb. 8′ 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 read bút

= Hjb. 9 𐬉22𐬎 read bút

Hjb. 9′ 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 𐬀𐬍𐬛𐬀𐬉 „ bút *h(é)ndé*

= Hjb. 10 𐬉2𐬎 𐬉22𐬎 read bút ast

Paik. F′ 13,6 𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬎 read bút

(equivalent missing)

N. i Rjb. Krt. 6; 7; 15; 16; 17 𐬉22𐬎 read bút

N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 11; 11–12; 13 𐬌𐬉2𐬎 𐬉22𐬎 read bút hom

Paik. D 2,3 𐬉22𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎 read bút (equivalent missing)

Paik. D 5,5; G 12,5 𐬉22𐬎 read bút (equivalent missing)

Pers. I. 9 𐬉𐬀2𐬎 𐬉22𐬎 read bút h*(é)nd*

The Pahlavík ideograms of this verb clearly show that the past part. pass. is formed by the termination *-t* appended to the 3rd p. ps. sg. perf. of the Aram. verb; that the infinitive is formed from the same ideogram by the phonetic termination *-tan*; further, that the ideogram for the pres. base, the 3rd p. pl. of the Aram. verb, without termination represents the imperative, B 1,6 נתנ, read MÁ DAH, prohib. 'do not give'; and at last, that the rare phonetic termination *-(á)n* in Pahlavík as in Pársík is a special grammatical form, and has nothing to do with the redundant ו of Phl B., cf. A′ 6,3 = A 12,3 and C′ 6,5 = D 5,2.

Therefore we must read, in the order of the instances above: DÁ*t*, DÁ*tan*, DAH, DAH*(á)n*, DA*(...)*; and DÁT HO*m*, DÁT, DAH*(én)d*, DAH*(á)n*.

507 G′ 1,6 ...יפפת ...נלהלת

YPPT...; the initial נ may in fact be ן, the last ת is doubtful too.

508 A′ 1,3 יצבהת נעלת

509 F 3,5 יצבהת נעלת

Ideogram, Aram. צבא 'to wish, be willing'. Both the ideograms have the form יצבה i. e. 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pa'al. *Frhg.* XVIII. 2 has וישתמש and וישתמשון · וישתמשון, hence read KÁMIST*an*, pret. KÁM-, here in both the cases KÁM*(é)t*. Soghd. *qām-*. F 3,5 corresponds to E′ 14,6 נעלכת read VÁČ*(é)t*, see this. This word, generally employed for 'to speak', has at the same time the sense 'to recite prayers, to pray in a low voice'. Hence, the two words 'to wish' and 'to pray', are nearly synonymous. The vowel *i* in the second syllable is adopted according to MP.T. *-istan*, and *Frhg.* וישתמש. The Aram. verb is found in early Aram. inscriptions. Cf. צבו.

510 Áwr. 1 ירחא נלגנצ

511 Pers. I. 1; II. 1 בירה נבת

Ideogram, Aram. ירח, in Aram. and Pahl. inscr. — Pahlavík ירחא is the *stat. emphat.* sg., Pársík בירה the prep. ב 'in' and the *stat. indet.*, hence 'in the month', a curious fashion of an ideogram, clearly revealing the clerical origin of the system, 'in the month' being the ever repeated term in the date of the official documents and deeds. *Frhg.* I. 3 explains the ideogram וועש by MÁH in the sense 'moon', and XXVII. 1 the ideogram עש in the sense 'month', between SÁL 'year' and RÓČ 'day'. NP. *máh* 'month'.

N. i Rst. Krt. 11 יתיבן כיצינצ 512

Ideogram, Aram. יתב 'to sit, dwell', יתיבו 3rd p. sg. perf. Pa'il (pass.). *Frhg.* XX. 1 has וישתי-וש · וישתיון, hence read NIŠAS*tan*, pres. NIŠÍN-. NP. نشستن, 'to sit down'. OP. root √*had-* plus the verb. pref. *ni-*. Possibly the same ideogram is represented by Pahlavík נלהלכ, although this is written with a ט; see this. The ideogram in question with the termination *-d* is to be pronounced NIŠÍN*(én)d*.

ל כ ג

E 4,3 כ ...ג 513

k..., fragment, beginning of a word, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

Pers. II. 2; 11 כאולי נגבלה 514

N. pr. masc., name of the author of the inscription Pers. II., who has the title *dâtavhar* 'judge'. The letters may be read *Kávule* or *Kávare*. I think, only the second reading is probable. The name seems to be a short form of a compound name, the first element of which is Av. *kavay-*, cf. *kavárasman-*, but I do not feel sure about this name.

E′ 15,6; F′ 7,2 כאמיות לנלהלכת 515

KAMIVt. Apparently the ideogram of a verb, 3rd p. sg., in both the cases with the equally obscure particle לנ preceding the verb. The ideogram must be the 3rd p. pl. perf. of a verb כמא; the long vowel in the first syllable is striking: a Pá'il form? I do not know the root כמא or קמא in Aramaic. But the *Qámús* gives the Arab. verb قما '*convenit (locus alicui)*' and has قامى, '*convenit*', and the phrase: ما يقامينى الشى 'the thing is not convenient, does not suit me'. Now, the particle לנ is probably 'so', and the meaning 'so it is convenient to us', well suits the context. The Iranian word might then be ŠÁY*(é)t*. But this is a suggestion which I make with the greatest reserve.

causative being used, for syntactic reasons, for the Iran. intransitive. *Frhg.* XXIII. 4 has 𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭭 · 𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭭, read RASIT*an*, pres. base RAS-. NP. رسیدن, OP. root √*ras-*. *rasitán* 'to go to, to arrive at, to reach'. In the order of the above instances read: RASI*t*, RAS*(é)m*, RAS*(é)t*, RASIT, RAS*(é)m*, RAS*(á)n*, RAS*(én)d*ʔ, RAS*(é)t*. As to the termination *-án*, see ג- and chapter IV 'Essay on Pahlavi' p. 58.

491 E 6,2 יתמי... יתמי...

...*ime*, end of a subst. noun.

492 C′ 3,6 יתללת נתלתא
493 E′ 14,6; F′ 12,2 יתללות נתלתבא
494 A 12,4 יתללונד פתלתבגנא
495 G 2,3 יתללונת פתלתבגנא

Ideogram תלל, Pa"el, already found in Aram. inscr. — Pahlavík יתלל is the 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pa"el, used with the phon. termination *-t* for the preterit base, יתללון the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Pa"el used for the pres. base of the Iranian verb. — Párs ík יתללו is the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Pa"el. *Frhg.* XVIII. 3 has 𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭭 · 𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭭, beside the defective or debased orthography 𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭭, with *n* for *l*, hence read GUF*tan*, pres. base GOW-. This is the root √*gub-*, OP. *gaubataiy*, Soghd. *váb*, *váb-éq*, MP.T. *guft* and *gov-* or *goy*, as NP. گوی- and -گو. For the Pahlavík ideogram, although it may be the same as in Párs ík, we must perhaps assume a different pronunciation. BTHL. *Mitteliran. Mundart.* IV. p. 25, speaking of the *draχt i asúrik*, J. M. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* p. 109—114, which from its dialectic peculiarities must be considered as an Arsacidan Pahlavík text, observes that the verb *guftan* is there throughout replaced by *váχtan*, pres. *váč-*, found in Soghd. in past part. pass. *vaγt* 'said' and in the noun *vaχš*, in MP.T. in the compound *áváχtan*, and in PhlB., probably in Párs ík too, in the compound *patváχtan*, see פתגאפתן, אוגאגתן. HORN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I. IV. p. 18 and 48 also treats the Med. √*vač-* corresponding to the Pers. √*gub-*. Av. *vačah-* 'speech, elocution, word', PhlB. *váč*, *váž*, NP. *váž*, *báž* 'reciting prayers in a low voice'. The word is common in Median dialects. E′ 14,6 corresponds to F 3,5 KÁM*(é)t* 'he wishes', a word nearly synonymous, if we read Pahlavík נתלתבת VÁČ*(e)t*. Therefore, I transcribe Pahlavík נתלתא by VÁX*t*, נתלתבת by VÁČ*(é)t*.

A 5 4,5 י...ת 496 כ...ע

Three or four letters are lacking, the initial כ is not absolutely certain. Possibly כעגא22ת.

B′ 7,4 ינדעי נדלא 497

YND'Y, apparently the ideogram of a verb. It resembles ינדע 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pə'al from ידע, treated as a verb לא, and ought to be compared with נדלא, if this suggestion proves true.

C′ 2,6; E′ 7,4; F′ 8,6; G′ 3,4 ינתנת נתתא 498
G′ 11,2 ינתנתן נתתא 499
B′ 1,6 ינתנו נתש 500
A′ 6,3; C′ 6,5 ינתנון נתתבא 501
B′ 13,6 ינתנ.. נתל.. 502
F 13,3 יחבון [חוהם] [פ]תגא 503
F 5,2 יחבון פתגא 504
E 2,4 יחבונד [פת]גגא 505
A 12,3; D 5,2 יחבונן פתגגא 506

Ideogram, Pahlavík employs the Aram. root נתן, Párs ík יחב, which, being defective already in Bibl. Aram., is supplemented there by נתן. Both the roots are found in Aram. Inscr. As to the age of the ideogram it is most important to observe that already the Bibl. Aram. assimilates the radical נ to the ת, whereas we meet with the Pahlavík orthography ינתן in the oldest Aram. inscriptions. ינתן is the 3rd p. sg. imperf. Pə'al, ינתנו the 3rd p. pl. imperf. Pə'al. Párs ík יחבו[ן] is the 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al. In the Áwr. parchment we meet with the short word לית, a very dubious reading, see this; if we are right in spelling דד, it would be a phonetic *scriptio defectiva* of the past part. pass. of the verb in question: *d(á)d*. There are two serious objections: 1) we do not know any example of Pahlavík verbs having, as some Párs ík verbs do, the phonetic writing for the past part. pass.; 2) the form *dád*, instead of *dát* may have been the actual pronunciation even as early as that document is, viz. in the last decennium B. C., but the orthography is without any analogy. — *Frhg.* XXI. 7—8 gives 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭲 · 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭲, read DÁT*an*, pres. DAH-, root √*dá-*.

Diocletian, the Khwárizmsháh and all the others. This was in 293/4 A. D.

We learn from Mírkhond, trad. Silv. de Sacy p. 304, that the Kúshánsháh gave his daughter in marriage to Narseh's son Hormizd II. As we have set forth above, it seems that the Kúshánsháh espoused Narseh's cause in the contest with Varhrán III., and this marriage, probably accompanied by a high gift to the Kúshánsháh, sealed the friendship. Ardashír I. had wrested the whole of Khorásán to the north of the Hindukush from the Kúshán kings. Péróz, perhaps Sháhpuhr I., Hormizd I., Varhrán I. and II., had all been viceroys of Kúshán, claiming the suzerainty also over those parts of the old Kúshán Empire, the Kábul valley and the Panjáb, which had always remained independent. Narseh seems to have restored Khorásán to their old possessors. In the midst of the 4th century, these parts were conquered by the Chionites, and the peace and alliance, concluded between Sháhpuhr II., Grumbates the king of the Chionites and the Kúshánsháh, means the recognition of the changed conditions in the East.

528 H 2,3 כושראן זברבנגנ

KVŠDAN or *KRŠDAN*, the spelling is certain but the pronunciation doubtful. The word is a n. pr. ethn., the ruler has the Iranian name *Zámásp*. He is mentioned after the Khwárizmsháh and belongs to the first group of not only independent kings, but of kings of equal rank. I may here offer a suggestion, which is not out of question, although it is difficult to prove it, and although some considerations, first of all the Iranian name of the ruler and fragmentary title ....*pati*, are against it. Hüan Čuang describes the land of Khotan under the name *Ku-sa-ta-na*, Beal, *Buddhist Records* II. p. 309 s. — Marquart, * Érânš.*, p. 239 gives the older reading *Ku-sat-tan-na* = **Kustana*, a learned Sanscrit interpretation of the indigenous name. I think one might compare our *kúšdán* with this Kustana-Khotan.

529 G 2,4; G 6,1 בוזנבי זרבנגה

kuzénake. The Páhlavík equivalent is גמתנאק, see this. If we are right in considering גמתנאק as an ideogram with the phonetic complement *-ak* in the sense of 'property', we might compare זרבנגה with NP. گزیت, گزینی, گزیش 'property'. For the form cf. Bthl., *Mittelir. Mundart.* I. p. 30 עמשן *uzénak*.

G 6,3 בי... זנ... 530

-ke, Pahlavík equivalent missing. End of a noun.

Gem Rev. Wright בינו זרבנה 531

Kéne, n. pr. of the móbed of Érán-ásán-karkavát.

H 14,2 כיסלי זרמלה 532

késare, i. e. καῖσαρ, *Caesar*, cf. Soghd. adj. pl. *qésaraqán* 'the imperials' viz. coins, or 'sovereigns'. The following word *hróme* is joined by the *copula*, not the *iḍáfat*; hence we cannot translate 'the Caesar of Rome', but 'the Caesar and Rome..', and, as this is not very probable, the word *hróme* obviously stood in the construction of the اضاف، مقلوب, still common in classical NP., e. g. ایران شهر. In this case, the missing regent was probably a person or a body of persons too, because the words form part of the list of congratulants. Hence we ought to expect something like 'the senate of Rome'. The Caesar ruling at the time of the inscription was Diocletian, 284—305. The mention of the Caesar as sending an envoy to congratulate Narseh, gives an exact date to the inscription. In 296/7 Narseh opened an unsuccessful war against Rome by attacking Tírdát, the king of Armenia. The envoy must have been sent before this war began. 293 was the first year of Narseh. Hence, the limits of date for the inscription are 293—296, probably 294. The last lines of the *Kárnámak* mention the Caesar, the kings of Kábul, India, the Khákán and other princes visiting Hormizd I. Nöldeke remarks that this was a '*Lieblingsphantasie*' of the Persians, and alludes to Firdósi's verses on Bahrám Gór. This is certainly true, and I wish to quote the very interesting instance of the legend of the palace of Dukkán near Kirmánsháhán, mod. Takht i Shírín, East of Sarmáj, cf. Herzfeld, *Orient. Liter. Ztg.* XXII. 1919, 254 ss., *Islam* XII. 1921, p. 136, where Khusrau II. is said to have received the 'kings of the earth'. It was not only a '*Lieblingsphantasie*', but the subject of a typical

516 N. i Rst. Krt. 3; 16 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *kámak(k)áre*, compound of *kámak-* 'desire, will, wish', Soghd. *qám* 'pleasure', and *-kár* 'doing, doer'. Hence 'of one's own accord, will, voluntary'. Armen. loan-word *kamakar*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 163 No. 295, 'voluntary'.

517 N. i Rst. Krt. 10 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *kámak(k)áręṭare*, compar. of the foregoing 'yet more of one's own will, more voluntary'. OP. as well as MP. use comparatives where our modern languages would not do so. Remark the superfluous termination ɔ before the *-tare* of the comparative, and compare with it the orthography 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀, i. e. *tanə̄-iš* on the Dénak gem.

518 C′ 4,1 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *káraha-*

519 C 4,3; C 9,3; D 6,6 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *kárahya-*

káraván, 'division of an army', hence NP. کاروان *káraván* 'caravan'. Armen. loan-word *karavan*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 167 No. 307, cf. the same *Pers. Stud.* p. 85.

520 A′ 6,4 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *kári*

521 A 2,5 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *káre*

kári, káre 'army', OP. *kárah*, gen. *kárahya-* 'people, army', frequent in the OP. inscriptions. As far as I know, this simple word does not occur in PhlB.

522 F 13,1 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *vaṣ....ganj*

Reading very uncertain. Perhaps two words. The two initial characters remind the ideogram 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀, *Frhg.* XXV. 2, read vas, vēh 'much', OP. *vasiy*, the two last letters the word *ganje*; see this. If a 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 ought to be supplemented as the third letter, we would have the Aram. stem כבר 'to be heavy' adj. כבר 'heavy', hence 'much'.

523 N. i Rst. Krt. 4; 11 *ult.*; 12; 17; 31; 34; N. i Rjb. Krt. 23; 24; כביר 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀

Ideogram, Hebr. Aram. כבר 'to be great, numerous', adj. כביר 'great, powerful'; Phoen. כבר 'mighty', Arab. كبير 'great'. The word is found in three combinations: 1) in the title 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *KBIR átrav(á)n* 'the Great (High)-priest'; 2) *KBIR kirtakán*, see 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 and 3) *um KBIR* xvēš nām 'and by myself *KBIR* the own name' probably 'in my own right'. The meaning 'great' for the Aram. word evidently fits all the instances. Now the Arm. historian Elisaeus calls Mihrnarseh, *'mec hazarapet arik' ev anarik'*. Here we have the genuine Arm. *mec* 'great' employed before a title just as the ideogram *KBIR* before the title *átraván*. Etymologically Arm. *mec* corresponds to Gr. μέγας, MP. *mas, mah, meh. Frhg.* XII. 2, the historic orthography 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *mas* is explained by 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 *meh*. It seems fairly certain that our ideogram 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 is to be read mas or mēh.

524 N. i Rjb. Krt. 26 כדנא 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀

Apparently an ideogram. Aram. כדנא 'so, such a one', e. g. כדנא כתיב 'so has been written'. Cf. Aram. Inscr. כד and כדי 'as', Nabat. Inscr. כדן 'now'. 'Such a one' would be NP. همچین or چنین. But how is the ideogram to be pronounced in Pársík?

525 Kavát gem, London כואת 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀

Kavát, n. pr. masc. Av. *Kaváta*, Gr. Καβάτης, Καβάδης, Syr. *Qavāδ*, PhlB. and coins Kavát, Arm. Kavat, Arab.-Pers. قباد.

526 G′ 11,4 כושן 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀

527 Coins of the Sasanian viceroys of Khorásán כושאן 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀

Kúš(á)n, Kúšán, n. pr. ethn. in the term *kúš(á)n* šah 'the Kúshánsháh'. The Pársík equivalent is missing, and unhappily, there is a gap of about 22 letters just after this important name. Then follows u *késar* u *hróme*, another gap of about 13 letters, partly to be filled by a title to which *hróme* must refer, and u *χvárazm(á)n* šah u *zám/ásp* i *KVŠdán/.....patį* and the long list of the congratulants. Just before the term *kúš(á)n* šah we observe the end of a long speech addressed to the king. Therefore, in spite of the fragmentary condition of that part of the inscription, it is fairly certain that the Kúshánsháh opened the list of the congratulating princes. Thus, at that time he was as independent a king, as the Caesar of Rome,

from Avroman, J.R.A.S. 1919 p. 147, settles the question of the reading of the Pahlavík word. As to the Pársík word, all the letters are certain, except the first one, which is lacking on the cast in the National Museum at Dublin, but for which there is ample space. Evidently, WEST, *Sas. Inscr. Expl. by the Pahl.* p. 17 of the reprint, was right in combining the Pársík word with the Aram. root גלא, 'to uncover, announce'. The meaning of the word is undoubtedly 'edict'. The second letter ע clearly points to the Hithpe'el or Hithpa"al of that verb, and we must, therefore, supplement either ס or, if we assume a participle, פ, the traces of which I believe one is able to recognize on the photograph of THOMAS. מתגלאה would be the fem. of the part. Hithpa"al of גלא, and this form suits perfectly our Pársík ideogram. The ס, then, must be explained as the definite article, the يای تعريف, as in some other cases, e. g. סעגלף, cf. גלח, סגלח. The Pahlavík word, of course, must be a synonyme of the Pársík ideogram. No Iranian etymology can be found for it. Hence, it, too, is apparently an ideogram. Again WEST was right in combining it with Aram. ברז, and I feel strongly inclined to follow the interpretation proposed by MARQUART, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIX. p. 670 N. 5, who regards the Inf. Pa"el ברוא as the very ideogram and וני as an Iranian termination or phonetic complement. As to this termination cf. סגלפ..ינג. This would be the old Bab.-Assyr. type of a complement, extremely rare in Pahlavík, but I can quote as parallels the ideogram ית-גזתנ (see this) and the termination *-ist* (see ותלשת) added sometimes to the ideogram of the past part. pass. of verbs in *-istan* or even to such ones whose *-s* belongs to the root. If we accept this interpretation, the termination כרן would give us a clear hint at the pronunciation of the ideogram. The Iranian word for ceremonial speech, often repeated in the OP. inscriptions, is √θah-, hence the subst. *saxvan*, NP. سخن, cf. גאזתנאכרן. The termination נ in this case may be interpreted, with MARQUART, as يای تعريف. Hence, we ought to read the Pahlavík ideogram and probably the Pársík ideogram, too, SAXVANÉ, or correctly SAXVAN*vanē* 'the edict'. The *Frhg.* employs the word *saxvan* twice, once in XV. 3 to explain the historic writing סלגרן or *sravē* 'talking', and once in X. 5 to translate the ideogram ‹ŠGR›, i. e. מלא *stat. emphat. pl.* from *מלא 'word'. This would not contradict the supposition that there was an old ideogram for SAXVAN in the sense of 'edict', the less so, as this word belongs to the vocabulary of the Aramaic offices. At any rate both interpretations are by far the best available, and I transcribe therefore, both ideograms by SAXVANÉ 'the edict'.

Seal B. M. No. 638 בליתגם גלחמעצפ 543

Ideogram, Aram. קרא, 2nd p. pl. perf. Pa'al קריתון 'to call, read', *Frhg.* XXIII. 4 ·ווישגלוי·, thus read XVÁNDan, XVÁN- 'to call, pray, recite', NP. خواندن. Hence read XVÁN*(ē)m* 'I call, pray'. Cf. גלחמע.

Áwr. 2; 7 *bis* כרמא כלעוצ 544

Ideogram, Aram. כרם, *stat. emphat.* כרמא 'vineyard', *Frhg.* V. 1 ‹ŠPŠ›, read RAZ. NP. رز, in the sense 'vine, grape' as well as in that of 'vineyard'.

Devonsh. gem כלמאן מלכא פאלגנג 545

kirmân ŠÁH, title of Varhrán IV. as prince-governor of Kirmán. According to Ṭabarí, NÖLDEKE, p. 10, cf. v. GUTSCHMID, *Z.D.M.G.* XXXIV. p. 734 s., Kirmán was conquered from an Arsacidan king Balásh by Ardashír I., even before his victory over Ardaván. It seems that at the end of the Arsacidan epoch, Kirmán had formed a distinct part of the Empire under a branch of the dynasty. Ardashír appoints his son Ardashír Kirmánsháh. Hence Kirmán may have had more a historical than a political signification during the Sasanian epoch. SILVESTRE DE SACY already quoted the passage of Ḥamdalláh al-Mustaufí's *Nuzhat al-qulúb*, attributing the foundation of the city of Kirmánsháhán to Varhrán IV. Kirmánsháh; see *Mém.* p. 235. Ḥamdalláh is too late an authority not to need some corroboration. This we find in the *Shahriha í Érán* § 39; cf. J. J. MODI, *Shatrôihâ-i-Âirân* p. 94 s. The surname of Varhrán IV. is known to most of the Oriental authors. The title as such is mentioned in al-Khurdádhbih's lists of the 'kings called sháh by Ardashír I.'.

picture, surviving in the famous picture of the 'enemies of Islam' in Quṣair 'Amra. But as the Paik. inscription says KĒ XVAT Ó DAR I AMÁX ÁMAT *ényá frést[akán fréstát]* 'some came personally to our Porte, else they sent envoys', it seems more correct to consider the fact not as a pet-fancy, but as an exaggeration only in so far as the senders of the envoys are substituted for the envoys.

533 N. i Rjb. Krt. 12; 15; 16 בילות גלכמ

534 N. i Rjb. Krt. 16 בילותם גלכמפ

KYRYT. The interpretation of this word, so decisive for the understanding of the lines in question, is excedingly difficult, and I am unable to solve this riddle. There are two possibilities. Either the word is a subst. noun or a part. pass. In the first case it might be an Iranian word as well as an ideogram, in the second it is probably an Iranian word. If it is an ideogram, we might compare the verb גלכמצ, גלשווישוו read XVÁND*an*, Aram. קריתון, 'to read, to recite', but I see no way to explain the long *i* in the first syllable. On the other hand I cannot supply any suggestion for an Iranian interpretation, it we take the word as a noun. If it is a participle, it ought to be a verb in *-itan*, but I do not know Iran. *kiritan, kéritan.* In N. i Rjb. Krt. 15 an enclit. pron. of the 1 st pers. is appended to the word. This cannot be a verbal termination. At any rate this would be a very exceptional use of the suffix which is common but in NP. It might possibly be the poss. pron. of 1 st pers. 'mine', and the preceding demonstr. pron. 'én' seems to corroborate this assumption, although not absolutely. Obscure as the word is, it seems to refer to the whole of the inscription. 'Admonition' would give a fitting sense; perhaps 'invocation', cf. NP. نام یزدان خواندن. The word stands in parallelism in N. i Rjb. Krt. 15 with גלכמ.ץלצ., see this and גלכמצ.

535 Áwr. 3; 8 כלא גלא

536 E′ 14,1; F′ 6,4 כלין גלנ

537 N. i Rjb. Krt. 23 כלי גלה

Ideogram, Aram. כל, *stat. emphat.* כלא 'all', PhlB. ווש, *Frhg.* XXV. 5, explained by HAR 'all', OP. *haurva-*. In Pahlavík it is to be read HARV, pl. with phonetic termination (or Aram. pl. termination?) HARV*in*. The Pársík ideogram is not exactly the same as in PhlB., but the *stat. constr.* plus the somewhat obscure termination ה. Perhaps, here again this termination is the NP. یای تعریف, HARÉ 'all the, the whole of the'. Cp. the very similar looking כלנ (ע).

E′ 15,6; F′ 7,2 כן גב 538

Ideogram, Aram.-Hebr. כנ־, כן 'so' and Aram. כאן, כן 'here, there'. In both the cases the particle appears before the verb גבעתכת, see this. Unfortunately both the Pársík equivalents are missing. So the reading remains uncertain. I believe we may compare this ideogram to PhlB. ין read ó, employed also as a verbal particle. Cf. *Frhg.* XXV.7 and SALEMANN, *Gr. d. Ir. Phil.* I. III. p. 311 § 110c and p. 291 § 74. It seems that a great confusion prevails in the different ideograms, all to be read ó in PhlB.

F 3,5 כן... גצ... 539

Incomplete at the beginning. A little farther the word גבינצ appears. The phrase is not exactly identical in the two versions, see גבינצ. So the restoration is not absolutely certain. But it is probable that גצ is the rest of another גבינצ only.

F′ 3,1 כני... גל..... 540

Fragment, Pársík equivalent missing. The foregoing letter was probably ל. There is still place for 4 letters more. It seems to be a noun, joined to the following *yazat(á)n* by the rel. čÉH.

B 2,1; G 2,3; N. i Rjb. Krt. 16 כען גצג 541

Ideogram, Aram. כען 'now, at present'. PhlB. *Frhg.* XXV. 4 ין, read NÚN 'now, at present'. Av. *nú* and *nún*. The Pahlavík equivalent is גכת *ós*, OP. *avaθá*. — Lat. *nunc*. It always appears in the compounds גצג גר, גצג (ש), comp. גצגל, Lat. *adhunc*.

Hjb. 1′ כלואוני גלצבל 542

Hjb. 1 [מ]תגלאחי [פ]מגלצבתה

KLZAVNY, [*M*]*TGLAHY*. A careful comparison of the two photographs published by THOMAS, *Early Sas. inscr.* and by Dr. A. COWLEY in *Pahl. Docum.*

modern Persian titles like *Ṭahmásp quli χán*. This must some day furnish a clue to the true interpretation of the obscure word. The interpretation 'crown' by THOMAS and WEST is probably a mere guess. NÖLDEKE, in the introduction to STOLZE's *Persepolis*, may be near the truth when he suggests, with reserve, something like 'friend'. In this case *KRTYR* i *Ohormizde* would be the Sasanian prototype to Muhammedan *khalil amir al-mu'minin*.

559 B′ 13,6 כרתך 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢

kirtak. Only a few words farther in C′ 1,1 we have the ideogram 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 KIRT*ak*, possibly KIRT*ak*[*án*]. The phonetic word is followed by .נתן, apparently the present base of the verb DÁT*an*. The word seems to be a gerundial participle, not perfectly identical with the simple part. pass. *kirt*. '*faciendum*, to do' or the absolutive 'having done' would suit the context. As to the external form, it is the same as the following.

560 N. i Rjb. 8 כרתבי 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎱

561 N. i Rjb. 5; 12 כלתכן 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢

kirtake, pl. *kirtak(á)n*, Soghd. *kərdak*, PhlB. 𐫒𐫀𐫗 'action, act, deed'.

562 N. i Rst. Krt. 4; 17; 31; Paik. G 6,5; כלתכאן 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭

kirtakán 'the doer, one who does'. In G 6,5 *ráste kirtakán* 'one who does right, acts justly'. In N. i Rst. Krt. three times in the phrase MAS *kirtakán* I *yazdán afzárihe* U MAS *átrav(á)n*, which is rather obscure, as the whole of that inscription is on account of its fragmentary condition, and may belong to the foregoing *kirtake* just as well.

563 F′ 6,5; F′ 7,3 כרתכנישתר 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎢

564 G 12,2 כרתכאנתלי 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎶𐎠𐎼

kirtak(á)nistar, *kirtakántare*, comparative of *kirtakán* 'more doing, acting in a higher degree'. We expect an object to this word, but in the phrase *ráštistar* U *fratar* U *kirtakánistar* there is no object. Hence, we must either give the sense 'more active' to the word or assume that a notion like 'good' is understood. In F 11,4 RAWLINSON read 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎶 in the same phrase, where we would expect 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢[𐎹]𐎶.

F 15,5 כרתכאנתומי 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎶𐎰𐎹 565

kirtakántume, superlative of *kirtakán* 'most active' or '(good) doing in the highest degree'. The Pahlavík equivalent is missing, but since in other cases the Pársik superlative is replaced by the comparative in Pahlavík, we may expect *kirtakánistar* in Pahlavík. Here the object is expressed: *ráštistar* U VÉH *kirtakántume*.

B′ 7,6 כתית 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢 566

KTYt, apparently the ideogram of a verb, 3rd p. sg. perf. Pə'al or Pə'íl of a verb לא, with the complementary Iranian termination *-t* of the preterit base.

C′ 2,3 כתכחותי 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎲𐎢𐎲 567

E′ 12,3; G′ 1,2 כתכחותין 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎶 568

B 4,2; C 11,5 כתכחותא 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎲𐎢𐎠 569

F 9,1 כתכח[תיאן] 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭[𐎲𐎢]𐎠𐎶 570

katakχvat(á)vya, pl. *katakχvat(á)vyn* and *katakχvatáy*, pl. *katakχvat(á)yán*, PhlB. כתכשוון, NP. کدخدا 'lord, master of a house', title of the lowest class of Iranian nobility, possibly corresponding to the designation دهقان in early Muhammedan time. For the exact definition see BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* III. § 26 *ss.*; cf. Soghd. *χáné χépatávanṭ*. — The phonetic writing of this word in Pahlavík and in Pársik gives us the true pronunciation of the ideogram 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢22𐎢. The abstr. noun, Pahlavík 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎶, Pársik 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎭𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎢𐎶 may be misleading.

E′ 7,3 כתשום 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎱𐎼 571

KTŠVm, apparently the ideogram of a verb. The Aram. form is the 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al, hence the ideogram for the present base of the Iranian verb, to which is appended the phonetic complement *-m*, the termination of the 1st p. sg. or pl. The context requires the 1st p. pl. of a verb. The Aram. root כתש means 'to push, to beat, to fight'. The reading of the כ is perfectly certain.

𐎶 𐎼 𐎹

The character 𐎹, in the inscriptions up to now discovered, represents *L* in Aramaic ideograms, whereas in the Iranian words it always has the value *R*. On the

546 N. i Rjb. Krt. 20; Paik. H 11,1 כלפכי ..ק֗ג, ח֗ג֗פ֗ג fragm.; Pers. II. 8;

kirpake, Av. *kəhrp-* 'visible form', Arm. loan-word *kerp* with the same signification. The Pársík word has the frequent suff. *-ak*, which generally does not modify the signification of the original word, SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I. III. p. 277 § 49,2. — MP.T. *kerbag*. In PhlB. פוש has still the meaning 'body', the derivative פושו is 'a meritorious action, good work', like NP. كرفه, *'opus bonum, pium, mercede dignum'*. The semasiological alteration is difficult to understand. In N. i Rjb. as in Pers. II. the signification is evidently the same. Cf. the term *kirpak griftan* or *kirtan* 'to act according to the holy right, *aša*'.

547 B′ 1,1 כרפ[כיפי] כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗כ֗ן

548 B 6,3; C 9,2; F 3,2; G 2,6; Pers. I. 5; כרפכיחי ק֗ג֗פ֗ג֗ח֗י

549 Pers. II. 10 *bis* כלפכיחי ק֗ג֗פ֗ג֗ח֗י

kirpa[kipi], *kirpakihe*, abstr. noun of the foregoing, Soghd. dial. *γarbäkih*, 'meritorious acting'. In G 2,6 = G′ 3,1 we have the word in the characteristical group *kirpakihe u frazánakihe* 'the right religious acting and the right religious knowledge', which in conjunction form the right religion. This group coincides exactly with the words *al-ḥikma wa'l-a'mál*, quoted by al-Bérúní from Máni's *Šáhpuhrakán*: الحكمة والاعمال هى التى لم يزل رسل الله تاتى بها فى زمن دون زمن and clearly showing that this part of Manichaean moral was purely Zoroastrian. In the other cases the sense of the word is strongly attenuated or generalized. 'The king cannot do wrong', hence every action of the king is done PA *kirpakihe* 'by right-acting', which can only be translated by 'to deign, to please or to do graciously' in the old sense of Germ. *geruhen*, Ital. and old French *placere, plaisir*, *'car tel est notre bon plaisir'*.

550 B′ 9,2 כרפכאר כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗ג֗ל

551 B 10+9,4 כרפכלי ק֗ג֗פ֗ג֗ל֗ח֗

552 N. i Rjb. Krt. 18; 19 כלפכלי ק֗ג֗פ֗ג֗ל֗ח֗

kirpa(k)kár, *kirpa(k)kare*, *kirpa(k)k(á)re*, compound of *kirpak* and *kár*, hence 'one who acts meritoriously, acting according to the holy right, pious'. Soghd. *kerbak(ká)r*, NP. كرفه گر. Neither in Soghd. nor in MP. the reduplication of the *k* in expressed in writing.

The word is the opposite of ר֗ע֗ב֗ל֗ח֗, see this.

553 E′ 15,5; F′ 12,6 כרדת כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗ת֗

554 N. i Rst. Krt. 2; 13 כלתי ק֗ג֗ל֗ת֗ח֗

N. i Rjb. Krt. 4; Paik. A 11,1; C 2,4; E 12,2; E 15,3; F 3,4; F 6,4; F 11,1; F 13,2; Pers. I. 9; 10 *bis*; 11 *bis*; Pers. II. 5; 6;

555 Pers. I. 9 כרתני ק֗ג֗ת֗ע֗ח֗

kirte, past part. pass. from *kirtane* 'to do, make'. Pársík regularly employs this phonetical writing for the past part. pass., and as Pers. I. 9 shows, for the infin. *kirtane* too. For the pres. base equally we meet regularly the ideogram כ֗ר֗ב֗ג֗, see כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗ת֗. Pahlavík has כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗ת֗ clearly written in the two places quoted. But in the great majority of cases the past part. pass. as well as the infin. is written ideographically כ֗ל֗כ֗ל֗ת֗. Hence, we must regard the two exceptions as 'Pársík-isms', the more so, as the added ת֗ is a phonetic termination, unfit for the phonetic writing of the word. But this instance proves beyond doubt that already in Pahlavík the verb was pronounced *kerd̲ane*, *kerd̲*, and that KIRT, or KRT, is an archaic writing. Cf. Chapter IV: Essay on Pahlavi p. 57 as to the other examples of the use of ideograms for the present base, and phonetical writing for the preterit base of the same verb. — MP.T. *kert*, Soghd. *qti*.

556 Paik. C′ 6,2 כרתיר כ֗ל֗ת֗ע֗ל֗

557 N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 3; 22; 23; 27 *bis*; 29; 30; 31; כרתיר ק֗ג֗ת֗ע֗ל֗

558 N. i Rst. Krt. 8 כלתיר ק֗ג֗ל֗ת֗ע֗ל֗

KRTIR. The spelling is certain beyond all doubt. The meaning, too, is certain. *KRTYR* i *Ohormizde* is an honorary title or name, like *bag-šáhpuhr*, *taχm-šáhpuhr* and the like. These titles, formed by any element added to the name of the king, must be compared with, and are the prototypes of the honorary titles bestowed in later times by the caliphs, e. g. حسام, خليل, مرتضى, نصير, يمين امير المومنين, and the

responds to 8 𐭧𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭧; in A′ 6,2 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 corresponds to A 11,2 𐭧𐭥𐭱; A′ 6,5 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 = B 2,1 𐭧𐭥𐭱; B′ 7,4 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 = B 11,6 𐭧𐭥. Hence, in certain cases 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 corresponds to the pron. demonstr. HÁN in Pársík. Only in E′ 7,3 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 corresponds to 𐬀𐬵[𐬀2] F 3,1, and Hjb. 14′ 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 to 𐬀𐬵2 Hjb. 16. Though few in number, we cannot doubt the normal resemblance of Pahlavík 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 and Pársík 𐬀𐬵2. This Pársík ideogram is the Aram. prep. עַל with the pron. 3rd p. sg. Now it is not the form עֲלוֹהִי of the Bibl. Aram. But old Aram. inscr. have עֲלֵיהּ, which corresponds to the ideogram 𐬀𐬵2, differing only in the *scriptio plena* or *defectiva* of the vowel of the second syllable. There is no indication that the Pársík distinguishes between the *cas. rectus* and the *cas. obliquus*, as the Pahlavík does.

Hence, both the ideograms represent the pers. pron. of the 3rd sg. In NP. an old pron. dem. has replaced the original pronoun. Therefore, it is not astonishing to find the Pahlavík ideogram corresponding to a pron. demonstr. in Pársík in some instances. Phl B. writes, like Pársík 𐭩𐭣, *Frhg.* XXIV. 3 explained by 𐭮𐭭, variant 𐭮𐭭, hence read óy or aβ. It is the OP. pron. dem. *ava*^{h}, Soghd. *ẓó*, NP. او. The 3rd p. pl. is a recent formation, formed by appending the encl. pron. of the 3rd pers. to this pron. demonstr., see 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 — 𐬀𐬀𐬵2.

Pahlavík 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣, according to these considerations, I transcribe by aβé, 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣 aβ^{p}, Pársík 𐬀𐬵2 we may transcribe always with óy, or, having regard to the variants in the Frahang, ó for the rare *cas. rectus*, óy for the *cas. obliquus*.

582 B′ 9,6; E′ 7,5; F′ 8,2 לחוין 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭

583 N. i Rst. Krt. 3; Paik. D 15,5; Pers. II. 8; 9; עלהשן 𐬀𐬀𐬵2

584 Pers. I. 4 עדהשן 𐬀𐬀𐬵22

Ideogram. Though the words have no immediate likeness, the identity of the Pahlavík and Pársík forms is certain. In N. i Rst. and Pers. 𐬀𐬀𐬵2 is always found in the phrase 𐬀𐬀𐬵2 𐬀𐬀𐬵22𐬀𐬭𐬵 'Their Divinities', lit. 'They the Divines', and in Paik. F′ 8,2 we have the equivalent phrase 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 'Their Divinities'. Hence, Pahlavík 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 is Pársík 𐬀𐬀𐬵2. The Pársík ideogram is that of the sing. of the pron. pers. 3rd p. sg. to which is added, as a recent formation in MP., the encl. pron. of the 3rd p. pl. -*šán*, cp. Soghd. *véšán*. *Frhg.* XXIV. 3 שׁטשׁאן · שׁטשׁאן, read óš(á)*n*. This is aβé-*šán* or aβ-*šán*, both becoming ó-*šán*. The Pahlavík ideogram does not show the encl. pron. -*šán*, but the normal pl. termination 𐭭-, which, in principle and from the external form, may be Aram. as well as Iranian. I think in this case it cannot mean that the Aram. termination is added, in contradiction to the very spirit of Semitic speech, to the prep. with its suffix, but that it represents the Iranian termination. Unfortunately the orthographic rule that no long *á* is expressed before an *n* leaves it dubious, whether we must transcribe -*in* or, at least in some cases, -*y(á)n*, or -*én*. Evidently, in Pahlavík the pl. of the pron. demonstr. replacing the old pron. pers. 3rd pl. was a recent formation too, but not the same as in Pársík. The writing 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 suggests something like aβé*yán* as pronunciation of the ideogram.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 22 לחנאין לאדי 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭𐭭 585

Ideogram. The simple הנא is the pron. dem. é. Therefore, it is beyond question that the compound 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭𐭭 exactly corresponds to NP. (که)زیرا, hence read z-é-*č ráde* 'on that account, for that reason, purpose, therefore'. N. i Rjb. Krt. 5 and 5—6 we meet twice the nearly identical 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵2, which from this analogy we must read z-ÉN-*ič ráde* 'on this account, therefore'. The very obscure word N. i Rjb. Krt. 24 רבוגכגרי looks like the merely phonetic writing of 𐬀𐬵2 𐭧𐭥𐭱 [𐭧𐭥] 𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭣𐭭𐭭 *z-é-rá-ké-čé* 'on that account, because', NP. زیرا که.

Hjb. 1′ לי 𐭧𐭥 586

Hjb. 1; N. i Rjb. Krt. 7; 22; 23; Paik. C 11,1; Gem B. M. no. 565. לי 𐭧𐭥

Ideogram. Aram. לי, prep. ל plus suff. 1st p. sg. 'to me'. *Frhg.* XXIV. 1 has ס.ל., hence read *man*, the *cas. obliquus* of the pers. pron. 1. p. sg. OP. *maná*, Soghd. *maná*, NP. من. There is the other ideogram 𐬀𐬵𐬭 for the *cas. rectus* of the same pronoun. Pahlavík employs another special ideogram

other hand, it can be used for *R* in Aramaic ideograms too. Without having devoted much time to the question of spelling I have the impression, that there is no general rule as to the use of 𐎚 or 𐎛 in Párśik. The younger inscriptions in Párśik make a more frequent use of the 𐎚 than the older ones. In Pahlavík the use of the 𐎚 for *R* is very restricted.

572 C 3,6; G 2,7 ..𐎚.. ..𐎚..
Fragment, Pahlavík equivalents missing.

573 Hjb. 8′; Paik. B′ 1,4 *bis*, 5; לא 𐎜𐎚
D′ 10,6; F′ 13,6;
Hjb. 9; Paik. A 11,2; A 12,2; לא 𐎜𐎚
B 4,6; B 5,5; B 14,5;
C 4,1. 2; C 11,3; D 3,6;
G 12,6.
Ideogram, Aram. לא negation, Phl B. 𐭠, *Frhg.* XXV 7, read NÉ 'not'. NP. 𐎢, 𐏁. See the rare phonetic writing 𐎜𐎛, and comp. the prohibitive 𐎜𐎚 MÅ. Soghd. *ná*, *né*, Nest. texts have the ideogram LA.

574 Hjb. 7′; 9′; Paik. B′ 6,6 לברא 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜
Hjb. 8 לברא 𐎚𐎜𐎜𐎚
Ideogram, Aram. לברא 'out'. In Hjb. the phrase TAR HÁN *čiti* (or *čitáke*) *LBRA* AFKAND is exactly the Germ. 'über jenes Ziel hinaus geschossen', 'overshot the mark'. Hence the ideogram has the same meaning in Aram. and Iranian. Paik. B′ 6,6 is too fragmentary to allow an interpretation. In Hjb. 9′ the words ó *LBRA* ÁLAK in Pahlavík correspond to the single *bérône* in Párśik, hence 'at the outer side, outside'. We ought to pronounce perhaps the whole group 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚 BÉRÓN. 𐎚𐎜𐎚 alone, see this, is BÉ. The ideogram *LBRA* is not to be found in the *Frhg.* Perhaps it is to be read UZ 'out'.

575 D 3,4; D 6,6; E 11,4; לוהה 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚
Pers. I. 8 *ult.*
Ideogram, Aram. לוהה 'with, to him', Phl B. 𐭥𐭩𐭮, *Frhg.* XXV. 6 𐭮𐭩𐭮 and 𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭥, read APÁK 'with'. The Pahlavík equivalent is missing.

576 N. i Rjb. Krt. 20; Pers. I. 5; 6; לזנה 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚
Ideogram, Aram. prep. ל plus the demonstr. pron. זנה *Frhg.* XXIV. 8 has 𐭮𐭭. 𐭤, hence read IM, the pron. dem. obsolete in NP. except in such compounds as امروز, امشب, امسال. In Pers. I. 5 the meaning 'this' does not fit the context; the reading, too, of the 𐎚 is not quite certain. We would expect rather 'from there'. See the subsequent word. Compare also the simple ideogram 𐎚𐎜𐎚, and the remarks on the other instances of the use of Aram. ideograms with or without the prep. ל in chap. IV. p. 62 *ss.*

N. i Rjb. Krt. 5 *bis* לזנהין לאדי לזנה 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚 577
Pers. II. 7 [ו]לזנהין 𐎚𐎜𐎚[2] 578
If we compare the very similar compound 𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚 לזנה in N. i Rjb. Krt. 22, corresponding to NP. زیرا, we surely must read the words in question z-ÉN-*ič ráde* 'on this account, therefore'. Hence, we must distinguish between the ideogram 𐎚𐎜𐎚, in which the Aram. prep. ל is merely an external mark of distinction between the two pron. dem. ÉN and IM, and these two instances, where it renders the OP. prep. *uz*, NP. ز. Then, in Pers. I. 5 𐎚𐎜𐎚 may represent z-ÉN or something like it in the sense which we require in that connection 'from this place'. Comp. the simple ideogram 𐎚𐎜𐎚 and לזנה.

Hjb. 8′; Paik. A′ 6,2. 5; A′ 10,4; B′ 6,5; לחו 𐎜𐎚𐎜 579
B′ 7,4; C′ 3,6; C′ 13,5; G′ 14,3;
E′ 7,3; E′ 12,2; E′ 14,6; F′ 7,2. 5;
F′ 12,2;
Hjb. 14′ לחוך 𐎜𐎚𐎜𐎚 580
Hjb. 8; 16; N. i Rst. Krt. 7; 8; N. i עלה 𐎚𐎜𐎚2 581
Rjb. Krt. 7; 8; Paik. A 9,5; D 3 2,4;
H 14,5; Pers. II. 9;
Ideogram, prep. ל with pron. 3rd p. sg. לחו. The Bibl. Aram. form is לֵהּ, old. Aram. Inscr. have לה, Arab. ه. In Hjb. 14′ the letter 𐭠 is clearly written. Only in one other case we observe the suffix *-p*, viz. in 𐭤𐭥𐭮𐭭. The 𐭠 seems to be meant in both these cases as a phonetic complement, indicating together with the 𐭥 the bilabial β of the Iranian word. Then, it indicates the *cas. rectus* AβI, in contradistinction to the *cas. obliquus* AβÉ. Although the word is rather frequent, there are very few equivalents surviving in Párs. In Hjb. 8′ לאסרלך cor-

of using the suffix. Cf. BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. § 32 p. 31.

601 A 11,1 𐭬...𐭠 𐭬...𐭠

M...A, fragment, Pahlavík equivalent missing. Hardly to be supplemented to 𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭠, because there is space for more than 2 letters, unless there was a gap within the word caused by any damage in the stone.

602 Cornal. Peterb. 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭

603 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭭 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭭

máhán and *máhánán*, n. pr. and n. patronym. NP. ماهان, cf. JUSTI, *Namenb.* p. 185.

604 Pers. I. 11 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭩 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭩

máne, PhlB. 𐭬𐭠𐭭, OP. *mániya-*, Av. *nmána-*, 'dwelling', NP. مان; cf. خان‌ومان, 'house, abode, residence'.

605 G′ 11,6 𐭬𐭠𐭤𐭥𐭪 𐭬𐭠𐭤𐭥𐭪

MALVK, n. pr. of the lord of the Ishtakvín, see 𐭰𐭠𐭲𐭲𐭥𐭪𐭥𐭩. The name is apparently an Iranian one, and, since the person belongs to those Śaka kṣatrapa's enumerated at that place, a Śaka name. From a purely Iranian point of view, there are different ways to explain the name. 1) the termination *-ók* may be a hypocoristic termination, and *MAL*, representing *már-* can be derived from Av. *maṅ̊ra-*, cf. Máraspand; or, *MAL*, representing *mál-*, may stand for *mard-*, cf. Márdóë, or for *mád-*, cf. Mádóë. 2) *MALV* may represent *marv-*, the 'mallow', *-ak* being the termination, cf. Marwak, JUSTI *Namenb.* p. 203, Arrian. V. 18,7: Μερόης, name of an Indian, a friend of Porus.

606 N. i Rjb. Krt. 25 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭭

MATAN, in the term *gate pátaχšatre* U *MATán*, which can hardly mean anything but 'the mint of the Royalty and of the provinces'. Hence, in spite of the unusual *scriptio plena*, *MATán* is the ideogram 𐭬𐭠𐭲, with the Ir. pl. termination. Aram. מתא, *stat. emphat.* מתא, Assyr. *mátu* 'land', in Talm. 'city'. *Frhg.* II. 3 𐭤𐭩𐭮 · 𐭬𐭠𐭲, read DĒH, pl. DĒH*án*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 26; N. i Rst. Krt. 7; 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭰𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭭 𐭬𐭠𐭲𐭰𐭠𐭭 607

MATZDAN. This obscure word occurs twice nearly in the same phrase as the similar *MATán: gate pátaχšatre* U *MATZDán*. Hence, there can hardly be any doubt that it has something to do with DĒH*án* too. It may well be a compound of the ideogram DĒH, written *MAT* as first element. The remaining *ZDAN*, then, must be divided into *ZD* and the Ir. term. *-án*. *ZD* may perhaps be compared with PhlB. 𐭩𐭦, NP. زدن 'to strike', in the sense 'to coin money'. Or, since in the N. i Rjb. and N. i Rst. inscriptions 𐭦 and 𐭣 are identical in shape, we may perhaps read *MATgdan*, and bring *GD* into connection with 𐭤𐭦𐭥 *gate* 'crucible, mint'. These are mere suggestions, and I must leave it to more competent scholars to solve the riddle. At any rate, the meaning cannot differ essentially from that of the foregoing word 'the mint of the Royalty and the provinces'.

Pers. I. 7; Gem Sháh. STEUART; Gem Rev. WRIGHT; 𐭬𐭠𐭪 𐭬𐭠𐭪 608

magu, Av. *moγu-*, OP. *magav-*; Elam. *mak'u-*, Hebr. מג, Gr. μάγος, 'magus'. PhlB. writes 𐭬𐭠𐭪 and 𐭬𐭠𐭢. Cf. BTHL. *Air.Wb.* 1109 and 1111. Pers. I. 7 is a magus called Narsahe son of Varáz; Sháh. STEUART is Sháhake, magus of Vurkán and perhaps of Nisán. The gem Rev. WRIGHT is Kéne, magus of Érán-ásán-kirt-Kavát.

Kavát gem London 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭠𐭭 𐭬𐭠𐭪 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭠𐭭 609

maguván magu, 'magus of the magi'. PhlB. 𐭬𐭠𐭢 𐭬𐭠𐭢.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 24; N. i Rst. Krt. 34 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭩 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭩 610

MGVNE, the reading is certain, though very difficult to explain. It follows the words *šatrdárán* U XVATÁY*án* U MAS *átraván*, hence we would expect *maguván*. The very dubious reading of the copula before MAS may be an error, and *átráván* and *MGVNE* may be singulars, cf. Av. *magavan*, BTHL., *Air. Wb.* 1111.

לגנ, i.e. Aram. עלי, where Pársik has לה בל 𐭥𐭱 (C 11,1). Read MAN 'me'.

587 C 3,2 לך לג

Ideogram. Aram. prep. ל plus the suff. of the 2nd p. sg. of the pers. pron. לך. *Frhg.* XXIV. 1 has לג · 𐭥𐭱, hence read TÓ. It is the ideogram for the *cas. obliquus*. OP. *tavá*, Soghd. *tvá*. There is another ideogram צנמ for the *cas. rectus*, see this.

588 F′ 3,5; F′ 11,4; F′ 12,4 לכם לכש

589 G 6,4; H 8,1; H 14,1 לכום לבמג

Ideogram. Aram. prep. ל with the encl. pron. of the 2nd p. pl. Bibl. Aram. has לכם and לכון; the former of these two forms is also found in the Mésha'-Inscription, it corresponds to Arab. لكم. In this case, we cannot state the use of a special ideogram for the *cas. rectus*. *Frhg.* XXIV. 1 לכש · 𐭥𐭱, hence read šMÁ, NP. شما. Soghd. and MP.T. have *šmáẋ*, and this more archaic form we must accept for Pahlavík too.

590 C 4,2 לכען לבגג

Ideogram. Pahlavík equivalent missing. It cannot be compared with Aram. לכון 'for you', but it is the Aram. prep. ל plus כען, 'now, at present', see this. Here again the prep. ל is not meaningless. לכען is the same as עד־כען; hence, whereas the simple בגג Iran. NÚN corresponds to Latin *nunc*, this ideogram must be Lat. *adhunc*, MP.T. AHNÚN, and so we must pronounce our ideogram too. MP.T. has beside this word the same with the encl. *-č*, in two forms: *ahanúnč* or *ahanúničˇ* and *ahanúǎ*, the latter being the older form of NP. هنوز 'yet'. Cf. BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 8 § 8.

591 Hjb. 5′; 10; Paik. A′ 10,6; B′ 1,1; B′ 6,3; B′ 7,3; C′ 3,4; D′ 8,5; D′ 15,5; E′ 14,2. 4; E′ 15,5. 6; F′ 3,2; F′ 6,3; F′ 7,4; F′ 8,3; G′ 3,7; G′ I, 4; G′ 11,7; לנ לנ

592 Hjb. 11; Paik. A 11,2; B 2,4; B 4,3; B 8,5; B 10,5; B 11,2; B 14,4?; C 3,1; D 3,5; E 12,5; H 5,5; H 8,2. 5; לנה לבש

593 Paik. E 5,4 לבשנ

Ideogram. Aram. prep. with the encl. pers. pron. of the 1st pl. לן or לנה, Bibl. Aram. has לנא, the older inscr. have לן and rarely לנא. *Frhg.* XXIV. 1 has לנ · 𐭥𐭱, hence read AMÁ, NP. ما. Soghd. and MP.T. *máẋ*; hence, for the Pahlavík we may assume the archaic AMÁX. In E 5,4 the encl. copula *-č* is appended to the pronoun. Here, as in the pron. of the 2nd p. pl., we have no distinction between the *cas. rectus* and *obliquus*. There is still another ideogram in Pahlavík לנגנ, where Pársik writes בל לבש, see this.

Hjb. 5 לעיני לבבגה 594

Ideogram. Aram. לעיני 'before (the eyes)', *Frhg.* XXV. 8 לעין read לפ־ע PEŠ, NP. پیش 'before, in front, in presence etc'. It corresponds to לאַלאַמאַ, see this.

E 11,3 לעיתי לבבעה 595

Ideogram, with ע instead of א, Aram. לא plus the verb. איתי 'exists', Aram. Inscr. איתי, neg. ליש, cp. Arab. ليس. Pahl. writes לנ צנמנ. *Frhg.* XXV. 8 לעשן · וּפּשׁ, hence read NÉST, NP. نیست 'does not exist, did not exist'. Soghd. and MP.T. *nést*.

Hjb. 7′; Paik. A′ 8,4; D′ 8,6 לצד לצל 596

Hjb. 7; Paik. E 9,3 לצדו לבגנ 597

Ideogram, Aram. לצד 'over — to, across'. Pahlavík has the true Aram. form; Pársik adds a ו, treating the biradical word according to the analogy of רבו, צבו, as a word tertiae א. *Frhg.* XXV. 7 לשן · בשן hence read TAR, NP. تر 'over, across'.

מ ם

D′ 7,3; G′ 3,1 מ... מ 598

E 9,3; E 9,1 מ... מ 599

Fragments, equivalents missing. E 9,3 is perhaps מבאבנ or a verb ...מע. In D′ 7,3 may follow a ל, in G 3,1 perhaps a ב.

ם מ 600

-am, enclitic pron. of the 1st pers. sg.; as to the different occurrences see מש, מר, and מנ. N.i Rjb. Krt. 15 נמלאמנ seems to be the NP. way

and اموكان شاه *Amókán šáh*. The latter is identical with our Śaka 'lord'. The initial *A* is quite a common appearance in Iranian names. We must compare Mókán, as an ethn. name, with such Śaka names as Μαύης, Μαυάκης, Μευάκης, Μόκκος, Μόκκας, see JUSTI *Namenb.* and FLEET, *Moga, Maues, and Vonones*, J. R. A. S. Oct. 1907. As to the geographical situation of Mókán, I wish to draw the attention to Arab. *Búqán*, mentioned together with Qiqán in the history of the earliest Arab conquests in India. Cf. TOMASCHEK, *Zur histor. Topogr. v. Persien* I. p. 56 ss., and MARQUART, *Éráns.* p. 275 *ss.* MARQUART suggests the identity of Búqán with the kingdom *At-pok-kin* of HÜAN ČUANG. This suggestion becomes nearly a certainty, if we identify Bóqán and Amókán. In this case the land must be sought for somewhere between Shikarpur and Kandahar, in the immediate vicinity of Quetta. See 𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭪𐭪𐭠𐭭.

618 C 2,5 𐭬𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭯𐭲 ... 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲 ...

... *MRSTE*, the reading of the first character is very doubtfoul. The word appears in line 17, following, after a gap of about 15 letters, the words *kartír ahurmazd maguṗati*, and is followed by *raẋš aspádapati* ut *artaẋšatr taẋmš(á)hipuhr* &c., hence it stands in parallelism with the words *maguṗati* and *taẋmšáhpuhr*, and must itself be a title or honorific name. I cannot supply any interpretation.

619 N. i Rst. Art. 1′; N. i. Rjb. Sháhp. 1′; 2′-3′; Hjb. 1′; 3′; Paik. A′ 1,1; 𐭬𐭵𐭣𐭩𐭩𐭵𐭭 [𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭪𐭪𐭠𐭭]

620 N. i Rst. Art. 1; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1; 3; Hjb. 1; 3; Gotha Sháhp.; Sháp. Nrs. 1-2; 6; Pers. I 1; 3; T. i. B. A 2; 5-6; B 3; 8; Devonsh. gem. 𐭬𐭵𐭣𐭩𐭩𐭵𐭭 [𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭪𐭪𐭠𐭭 or 𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭪𐭪𐭠𐭭𐭠]

Pahlavík *m(á)zdézn*, Párs. *m(á)zdésn*, Av. *mazdayasnó* 'the Mazda-worshipper' and *mázdayasniš* 'belonging to the m.'; Armen. loan-word *mazdezn*; HÜBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* pp. 139 and 190; the Greek versions write μασδασνου (gen.), PhlB. writes frequently the very degraded form 𐭬𐭦𐭮𐭭, with a short 𐭦, a missing 𐭩 or 𐭣, and 𐭭 instead of 𐭲, for the normal 𐭬𐭦𐭮𐭲𐭭. *m(á)zdésn bage* is the specific title of the kings and princes of the Sasanian house, in all the inscriptions as well as on their coins. See 𐭱𐭦 and 𐭠𐭥𐭪𐭠𐭭.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 5; 9; 10; Pers. B. 7 (?) 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲 621

MXVXYT, this obscure word must be a verb, ending in *-ét* or *-it*; the context leaves it doubtful, whether it be a 3rd p. sg. present or a past part. pass. — Inspite of all my efforts I cannot suggest anything for its interpretation. There is the great obstacle of the 𐭮, instead of a 𐭯, as we ought to expect if the verb be an Iranian one. The verb resembles to a certain degree 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲𐭥, see this, whose spelling and interpretation is likewise very difficult. In N. i Rjb. 5 and 9 the noun 𐭫𐭠𐭪𐭲𐭯𐭲 precedes this verb.

G′ 6,4 𐭬𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭠𐭭 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭪 622

H 6,3 𐭬𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭠𐭭 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲 623

MXYMAN or *MYXMAN*, title of a dignitary called *Pák*, see 𐭱𐭠𐭪𐭠. He is mentioned in the second group of the independent congratulants at the end of the inscription, which have the rank of 'kings'. As to the form, the word could be a patronymic, but we must expect a title. So I think, the Pahlavík form of the word is the more exact one, and we must take it as an ideogram, Aram. מהימן, part. pass. Haph'el from אמן 'reliable, πιστός', Syr. מהימנא εὐνοῦχος 'eunuch'; cf. BEVAN in MARTI *Aram. Gram.* This interpretation is corroborated by the name *pák*, which seems to have been a eunuch's name.

see 𐭩𐭲𐭯𐭲𐭠𐭪 מהימתי 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲 624

C′ 4,5; C′ 10,4; C′ 14,4; D′ 7,5 𐭩𐭲𐭯𐭪 625

D 3,2; D 3+2,3; E 6,2 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲𐭠 626

Báf. Berlin 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭲𐭯𐭲𐭠 627

méš(á)n, *méšán*, *méšún*, n. pr. of the country at the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, Gr. Μεσηνη, Μεσσηνη, Arab. ميسان, PhlB. 𐭬𐭦𐭮𐭭, in fragm. from Turfan, F. W. K. MÜLLER II. p. 83 *méšún*. The name of the *méšán* ŠÁH is *atrofarnabag*, see 𐭠𐭕𐭫𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪. The móbed of Méšún, of the Berlin gem, is called Báfarrake, which is formed by the same elements in reversed order.

611 Paik. C′ 6,2 מנופתי [𐬌𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌]

N. i Rst. Krt. 10; 33; N. i Rjb. Krt. 28; 29; 30; מנופת 𐬌𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬙

Gems: Páp. Peterbg.; Védsh. Paris; Báf. Berlin.

magupati, *magupat*, Av. loan-word, OP. **magupati-*, PhlB. 𐭬𐭢𐭥𐭯𐭲. Armen. *mogpet*, pron. *moypet*, later *movpet*, hence Armen. *movpetan movpet*, Syr. *móweδan móweδ*, PhlB. *maupetán maupet*, NP. *móbedán móbed*, Syr. מופטא (ab. 400 A.D.), Gr. Μαυιτᾶς, read μαυπιτᾶς. Al-Khwárizmi p. ١١٧ says:

الموبذ قاضى المجوس و موبذان موبذ قاضى القضاة

In Paik. C′ 6,2 only the first element survives, but the second element 𐬌𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀 may be supplemented with certainty from the context. The Kartír who bears the title of *móbed*, is the same personage as the author of the two inscriptions of N. i Rajab and N. i Rustam.

612 N. i Rst. Krt. 3 מגוסתן 𐬌𐬂𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥

magust(á)n, 'priestly office, priesthood, sacerdotal order'. The context is obscure.

613 Áwr. 1 מזכנו 𐬌𐬆𐬀𐬉𐬀

Ideogram. The second letter may be read ר or נ, which are not principally distinguished in the cursive script of the parchment. It has been read נ, and the word has been taken as an Iranian word *maybán*. There are two serious objections against this reading. At first, when we derive *MY* from Av. *mad-*, *maδ-*, the semasiological interpretation of *maibán* is difficult, for *mai* is the wine, not the vine, and, excluding this reading *a limine*, at the date of the Áwr. parchment, we must expect *maδ*, written מלך, never *may*, מי. Secondly, the termination is clearly ן, and this כ is absolutely inexplicable. This last objection is equally valid for the word כרכן which has been interpreted כרכן *razbánu*. The first letter is clearly a כ, not a ל. And the termination ן forbids the reading *-b(á)n*. We have to consider both the words as ideograms. The latter, כרכ, is the present base ideogram of the verb xrîtan, xrîn- as I have explained above. מזכנו is the 3rd p. pl., hence the pres. base belonging to the ideogram מזכנת, the preterit base. Both the ideograms are likewise used in PhlB., *Frhg.* XXI. 13 s. מזכנו and מזכנת. Hence, מזכ, as representing the present base, means either FRAVAXš*(ét)* 'he sells', or FRAVAXš 'seller'.

Áwr. 2; 4; Paik. A′ 1,2; A′ 10,4. 6; B′ 4,5; B′ 6,3; B′ 7,3; B′ 9,3. 4; B′ 11,3(?); C′ 2,1; C′ 4,6; C′ 10,4; C′ 14,3; D′ 8,5; E′ 12,5; E′ 14,4; E′ 15,6; F′ 3,1; F′ 6,2; F′ 8,2. 6; F′ 11,2; G′ 3,4; G′ 6,6(?); G′ 9,4; G′ 11,7; מה 𐬌𐬄 614

N. i Rst. Krt. 7; N. i Rjb. Krt. 5; 16; 17; 23; Paik. F 13,2; Pers. II. 3 *bis*; 8. מה 𐬌𐬄

Ideogram, Aram. מה pron. interrog. and indefin. 'what, that, whatever'. PhlB. 𐭬𐭭 *Frhg.* XXV. 1, read čéh, čé, NP. چه, 'what, that'. The word, though extremely frequent in Pahlavík, is only once met with in the Pársík version of the Paik. inscription. The reason is, that Pahlavík uses 𐬌𐬄 čéh instead of the ـز i of the *iḍáfat* of Pársik. The same use of čéh instead of the *iḍáfat* is found in some Mss. from Turfan and in the *draχt i asúrik*, a typical example is *šahr čé érán*, cf. ANKLESARIA, *Pahl. Texts*, *introd.* p. 37 ss.; BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 26. This difference is highly characteristical for both the systems. The *iḍáfat* ـز i is found on the first Frátadára coins from Párs which belong to the Pársík system.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 6 מה גונכי 𐬌𐬄 𐬂𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀 615

čé *gónake*, NP. چگونه ,چه گونه 'quomodo', 'like, as', cf. 𐬂𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀.

G 14,2 ..מו.. ..𐬌..

Fragment, reading doubtful. 616

G′ 6,6 מוכאן 𐬌𐬅𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬈 617

H 6,4 מוכאן 𐬌𐬅𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬈

mókán, n. pr. ethn. of a Saka tribe. At first I thought *mókán* was the name of the *Mughán*-plain, Arab. موقان. But Ibn Khurdádhbih p. ١٧ in the chapter on the princes bearing the title *sháh* in Ardashír's time, has clearly: موقان شاه اللان *Allán šáh*, i. e. *Múqán*,

the whole of the Iranian satrapies. It was assumed by the Arsacid Mithradates II., 123—88 B. C., and later on by Mithradates III., 56—54 B. C., and as a general rule, by his successors. Meanwhile, Tigranes of Armenia had called himself King of kings, which means the aspiration to the suzerainty over all Iran. And like him, some of the eastern Iranian princes, e. g. the Kúshán had modelled their ÞAONANOÞAO KOÞANO, i. e. *šáhıγánošáho kúšáno* (the N must be a corruption of H or a double II) 'king of kings of Kúshán', and the Śaka *daivaputra šáhi šáhánušáhi śaka* 'the descendent of the gods, the king, king of kings, the Śaka' after the Iranian prototype. Cf. Ammian. Marcell. XIX. 2,11: '*Persis Saporem saansaan appellantibus et pirosen quod rex regibus imperans et bellorum victor interpretatur*'.

The various instances of the title in the inscriptions refer to the following rulers:

Auharmazdi: pre-Sasanian coins, from Samarkand, DROUIN, Rev. Num. 1895 pl. II.

Ardashir I.: N. i Rst. Art. 1′—2′; 1—2; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 3′; 3; Hjb. 3′; 3; N. i Rst. Krt. 1; Paik. E′ 15,4; — A 9,1; F 6,3; F 15,2; G 12,5; Sháp. Nrs. 5—11;

Sháhpuhr I.: N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1′; 1—2; Hjb. 1′—2′; 1—2; Gotha Sháhp.; N. i Rst. Krt. 1; 2; 6; N. i Rjb. Krt. 27; Paik. A′ 2,1; F′ 8,1; — A 4,1; Sháp. Nrs. 6—7;

Hormizd I.: N. i Rst. Krt. 3 (prob.); 9; 15?; N. i Rjb. Krt. 28;

Varhrán I.: N. i Rjb. Krt. 28—29;

Varhrán II.: N. i Rjb. Krt. 29; 30;

Narseh: Paik. B′ 4,6; B′ 7,1; D′ 15,1; — A 1,1; A 12,1; B 5,3; C 11,2?; D 15,4; E 4,4; Sháp. Nrs. 2—3; T. i B. A 9;

Hormizd II.: Pers. I. 3; T. i B. A 6—7; B 12—13;

Sháhpuhr III.: Pers. I. 1; 10; II. 5; 7; 8; 10; T. i B. A 3—4; B 9—10. prob. Devonsh. ameth.

Sháhpuhr III.: T. i B. B 5.

635 Coins of some Kúshán viceroys. מלכי 𐭩𐭤𐭪𐭭

Apparently the ideogram מלך with the Iranian termination *-e, -i*. It is neither ŠÁH nor ŠÁHÍK. Though the interpretation remains obscure, it seems that the word must refer to the fire-alter represented on those coins.

Dénak gem מלכתאן מלכתא 𐭩𐭤𐭪𐭭𐭢 636

Ideogram. Aram. מלכא, *stat. emphat.* מלכתא already in Aram. Inscr. — Phl B. 𐭩𐭤𐭪𐭭𐭠 *Frhg.* XII. 4, read BÁNBIŠN, cf. *P. P. Gloss.* p. 96 and SALEMANN *Parsenhs.* p. 73; Armen. loan-word *bambišn*, HBSCHM. *Arm. Gram.* p. 117 No. 98; known as the title of the ruling queen Bórán. 'queen'. The title of the queen Dénak is 'queen of queens'. If the title mean that she was sovereign queen and regent of the Empire, we ought to expect logically 'queen of kings'. But such a compound would be very non-Iranian. Since the reigning queen Bórán bore only the simple title *bánbišn*, we may infer from the title BÁNBIŠNÁN BÁNBIŠN of Dénak, that she was actually regent of the Empire. See מגבזי.

G′ 6,2 מלת. 𐭩𐭤𐭪 637

The last letter is missing. Probably ideogram, מלתא, *stat. emphat.* of מלא 'word, speech'. Phl B. *Frhg.* X. 5 𐭬𐭬, i. e. מרית for מליא, *stat. absol. pl.*, read SAXVAN, NP. سخن 'word, speech'. See לעברן and גמלתגברן.

Áwr. 4; 7; N. i Rst. Art. 2′; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 2′; 4′; Hjb. 2′; 4′; Paik. A′ 8,3; B′ 4,5; B′ 6,2; B′ 9,4; C′ 3,4; C′ 6,4; D′ 10,5; E′ 15,5; F′ 2,5; F′ 3,4; F′ 6,3; F′ 7,1. 2; F′ 8,3; F′ 11,4; F′ 13,4. מן 𐭥𐭤 638

N. i Rst. Art. 3; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 2; 4; Hjb. 2; 4; N. i Rjb. Krt. 23 *bis*; Paik. A 2,(1); B 6,3. 4; B 12,3; C 9,1. 3; D 3,5; D 6,3; E 9,2; F 9,4; F 12,2; F 13,5; G 2,4; Sháp. Nrs. 5; 8; Pers. I. 2; 4 *bis*; II. 3; 9; T. i B. A 5; 8; B 7; 11; Devonsh. ameth. מן 𐭤

Ideogram. Aram. prep. מן 'from, of, by'. Phl B. 𐭤 *Frhg.* XXV. 6 read AŽ for the Pársík, the more archaic HAČ for the Pahlavík; OP. *hačá*, Soghd. *čan*, NP. از 'from, of, by'.

see 𐭤𐭱𐭥 מן נפשה 𐭤𐭱𐭥 מן 639

The gem must belong to the epoch of the Paikuli inscription, and one is inclined to identify the *king Atrofarnabag* with the *móbed Báfarrake*.

628 B′ 13,1 מכבלו[ת] 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥[𐭬]

629 B 12,3 מכבלו[ונת] 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥[𐭥𐭭𐭬]

Ideogram, Aram. מקבל, part. Pu"al from קבל 'to receive, accept'. The part. act. Aph'el מקבל is to be found already in Aram. inscriptions. From this part. is derived a denom. verb, of which מקבלו is the 3rd p. pl., *Frhg.* XXI. 9 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭬, hence PATGRIFTAN, or PATIRIFTAN. MP.T. has *paṭgirb-*, *paṭgrift-* beside *paḍirift*, the latter being a new formation from the pres. base *paḍir-*. We ought to transcribe PATIGRIFTAN, PATIGÍR- in Pahlavík, and PATGRIFTAN, PATGÍR- in Pársik. The terminations are destroyed in both the cases, but from the context we may complete the words thus: 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥 and 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥[𐭥𐭭𐭬], read PATGÍR*(é)t*.

630 G′ 9,5 מכורן 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥

n. pr. ethn. *makur(á)n*, Gr. Μακαρηνή, PhlB. (*Kárn.*) 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭭𐭬(?), *Makuristán*, Arab.-Pers. ماکُران and مُکران, NP. مکران Makrán. The name of the country is derived from the name of the tribe OP. *maka-*, Elam. *mak'k'a-*. Armen. *makuran*. The country comprises the Persian and part of the Balúchí territory at the coast of the Gulf of 'Omán and the Indian Ocean. As we learn from Ṭabarí, the *makurán šáh* paid homage to Ardashír I. after his campaign in Sigistán. Hence, he was at that time a vassal of the Sakánsháh. In the Paikuli inscription we meet the *makurán šáh* as an independant king. The country seems to have regained its independence during the war between Varhrán III. and Narseh.

631 N. i Rjb. Krt. 15 *ult.* מכס 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤

MKS, the last letter is very doubtful.

632 מלכא 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀

מלכא 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀

Ideogram, Aram. מלך, *stat. emph.* מלכא, PhlB. 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀 *Frhg.* XII. 2 read ŠÁH, OP. *χšáyaθiya^{h}*, Soghd. *χšévan*, Armen. loan-word *šah*, NP. شاه. The ideogram is met with as early as on the second group of coins from Persis. In D 2,2 we have the ideogram written with 2 instead of 𐭤, an orthography very frequent on Sasanian coins. In H 2,5 I think we must correct the 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥 of RAWLINSON's note-book into 𐭬𐭪𐭣𐭤𐭥. We meet the following kings in the inscrtptions:

Ábirán ŠÁH H 14,3
Arminán ŠÁH A 1,2; A 12,5; D 5,2
Tirdat ŠÁH G′ 11,5; — H 11,3
Varáżgurte ŠÁH H 8,3
Xw(á)razm(á)n ŠÁH G′ 1,5
Kúšán ŠÁH G′ 11,4
Kirmán ŠÁH Devonsh.
Méšán ŠÁH C′ 1,6; C′ 4,5; C′ 10,4; C′ 14,4; D′ 7,5; — D 3,2; E 6,2
Makur(á)n ŠÁH G′ 9,5
Sakán ŠÁH A′ 11,3(?); B′ 9,5; C′ 3,5; D′ 10,3; E′ 6,2; — A 4,3; D 2,4; D 5,3; E 2,1; E 12,4
Pápak ŠÁH N. i Rst. Art. 3′; 3; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 4; 5; Hjb. 5′; 4
Páradán ŠÁH H 7,3
Šáhpuhr ŠÁH E′ 6,6; — F 5,4
Žandafrík ŠÁH G′ 9,5; — H 8,3
Without determination: A′ 8,4; C′ 1,5; C′ 6,5; D′ 8,4; — A 4,5; D 15,3; E 6,1; F 9,2; H 11,3.

633 מלכי מלכא 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭉

634 מלכן מלכא 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭍

Ideogram. In Pahlavík the first מלכין is the regular Aram. pl. of מלך and we may doubt, whether the termination -יא must be regarded as phonetical complement or not. Having regard to the Arm. *šahanšah*, which proves that the pronunciation in Arsacidan time was the same as in Sasanian time, I feel inclined, to regard 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀𐭥 entirely as an ideogram. A similar case are the ideograms 𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭥 and 𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭥, and 𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭥, too, may be a special ideogram for the pl. of the Iranian word. Pársik writes the sg. 𐭬𐭥𐭣𐭀 adding the phonetical termination ـی. 'King of kings', is the ancient title of the Achaemenian kings, *χšáyaθiya^{h} χšáyaθiyánám* which signifies the sovereignty over

𐭱𐭥𐭧 i. e. מרתא, explained by שעוו read BÁNÚK. Arm. loan-word HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 117 no. 100 *banuk*; NP. بانو 'lady'.

The phrase of the Paikuli inscription: *an(á)hit* i BÁNÚK NÁM 'A. whose name is lady', has an interesting analogy on a seal of the Brit. Mus., HORN, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIV. pl. II b no. 638, p. 689, where we must read: 𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭬 𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥 𐭲𐭥𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥 𐭲𐭥𐭩 𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭬 XVÁN*(é)m* Ó TÒ PA NÁM BÁNÚK *Nanáy áp(á)m* XVARRÉH..?

'I call (pray) to You, with the name 'lady', Nanáy, the glory of the waters ...'.

651 N. i Rjb. Krt. 31 *ult.* Paik. B 2,2; B 14,6; F 5,5; H 5,4; H 7+6,4; H 7,4; H 11,4; H 14,4; מרוחי

652 N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 14; 23 מרוחין

Ideogram. Aram. מרא 'lord', pl. with suff. of the pron. 3rd p. sg. already in old Aram. Inscr. מרוהי, hence, the Pársik ideogram is 'his lords'. Since this and the foregoing ideograms are formed by the plural of the Aram. noun, one might believe that a pl. majestatis is intended. *Frhg.* I. 1 has 𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭬 · 𐭧𐭥𐭫, hence read XVATÁY 'lord'. Pahlavík writes phonetically גכתכרן, see this. Soghd. and MP.T. *χvatáv*, NP. خدا. In the inscriptions the word, when used in plural, refers exclusively to the reigning kings, when in singular, to some high military officers and to the independent princes or Śaka ksaṭrapas.

653 see כלוגבדן [מ]תגלאהי [פ]תגלגוהי

654 H 8,4 מתראלסין

MitrÅLasén, n. pr. of the lord of the Śaka tribe of the Bóraspíčin. The middle characters of the word are illegible. The first element seems to be Mitra, the final one reminds decidedly such names as Dámasena, Vijáyasena, born by Śaka ksaṭrapa's.

655 Manére gem מתרחדי

MTRXDE, the characters of this word are clearly visible, the *D*, as in *ádure*, may replace a *T*, but I do not know the name. I remember a name Mitrokhates, but cannot verify the fact.

ן- ג- 656

-n, enclitic pron. of the 1st p. pl., c. obliq., appended to גש, read U- in Hjb. 4; 6; 7; Paik. H 14,2; to גבדג, read ADAYÁN- in Hjb. 5; to גלש and גלפ, read KÉ- in Paik. A' 6,6 and N. i Rst. Krt. 14; Paik. B 6,2; to גבכ, read KU- twice in Paik. F 3,5. It is Av. *-nó*, and corresponds to Sak. *-nä*, *-ni*, cf. LEUMANN, *Z. Nordar. Sprache* p. 120. See also MARQUART, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIX p. 667 and SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III p. 291 § 73 n.

ן- ג- 657

-n, verbal termination, occurring in נזלכבן A' 6,3, C' 6,5 = גגבנרט A 12,3; D 5,2; גגבגבן A 4,4; also Pers. II. 8; גגבלכ[נ] in A 11,3; גלכלפשן B' 7,5; גגבגבנ Pers. II. 11 and גרתגבגבנ Pers. II. 9. As the Pahlavík ideograms prove, it must be a form derived from the present base of these verbs, and as the context at the various places shows, it must be an indeclinable form. Hence, it is apparently the termination *-(á)n* of the pres. gerund, cf. SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* § 98 b and § 50 11; BTHL., *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* § 209,3. In the Psalter from Turfan, Sitzber. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss. 1910, p. 869, appears עבידונאן Ps. 132,5 = KUNÁN in the acceptance 'I wish to make'; see BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 26. This meaning suits everywhere in the inscriptions.

A 4,2 ן... ג... 658

Fragment, Pahlavík equivalent missing, *-n* or *-č*.

Pers. I. 7 .... נ ..... ג 659

N..., beginning of a name or title, the second letter illegible, the remainder destroyed.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 13; 22; 26; Pers. II. 3; נאמבי גגשפגנ 660

námake, PhlB. גשן, NP. نامه, 'book, deed, document, record'. Aram. loan-word *namak*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 201 no. 430, OP. *náma-* 'name', deriv. *námaka-*. Here the word designates the inscriptions themselves.

640 N. i Rjb. Krt. 17; Paik. G 12,6 מנדעם 𐭬𐭭𐭣𐭭

Ideogram, Aram. מנדעם 'something', already in Aram. Inscr. *Frhg.* XVI. 3 𐭬𐭭𐭣, read čiš, 'something, anything'. Soghd. *čiš*. Cf. LITTMANN, *Sardis* p. 29; MP. possesed three synonymous part. indef. *tis*, *čiš*, and *čiž*. See 𐭲𐭩𐭮.

641 A′ 11,4; C′ 4,3; C′ 10,5; D′ 7,6; D′ 10,4; E′ 6,3; E′ 12,2; E′ 14,3; F′ 2,1. 5; F′ 3,6; מנו 𐭬𐭭𐭥

N. i Rjb. Krt. 13; 18; 19 *bis*; 25; Paik. B 11,4; C 3,3; C 11,6; D 5,5; E 9,1; F 6,4. 5; H 7,[1]. 5; Pers. I. 11; מנו 𐭬𐭭𐭥

Ideogram, Aram. מנו, compound of *man* and *hu*, pron. interrog. and rel. 'who, which', PhlB. 𐭬𐭥 *Frhg.* XXV. 1, read KÉ, OP. *ka*, Soghd. and MP.T. *ké*, NP. كه, who, which'. Cf. MARQUART, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIX p. 670 n. 4; HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 50 no. 2, see 𐭲𐭩𐭮 𐭩𐭬𐭥 𐭲𐭩𐭮 s. v. 𐭩𐭬𐭥.

This rel. pron. is the bearer of enclitic pron. person. of which we find the following examples in the inscriptions:

𐭲𐭩𐭮, read KÉ-*n*, or KÉ-*(á)n*, 1st p. pl., A′6,5

𐭲𐭩𐭮 the same, B6,2; and N. i Rst. Krt. 14: 𐭲𐭩𐭮

𐭲𐭩𐭮, read KÉt*(á)n*, 2 p. pl., G 12,5

𐭲𐭩𐭮, read KÉš*(á)n*, 3rd p. pl. D 3,4.

642 Manére gem Paris מנולי 𐭬𐭭𐭥𐭤

manére, n. pr., as to the form cf. *Zarér*, *dilér*, *namér* etc.

643 B′ 9,6 מסננו 𐭬𐭮𐭬𐭭𐭥

MSGNV, from the position of the word in the context we must expect a verb. Hence, it is probably an ideogram, 3rd p. pl., and, hence, the ideogram for the pres. base of the Iranian verb. But their are four radicals, of which the first מ recalls an Aram. participle. So, we may compare the word as to the form, to מקבל and מזבן, and may regard סגן as the verbal root. There is the noun סגן, from Assyr. *šaknu* 'satrap, governor', Talm. סגנא 'prince'. I must leave it to Aramaists to make out the true sense.

644 A′ 1,5; E′ 6,4; E′ 14,3. 5 מחישת 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭯

645 Dénake gem. מחיסתי 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭯𐭲𐭩

mahišt, *mahiste*, PhlB. 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭯 and 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭮𐭯, OP. *maθišta-*, cf. Dar. Bist. col. II. l. 13 § 23: *hyašám maθištaʰ áhaʰ*, 'greatest, highest, superior'. Superl. from *mas* 'great'. In the title of Dénak the word has the same meaning as OP. *vazṛka*, Gr. μέγας in the Royal titles. As a title we meet the word again in Ṭabari, p. ٧٠٠,٨, NÖLDEKE p. 87, cf. ROTHSTEIN, *Dyn. d. Lḫm.* p. 62, bestowed by Yazdkirt I. upon the Arab prince of Ḥíra, Mundhir al-Nu'mán.

A 12, 3 מלדצאן 𐭬𐭤𐭲𐭰𐭩𐭭 646

MRDČAN, the reading is doubtful. The phrase runs: 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭮 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭮 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭮 𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭮, and in Pahlavík A′ 6,3 only the last word, and perhaps the termination 𐭲𐭩𐭮? of the word in question survive. The separation from the preceding word is especially doubtful. See the following word.

B′ 9,2 ....ך ע ....ט 647

B 9,4 מלשך 𐭬𐭤𐭮𐭩𐭲 648

murčik. Only the last character from the Pahlavík word survives, but, from the analogy of the Pársík word we may supplement it so ט[מלשן]. I believe we must compare this word to Av. *mereždika*, *marždika*, adj. 'merciful', Arab. رحيم, and to NP. آمرزيدن 'to forgive'. The NP. verb is formed with the prefix *á-*, missing in MP., whereas this has the MP. suff. *-ik*, of the adjectives. Hence *murčik* would be 'merciful'. See 𐭰𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭮. — Aryan *mṛždi*, Sak. *mulysdi*, *mulysdà* 'indulgence, pity'.

B′ 6,2 מראתי 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭭 649

B 6,4 מרעתא 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭭 650

Ideogram. Aram. Inscr. מרת, with suff. of the 1st p. pl.; in the inscr. from Assur מארתן. The Pahlavík ideogram is the pl. with the suff. of the 1st p. sg. מראתי 'my ladies'. The Pahlavík ideogram must be the same word: the second ר must be read ע, replacing, as in many cases, an original א. Hence we have מראתא, which we may regard as the simple *stat. emphat. pl.* מרתא with *scriptio plena*, or as מראתה the pl. with the suff. of the 3rd p. sg., with a replacing of the original ה by א, hence 'the ladies' or 'his ladies'. *Frhg.* XII 4 has 𐭬𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭭, with the variant

element in the compound *APYNYAPK..* in D′ 10,4 and to the base *NYVAPK* of the Pársík abstr. noun in B 10,2.

The etymology of all these words, to which we must compare the doubtful 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 in H 11,2, is obscure. The first element in Pahlavík 𐭠 recalls the negation *né-*, but Pársík *NYV-* seems to show, that this first element is rather OP. *naiba-*, NP. *new* 'good'. The compound *APYNYAPK* too, speeks against the first assumption, for *apé-* is surely the negative particle and we would have two negative particles in that compound. As to the stem, then remaining, 𐭪𐭯𐭠𐭩𐭪, the first 𐭪 may, but must not indicate the length of the initial vowel. According to Pársík and Pahlavík orthography, in such a case the initial vowel may be expressed by a *mater lectionis*. There is the other observation, that, if there is one *scriptio plena* in a word, the following long vowel is written defectively, hence, *APK* may well contain a long vowel in its second syllable. In D′ 10,4 the word *APYNYAPK* follows immediately the word *niyák(á)n*, and naturally, one remembers OP. *apaniyáka-*. On the other hand, *ap(á)k* could mean 'impure', and, if *NY-* inspite of our objections, would be the negative particle *né-apák*, or with a slurring half-vowel *névapák (néyapák)* would be a very strong expression for 'pure', and would remind us the shi'ite term طاهر in the phrase سيّدنا محمد وآله الطيّبين الطاهرين or ابائه الطاهرين.

677 B 10,2 נויאפכיהי 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪

NYVAPKIHE, abstr. noun in *-ihe* from the foregoing word. There is beside the possibilities alluded to s. v. 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 the PhlB. 𐭠𐭯𐭠𐭪𐭩𐭧 *apákih* 'support, help'. And, if we may take *név-* in the sense of 'good', we would have a compound 'good-supported-ness'.

678 G′ 1,4 נוונג 𐭭𐭩𐭢

NYVNG. This word, apparently an adject. noun, is joined by the copula to *NYAPKTR*, hence, obviously, the first element of the compound is the same *NY-* as in that word. As to the remaining *VNG* we may perhaps refer to *váng* or to *anák*.

F′ 2,1 ניסחה 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 679

F 6,5 נסחתי 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 680

NYSXT, NSXTE. Both the words are equivalents, hence, Pársík *N-* obviously is a *scriptio defectiva* of *NY-*, or Pahlavík NY- a superfluos *scriptio plena* of *N-*. From the form of the word and from the context, we may infer, that it is a past part. perf. — *-t*, or *-te* being the termination, there remains *SX* for the root. This would be the simple root √*sač-*, of which *sáχtan*, *sáč-* represents the causative, NP. ساخت, سازد, and of which the simple root survives in MP. *sažét*, NP. سزد 'it suits', Av. *sačaiti*, and *-saχta-*. Cp. NP. سخت 'strong, firm'. The prefix may be either the verbal prefix *ni-*, or the negative particle *né-*.

see 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 נילאוסנני 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 681

D′ 8,3 ניתפריות 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 682

NYTPRYUT. The context is higly obscure at that place, but I think we must expect a verb, and the form of the word in question is that of a verbal ideogram, *-t* being the phonetical termination of the past part. perf., and *-YV* the termination of the 3rd p. pl. perf. of the Aram. verbs לית. In this case, the word must be a compound with an Iranian prefix *NY-*, meaning *ni-* or *né-*, as in the foregoing verb. Since the Aram. verb must be a verb לית, there would remain 4 radicals תפרא, for, it is very difficult to explain the beginning ת by a modification of the Aramaic stem, an Itpa'el or Itpa"al. On the other hand, the ל may represent ע, and this might be a superfluous sound replacing א, or a verb tertiae ע may be treated as לית, the 3 radicals תפא/ע, or טפא/ע remaining for the stem. I do not know any such Aramaic verb.

B 4,5 נמסון 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 683

NMSVN, apparently the ideogram of a verb, representing without any Iranian termination, the past part. pass. of the Iranian verb.

Sháh. gem STEUART נסאן 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭠𐭯𐭪 684

nisán. The legend runs: *šáhake* i *magu* i *vurkán* i *NSAN andémánkárán sardár*. The last title means 'Chief Gentleman Usher'. Therefore, *NSAN*

661 C′ 6,1 ..נדמ.. ...𐎠𐎡𐎶...

Highly effaced characters, *N* and *D* seem to be certain.

662 G 6,2 [2]𐎠𐎶𐎲𐎢𐎠𐎡[ו]

It is doubtful, whether the first letter 2 is the copula or belongs to the word. The termination reminds the abstr. term. *-išne* in PhlB., but we have not a single instance of this termination in the inscriptions.

663 Hjb. 6′; 11′ נגרין 𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎲

664 Hjb. 6; 12 לגלה 𐎡𐎶𐎡𐎲

Ideogram. Pahlavík נגרין is the dual; the metathesis of ר and ל is to be found already in the Panammu-inscription: לגרי. The ל, then, becomes dissimilated to נ by reason of the subsequent ר; cf. the modern Arab. metathesis نعل for لعن, and the dissimilation برنين for *Berlin*. The Pahlavík ideogram is strikingly archaic. Párśik employs, as mostly for the names of parts of the body, the word with the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. רגלה 'his foot'. *Frhg.* X. 10 𐭫𐭲𐭤 read PÁD or PÁY, Soghd. *pād-*, NP. پای, 'foot, step'.

665 B′ 7,5 נודרנו 𐎠𐎡𐎶𐎢

NVDRNV, apparently the ideogram of a verb. The reading is not perfectly certain, at the beginning there is space for one letter more. In Párśik it corresponds to a hardly legible 𐭭𐭥𐭮, C 11,1.

666 H 6,5 נוכי 𐎠𐎲𐎢

nóke, PhlB. 𐭭𐭥, Soghd. *nóg*, NP. نو 'new'. The phrase PA *nóke* XVÁH*(é)m* is not clearly intelligible. PA *nóke* looks like 'anew'.

667 see 𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎢𐎠 נושתני 𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎢𐎠

668 Pers. I. 6 נחואוחורמזדי 𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎠𐎥𐎡𐎶𐎢𐎠𐎥𐎡𐎠

NXV-ohormizde. N. pr., belonging to the group of honorific names or titles, like Taχmsháhpuhr &c. The initial 𐎠 is difficult to recognize on the photograph, but I feel rather sure about it. *noχv* could be the positive to the superlative *noχvist*, MP.T. *nōχv*, see the following word. It is the name of the *sakastán andaržpat*, see this.

E′ 6,3(?); E′ 14,2(?); G′ 6,2 נחושת 𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎠𐎥𐎱𐎠 669

noχvišt, PhlB. 𐭭𐭥𐭧𐭱, NP. نخست 'the first', cf. *róž i noχvist, noχust* 'the last jugdment, doomsday'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 17 ני 𐎠𐎲 670

né, negation 'not', exceptional phonetic writing instead of the ideogram לא, see this. OP. *naiy*, Soghd. and MP.T. *né*.

C 2,1 ...ני... 𐎠𐎲... 671

...ne, termination of a noun. Pahlavík equivalent missing.

D′ 10,4 נ𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎲𐎡𐎠 672

D′ 7,2 נ𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎲𐎡𐎠 673

G 12,5 נידאך 𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲 674

B 12+11,3 נידאן 𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲 675

niyák(á)n, *niyák(á)n* and *nidák*, *nidákán*. The reading *iv* in D′ 7,2 is not absolutely certain. The various phrases are: D′ 10,4 *niyák(á)n* KÉ TÓ *apiniyap(á)k* . . ., D 7,2 *χšatrist(á)n nivák(á)n*, B 12+11,3 XVÊŠ GÁS Ù *p(á)taχšare* I *nidákán*, G 12,3 . . . ŠÁH KÉT*(á)n nidák* BÚT. Hence, the meaning is clear; the word is OP. *niyáka-*, Elam. loan-word *niyak'k'o-*, PhlB. 𐭭𐭩𐭩𐭪, NP. نیاگان, pl. نیاگان 'grandfather'; cf. OP. *apaniyáka-*, Elam. *ap'p'aniyak'k'a* 'ancestor'. Pahlavík 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎲𐎡𐎠 is phonetically correct. If the doubtful 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎲𐎡𐎠 proves true, the ב would be a slurring half-vowel. But in Párśik the 𐎲 in both the cases is clearly written, and contradicts the etymology and phonetic laws of the word. I suggest, that we must consider this orthography as a learned, but erroneous archaism. The Párśik scribes knew the frequent rule, that an older 𐎲 was replaced in their living language by a 𐎡, and, therefore, replaced the spoken y in this case by a pseudo-archaic 𐎲. This would be an analogy to the startling orthography 𐎠𐎥𐎲𐎢𐎠𐎥 instead of 𐎠𐎥𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎥, and 𐎲𐎢𐎠𐎥 instead of 𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎥, and to the Avestic *báχδi-* instead of *báχl*.

G′ 1,4 נ𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎲𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎢 676

NYAPAKTR, comparative of an adj. noun. The pos. would be *NYAPK*, corresponding to the same

the grand-uncle of his predecessor Varhrán III. 2) one of the two chiefs of the Sasanian clan, A′ 11,2 and B 9,1. He was a son of Ardashír I., and according to Ṭabarí, Nöld. p. 36 n. 1, his daughter was abducted by Ḍaizan, last king of Hatra, making an irruption into Irâq, when Sháhpuhr I. was in Khorásán. Hence, Narseh was also a brother of the other chief of the clan, Péróz. 3) one Narseh son of Bagsháhpuhr, probably the son of a dignitary of the time of Sháhpuhr I. 4) In Pers. I. we have one Narseh son of Varáz, a magus from Sakastán, and 5) in the same line of that inscription apparently another Narseh son (?) of N . . . The name is written after the Avestic orthography on the Paris seal, pl. 140; cf. the erroneous reading in Justi, *Namenb.* p. 230 s. v. *Niráwšnasp.*

698 B′ 1,2 . . . נשת . . . נאא

fragment, Parsik equivalent missing, *NŠT* . . .

699 F 13,4 . . . נתת . . . נעע

fragment, reading doubtful, the second ע may be נ. Pahlavík equivalent missing.

700 A 11,3 נתלונן נגגלע[נ]

Ideogram, the addition of the first letter is certain. Aram. נטר, already in Aram. Inscr., 'to guard, watch, protect', Arab. loan-word ناطور. *Frhg.* XX 7 וישלים, read pátan, pres. páy-. The Pahlavík equivalent is missing, but from the following adjective, we may infer the Pahlavík ideogram נטלכב. The ideogram has the suff. נ-, to be read *-(â)n*, of the gerund, derived from the pres. base, hence read páy*(á)n* 'he is protecting, or will protect'.

701 F′ 13,5 [נתרונן]סתר [נטלכב]נן

702 G 2,5 נ[נתלונתומי ס[נ]טלנגגלע[נ]

Ideogram, Aram. נטר, see the preceding word, used for an adjective, with the Iranian phonetic termination of the comparative in Pahlavík, of the Superlative in Pársik. Since Pahlavík uses the 3rd p. pl. of the ideogram, indicating the present base, and has the long phonetic termination *-nî*[*star*], we may infer that the adjective was derived from the present base, hence probably páv*(á)n*, and transcribe the Pahlavík páv*(á)-nistar*, the Pársik perhaps páyán*tume*. The word, very frequent in compounds, is obsolete as simplex in NP., but cf. the title *bán al-šaʾm*, born by Badr al-dín Luʾluʾ in the inscription at the Khán at the eastern end of the Jabal Sinjár, cf. van Berchem, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise* vol. I p. 14 n. 5 and my correction *Islam* XII 1921 p. 135 n. 1.

ת ם מ

D 6,6 . . . ם . . . מ 703

S . . ., fragment, probably beginning of Sakán, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

C′ 1,2; F′ 8,6 תגתמן[נגב] 704

B 10,1 מ[נתמנגג] 705

sás(á)nak(á)n, *s*[*ás(á)nak(á)n*], adj. 'Sasanian', Agathias Σασανικᾶν, from Sásán, the n. pr. of the ancestor of Ardashír I. Pápakán. The adject. is formed by the termination *-akán*, and NP. ساسانیان *sásániyán* represents a MP. form **sásánikán*, apparently the prototype of the form used by Agathias too. The word appears twice in the term *vispuhr ī sásánakán*, 'the chief of the Sasanian clan', and once in *tóxm ī sásánakán* 'the Sasanian house'; see the historical chapter. The chiefs of the clan were Narseh and Péróz, both sons of Ardashír I., see נלגתגס and פלבנס.

G′ 3,6 סאהדת תגתלכלע 706

SATRP. This striking word appears after a short gap, followed by the words *gónak gónak* 'of every kind', opening the long list of Śaka *ksaṭrapa*'s. The preceding group of independent princes with the rank of a šáh is finished before the beginning of this last group. The Iranian word 'satrap' is written in the inscription Pahlavík גתגתלכלע, Pársik פפגתלע (in an Ars. title), or גשפגתלע. Nevertheless, I think it is allowed to regard Pahlavík תגתלכלע as a rendering of the Indian or Sakan form of the title *ksaṭrapa*.

D 3,5 סניהן מבגתגע 707

E 6,5 סניהנד מבגתגגע 708

N.i Rjb. Krt. 20 סניהנת מבגתגנע 709

Ideogram. Aram. סניה[ן], 2nd p. pl. perf. Pa'al from סנא. The ideograms of verba לא have always this form in Pársik. Phl B. וישאיש or וישלים *Frhg.*

cannot mean 'corpses', see HORN, *Avesta stud.* I p. 225. Cf. BTHL. *Z.Air.Wb.* p. 159. There is an Aram. word, occurring in Phoen. inscriptions, נשה 'superintendant, chief'. There is, too, an Iran. root √*nas-* 'to reach, receive, accept'. I think we must take *NSAN* as a name. This would be absolutely certain, if the legend were *magu* I *vurkán* U *NSAN and*°. But even as the legend actually is, we may perhaps translate: Sh. the magus, Chief Gentleman Usher of the Nisaean Hyrcania.' There are several towns bearing the name *Nisá* in Iran, one in Párs., one North of Aparshahr, another one in Bactria. That one North of Aparshahr, at the same time the name of a district, lies next to Vurkán.

685 see נחתאנ נסחתי 𐭭𐭎𐭧𐭕𐭭

686 B′ 13,6 נפ.אן 𐭭𐭐.𐭠𐭭

Very dubious reading: the beginning of the word is missing; the first surviving letter may be נ as well as ב. ל is uncertain, and one character seems to be missing between ל and the termination *-án*.

687 N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 4; Hjb. 4; Sháp. Nrs. 9; T. i B. A 8; B 11; נפי 𐭭𐭐

nape, OP. *napá-* cf. NP. نبیره and نواده 'grandson'. Pahlavík does not know this word; it has either the phonetical writing לכאלכאל *puhripuhr*, or the ideogram כלן לכלן, see these.

688 Hjb. 8′ נפלת 𐭭𐭐𐭋𐭕

Ideogram, Aram. נפל, 'to fall' 3rd. p. sg. perf. Pə'al, plus the Iranian termination of the past part. perf. *-t*. *Frhg.* XX 5 ושלוושיי read *ópastan* 'to fall' and XX 13 ושלוושן 'he falls'. NP. اوفتادن, Iran. roots √*pta-* and √*pat-*; *ópastan*, *ópt* beside *óptátan*, *ópt*. Soghd. *'ampadaṭ*. Hence, the Pahlavík ideogram is to be read ÓPAST or ÓPT*(á)t*. Pársik has at the corresponding place the synonymous לפכימצ AVKANT, see this.

689 B′ 11,1; D′ 7,3; G′ 3,1 נפשה 𐭭𐭐𐭔𐭄

N. i Rjb. Krt. 11; 24; Paik. B10,3; D6,1; G6,6; H7+6,2; נפשה 𐭭𐭐𐭔𐭄

690 A′ 2,2; A′ 6,3; F′ 3,2 מן נפשה 𐭩𐭭 𐭭𐭐𐭔𐭄

691 A 2,4; A 5,4; C 11,2; H 7,5 בנפשה 𐭁𐭭𐭐𐭔𐭄

Ideogram. Aram. נפש, with suff. 3rd p. sg. נפשה, used as pron. reflex. already in Aram. Insr., 'his soul'. *Frhg.* XI 4 ושטש *χvéš*, i. e. Av. *χvaépaïϋya-*, OP. *hváipašiya-* 'property, own', MP.T. *χvépaš*, NP. خویش 'own'. This is the adjectival pron. reflex. The substantival pron. refl. is rendered in Pahlavík by the same ideogram plus the Aram. prep. מן, in Pársik with the prep. ב. *Frhg.* XI 4 ושטש, read *χvat*, i. e. Av. *χvaépatay-*, 'self, himself', Soghd. *χépat*, Nestor. *χépaδ*, MP.T. *χvépat*, NP. خود. We may choose for the transcription of the Pahlavík the more archaic forms XVÉPAŠ and XVÉPAT, for the Pársik the later XVÉŠ and XVAT. Cf. SALEMANN, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I III § 73.

N. i Rst. Krt. 8; N. i Rjb. Krt. 22; 31; נפשתי 𐭭𐭐𐭔𐭕𐭉 692

Pers. II 3 נושתי 𐭭𐭅𐭔𐭕𐭉 693

Pers. II 4 נושתני 𐭭𐭅𐭔𐭕𐭍𐭉 694

nipište, *nivište*, *nivištane*, past part. pass. and infin. of the verb, written commonly, and for the pres. base exclusively with the ideogram נכתבנ, see this. 'to write'. OP. *nipištanaiy-*, Soghd. Imper. *nipis*. The orthography of the inscr. Pers. II proves, that the true pronunciation in the middle of the 4th century was already the modern one. Soghd. knows the form *nipaχšt-*, inserting a χ before the *š* or *št*, as we find in Pahlavík several times.

A′ 11,5; C′ 2,1; E′ 6,1; E′ 15,1 נרימחו 𐭭𐭓𐭉𐭌𐭇𐭅 695

A 12,1; B 9,1; E 4,4; E 9,4; E 15,4; Sháp. Nrs. 2; Pers. I 7 *bis*; T. i B. A 9; נרמחי 𐭭𐭓𐭌𐭇𐭉 696

Gem Paris נילאומסנני 𐭭𐭉𐭋𐭀𐭅𐭌𐭎𐭭𐭭𐭉 697

narésaχv, *narsahe*, on the Paris gem *nérâvsange*, n. pr. Av. *nairyó.sañha-*, OP. **nariyaϑaha-*, Arm. *nerseh*, Syr. *narsé* and *narsai*, Gr. Ναρσῆς, Lat. *Narses*, *Narseus*, NP. نرسی.

There are different personages of that name in the inscriptions: 1) the king Narseh, ruling 293–302 A.D., is mentioned in Sháp. Nrs. 2 and Paik. C′ 2,1; A 12,1; E 4,4 and E 15,4. He is the author of the inscription of Paikuli and that of Shápúr, on the bas-relief of Varhrán I. He was, according to the genealogy of the inscriptions a son of Sháhpúhr I., and, hence,

719 H 14,3 סיכא ...𐭮𐭩𐭪𐭠

Siká..., n. pr. of a king, in the second group of the congratulants, following the king of Ábírá. I do not know a single Iranian or Indian name, beginning with these syllables.

720 A′ 11,3; B′ 9,5; C′ 3,5; D′ 10,3; E′6,2; סכן מלכא 𐭮𐭪𐭭 𐭮𐭣𐭪𐭠

721 A 4,3; D 2,4; D 5,3; E 2,1; E 11 + 12,4; Pers. I. 2; II. 4; 6; סכאן [מלכא] 𐭮𐭪𐭩𐭠 [𐭮𐭣𐭪𐭠]

sak(á)n, *sakán*, n. pr. ethn. plur. 'Saka'. OP. *saká-*, land and people, Elam. *s'ak'k'a*, Ind. *śaka*, Chin. *sŏk* (ŏ between a and o); Greek uses the name Σκύθαι, Assyr. *aškuza*, Hebr. אשכנז (instead of אשכנז), OP. **skuča*, instead of that of the Saka. Agathias' Σεγανσαά reflects the change of sound from the medial surd into the sonant.

All the occurrences of the name in the Paik. inscription refer to Varhrán III. Sakánsháh, Pers. I. and II. to Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh, brother of Sháhpuhr II.

722 Pers. I. 3; 6; 8? סכסתן 𐭮𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭬

sakast(á)n, 'land of the Saka'; Isid. Char. Σακαστάνη, Agathias τὸ Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος; Ammian. Marc. Segestani; Arm. *sakastan*, *sagastan*; Syr. סגסתן 430 A.D.; Phl B. 𐭮𐭣𐭮𐭬, Pers. سکستان, Arab.-Pers. سجستان, NP. سیستان Sístán. The name has a double meaning, as it may refer to the very Sakastán, the modern province of Sístán, as well as to the whole Empire of the Śaka, the *harva Sakastana* of the Mathura Lion Capital inscription, comprising not only Sístán and Balúchistán and the neighbouring tracts of Iran, but the whole of the Indus country and great parts of India, including Cutch, Káthiáwár, Málwá as far as Rajputana, that is the whole lands called Ἰνδοσκυθία by Ptolemy and the *Periplus*. It is doubtful, whether in the Pers. inscription the term is used in its narrower or in its wider acceptance.

723 Pers. I. 6 סכסתן חנדלצפת [𐭮]𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭬 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭫𐭪𐭰𐭱𐭯𐭬

sakastán handaržpat, the 'andaržpat of Sakastán', see 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭫𐭪𐭰𐭱𐭯𐭬 and 𐭲𐭭𐭣𐭫𐭪𐭰𐭱𐭯𐭬 𐭩𐭩𐭩. Cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 99 no. 28 and p. 510; Marquart's interpretation of the title as '*Meuteschalk*', i. e. administrator of the dog-kennel, hound's pack' cannot be maintened as against the Pers. inscription. — The *sakastán andaržpat* is mentioned by the Armenian historian Faustus of Byzanz, b. IV. § 45, translated erroneously by Langlois with 'Saguesdan, grand-maître de la garde-robe du roi Sapor', and by Lauer with 'der oberste Kleiderbewahrer Sakstan'. He appears as the commander of Sháhpuhr's army in the war against the king Arshak III. of Armenia, 341-367. The Pers. inscription is dated 310, in the second year of Sháhpuhr II. We cannot doubt, that both the persons are identical. Following the somewhat legendary Armenian tradition, the Sakastán andaržpat was defeated and killed in the battle by the Armenian general Vasak.

Pers. II. 1 סלוכי 𐭮𐭤𐭥𐭪 724

SLVKE, n. pr. of a man whose father bore the name (R)ástsháhpuhr. Apparently the name is not an Iranian one. It is exactly the Syriac *Slókh*, Greek Σελεῦκος, and we ought to transcribe it *Slóke*, or perhaps *Sl(é)vke*. Cf. the ancient name of the town of Karkúk, *Karkhá d Béth Slókh*. It would be highly interesting to know the exact Pahlaví form and pronunciation of the name of the city of Seleukeia. I feel rather convinced that Chin. *Li-kien*, or according to the more archaic Cantonese pronunciation, *Lai-kan*, renders the Pahlavík form of even that name, which we probably may note down as *Slévkán*. There is Chin. *An-tu*, doubtlessly a rendering of the Pahlavík *Andév*, i. e. Antiocheia in Madá'in. *Ta-shi* is another rendering of a Pahlavík name: *Tážik* 'the Arabs'. Hence, a great number, if not all the names occurring in old Chinese sources came to the Chinese by an Iranian intermedium. Prof. J.-J. Hess, Zürich, kindly sent me a preliminary notice on his researches into this problem.

A′ 1,6 ספרפתי 𐭮𐭯𐭫𐭯𐭲𐭩 725

C′ 9,2 אספאדפתי 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭠𐭣𐭯𐭲𐭩 726

C 3,5 ספאחפת 𐭮𐭯𐭠𐭧𐭯𐭲 727

sp(á)dpati, *aspádpati*, *spáhpat*, n. pr. of the feudal house of the Spáhpat Pahlav, of Arsacidan descent,

XX. 3 and 4, both these spellings being incorrect, read RAF*tan*, pres. RAβ-, NP. رفتن, رو. D 3,5 read RAFT, E 6,5 RAβ(É*n*)*d*, N. i Rjb. 20 RAβ*(é)t*. The Pahlavík equivalents are missing.

710 Corn. Petersburg סנת סתי תעת תתו

SGT STY. The legend of this seal, the finest and apparently the oldest of all the true Sasanian seals, is extremely obscure, though the characters themselves are absolutely clear. If I am right in recognizing the proper name in the first word לבגבל ובתת, the remaining characters must indicate the title of this personage, for from the type of the bust, especially its helmet, taenia, and earrings, he must have been a high Sasanian official. The characters *SGT* and the following *STY* (or *STN*?) are widely separated by the ends of the taenia. They seem to represent two distinct words. As Pahlavík does not express the *iḍáfat*, *SGT* is probably the name of the land, whereas *STY* contains the designation of the office. If this conclusion be true, we must take *SGT* for the land *Soghd*. In PhlB. the ancient *Sughda* is called or written שגיגע, or according to the younger pronunciation שגלע, cf. *Vidévd. Gloss.* ed. HOSHANG JAMASP p. 220, and MARQUART, *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898 pp. 56 *ss*. We would expect ל, not ת as the last character, but the orthography is an historical one, differing from the actually spoken form of the name, and therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that ת is written instead of ל, because the archaic substitution of ת to ל is a common rule in Pahlavík as well as in Pársík.

If we accept this suggestion, the remaining characters *STY* must be an abbreviation of a title, probably beginning with *S* and ending in *TY*, e. g. *spádpati*.

711 D′ 7,1 [סוכ]נת [תכל]ת

712 D 6+5,4 סוכנדי תבגנת

savkant, sókande, PhlB. שגוגד, NP. سوگند 'sulphur water, oath'. Cf. *Zarérnámak: sókand* XVARÉT 'swear an oath!'. It is used, as in NP. with the verb XVART*an*, lit. 'to swallow sulphur water'; cf. BTHL., *Z. Sasan. Recht* IV. p. 41. See תשתבבב, תאתת and תכל.

B′ 4,4; C′ 6,6 סוסין תכתנב 713

B 8,6; D 2,5; E 6,3 סוסיא תבגיבנב 714

Ideogram. Hebr.-Aram. סוס 'horse', Assyr. *sîsú*, Pahlavík uses the *stat. indet.* of the pl. סוסין, Pársík the *stat. emph.* סוסיא. *Frhg.* VII. 1 שתיט read ASP 'horse'. Always in the term ASP U MART 'horse and man' meaning 'cavalry, horse'. The Pahlavík ideogram for MART nowhere survives. From the parallelism we may infer with certainty, that it was לכלנב, see גנבנב.

C′ 4,2 סורין תכלנב 715

C 11,4 סולין תבגלגן

Súrén, n. pr. of the clan *potestatis secundae post regem*, of old Arsacidan descent. The Armenian historian Moses of Khorene takes their ancestor to be a son of Phraates IV. The chief of the clan in the Paikuli inscription bears the name Artaχšatr. The Súrén, according to the Iranian epics and to some hints in the historical tradition, were rulers in Sakastán, and it may be that some of the rulers of Sakastán, of the so-called Indo-Parthian dynasty, e. g. Gundophares, were Súréns. The old house was still flourishing under Khusrau II., and, the bishops of Shahrqard 605 A. D., and of Nisibis 754 A. D. might be descendents of that old house. The Armen. called them *Suren Pahlav*, the Greeks Σουρήνας, Σουρήνης Σουρένας. They follow in rank immediately the members of the Sasanian clan and the Grand-Vizier, and precede the other feudal house of the Spáhpats.

Pers. I. 4 סודשן תבבגגן 716

The reading is uncertain, possibly we must read תבגגן. The verb גנבן BURT follows. The meaning can hardly be anything else but the NP. تشریف بردن 'to take away the honour, favour', i. e. 'to go away'.

G′ 5,6 סחולשן תגבכלגב 717

H 5,4 סחולצאן תבכלבגגן 718

n. pr. ethn. *saχúrič(á)n* or *saχvarič(á)n*, *saχúričán*, one of the Śaka tribes, or at any rate a tribe, subject to, or neighbour of, the Śaka Empire. The ruler, with the title 'lord', bears an Iranian name, ending in *-zgirde*, see this.

737 Pers. I. 9 סתון 𐎢𐎼𐎭𐎰

Reading doubtful, possibly *stún*, PhlB. עשׂן, NP. ستون *sutún* 'pillar, post, column'. Aram. borrowed this word already from the OP., and it appears as early as 445—394 B. C. in the Lydo-Aramaic *bilinguis* of Sardes, E. LITTMANN *Sardis* p. 25: זנה סתונא. In the Pers. inscription the following word is *kirtakán*, *stún kirtakán* possibly meaning the 'column-makers', cf. Arab. تَوَّاج and in a wider sense 'the stone-cutters, masons'.

738 Pers. I. 5 סתחלי 𐎢𐎼𐎫𐎹𐎭𐎰

staχre, n. pr. of the Sasanian capital of Párs., PhlB. ستخر, NP. اصطخر or (rare) استخر. Armen. *stahr*, cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 75 no. 173; Syr. אסטחר (430 A. D.), Greek Σταχρίται ethn. The name is originally an appellativum, Av. *staχra-* meaning 'strong, firm', hence 'strong place, stronghold, fort', cf. REICHELT, *Frhg. i Oim* p. 176: *staχró-* Phl. trnsl. *sturk*, assimilated to *buzurk*, from **stúr*. Cf. also the n. pr. *Staχrashάhpuhr*, HBSCHM., *l. c.* p. 508. Hence, the name must have had originally an apposition, viz. *Pársa-staχra*, 'the stronghold of Párs.', continuing the ancient name of the neighbouring Persepolis, *Pársa*. This name is met with on the Frátadára coins in the ideographic form 2J [כ]2Q, an abbreviation of *Pársa BYRTA*, i. e. *Pársa*-STAXRA, Stakhr.

739 Corn. Petersbg. סתי 𐎢𐎼𐎭

STY. If we are right in interpreting the first word of the obscure legend of this seal as the proper name of its owner, the second as that of the land *Soghd*, these last three letters must represent an abbreviation of the title, beginning with *S* and ending in *TY*, e. g. *spádpati*.

740 Pers. I. 5 סתן 𐎢𐎼𐎭

Reading doubtful: *STN*, in the passage ὁ ΗΑΝ *STN*. We may explain this short word in two different ways. Either it is a *scriptio defectiva* of *stán* 'place', OP. *stána-*, Elam. *iś't'ana*, or a *scriptio defectiva*, too, of *stún* 'pillar'. As we have the word *stún* several times written with the *mater lectionis* 2, the first possibility is more probable.

Pers. I. 5; II. 2 סת סתני 𐎢𐎼𐎭 𐎢𐎼𐎭𐎹 𐎹𐎱𐎢𐎰 741

sat stún, *sat stúne*, 'the hundred columns', name of the ruins of Persepolis. Ḥamza al-Ispahání knew the later form of this name *hazár sutún* 'the thousand columns', ed. GOTTWALDT I p. ٣٨. The modern name is *Chihil Sutún* 'the fourty columns', 40 meaning innumerable, beside *Takht i Jamshíd* 'the throne of Jamshíd'. The inscription of Xerxes, *Xerx. Pers. a*, on the great gate of Persepolis, clearly shows that the ancient name of the city was *Pársá*, the name of the city, of the land, and of the people being identical, like in so many other cases. This ancient name was gone over to the actual successor of the ancient capital, Stakhr, or *Pársa-stakhra*, whereas the ruins of Persepolis received, later on, a new name after their mark of distinction, the hundreds of columns.

ל ע 2

The Pahlavík character is identical in shape with ר, the Pársík character with ר and ו. The signification of ע, in both the dialects, is limited to Aramaic ideograms.

A′ 6,5; C′ 14,5	עבדום	לכלכע 742
F′ 12,4	עבדות	לכלכת 743
B′ 7,4	עבדוד	לכלכל 744
A′ 2,4	עבדונת	לכלכונת 745
A′ 8,3	עבדון	לכלכנ 746
C′ 1,1	עבדך	לכלכל 747
A′ 8,1; A′ 10,3; C′ 10,3; F′ 2,2	עבדת	לכלכת 748
B′ 4,5; C′ 13,5	עבדתן	לכלכתנ 749
cf. E′ 15,5; F′ 12,6	כרדת	לכלכת 750
B 3+2,1; B 5,5; E 12,6; F 6,1; N. i Rjb. Krt. 12 *ult.*	עבידונם	בכבגבפ 751
A 11,4; G 2,4; Pers. II. 7	עבידונת	בכבגבע 752
A 12+11,4	עבידונד	בכבגבנ 753
A 4,4; Pers. II. 8	עבידונן	בכבגבנ 754
N. i Rst. Krt. 2; 6; Paik. A 1,6; A 12,2;	עבידון	בכבגבנ 755

Ideogram, Aram. עבד, already in Aram. Inscr., 'to make, to do'. Pahlavík uses the form עבדו, 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al with various Iranian terminations for the pres. base, the form עבד, 3rd p. sg. perf. Pə'al with termination *-t* for the past part. pass., with *-tan* for

PhlB. 𐭮𐭯𐭧, NP. سپاه‌بذ and اسپهبذ. The variant in the Pahlavík spelling with or without א *prostheticum* and with or without *scriptio plena* is remarkable. The word is a compound of OP. **spáda-*, PhlB. 𐭮𐭯𐭧, NP. *sipáh* سپاه 'army' and *-paṭi, -pat, -badh* 'chief'. According to Moses of Khorene, the Eranspahpet or Marshal of Iran married a daughter of Arshavír, i. e. Artabanus II., and, hence, this female line of the Arsacidan house, which was owning estates in the province of Kómish, was called Spáhpet Pahlav, cf. MARQUART, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIX. p. 635 *ss.* and *Éráns.* p. 71 *ss.* The chief of the Spáhpat clan, in the Paikuli inscription, bears the name Rakhsh, see לגש. The Armenians borrowed the word twice from the Persians. In Arsacidan times they borrowed it under the form *asparapet* or *sparapet*, used for the name of that house. In Sasanian times they borrowed it again under the form *aspahapet*, used in the sense 'marshal', cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 22 no. 18 and p. 240 no. 588. Prokop renders the n. pr. in Greek by Ἀσπεβέδης. In late Sasanian time, there were four *spáhpat*'s or marshals for the four quarters of the Empire. NÖLDEKE, *Ṭab.* p. 155.

728 H 7,3 ספנדולתאן פ𐭮𐭭𐭣𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭭

729 G′ 6,5 אספנ[נדורתן] א𐭮𐭯𐭭[𐭣𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭭]

spandor(á)tán, n. pr. patron. or ethn. The fragmentary Pahlavík .. צתכל shows the א *prostheticum*, occurring several times in Pahlavík. The defective orthography of the syllable *-r(á)t-* is caused by the *scriptio plena* of the subsequent termination. The preceding ב is a superfluous *scriptio plena*, as in *hazárupat, harqupat*, or PhlB. 𐭧𐭠𐭩𐭲 *Gayomart*, 𐭲𐭲𐭧 *dahyupat*. This is an Avestic orthography. Av. *spəntó.ráta-*, OP. **spantaráta-*, Arm. *spantarat*, cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 71 no. 170. It is not perfectly clear, whether we ought to interpret the words in question as 'Béraván son of Spandor(á)t and the Páradán sháh', or as 'Béraván, the king of the Spandor(á)tán and Páradán'.

730 Pers. I. 1 ספנדמת פ𐭮𐭭𐭣𐭬

spandamat, name of the twelfth month of the Zoroastrian year. Av. *spəntа.ármaitiš*, Arm. *spendarmet* = Dionysos, PhlB. *spandáramet, Phl. Texts Gloss. & Ind.* p. 157, also 𐭮𐭯𐭣𐭬 and occasionally 𐭮𐭯𐭩𐭬; Aram. אספנדארמד, Arab.-Pers. (al-Bérúní) اسفندارمذ, cf. MARQUART, *Philolog. Suppl.* X. 1 p. 214 *s.* I do not feel sure wheter we must regard the defective writing of the word in the Pers. inscription as a clerical error, or as a dialectical form.

G′ 11,7 ספסי תלתן 731

sp(á)si, PhlB. 𐭮𐭯𐭮, Soghd. *spás, ispás* 'service', *spaχš* 'to serve'; subst. 'service', later on 'thanks'.

C′ 13,2 ספרא תלתא 732

Ideogram. Aram.-Hebr. ספר, *stat. emphat.* ספרא, already in Aram. Inscr. Assyr. *šápiru*, Phoen. ספר 'secretary, scribe'. Pársik does not use the ideogram, but writes phonetically 2𐭱𐭩𐭣 *dipér*, or 22𐭱𐭩𐭣 *dipivar*, PhlB. 𐭣𐭩𐭯𐭲𐭥, NP. دبیر, hence, read DIPÉR. Cf. HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* no. 540. Here, the word is one of the elements of the title *χšatr-ahmár-*DIPÉR, see this.

Shah. gem STEUART סלראר 2𐭮𐭤𐭭 733

Corn. Petersb. סרדאל 2𐭮𐭤𐭭𐭤 734

sardár, in the compound title *vásróšán-sálár* and *andémánkárán-sálár*. Cf. HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* p. 260 and *Arm. Gram.* p. 235 no. 565. Arm. *salar*, Soghd. *sárár*, PhlB., *Frhg.* XII. 2 𐭮𐭤𐭫 *sardár*, explained by *sálár*. *sardár* is the older, *sálár* the younger form. Both survive in NP. سردار and سالار. Prokop has ἀρασταδαρανσαλάνης, a corruption of ἀρδασταρανσαλάρης *artéštárán-sálár*.

Corn. Petersbg. 735

In the very difficult legend of that seal, the words 2𐭱𐭩𐭣𐭱𐭮𐭱𐭩𐭣𐭤𐭫 and 2𐭱𐭩𐭣𐭩𐭮𐭱𐭩𐭣𐭤𐭫2 occur twice, very similar to each other, but not identical. The division of the single words of this part of the legend is highly dubious. But I feel rather sure that the reading 2𐭱𐭩𐭣2𐭮 *χusrúde* is not possible.

D 15,5 ... סתאף ... 736

... *stáp*, fragment of an adjective, corresponding to תלתא in D′ 15,2. The reading of the latter is not absolutely certain. The word stands in parallelism, joined by the copula, with *patápévant*.

766 Hjb. 12′ לעחו לעחו

Ideogram. Aram. has עלחו, hence עלחו must belong to another dialect and time than the Bibl. writings and the inscriptions as yet discovered. Same prep. plus suff. 3rd p. sg. Pársik writes 𐭥𐭲𐭣.

767 Hjb. 9′ על לבר שטרא על לבר שטרא

Ideogram, the whole group corresponding to Pársik 𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭭 *béróne*. Aram. על לברא שטרא, evidently an Iranian construction, means 'at the outer side, from outside, outside, without'. Probably the pronunciation of the whole group of Pahlavík ideograms is BÉRÓN.

768 C′ 6,4 ענעיוד לענעך

Ideogram, very obscure word and reading. The last character is evidently the Iranian termination of the 3rd p. pl. *-(én)d*. The Aram. verb ends in *-iw*, hence, must be a verb לא. As there are three consonants beside the last radical א represented by the ' of the termination, the ל preceding that termination may represent ע, a superfluous compensation for the א. Then, we may compare the remaining ענע to Aram. ענא 'to address, reply, listen, grant'. The context is obscure.

769 see עמלן עמלן 𐭥𐭬𐭤𐭭

770 see ערחוא ערחוא 𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭥

771 see עשמה עשמה 𐭠𐭮𐭬𐭤

772 see עשהה עשהה 𐭠𐭮𐭤

פ ם פ

773 Corn. Petersbg. *bis*. ם פ

Phonetical writing of the prep. *pa*, OP. *pati*, NP. پ, occurring only in 𐭯𐭲𐭦𐭦𐭯 *pa yazdán* and 𐭯𐭲𐭩𐭯 *pa taniš*. The regular rendering of this preposition in Pársik is the ideogram 𐭯, Pahlavík writes לתן.

774 E 11,6 פא.. פנ...

pá.., fragment, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

775 A′ 10,4, B′ 7,3; G′ 3,7 פרים לפרת

776 B 10+9,5; H 5,5 פאדימי פנדמה

p(á)dés, *pádése*, in the phrase PA *pand* U *pádése*, hence belonging to the same range of ideas as *pand* 'counsel, advice'. Root √*dáes*- 'to show, conduct, instruct', cf. *upadišt* 'instruction, order'. Hence *pádés* 'instruction'.

G′ 6,5 לנל 777

H 6+5,3 פנג 778

Pák, *Páke*, n. pr. of a eunuch, see לנגנלנל. Phl B. שנ, NP. پاك 'pure', cf. *Salmán Pák*, and the name Βαγώας of the Egyptian eunuch and friend of Artaxerxes III. Ochos, and of another eunuch and friend of Alexander. According to Pline *Nat. Hist.* XIII. 4 (9) Bagoas was a name peculiar to eunuchs: *clarissimae omnium* (scil. the dates) ... *Babylone natae uno in horto Bagou. Ita vocant spadones qui apud eos etiam regnavere*. Cf. further پاكويه NÖLDEKE, *Pers. Stud.* I. p. 15, possibly a hypocor. of پاك.

G′ 9,7 פאבר... לנל... 779

PAKR..., fragment, only the נ is still visible, the remaining letters from RAWLINSON's note-book.

N. i Rst. Art. 3′; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 4; Hjb. 4′; Paik. C′ 2,2; פאפך לנלל 780

N. i Rst. Art. 3; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 4; Hjb. 4; Paik. B 11,1; Pap. gem Peterbg. פנפנה פאפכי 781

pápak, *pápake*, n. pr. *Pápak*. Except the Petersburg gem and the Paikuli inscription, all the instances refer to *Pápak shâh*, father of Ardashír I. The Pápak of the Petersburg gem is Móbad of Khusrau-Šát-Hormizd.

The title of Pápak in the Paikuli inscription is *bit(á)žš*. This title is the peculiar title of the margraves of Armenia and and Georgia. It is the πιτιάξης of the gem of Ashushay. These four margraves had the highest rank after the king of Armenia in the Armenian Empire, but never would have preceded in rank the Grand-Vizier of Iran and the chiefs of the feudal houses of the Súrén and Spáhpat, as Pápak the Bitákhsh in the Paikuli inscription does. He must have been a Sasanian prince. And this observation leads us to the true identification of this personage. Just at the time in question, according to the Armenian and Georgian

the infinitive. Twice, in E′ 15,5 and F′ 12,6 we meet the phonetical writing 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲 with the phonetical termination *-t*, added to the spoken *-d*! Pársik uses 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥 3rd pl. perf. Pə′íl for the preterit base, changing with the phonetical orthography 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥, also 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭭 for the infinitive. The same ideogram with various terminations stands for the pres. base. *Frhg.* XVIII 5 *s.* has 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲 · 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲𐭩 · 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭, some Mss. putting 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭 after 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲. Hence, read KIRT*an*, pres. KUN- 'to make'. The curious 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭 seems to represent the Pahlavík ideogram 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲, see this. √*kr-*, OP. *kṛta-*, *akunava*^{s}, Soghd. imper. *quná*, inf. *qarvn*. In the Pahlavík text of the *draχt i asúrik*, JAMASP ASANA *Phl. Texts*, the pres. base of the verb is *kar-*, not *kun-*, the same in some of the Turfan Mss., e. g. *kar-am*, cf. BTHL., *Mittelir. Mundart.* IV p. 25,2. Hence we must transcribe the Pahlavík ideogram 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲 by KAR-.

Therefore we must read the different forms of this ideogram, in the order of the quoted instances: KAR*(é)m*, KAR*(é)t*, KAR*(én)d*, KAR*(é)nt*, KAR*(á)n*, KAR*(á)k*, KIR*t*, KIR*tan*, *kird*T and KUN*(é)m*, KUN*(é)t*, KUN*(én)d*, KUN*(á)n*, KIRD. The reading and interpretation of C′ 1,1 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲𐭪 KAR*(á)k* or KIRD*ak* is doubtful.

The remarkable orthography 𐭪𐭫𐭤𐭭𐭲 proves that already in Pahlavík the actual pronunciation of the preterit base was with *-d*, not *-t*. Pers. II uses regularly a ligature, the horizontal stroke of the 𐭭 crossing the following characters.

756 A 4,2; B 14,5 עבלון 𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭪

Ideogram, Aram. עבר 'to pass', 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə′al 𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭. The ideogram resembles the other one, 𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭪, and in B 14,5 it is doubtful, which of the two is actually written. *Frhg.* XXII 4 has 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 · 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭭, read VITUR*tan*, pres. VITÍR-, NP. گذردن, گذیر or گذاردن.

757 D 5,2; Pers. I. 3 (?) עד 𐭭𐭲

Ideogram, Aram. עד prep. 'till, until' *Frhg.* XXV 3 𐭭𐭲𐭮 and 𐭭𐭲𐭮 · 𐭭𐭲𐭮𐭩 hence read TÁK or TÁ, NP. تا 'till, until, while, during'. Pahlavík uses the ideogram 𐭭𐭲, corresponding in C′ 6,5 to D 5,2.

758 C 11,3 עדיהנת 𐭭𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭭𐭲

Ideogram, 2nd p. pl. perf. Pə′al of a verb לא, cf. עדא 'to pass a limit, to transgress', or Arab. ردى 'to drive, put in motion, set going'. The first character may signify in itself ע or ר, and beside, the ע may stand for an original א. In this case the ideogram would closely resemble Pahlavík 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭, see this.

see 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 עולון 𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 *759*

see 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 עהדון 𐭭𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 *760*

Hjb. 9′; Paik. B′ 1,3. 4; B′ 4,3; B′ 7,2.5; B′ 9,4; B′ 11,2; B′ 13,4; C′ 4,4; C′ 9,1; D′ 8,3; D′ 10,1; D′ 15,4 *bis*. 5; E′ 14,4; F′ 7,6; על 𐭭𐭲 *761*

Hjb. 13; 15; N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 4; 7; 8; 18; 19; N. i Rst. Krt. 3; 11; Paik. B 3,5; B 4,3; B 6,5; B 9,6; B 12,4; C 2,1. 6; C 9,2; C 11,1; D 2,5. 6; D 3,3; E 2,2; E 4,3; E 11,5; E 12,1; H 2,2; H 7,5. Pers. I. 5 *bis*; II. 2; 9; 11. על 𐭭𐭲

Ideogram. Aram. על prep., *Frhg.* XXV. 6 𐭭𐭲 and 𐭭𐭲 · 𐭭𐭲𐭩, hence read ó, OP. *abiy*, later *aβé*, then ó. Pahlavík uses always a ligature for the two characters. 'to, for, at'.

see 𐭭𐭲𐭪 עלה 𐭭𐭲𐭣 *762*

see 𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭭𐭩𐭭 עלהשן, ערהשן 𐭭𐭲𐭣𐭣, 𐭭𐭲𐭣𐭣𐭣 *763*

B′ 6,5 עלי 𐭭𐭲𐭪 *764*

Ideogram. Aram. עלי, prep. על plus the pers. suff. 1st p. sg. 'to, for, at me, myself'. This special ideogram, used beside the ideograms 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭭 for the *cas. rectus* and 𐭭𐭲 for the *cas. obliquus* of the pers. pronoun, is foreign to Pársik. In C 11,1 it corresponds to 𐭭𐭲𐭣.

B′ 6,1 עלין 𐭭𐭲𐭫𐭭 *765*

Ideogram. Aram. (Bibl.) עלינא, same prep. plus suff. of 1st p. pl. 'to, for us'. עלין must belong to a dialect, older than Bibl. Aram. Pársik again does not use this special ideogram, but writes, at the corresponding place, B 4,3, 𐭭𐭲𐭣.

Cf. Soghd. *afradǝm* and Phl B. 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭭, see 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬛𐬌𐬙𐬀.

791 N. i Rst. Krt. 12 *ult.*; 32 *bis*; N. i Rjb. Krt. 24; 25; 26 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀

792 N. i Rst. Krt. 5; 7 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁

793 Paik. B 11,3; E 11,2; F 12,3; G 6,6 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀

pátaχšatre, *p(á)taχšare*. Inspite of the various spelling I regard all the forms as identical. The *scriptio plena* or *defectiva* of the first syllable is no difference, and the letter *t* inserted before the final *-re*, I regard as a erroneous or popular etymologic assimilation of the word to the well-known *šatre*. It is OP. prep. *pati-* plus √*χši-*, OP. *patiyaχšaiy* 'I ruled'. Cf. Soghd. *pátχšávan* 'ruler', *χšávan* 'power', *χšévan* 'king'. MPT. *paδaχšar* 'kingdom, kingship'. Bthl., *Z.Air.Wb.* p. 64 n.***) refers to Soghd. *χvamar* for the striking termination *-r*. — In all the instances the word is an abstract noun, signifying 'rule, kingship, royalty'. I abstain from discussing the connexion of this word with *bitáχš* and NP. پادشاه *pádšáh*, apparently connected with eachother.

794 N. i Rjb. Krt. 4 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬁

pátkáse, compound of *patí-* and *-kás*, cf. Pahlavík 𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭭 *ak(á)si*, NP. آگاه 'known, apparent, prominent', Av. *ákasaṭ* 'he beholds, perceives'. The meaning of the word is apparently 'looked at favourably (by the gods), endowed, blessed (with Divine grace)'.

795 F′ 13,3 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀

796 B 10,4 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁

797 Pers. I. 8 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁𐬀𐬌

patiḳós, *pátkóse*, *pátkósán*, sg. and pl., Phl B. e. g. *Ménókh.* I 35 𐭯𐭰𐭧𐭰𐭲𐭥 'province'. From prep. *patí-* and *-kós*, whence *kóstak*. The word signifies a greater complex than an ordinary province, the four quarters of the Empire, called after the four cardinal points *apáχtar*, *χvarásán*, *némróž* or *érák*, and *χvarbarán*. Cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭab.* p. 151 n. 2; Marquart, *Ēráns.* p. 29 and 133.

E′ 14,2 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁 798

E 6,6 — . . . 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁 799

The Pahlavík word is very dubious, the Pársik word is fragmentary. Nevertheless, I believe, we must read *patk(ó)šp(á)n* and *p(á)dkó*[*spán*]. If this reading be true, the word is a compound of the foregoing with *-pán* 'warden'. *pátkóspán*, Armen. *patgosapan*, Arab.-Pers. پادوسپان being the title of the commanders of the four corners of the Empire. Cf. the literature quoted s. v. *pátkós*, and Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 223 no. 513.

Hjb. 4′ — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁𐬀𐬌 800

puhripuhr 'son's son, grandson', phonetical writing of the ideogram 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭩𐭫𐭭, Pársik uses instead of both 𐬯𐬀𐬴 *nape*. OP. *puᵘᵛa-*, Arm. *puh*, presupposing Pahlavík *puhr*, as in our inscription. The Pársik form would be *pus*, written ideographically 𐭯𐭱. NP. پسر. Together with 𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭱, this Pahlavík word is significant for the problem, viz. which case of the OP. or Av. declension served as the base of the MP. form of the nouns.

see 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁 801

C′ 9,6; F′ 11,2; G′ 9,4 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀 802

D 6,3; F 9,2; G 2,2; H 8,2 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁𐬀𐬌 803

pušt, *pušte*, Phl B. 𐭯𐭥𐭱𐭮, NP. پشت 'back, backing, support'. In D 6,3 *pušte* šut 'came to assistance . .', in the other instances pa *pušte* u nám 'with the help and in the name of . .'. The *scriptio plena* serves to distinguish the word from syllables like *-pišt*, *-pašt*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 1 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁𐬀𐬌 804

pahlumihe, abstr. noun from the superl. *pahlum*, cf. 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁, Phl B. 𐭠𐭲𐭥 'superior', hence 'superiority'.

C′ 13,6 — 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀 805

PXMV, the initial 𐭤 is doubtful, 𐭭 and 𐭥 ligated; the word is perhaps incomplete in the beginning.

A 2,2 — . . . 𐬀𐬥𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬁 . . . 806

PXL . . ., *PXR* . . ., incomplete at the end, Pahlavík equivalent missing, the word may be completed to *pahlum*, *pahrak*, *pahréc* &c.

chronists, a younger son of Sháhpuhr I. had married, as a child, Abeshura, the daughter and heiress of Aspacures, the last king of the Arsacidan dynasty of Georgia. The Armenians, e. g. Moses of Khorene, transl. Venice 1841 p. 251 *s.* call him '*Mihrán governatore della Iberia*'. Mihrán is the name of the third feudal house of Iran, and cannot be the true proper name of a Sasanian prince. It may be a surname, if his mother was a princess of the Mihrán house. Hence the conjecture is very plausible, that Pápak was his very proper name and that Pápak of the Paikuli inscription and Mihrán of the Armenian tradition are identical. According to the Georgian chronist Wakhtang, Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie* I. p. 83, the prince who had married Abeshura when still a child, reigned from 265 until 342. His wife died at an early age, and the prince contracted later on a second marriage with a daughter of Tírdát of Armenia who plays a part in the Paikuli inscription. He embraced christianity later on, and partook on the Armenian side in the wars between Rome, Armenia, and Persia. Cf. Brosset, *Mém. de l'Acd. Imp. de St. Pétersbg.* IV. 4 1840 p. 329; Justi *Namenb.* p. 214; on the country of Georgia-Warjan see Marquart, *Éránš.* p. 115 *s.*

782 H 7,3 פאלדאן 𐭯𐭠𐭤𐭣𐭠𐭭

Páradán, n. pr. ethn. *Páradán* 'the Párada'. Ptolemy mentions a district Παραδηνή in Γεδρωσία, VI 21,4, and Varáhamihira, in his *Brhatsamhitá*, transl. H. Kern, *J. R. A. S.* N. S. V p. 90 mentions the people of the *Párata*. V. A. Smith, *Conquests of Samudra-Gupta*, *J. R. A. S.* 1897 p. 898 *s.* says: 'The Párata or Párada country must have been the Súrat district north of Aparánta', and n. 2: 'Ṛṣabhadatta's Násik inscription, no. 5, names the rivers Ibá, Páradá &c &c. The Páradá is the Pāraḍi, or Pár river in the Súrat district'. Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Altertk.* II p. 552. Tomaschek's identification of Ptolemy's Paradene with mod. Pahra, پهره OP. *paθra-*, in Balúchistán, *Hist. Topogr. v. Pers.* I p. 44, is wrong. Cf. Marq. *Éránš.* p. 31 and n. 3. Hence, I think, we are not wrong in suggesting that Ptolemy committed an error placing the Páradán district into Gedrosia instead of Indoscythia, and that in fact his Paradene, the Páradán of the Paikuli inscription and the country of the river Páradá and the Párada people in Súrat, are all identical.

In any case, even if there were two countries of the same name, one in Balúchistán, another in India, the Páradán sháh of the inscription was a Śaka ksatrapa.

C′ 4,3; F′ 2,6	פארם	𐭯𐭠𐭥𐭬	783
A′ 6,4; G′ 3,3	פארמן	𐭯𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭭	784
A′ 11,2(?)	פארמאן	𐭯𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭠𐭭	785
Frátadára coins	פר	𐭯𐭥	786
Frátadára coins	פרם	𐭯𐭥𐭬	787
A 9,4; B 5,2; G 12,4	פאלמי	𐭯𐭠𐭤𐭬𐭩	788
A 1,3. 5	פאלמאן	𐭯𐭠𐭤𐭬𐭠𐭭	789

párs, párs(á)n, p(á)rs, párse, pársán, n. pr. of the land Párs and the people Párs, the Persians, in the strict sense of the word, the inhabitants of the country of *Párs*, *Persis*. PhlB. پارسیگ. The sing. is used in the collective sense. OP. uses *pársa-* for the land, city, people, and as adjective. NP. پارس, Arab. فارس. The adjective in MP. would be *pársík*, PhlB. پارسیگ, NP. پارسی, *Pársí*. In most of the cases the word is used in the phrase *párs* u *partav*, or *pársán* u *partaván*, corresponding to the words *pársaʰ utá mádaʰ* so often repeated in the OP. inscriptions. Both represent the names of the older and of the younger period of old and middle Persian history. Once the expression *pársán kára* appears, corresponding to OP. *káraʰ pársaʰ utá mádaʰ hya upá mám áhaʰ*. Only once the Parthians are mentioned alone, see פלהד.

B 8+7,2; Pers. II. 5 פאלסומי 𐭯𐭠𐭤𐭮𐭥𐭬𐭩 790

parsume, Superlative, OP. *fraθama-* 'best, superior'. In Paik. in the phrase *parsume* u *tómiktume* 'the best and mightiest'. In Pers. in the phrase mardán *parsume* 'the best of men', cf. the shiite surname of 'Ali خيرالناس. The word is very frequent on seals, e. g. Berlin 1372, Horn & Steindorff p. 13 no. 41 only *parsume* legible. Brit. Mus. Horn pl. Ia no. 704 p. 659: *parsume*. Berlin VAB, Herzfeld, *Thron des Khosro*, *Jahrb. d. Pr. Kunstsmlg.* XLI I p. 108: *húmitre i parsume*. Brit. Mus. Horn pl. Ia no. 552, p. 658 *rástihe* u *parsume*, same inscription Menant, *Cat. de la coll.* de Clercq pl. VI no. 127.

821 see 𐬞𐬁𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 פצרו . פלעלכ .

822 E 2,6 פלי . . . פלפ . . .

PRY . . . or *PRS* . . ., the third character is very doubtful, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

823 Gem B. M. no. 565 פראוהרמזדי 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙

Horn, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIV p. 668, pl. II a, the legend of this gem is 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 𐬉𐬍 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 𐬉𐬍 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 *ravb̥án* vén man *farr-ohormizde i húẋém* 'behold (favourably) the soul of mine, the good-natured Farr-Hormizd'. As to the n. pr. cf. 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 *farraxv-šáhpuhre.*

824 N. i Rjb. Krt. 25 פלאסתלי 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙

frástare or *frást(t)are.* The reading may be regarded as certain, but the etymology of the word is obscure. In any case, it is a comparative. It may have something to do with the root √*prs-* 'to ask, question', and the meaning is something like 'responsible'.

825 N. i Rjb. Krt. 18; Pers. II. 9 פלאן 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎

826 D 2,6; E 2,2; E 6,3; E 11,1; E 15,1; G 2,1 פראן 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎

fráč, Pahlavík equivalent missing inspite of the number of instances. Soghd. *fráq*, Phl B. 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎, NP. فراز 'forth, forwards, before, out, on, to, unto straightway'.

827 N. i Rjb. 6; 16 פלוני 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬍𐬎

828 N. i Rjb. Krt. 4 פלונם פלונין 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬍𐬎𐬌 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬍𐬎𐬌

paróne, and *parónam* (?), *paróníč* with suffixes. Compound of the prep. *par* and *-róne* 'side'. Cf. Bthl. *Air.Wb.* p. 852 and 857, Av. *parǎ*, Phl B. transl. *parón* 𐭯𐭫𐭰𐭭 and Av. *paró*, transl. pa *parón* 'except, beside'. The same meaning in all the instances in the N. i Rjb. inscription.

829 D′ 8,4. 5 פרורתך 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌

830 B 3+2,4 פרולתבי 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎

fravartak, fravartake, Armen. *hrovartak*, MP.T. *fravardag*, Aram. פרורתקן (pl.). Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 184 no. 359, Phl B. e. g. *Mátikán í čatrang* p. 1 and *Zarérnámak* transl. Geiger p. 48 𐭯𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭩 'letter, writing'. Cf. Bthl., *Z.Air.Wb.* p. 39; Hbschm., *Z. Armen. Phil.* II p. 365.

see 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎 פרוש 831

G′ 3,1 פרונכפי 832

G 2,6 פלואנכיהי 833

fraz(á)nak(i)pi, frazánakihe, Phl B. 𐭯𐭫𐭭𐭠𐭪𐭯𐭩, NP. فرزانگی, n. abstr. 'wisdom'. In Máni's *Shápuhrakán*, quoted by al-Bérúní, ed. Sachau p. 209, 14 we read:

الحكمة والاعمال هى التى لم يزل رسل الله تاتى بها زمن دون زمن

This sentence clearly reveals the exact meaning of the notions *frazánakihe* and *kirpakihe*, corresponding to الحكمة and الاعمال. *frazánakihe* is the right religious knowledge, *kirpakihe* the right religious conduct, both together form the possession of the right religion. As to the form of the word *fraz(á)nakipi* or *frazánakihe*, it is by reason of his *s* North-Persian, or Median, hence in Pársík an Av. loan-word.

D′ 15,2 פרונג 834

FRZNG, the reading is not certain. The word corresponds to the fragmentary Pársík 𐭯𐭫𐭭𐭲 . . ., see this.

Corn. Petersbg.; Kavát gem פלחו London; 835

farraxv, adject. noun, occurring in both the instances in the blessing *farraxv* bád 'be fortunate!' The old Median form of the word, according to the name Φαρναῦχος seems to have been *farnavχ*, MP. T. *far(r)oχ*, Armen. *χorox, χorʻoh*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 43 no. 78. Phl B. 𐭯𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭲, NP. فرّخ, 'full of splendour, majestic, fortunate'. See 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵, 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎, and cf. *farr-* in Farr-Ohormizde.

Gem coll. de פרחושפוחרי 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙 836

Clercq no. 152.

farraxv-š(á)hpuhre, n. pr. of the mobed of Érán-χvarréh-šáhpuhre. Menant, *Cat. de la coll.* de Clercq p. 53 and pl. VII; Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.* XXX. no. 8, and Horn-Steindorff p. 27.

C′ 2+1,5; E′ 7,1 פרחשתרן 837

paraxšt(á)r(á)n, in E 7,1 with *χvab*, see 𐭯𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭩. Pársík equivalent missing, but surely *parastárán*

807 C 4 + 3,6 ..פח.לדי ..רעפ..

.. *PX . LDE*, two or three characters are missing at the beginning, another one in the middle of the word. Instead of 𐭣 one may read 𐭩. Pahlavík equivalent missing.

808 E 12,3 פחלין 𐭯𐭧𐭥𐭤𐭩𐭭

pahréč, MP.T. *pahréz*; Phl B. 𐭯𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭭 'abstinence, forbearance, heed, care' cf. Hbschm., *Pers. Stud.* no. 309; verb 𐭯𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭬𐭲, NP. پرهیختن 'to abstain, forbear, heed, care, tend'.

809 A′ 1,4 פחרך 𐭯𐭧𐭥𐭪𐭪

pahrak, 'watch, guard, defence', Armen. *pahak*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 217 no. 497, frequent in local names, e. g. Βιριπαράχ, Ἰουρειπαράχ in the Caucasus, *Mâypahrag* مايپهرج, Baládh. p. ٣١٠, 10 in Media, پهل و پهره *Pahl u Pahra* in Balúchistán. The Pársík form of OP. **páθra-* would be *pás*, cf. *pásbán*, Phl B. 𐭯𐭧𐭮, NP. پاس 'watch &c'.

810 C′ 13,1 לגכצ

811 Coins of viceroy of Kúshán פרוזס

p(é)róč, *péróže*, n. pr., Phl B. 𐭯𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭩𐭭, NP. فیروز, Armen. *peroz*, Gr. Περόζης, Περώζης-. Bthl., *Z. Sas. Recht* IV p. 13 no. 1 explains the name as derived from Aryan **partaužah-*, hence, the striking Pahl. orthography is perhaps not a defective writing of the first syllable, but, as the Greek rendering seems to confirm, the first syllable may have had a short vowel. Cf. Ammian. Marcell. XIX 2,11: *pirosen . . . bellorum victor*; Ṭabarí translates the word by مظفّر 'victorious'.

Both the instances refer to Péróz, the brother of Sháhpuhr I., protector of Mání, (al-Nadím, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel p. 327 *s.*), *vazurk Kúšán šáh*, and chief of the Sasanian clan, see the historical chapter and cp. ורזכצ.

812 B 11,4; D 6,5 פישידי 𐭯𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭣𐭩

PYŠYDE, Pahlavík equivalent missing. Very obscure word. Possibly a past part. of a verb in *-idan*, from *péš* 'before'; cp. also Av. *ϒfbaēš-*, *dvaēš-* 'to be hostile', and Phl B. 𐭱𐭲𐭥-𐭩𐭣 *bēšitan*.

N. i Rst. Krt. 6 פכדון 𐭯𐭣𐭣𐭥𐭭 813

PKDVN, reading certain, meaning obscure.

Áwr. 2 פלג 𐭯𐭤𐭢 814

Ideogram, Aram. פלג 'part, half', *Frhg.* XXXI 7 𐭯𐭥𐭭 · 𐭱𐭥𐭭 hence, read nēm, NP. نیم 'half', corresponds to μέρος in the Greek parchment. Cf. the name of a place at the Euphrates Φάλιγα and the Iranian *Nim-az-ráh*, mod. Gul'ambar in Shahrazúr, i. e. 'Half-the-way' viz. between Ctesiphon and Ganzaka.

B′ 7,3; B′ 9,3 פנד 𐭯𐭲𐭣 815

B 9,5; B 12,5 פנדי 𐭯𐭲𐭣𐭩 816

pand, *pande*, 'counsel, admonition' Av. *pantaiy-*, Soghd. *pnd*, NP. پند, cf. the title of the Pahlavi books: *pandnámak*. Always in the phrase *pand u pádés*, 'counsel and instruction'.

B′ 9,1; C′ 9,3; F′ 13,4 פנה 𐭯𐭲𐭭 817

Ideogram, Aram. פן 'face, front', with suff. 3rd p. sg. פנה 'his front'. In Pársík it corresponds to רעבצבד *avaróne* 'in front, beyond'. We must read avarón. See רעבצבד.

Hjb. 10′ פנהסתר 𐭯𐭲𐭭𐭮𐭬𐭲𐭫 818

Ideogram פנה, see the foregoing word, plus the Iranian termination of the comparative *-istar*. Read avarónistar 'more in front, more beyond'. In Pársík it corresponds to רעבצבדשת *avarondare*, see this, and cp. צבע.

F 11,3 [פ]סראלין [𐭯]𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭲 819

F 12,3 פסראליכן 𐭯𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭲𐭪𐭭 820

[*pa*]*sdárin*, *pasdárík(á)n*. The first word only in Rawlinson's note-book, its initial *P* missing, but its addition seems certain from the second word immediately following. *pasdárín* would be the pl. of the substantive, *pasdárík(á)n* the pl. of an adjective derived from it by the termination *-ik*. Possibly we must read *pasdárík* instead of *pasdárin*. The word might be a compound whose first element would be OP. **páθra-*, Pársík *pás-*, and the second *-dár*, as in *šatrdár*, *pádár*. In this case we ought to transcribe *p(á)sdárín*, or *p(á)sdárík*, and *p(á)sdárik(á)n*. Or is it a proper name?

855 E 6,4 פרסתאי 𐭯𐭫𐭮𐭮𐭲𐭭

parastáy, same as *húparastáy*, see this. 'revering, devote', in the political sense 'retainer, follower'. The passage is fragmentary. The verb following is 𐭭𐭥𐭱𐭣 BAR*(én)d* 'they carry, take away'. It seems as if the noun, here, ought to be a substantive. Cf. Pers. I. 4 אבדן כשנית.

856 A 9,5 [פ]רסתיק [𐭯]𐭫𐭮𐭮𐭲𐭪

[*pa*]*rastík*, only the first letter 𐭯 is supplemented but with some probability, the second character is partly destroyed. *parastík* would be an adject., formed by the termination *-ik* from *parastáy*.

857 E 4,6 פלאד .. ... 𐭯𐭫𐭠𐭣 ..

frapá..., fragment, apparently a compound, beginning with the prep. *fra-*. Pahlavík equivalent missing, context obscure.

858 D 6,5 פלשיא 𐭯𐭫𐭱𐭩𐭠

Ideogram, Aram. פרש, *stat. emphat. pl.* פרשיא 'horsemen'. *Frhg.* XIV. 1 שוט-ט · שטרן-ט · שטרן, hence read ASβÁR. OP. *asabára-*, haplol. for *aspabára-*, Arab. Pers. اسوار, whence the Arab. plur. اساورة, NP. سوار.

The reading *asvárakán* by NÖLDEKE, *Kárn.* p. 39, and by GEIGER, *Zarérn.* p. 47 is erroneous, the text must be emended in both the cases to שט-שטרן *váspuhrakán*.

al-Khwárizmí writes, p. ١١٥:

الاساورة جمع الأسوار وهو الفارس لانّ العجم لا تضع اسم اسوار الّا على الرجل الشجاع البطل المشهور ﴿

The Pahlavík equivalent is missing. Hence it is possible, that Pahlavík did not make use of an ideogram at all, and that the fragmentary .....צתכל in C′ 4,3 represents the Pahlavík phonetical writing of the Pársík ideogram.

859 G′ 5,4 פרשברת 𐭯𐭫𐭱𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭲

860 H 5,2 פלשברתו 𐭯𐭫𐭱𐭥𐭫𐭭𐭲𐭥

fraškirt, *fraškirte*, in TÁK *fraškirte žamán*, Av. *frašó . kərəiti* 'the renewal (of the world on the last judgment)', Soghd. *frašégerd*, Armen. *hrašakert*, Phl B. שש עלם-ועם, cf. BTHL., *Z. Air. Wb.* p. 197 *s.* 'until the day of judgment, for ever'.

Frátadára coins פרתדרא 𐭯𐭫𐭬𐭣𐭫𐭠 861

fr(á)tad(á)ra, compound of OP. **fráta-*, Armen. *hrat* 'fire' and *-dára* 'the one who holds, holder', cp. *šatrdár*, *framâdár*, *pásdár*, *pádár* &c, especially the term *sardárih i átaš*, BTHL., *Mitteliran. Mundrt.* IV. p. 364 no. 3. Title of the princes who ruled over Párs during the Seleucid and early Arsacid period.

A′ 6,6; C′ 4,3; F′ 2,6	פרתו	862
A′ 11,2; F′ 6,4; G′ 3,3	פרתואן	863
A 9,4; B 6,2	פלכוי	864
A 2,3	פלכואן	865

partav, *partaván*, *parsavbe*, *parsavbán*. N. pr. ethn. of the Parthians. In Pársík we observe the same orthography, common in Phl B. with the *glossa perpetua* ב beside 2, to express a bilabial β. OP. *Parθava-*, Elam. *p'art'ova-*, older Gr. Παρθυαῖοι, later Πάρθοι. Armen. *Part'ev* and besides it *Pahlav*, adj. *part'evakan* and beside this *pahlavik*. Therefore, when the Armenians borrowed the form *Pahlav*, in Arsacidan time, the actual pronunciation must have been already *pahlav*, and Pahlavík *partav* is an archaic writing. In Pársík *rθ* has become *rs*, hence *parsaβ*. Cf. OLSHAUSEN, *Parthava u. Pahlav*, *Máda Máh*, Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. 1877; MARQUART, *Beiträge z. Gesch. u. Sage v. Eran* Z.D.M.G. XLIX. pp. 630—632.

The word occurs, with one exception, always in the term *párs* u *partav*, or instead of the sing. coll. in the pl. *pársán* u *parsaβán*, combining the two constituent parts of the Sasanian Empire, exactly as the term *pársa utá máda* in the OP. inscriptions unites the two constituents of the Achaemenian Empire. The inscriptions are written in both the languages, *Pahlavík*, the official language of the Arsacids, and *Pársík*, the language of the Sasanians, exactly as the Achaemenian inscriptions are written in Elamite and Oldpersian, the language of the then existing and that of the preceding reign. The Oldpersian inscriptions add the Babylonian as a third language, of a still older Empire, as the first

𐭱𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭥, PhlB. 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀𐫄𐫂, NP. پرستار. 'worshipper, devotee, slave, servant', in the political sense 'retainer, follower'.

838 C′ 13,4 פריאת לעגעת

fríyát, Soghd. *fri-* 'loves', MP.T. *hú-friyádǝm*, PhlB. 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀 'help, assistance, aid', cf. 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀 וּ 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀 'to help, come to assistance', NP. فریاد. Cf. the title of the book: *Jóšt i friyán*.

839 A′ 11,6(?) פרישתך לעגעתכ

840 B 3,3; B 12,2; H 8,5 פליסתכי לפּגעגי

fréštak(?), *fréstake*, OP. *fraišta-*, *fraišayam* 'I sent', Soghd. *fréštag*, *freštét* (pl.), Armen. *hreštak*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 184 no. 358, hence Pahlavík **fréštak*, PhlB. 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀, Talm. Aram. פרסתקא NP. فرشته 'messenger, envoy, ambassador, apostle, angel'.

841 A′ 8,1; C′ 10,3 פלך לעלע

842 A 9,1; A 11,1; C 2,4 פלכי לפּגי

farrak, *farrake*, synonymon of *χvarréh*, see לעלעש and לפּגפּ. In A′ 8,1; A 9,1 and A 11,1 the word stands in an eulogy unfortunately not surviving completely. The verb is *kirte* 'made' but there is an uncertain word inserted between them, resembling the ideogram מלכא, but apparently possessing one letter more. The eulogy is used only after the name of predecessors of the ruling king. After the name of the ruling king himself we find xvarréh *afžút*, and in one case, in the inscr. of N. i Rajab *buχt ravbán* is said after the name of the deceased king, whereas the ruling king is not mentioned at all. It seems that those eulogies were used systematically, as later on in Muhammedan time.

843 G′ 1,1 [חויות] פרכסיות [נאבונת] לעלעתונכת

frKASIUt ast. The word looks like a verbal ideogram; the termination *-t* and the auxiliary verb following, clearly indicate the past participle passive. The Aram. ideogram terminates in *-iw*, hence, must be a verb לֵיא. Then, כסא would be the three radicals, and פר the Iranian verbal prefix or prep. *par-*, *fra-*. There is the Talm. Aram. verb כסא, כסי 'to hide', Pe"al 'to cover', cf. Arab. كسوة and the meaning of the compound could perhaps be 'to discover, reveal'. But I do not venture to assert such an interpretation, nor to propose any reading.

N. i Rst. Krt. 4 פלמאן לפּגעגי 844

Paik. E 4,2 פלמנכי לפּגעגי 845

framán, *fram(á)nake*, the second form being a derivative of the first by the suff. *-ak*. OP. *framáná-*, Armen. *hraman*, hence Pahlavík *framán*, MP.T. *framán*, NP. فرمان 'order, command'.

Hjb. 11; Pers. I. 9 פרמאת לפּגעפּ 846

Pers. II. 4 *bis* פלמאתי לפּגעגי 847

Paik. A' 6,4; E′ 12,6; F′ 3,4; F′ 7,1; פרמיתן לעלעגתב 848

A 2,5; F 15,4 פומאתני לפּגעגי 849

F 12,5; פלמאתני לפּגעגי 850

G′ 6,4 פרמוֹת לעלעגת 851

H 6,2 פלמאדתי לפּגעגי 852

Prep. *fra-* plus √*má-*, cf. OP. *framátár* 'commander, master'. Soghd. *framáy* 'command!' and 'he spoke'. PhlB. 𐫀𐫄𐫂𐫀 'to command', NP. فرمودن. *framát* and the unusual *framáte* is the past part. pass., *framétan* and *framátane* the infinitive. The two equivalent forms in G′ 6,4 and H 6,2 are difficult to understand. Like the infinitives, they occur in the phrase נאבתל נאגתוֹכת ס לעלעגת or בפּגי לפּגעגי ב ע[.]לגי. Unfortunately all the terminations, except that of *framá*dte are doubtful. So every thing depends of the true interpretation of this termination. We might expect an optative, but I am unable to explain the termination ס as well as the ג, which we may perhaps compare with the curious ג occurring in some abstract endings like *χvatádihe*, *ahrádihe*, *artádihe* etc., or with the spelling *yazdte* where we considered the *d* as a graphic *glossa perpetua* indicating the actual pronunciation of the following *t*, see נעגתב.

see לעגלת פרסבר [ל]פּג 853

see לעלעפּ פלסובאן, פלסובי לפּגעגי, לפּגי 854

880 Hjb. 10 פתיאך 𐭯𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭪

patyák, Av. *patyáka-*, PhlB. 𐭯𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭪, NP. پیدا 'evident, clear, manifest'. Pahlavík uses the synonymous 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭭, see this.

881 see 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭭 פתיכום 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭭𐭪𐭬

882 F′ 7,4; F′ 11,3; G′ 11,2 פתיסחו 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭮𐭭𐭠

patisaχv, OP. *patisaχvan* and *patisaχv*, Av. root √*θah-*, Soghd. *páčaγni*, MP.T. *pāsoχ*, the Pársík equivalent is missing, but from the MP.T. form and PhlB. 𐭯𐭲𐭮 we must expect 𐭯𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭩, NP. پاسخ 'answer'.

883 N. i Rst. Art. 1′; Ohorm. 1′; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1′ פתכר 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭭

884 N. i Rst. Art. 1; Ohorm. 1; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1; Sháp. Nrs. 1; T. i B. A 1; B 1 פתכלי 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭩

patkar, patkari, OP. *patikara-*, Armen. loan-word *patker*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 224 no. 516, Syr. loan-word פתכרא, Arab. فتكر, NP. پیکر 'image'. Marquart suggested that in this case the termination ـر be the یای تعریف. But then, we ought to expect it in Pahlavík too.

I feel inclined to believe that this word is the prototype of the name of *Paikuli*. This word is spoken with a short *a* in the diphthong *ai*, and a short *u* in the second syllable. The *k* sounds, as in a number of Kurdish words like Arab. *q*, but must descend from an Iran. *k*. Hence, the only difference is the final *l*, instead of *r*, which I judge not to be an insurmountable obstacle to the proposed etymology. The popular etymology is *pay-* 'the heel', and *-kuli* 'scratching', from a plant which scratches the heel. This is obviously n o t the true etymology. Around the ruin lie the 4 busts of Narseh, which have given the name *Butkhána*, or idol's temple to the monument. I think, the same busts, the 'images', may have given the name to the whole place.

885 N. i Rjb. Krt. 14 פתפולסאת 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭥𐭤𐭮𐭠𐭬

886 Pers. II. 4 פתפורסית 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭯𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭬

patpursát, *patpursét*, the first form is the optative, the second the indicative present from *patpursitan*, 'to read out, read'. OP. *patiparsáhiy Beh.* IV l. 42 § 56, Soghd. *paḥipurs-*.

𐭦

The Pahlavík character has the signification of Aram. 𐡑 and is employed exclusively in Aram. ideograms. The Iranian *č*, and probably also *ž*, *j*, is expressed by 𐭦. Párník 𐭩 stands for Aram. 𐡑 as well as for Iranian *č*, *j* and *ž*. I have thought it practical to insert Pahlavík 𐭦 if identical with Párník 𐭩 under this character.

𐭩-, 𐭮- 𐭦-, 𐭮- 887

enclitic particle, OP. *-čá*, *copula* 'and, too', Soghd. *-j*, *-ij*; PhlB. 𐭧, hence *-č*, after vowels and *n*, *-ič* after consonants. Cf. Bthl., *Z.Air.Wb.* p. 62*ss* § 57. In Pahlavík apparently the use is more restrict than in Párník. We find 𐭠𐭣𐭧𐭭𐭦 pas-*ič*, and 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭦, 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭩, 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭪, 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭮, 𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭪, 𐭩𐭥𐭪𐭯, and 𐭩𐭫𐭤𐭤𐭥𐭫, 𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭫𐭪.

A′ 6,2 צבו 𐭰𐭤𐭥 888

A 11,2; Gem Berlin 1385 צבו 𐭥𐭫

Ideogram Aram. צבו 'thing, matter', with negative particle 𐭤𐭪, *né*, 'nothing'. In Paikuli we find the ideogram with the negation, and it is beyond doubt that the meaning is, like in Aramaic, 'nothing'. The *Frhg.* XVI 2 has: 𐭮𐭦𐭫𐭩 · 𐭮𐭫𐭩𐭯𐭩, between *dának* 'coin, measure' and čiš 'something'. The interpretation hêr means Arab. مال 'possession, treasure'. The word čiš, immediately following, suggests the only possible reading 'ĕč', Soghd. *ĕč*, NP. هیچ 'something', with negation 'nothing'. In the legend of the Berlin gem the words 𐭥𐭫𐭯 𐭰𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭪 *bačake* hêr mean 'ill-gotten wealth'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 5; 8 צחלכי 𐭰𐭦𐭪𐭤𐭪𐭯 889

The reading *ČXRKE* or *ČXLKE* is beyond doubt, but the interpretation of this word is difficult. Since the word *čihr* regularly appears in the historical orthography *čitre*, I think we must leave aside this word. There is Av. *čaχra-* 'wheel', Armen. *čaχarak* 'roll', *čaχr* 'to revolve', NP. چرخ 'wheel, circle, heaven', and چرخه or چهرهٔ 'spinning-wheel'. On the other hand the numbers چهار 'four' and چل 'fourty'. Unfortuna-

Sasanian inscriptions add the Greek, as the language of the Seleucid reign, preceding that of the Arsacids.

866 A′ 1,5; E′ 14,3; F′ 6,5; F′ 7,3; G′ 11,3. פרתר לתמל

fratar, Av. *fratara-*, Soghd. *fratar* 'more, anterior, more in front, more excellent'. Av. *fratara-* in PhlB. is translated by *frāčtar* שאשלש; in the inscriptions unfortunately all the Pársík equivalents are missing. But we ought to expect *parsume* or *fratume* 'the foremost, first, most, excellent' OP. *fratama*, cp. *tyaišaiy fratamā martiyā anušiyā āhantā*, Beh. I. § 13.

867 F 12,4 פ.ש.. פ.ב..

868 G 14,5 פ..תי פ..ת

P.Š.., *P..Te*, both very doubtful readings.

869 D′ 15,2 פתאפיונת לתתפלונת

870 D 15,5 פתאמ[נדי] פתתמ[נדי]

patápévant, *patám(ande)*. Adjective, with the Pahlavík with the termination *-avant*, Pársík though incomplete, apparently with the termination *-mande*. Therefore, Pahlavík *patápi-* corresponds to Pársík *patá-*, in both cases *pat-* being the preposition. The root would be a very short one. Perhaps we may compare the word with OP. *pasáva*^{h} *adam a*^{h}*ura*^{h}*mazdám patiyávahyaiy* Beh. I. § 13. 'to invoke, implore', compound of *patiy* + *á* + √*van-* Bthl. *Air. Wb.* 1353. Cf. *hunarávant*, *ast(á)vande*.

871 C′ 14,4; E′ 15,3; F′ 3,5; F′ 6,4; G′ 3,2; פתגם לתתגל

872 F 12,1; G 6,4 פתגאם פתתגאם

patg(á)m, *patgám*, Soghd. *patγám* and *patγámbar*, Armen. *patgam*, Aram. loan-word פתגם, Talm. פתגמא, PhlB. שאשלש and שאשלש, NP. پیغام, پغم and پام 'message, mission'.

873 N. i Rjb. Krt. 3 פתחית פתתחית

874 C 3,2 פתחתי פתתחתי

875 D′ 8,2 פתיחתי לתתנאתי

Although all the three instances present orthographical peculiarities which make that interpretation difficult, the meaning suits so perfectly well, that I little doubt that all the three forms belong to the verb *patváxtan*, Av. *paiti.vač-*, NP. پیوند, cf. Salemann, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* I. III. p. 298 § 87, √*vač-*: *paδváž*, Infin. 'to answer, promise, announce', Bthl., *Mittelir. Mundart.* IV. p. 25 and n. 1. The two instances in the Paikuli inscription must represent the past participle, *patváxt*, although the character *V* is missing in both the cases, and we would expect פתתעפ and לתתנאת. In N. i Rajab we have the past participle too, hence we must read *patv(á)xít*, from *patv(á)xítan* as in PhlB. שאוט-שאוש, e. g. *Vidévd. Gloss.* p. 187, (II. 9, 17).

see פתתעבפלח פתחשלי 876

Hjb. 6′; 11′; Paik. A′ 1,4; A′ 6,2; B′ 1,1. 5; B′ 4,2. 4; B′ 7,3; C′ 6,6; C′ 13,2; D′ 8,2; D′ 10,6; E′ 7,6; E′ 14,2; E′ 15,2; F′ 2,3; F′ 3,6; F′ 6,3; F′ 8,3. 5; F′ 11,1. 4. 6; G′ 5,3; G′ 6,1; G′ 9,4; פתי לתתנ 877

Hjb. 6; 12; N. i Rst. Krt. 3; 6; 10; N. i Rjb. Krt. 1; 3 *bis*; 7?; 11; 14; 16; Paik. B 4,4; B 6,3; B 8,6; B 9,5; B 10,2; C 3,3; D 6,6; E 9,6; E 11,3; E 12,6; F 11,4; G 2,2; H 6,2. 5; H 8,2; H 11,2; Pers. I. 2; 4; 5; Pers. II. 10 *bis*. פען פ2פ 878

Pahlavík uses the phonetic writing *pati*, Pársík the ideogram Aram. פען. This is apparently connected with Hebr. פן, pl. פנים, prep. לפני, Phoen. פן, younger פען, which exactly resembles Pársík פ2פ; also Thamud. *fá*, *fúhá*, cf. Guidi, *L'Arabie antéislam.* p. 9. — Pahlavík uses the same Aram. noun with the suff. of the 3rd p. sg. לוהי for avarón. Av. *paiti*, OP. *patiy*, MP. *pa*, before vowels *pat*, NP. ب, ﺑ and before vowels ﺒ. This prep. has all the significations of the NP. ﺑ and forms the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and locative cases. 'to, in, with, by, for, from, according to, up, upon, on, above, in, into'.

G′ 3,5 ....פתי ....לתתנ 879

....*pati*, end of the title of *Zámásp i Kúshdán* ....*pati*, see צתפלצתכל and צתתתתנצ.

899 Áwr. 4; Hjb. 5′; Paik. E′7,1 קדמהה 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭬𐭥

Ideogram, Aram. קדמהה, with suff. of the 3rd p. sg. 'before him' (time). In Hjb. it corresponds to לפניו, see this, 'before his eyes' (place). In MP. the meaning is always 'before', locally. The Pársík ideogram is explained in the *Frhg.* by PEŠ, which we may accept as the reading of the Pahlavík ideogram too.

900 A′ 1,3 קומהה 𐭪𐭥𐭬𐭬𐭥

QVMTH, Ideogram. The ה is perfectly clear, the word is not the foregoing ideogram. Unfortunately the Pársík equivalent is missing, and the context gives no hint as to the meaning of the word. It seems that it must be derived from Aram. קום, inf. Pa'il קומה, c. suff. 3rd. prs. sg. קומהה, cf. לקומהון.

901 E′ 7,3 קימת 𐭪𐭩𐭬𐭬𐭮

Ideogram. It looks like Aram. קים plus the Iranian termination *-t*. קים, from קום, means 'to confirm'. In the Aram. inscriptions from Assur we meet כתבת וקימה 'I wrote and confirmed' and מלכא קים is 'Royal edict, decree'.

ל ר 2

902 D′ 7,2 ר... ל...

...*R*, fragment, probably last letter of the preposition *apar*. Pársík equivalent missing.

903 N. i Rjb. 5; 6; 22 לאדי לגנד

ráde, OP. *rádiy* 'on account of, for . . .'s sake'. PhlB. 𐭥𐭣, NP. را, postpos. Cf. לגנד לשניך.

904 F′ 6,1 ראם לגמ

F 11,5 לאמי לגמה

rám, *ráme*, Av. *ráman* 'repose, peace', PhlB. 𐭥𐭬, NP. رام i. e. خوش وشاد وخرّم 'glad, serene, cheerful'. The word seems to be originally an adjective, but here as in the some of the official names of Royal residences, like Rám-Hormizd, Rám-Ardashír, it may be a substantive. The meaning is 'delightful, cheerful, peaceful, happy'.

905 F′ 2,3; F′ 8,3 ראמתר לגמתל

906 N. i Rjb. Krt. 11 לאמיתלי לגמיתלה

rámistar, *rámetare*, comparative of the foregoing word. 'more serene, cheerful etc.'. In N. i Rjb. Krt. 11 possibly *rátetare*, comparative degree of *ráte*, see לגמה. For the retaining of the termination *-e* in the comparatives cf. לגמיתלה, לגמיתלה, in contradiction to לגמתל.

907 Pers. I. 4 לאמי לגמה

908 B 12,6; E 11,6 לאמי.. לגמה..

ráse, . . .*ráse*. The two instances from the Paikuli inscription belong probably to *afráse* or *avaráse*, see this. Av. *ráθ-*, Soghd. *rāt-*, Armen. loan-word *ṙah*, HÜBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 233 no. 556, *Pers. Stud.* no. 607. *Frhg.* II. 3 𐭫𐭠, explained, as a historical writing, by *ráh*. NP. راه 'way, passage'.

909 N. i Rjb. Krt. 1 לאמתחי לגמתה

rástihe, abstr. noun, from *rást*, see *rášt* לגמת, 'righteousness, justice, truth'. The word is common on seals. Soghd. *rēštyáq* 'truth'. The Pahlavík abstr. noun does not occur, but, as the adject. is *rášt*, we may expect *ráštipi*.

910 Pers. II. 2 לאמתשפוחרי [ל]גמתשפוהר

(r)ásts(á)hpuhre, n. pr. of the father of *Slóke*, or perhaps an honorific name of this man himself. The first letter is missing, on account of a splintering of the edge of the pillar, but the addition of ל is pretty certain. Rást-Sháhpuhr is a name, resembling Véd-Sháhpuhr and many others. It must have been bestowed upon its owner by Sháhpuhr II., since the inscription is dated in the year 48 of this king.

911 H 11,2 לאפיכלחי לגפכלת

ráfik(á)rihe, the reading of the initial ל is doubtful. Abstr. noun in *-ihe*, compound whose second element is *-k(á)r-*, cf. *kirpak(k)árihe*. Cf. לגכלכל and לגפכר. If the reading ל proves true, there is the possibility of regarding the first two letters as the ideogram for the negative particle NÉ.

912 F′ 2,2; F′ 3,6 ראשת לגשת

913 N. i Rjb. Krt. 15; Paik. G 6,5 לאסתי לגסת

rášt, *rášte*, OP. *rásta-*, Soghd. *rēštá* 'indeed!', Pahlavík, as in some other cases, resembles the Soghd. in changing *s* into *š* before a subsequent *-t*. PhlB. 𐭫𐭠𐭱, NP. راست, 'true, just'. The word is frequent

tely the verb, in both the cases following *čahrake*, is absolutely obscure: 𐭪𐭫𐭭𐭥𐭩𐭪.

890 N. i Rjb. Krt. 22 ציגון 𐭰𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭰

čégón, Phl. B. 𐭪𐭲𐭲, NP. چگونه, چگونه, and چون 'as, such as, like, just, just as, since, because', also interrog. 'how?, like what?'. Cf. 𐭰𐭲𐭲𐭩𐭰 𐭪𐭲 and 𐭱𐭥𐭪𐭥𐭱.

891 Hjb. 10; 12 צ׳תי 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭰

číte, verb, past part. pass., corresponding to Pahlavík 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭲, see this. The verb refers to the construction or erection of the *čítáke* or 'aim, target'. There is the root √*ci-*: *čítan*, *čin-* meaning 'to collect, gather', quite suitable, if we imagine the aim to have been a heap of stones, for which 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭲 'to build, to erect' would be another suitable expression.

892 Hjb. 7′; 9′; 10′; 13′ *bis* שיתי 𐭱𐭩𐭲𐭰

893 Hjb. 7; 9; 11; 14; 15 צ׳תאבי 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭰𐭱𐭰

číti, *čítáke*, subst. noun. Since Pahlavík 𐭪 corresponds to Pársík 𐭰 the word begins with the Iranian character *č* and cannot be an ideogram. The meaning is clearly 'aim, target', and the ideogram 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭲 in the Pahlavík version, shows that it was 'built' or 'erected'. The Pársík verb *číte* has the meaning 'collected, gathered', and both these verbs are suitable if we assume that the target was something like a heap of stones. Then, *čítáke* may be considered as a derivative from the verb *čítan*, meaning 'heap'. But, *čítan* goes back to the Av. root √*kan-* 'to long for, endeavour, strive, aspire, aim', and *čítáke* may possibly signify 'aim' by itself, without being a derivative from the MP. verb *čítan*. Then, the phrase *čítáke číte* may be a play upon words, the verb being chosen by reason of its resemblance to the noun.

894 N. i Rst. Art. 2′; N. i. Rjb. Sháhp. 2′; 3′-4′; Hjb. 2′-3′; 4′; שיחר 𐭱𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭫

895 N. i Rst. Art. 2-3; N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 2-3; 4; Hjb. 2; 4; Paik. A 2,1; Sháp. Nrs. 5; 8-9; Pers. I. 2; 4; צ׳תרי 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭫𐭰

896 T. i B. A 4-5; 7-8; B 7; 11; Devonsh. Ameth. צ׳תלי 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭤

čihr, *čitre*, OP. *čiθra*; Elam. *čišša*; PhlB. 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭫, NP. چهر 'origin, offspring'. As to the orthography; Pahlavík writes the i with a *mater lectionis*; Pársík has, in opposition to Pahlavík, the more archaic orthography. The word is inserted into the *Frhg.* as an historical spelling, but the explanation gives only the meaning 'face, visage', NP. چهره. In the inscriptions the word regularly is met with in the phrase: KÉ *čitre* AŽ *yazdán*. This short phrase, translated in the Greek versions by ἐκ γένους Θεῶν, presents a grammatical difficulty. We cannot translate 'whose origin is from the gods', for, in this case, we must have KÉ *čitr-iš* AŽ *yazdán* or KÉ-*š čitre* &c. Hence, we must take *čitre* in the concrete signification 'scion', and translate 'who is a scion of the gods'. Cf. MARQUART, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIX p. 670 no. 5 and HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 50 n. 2 and p. 506.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 9 צ׳ש . והל . אן . נצ . 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭤 . 𐭱𐭱𐭰 897

At least two words, but, since several characters are illegible on the photograph, I do not venture to propose a reading. Possibly 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭤 and 𐭰𐭪𐭲.

𐭪 𐭩 𐭲

The letter is employed exclusively in Aram. ideograms. Pahlavík has a special character, in Pársík it is identically as to the shape, with 𐭬-𐭬.

N. i Rst. Krt. 12; N. i Rjb. Krt. 6; 12; 15; 19; 21; 25; Paik. A 9,3; D 6,2; E 2,5; H 14,5; Pers. I. 1; II. 1; קדם 𐭪𐭲𐭤𐭬 898

Ideogram, Aram. prep. קדם, Arab. قدام. The Aram. prep. is found in old Aram. inscriptions, in the sense 'before, in front', *Frhg.* XXV. 1 𐭪̂𐭲, read APAR. Pahlavík writes phonetically 𐭱𐭥𐭤𐭥𐭤, see this. NP. بر 'on, over'.

In N. i Rjb. Krt. 15 we have 𐭱𐭪𐭲𐭤𐭬, clearly written, but the termination 𐭱 is inexplicable. Perhaps it is a clerical error for 𐭰𐭪𐭲𐭤𐭬, but cf. Phl B. 𐭱𐭱𐭪𐭲𐭱𐭩𐭲𐭰𐭲 𐭪̂𐭲. *Frhg.* XVIII. 1, read SAH*istan*.

925 F 5,4 לחי... לחת...

...LYHE, fragment, ending of an abstr. noun in *-ihe*, possibly *kirpak(ká)rihe*.

926 D′ 10,5 רישא לרשא

927 A 5,3; D 3,5; E 9,2. 6 לעישה לרשרש

Ideogram, Aram. *stat. emphat.* רישא, in Aram. Inscr. ראש and defect. רשא, serving as the Pahlavík ideogram. Pársík has the word with the suff. of the pron. 3rd p. sg. and replaces a superfluous א, probably Arab. ʿ, by ע, hence ר(ע)ישה or רעישה. *Frhg.* X. 2 לגטשן, explained by SAR 'head'. The noun is used as a prepositism as in NP. سر.

928 D 6,3 רמ... לב...

RM..., fragment, probably the copula ב and the preposition לב.

929 Hjb. 7′ רמות לתונת

930 Hjb. 14′ מיוד.. לתונכ..

931 Hjb. 8 *bis*; 15; N. i. Rjb. Krt. 19 למיתן לתיתנצ

932 Paik. E 12+11,2 למיתנת לתיתנצ

Ideogram, Aram. רמא, Arab. رمى 'to throw', Pahlavík רמי is the sg. perf. Pə'il with the Iran. termination *-t* of the past part. pass., for Hjb. 14 I suggest (רא)מיו, the 3rd p. pl. perf. with the termination of the 3rd p. pl., present. — Pársík has, as is the rule with verba לא, the 2nd p. pl. perf. Pə'al רמיתון. *Frhg.* XX. 11 gives שעיון · שיויון ף, hence read AFGAN*dan*, AFGAN-, and for Pahlavík AFKAN*t*, 'to throw'. Cf. לתנת and לתלת. In Hjb. 7—8 the meaning of the phrase is: 'we overshoot the mark'.

933 D 2,2 לסיך לתיצ

rasik, in C′ 3,5 corresponds the obscure Pahlavík word לתצוצת. Cf. PhlB. לשדנ *rasik* and NP. رهی 'servant, slave', syn. غلام, cf. HBSCHM., *Pers. Stud.* no. 637.

934 see לרשא לעישה לרשרש

935 H 11,4 לשומצאן .. לרשרשיצנצ ..

..ršúmičán, n. pr. ethn. of a Śaka tribe. The name seems to be incomplete at the beginning and the Pahlavík equivalent, unfortunately, is missing, hence, it is difficult to suggest the missing letters. I would expect something like *Apr(é)šumičán*, cf. *apréšum* 'silk'.

E 2,5; E 9,5 לשתי לרשרשי 936

rište, adjective, in the phrase APAR XAR Í *rište* 'on a ..... donkey'. The word must express something contemptuous. Hence, it is Av. *irišta*, BTHL., *Air. Wb.* 1530 'damaged, wounded', Pahl. transl. *rišt*, explained by *ké réš hambun, réš* meaning 'wound, sore', hence 'which is sore from the beginning'.

ר ש ר

In the signification צ of this letter in Pahlavík, look for ץ.

C 4,3; E 2,5; E 9,6; F 13,3; H 11,5 ש- רר- 937

-š, -iš, encl. pron. 3rd p. sg. For the vocalisation cf. ץ- and BTHL., *Z. Air. Wb.* p. 65 § 58.

see ץ- ש- צ- 938

Pers. I. 10 *ult.* .ש. .רר. 939

.š., doubtful reading of a short word. Not more than one letter before and one behind the רר is missing.

Sháh. gem STEUART שאהכי רררנתנח 940

šáhake, n. pr. of the magus of Vurkán and Chief Gentleman Usher. The name is a contraction of a compound name whose first element is *šáh* 'king'. The name was especially frequent in Armenia. Cf, JUSTI, *Namenb.* 272 and HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 58 no. 127.

F′ 2,2 שאוות שרנרת 941

Ideogram of a verb, constructed with the auxiliary verb לתכרן. The termination *-t* is that of the past part. perf. The Aram. verb ends in *-iw*, hence a verb לא. Cf. Talm. שהא and שוא, and some Arab. roots containing almost the same radicals, e. g. شيء

E 4,2 שאהכ. .רררנתנץ 942

šátak., this word stands in parallelism with *framánake*, hence the last letter, though standing at the edge of the block and difficult to see, probably is *k*. I think

on later Sasanian coins. In N. i Rjb. we have the phrase, common in PhlB., *ráte u ráste.*

914 F′ 6,3; F′ 8,1 𐭫𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭲𐭫 *ráštistar*, comparative of the foregoing 'more just'.

915 N. i Rjb. Krt. 14 𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭩 *ráte*, PhlB. 𐭫𐭠𐭲, *Phl. Texts Gl. & Ind.* p. 130, Armen. *arat*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 107, no. 59 'liberal, bountiful, generous'.

916 C′ 1,3; F′ 8,4. 5 𐭫𐭱𐭠 *rba*

917 Hjb. 6′; Paik. A′ 10,2; C′ 9,5; E′ 12,3 𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭭 *rbán*
B 3,2; E 15,2; G 12,3. 4; H 5,1 𐭫𐭱𐭠 *rbá*
B 2,3 𐭫𐭱𐭠𐭩 *rbái*

Ideogram, Aram. רבא 'great', already in Aram. Inscr. רב end רבא. *Frhg.* XII. 3 explains it by vazurk, NP. بزرگ, see 𐭩𐭦𐭦𐭲. The same reading is proved by the phonetic writing in Hjb. 6 and N. i Rst. Krt. 35. Cf. Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 246 no. 617, and *Pers. Stud.* pp. 148, 157 and 163. *vazurkán* was the designation of a class of the Iranian nobility, following in rank the *vispuhrán* and preceding the *ázátán*. Some early Arab writers render the notion by عظماء, e. g. Baládh. p. ٣٧٣.

918 see 𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭭 𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫 *ḫ'ḫ'l*

919 Petersbrg. Pahl. gem 𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭭𐭲𐭫 *ḫ'rzyhmt*

Although the letters are perfectly legible, their shape differs to such a degree from the Pahlavík of the inscriptions that the reading remains doubtful. The fourth letter looks like a Párs. 𐭦, and is, if we compare it to the 𐭩 in the following word 𐭲𐭫𐭩𐭲, certainly not a Pahlavík 𐭩. I think we may take it for the 𐭥, as we find it on certain Arsacidan coins. There is another difficulty, to discriminate between 𐭭 and 𐭲. The fifth and seventh letter are nearly identical, and there is no doubt that the seventh is 𐭲. But the fifth is a little more curved and could represent the 𐭭. The sixth letter resembles or is nearly identical with 𐭣, but possibly it is an archaic shape of 𐭥. In any case, we may regard it as certain, that the word contains the proper name of the owner of the seal, a high Sasanian official. The initial 𐭤 reminds the legends on Aramaic seals beginning with ל, the name being given in the dative. But this I think is too archaic a fashion to be possible on a Sasanian seal. Hence, I regard the 𐭤 as *R* and transcribe, with a certain reserve, *ravá-kivíst* or *ravák(á)nvíst*, and compare this name to Shíshraván, Haftraván, Nohraván, thinking that the second element might be the numeral 'twenty', and the first *ravák* might be related to *raván* 'soul'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 11; 14; 21; Gem לובאן 𐭤𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭 920
B. M. no. 565; and 558.

ravḇán, Soghd. *raván*, PhlB. 𐭲𐭫𐭠𐭭, NP. روان 'soul, spirit'. The word is always written with the *glossa perpetua* 𐭭𐭢 for β. The legends on the seals are: *ravḇán* vén man *farr-ohormizde* i *húẋém* and *ravḇán* vénâ 'behold the soul (mercifully)!'.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 2; 4; 7; 10; Paik. לוני 𐭤𐭲𐭫𐭩 921
B 4,5; B 8,4; D 2,1.

róne, postposition 'side', always used with the preposition 𐭤𐭢, ó .... *róne*, Germ. 'nach ... hin', 'unto, to'. Only in N. i Rjb. 10 there is no preposition 𐭤𐭢, and the postposition seems to be employed alone. Pahlavík, though this cannot be said with certainty, seems not to use the postposition. But cf. ..גלכ.. PhlB. 𐭤𐭲𐭫.

A′ 1,6; C′ 9,2 רחש 𐭫𐭥𐭱 922
C 2,5 לחשי 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭩 923

raẋš, *raẋše*, n. pr. of the chief of the Spáhpat clan. Av. *ereẋša*, cf. Darmesteter, *Étud. Iran.* II. p. 220, and Marquart, *Z. D. M. G.* XLIX pp. 633 *ss.* Ereẋša became NP. Arš ارش. On the other hand, the ancestor of the Arsacids, the 'great Aršak', represented on the Arsacidan coins as reposing, the bow in the right hand, on the Omphalos, like Apollo on the Seleucidan coins, has apparently been identified with Ereẋša, on account of the coincidence of the two names, originally different. Cf. Lenormant, *Mém. sur le classement des médailles qui peuvent appartenir aux 13 premiers Arsacides*, 1841, p. 25.

D′ 8,3 רחתן 𐭤𐭫𐭲𐭭 924

raẋtan, Párs. equivalent missing, context obscure. Cf. NP. رخت 'straight, true'.

inscriptions and the legends of the coins. On the unique coin of the Brit. Museum we have Sháhpuhr son of Pápak, elder Brother of Ardashír I. On some of the coins of the Sasanian viceroys, there is the legend in Kúshán Greek characters, ΡΟΒΟΡ, probably Sháhpuhr I. To *Sháhpuhr I.* certainly refer the following instances: N. i Rjb. Sháhp., Hjb., Sháp. Nrs., Gotha, N. i Rjb. and N. i Rst. Krt.; Paik. A′ 1,1; B 8,1; F 13,5 and probably Paik. E′ 6,6 corresponding to F 5,4, and F 9,3. 4. — To *Sháhpuhr II.* refer: Pers. I. 1; 10; II. 5; 7; 8; 10; T. i B. A 3; B 9. — To *Sháhpuhr III*: T. i b. B 4; to Sháhpuhr II. or III. the legend of the Devonshire amethyst. Paik. A′ 10,5 and C 4+3,4 refer to Sháhpuhr *harkapatiˌ* another member of the Sasanian house, possibly a son of Sháhpuhr son of Pápak. Pers. I. 2 and II. 3; 6; refer to Sháhpuhr Sakánsháh, another Sasanian prince, viceroy of Sakastán during the early period of Sháhpuhr II., probably an elder brother of the king. On the Manére gem, Paris, the name refers to the holy fire *šáhpuhre áduˌre.*

956 Paik. C′ 14,6 [שחו[יפהרכן] שבגרלכלגלב

957 N. i Rjb. Krt. 29 שחפהרכן שבגרלכלגלב

š(á)hpuˌhrak(á)n, adject. from *šáhpuhr*, with the termination *-akán*, 'son of Sháhpuhr'. The fragmentary -שב in C 14,6 may be completed to the same word.

958 Hjb. 9′; Paik. B′ 13,4 שטרא שבגלב

Paik. D 3,3; E 4,3 שתרא שבגרב

Ideogram Aram. שטרא, *stat. emphat.* sg., *Frhg.* II 3 ערשוי read ÁLAK 'half, side', cf. BTHL., *Mittelir. Mundart.* I pp. 3 *ss.*

959 E 9,2 ... שי ... בבב

fragm. The ס may the part of another character. The word must be a verb, for it corresponds to Pahlavík כרשבת, obscure itself, but of which the meaning must be 'to remove, pull down'. Cp. *šipák*, NP. شیوا 'agile'.

960 A 9,2 שידאן בבבשבגב

Ideogram, Aram. שיד, *stat. emphat.* שידא, plus phonetic termination *-n* of the Iran. pl. Arab. شیطان. PhlB. ערעעע, Armen. *dev*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 140 no. 193, Av. *daéva-*, Syr. דיוא, NP. دیو, read DĚ*v*án 'devils, demons'.

see ס2עעם שיחר שבגלב 961

H 5,3 שיכאן בבבשבגב 962

šékán, title of the ruler of the Arabs, hence obviously Arab شیخ, the خ being expressed by ג, and *-án* being an Iranian adj. termination. There is the title شیخان in NP., born for instance by the Kurdish chief of the region of Qaṣr i Shírín. Cf. שלכרבל and תרבל.

see ס2עבעעם שיתי שבתר 963

B′ 6,4 שלחוד שבגרכל 964

D′ 8,4; E′ 15,3; G′ 3,2 שלחום שבגרכם 965

Ideogram, Aram. שלח, 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al שלחו, 'to send'. Pársík employs the synonymous ideogram בבבשב, see this, in the sense of FRĚSTÁ*tan*. The pronunciation in Pahlavík must have been FRĚŠTÁ*tan*, hence read FRĚŠT*(é)m* and FRĚŠT*(én)d*.

B′ 6,2; F′ 11,6; G′ 9,4 שמה שבעב 966

N. i Rjb. Krt. 24; 28; 29; 30; Paik. B 6,4; H 8,2; שם בבם 967

Ideogram Aram. שם, st. indet. or constr., with suff. of the 3rd p. sg. שמה, 'name', or 'his name'. PhlB. 𐭮𐭬 and 𐭮𐭩, read NÁM, OP. *náma*, Soghd. *nám*, e. G. in the frequent term *čan maná náma pídár* 'for my name's sake', MP.T. *nám*, NP. نام, 'name'. On the Sasanian seals we meet frequently the term בבם לפבבב, NÁM VÉH, e. g. HORN, *Z.D.M.G.* XLIV p. 669 and HORN-STEINDORFF p. 30. In N. i Rjb. Krt. 28, 29, and 30 we have the term ס2עבג בבם NÁM *kirte* 'appointed'.

B′ 4,6; D′ 10,2; D′ 15,3; E′ 14,5 שן- שב- 968

A 11,3; C 3+2,2; C 11,2; D 3,4; F 3,3; F 12,3; H 2,4; שן- בבג-

š(á)n, enclit. pron. 3rd p. pl. 'them', appended to עש, עבג, ר, 2גם &c.

G′ 9,5 שלכרבלג 969

H 8,3 ג[לפ]גלכ 970

n. pr. *šandafrik, žandaf(rik).* The occurrence of ש in Pahlavík and ס in Pársík shows that the initial

we must derive *šátake* from *šát*, just as *framánake* from *framán*. But I feel uncertain about the exact signification expressed by this common suffix *-ak*.

943 H 7,2 שאתי 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌

šáte, PhlB. 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬, NP. شاد, adj. 'glad, pleased, happy, cheerful' or subst. 'pleasure, happiness'.

944 Pers. I. 9 שאתיהי 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬀𐬵

šátihe, PhlB. 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬𐭩𐭠, NP. شادی, abstr. noun of the foregoing 'gladness, pleasure, happiness, joy'. Cf. HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 211 no. 473 *šád* and *šádi*, Arm. *šat*.

945 B′ 1,4 שבקוד 𐬱𐬉𐬐𐬀𐬎

946 B 4,6 שבבונד 𐬱𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬎

Ideogram, Aram. שבק 'to leave'. Pahlavík employs for the present base the 3rd p. pl. perf. Pə'al שבקו, Pársik the same with the impf. termination *-ún*. PhlB. 𐭱𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭩, *Frhg.* XXI. 4 explains the ideogram by HIŠ*tan*, HIL-, root √*hrd*-, NP. هشتن. Hence read HIL*(én)d*.

947 Hjb. 5′; 6′ שדית 𐬱𐬄𐬎𐬉𐬙

948 Hjb. 13′ שדיו 𐬱𐬄𐬎𐬉𐬥

949 Hjb. 5; 6; 14 שדיתן 𐬱𐬄𐬎𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬥

Ideogram, Aram. שדא 'to cast, to throw'. Pahlavík uses the sg. perf. Pə'íl שדי plus the termination *-t* for the preterit, the 3rd pl. Pə'íl שדיו for the present base, Pársik the 2nd p. pl. perf. Pə'al שדית[ן] for both. *Frhg.* XIV. 2 has 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬 · 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬𐭩𐭠𐭥, hence read VIŠ*tan*. Cf. Av. *vaēδa-* 'missile', *Frhg. i Oim: véstár i tír* 'archer', Av. *astar-* 'shot, archer', BTHL. *Air. Wb.* 213, 279, 1320.

950 F 12,1 שדרונם 𐬱𐬄𐬎𐬓𐬥𐬌𐬱

Ideogram, Aram. שדר 'to send', 3rd pl. perf. Pə'al, with impf. termination *-ún*, שדרו. Pahlavík employs instead of this ideogram at the corresponding place the synonymous שלחו, see this. *Frhg.* XXIII. 3 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬𐭩𐭠𐭥 · 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭬, hence read FRÉST*átan*. 'to send'. The form in question is FRÉST*(é)m*.

951 C′ 1,6; D′ 15,6; F′ 2,5. שונגן 𐬱𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬉𐬱

šivagón, probably *čivagón*, cp. Soghd. *čivagón*, *či'ón*, apparently the same as Pársik 𐭧𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭩𐭮 *cégón*, see also 𐭧𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭩𐭮 𐭲𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭪 čɛ́ *gónak* 'like, as'. Cf. the other compounds with *-gón*, as 𐭪𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭭, 𐭪𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭲, 𐭪𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭠𐭮.

Áwr. 5 שהדין 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬉𐬥 952

Ideogram, Aram. שהד 'witness', pl. *stat. indet.* שהדין, Talm. סהד, Arab. شاهد. The word does not occur in the *Frahang*s, but it is apparently Av. *vikaya-*, BTHL., *Air. Wb.* 1436, Armen. loan-word *vkay*, HBSCHM., *Arm. Gram.* p. 248 no. 625; PhlB. 𐭢𐭥𐭱-𐭪, NP. گواه or گوا. Hence the probable pronunciation of the ideogram is GÓKÁSÁN. I am inclined, as explained in the chapter on Pahlavi, to take the ideogram for a special form indicating the plural of the Iranian word, and to conjecture the parallel form 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬤 as ideogram for the singular. Cf. also the obscure and somewhat doubtful 𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵 in N. i Rst. Krt. 30.

N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1′; Hjb. 1′; Paik. A′ 1,1; A′ 10,5; E′ 6,6; cf. C′ 14,6 fragm. שהופחר 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬥𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬵 953

N. i Rjb. Sháhp. 1; Hjb. 1; Sháp. Nrs. 6; N. i Rjb. Krt. 27; N. i Rst. Krt. 1; 2; 6; Paik. B 8,1; C 4+3,4; E 11,5; F 3,3; F 5,4; F 9,3.4; F 13,5; Pers. I. 10; I. 1 (last 2 missing); Gotha Sháhp., Devonsh., Manére gem Paris; שהפחרי 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬉 954

Pers. I. 2; II. 3; 5; 6; 7; 8; 10; T. i B. A 3; B 4; 9; שהפחלי 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬤𐬉 955

N. pr. *š(á)hipuhr*, *š(á)hpuhre*, written always with *scriptio defectiva* in the first, and a superfluous *scriptio plena* in the second syllable. The termination ى of the first element of the compound in Pahlavík is remarkable, possibly a residuum of the old genitive termination, cf. לכגלכגל. OP. *χšáyaθiyahyá puθra-*, Armen. older form *šapurh*, presupposing Pahlavík *šáhpuhr*, not *šáhipuhr*, later form *šapuh*, Greek Σαπώρης, Σαβώρης, Syr. (from the 4th cent. on) שבור, i. e. *šáwór*, PhlB. 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬 and 𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭠𐭬, NP. شاپور 'king's son'.

There are several persons of that name in the

𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭭 .... 𐭲𐭥𐭧 𐭫𐭦𐭧𐭭

'God's 𐭲𐭥𐭧 .... the sinners'.

In all the three cases the ideogram in question may be a preposition, meaning something like 'for the sake of'. Or one might guess, that the meaning of the word resembles the Arabic *sabíl* in في سبيل الله.

983 B′ 7,6 ..𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭪

984 D 6,5 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭦𐭧

TGVD... or *TGVR*..., and *TGR*/*VDE*. The words are not equivalents, but look very similar. The reading of the Pahlavík word is very doubtful.

985 D′ 9,7 ..𐭲𐭦𐭪𐭲. ...𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭪.

.*TGRP*..., fragment, the last character 𐭤 doubtful. The word may be incomplete at the beginning too. In that case the letters would recall the verb *pá*]*tigrif*-[*tan*, written ideographically 𐭯𐭫𐭲𐭪𐭤.

986 G 6,1 ...𐭲𐭥, ...𐭲𐭥 ..𐭫𐭥

TV... or *TR*..., fragment, Pahlavík equivalent missing.

987 E 4,1 𐭲𐭥𐭭... 𐭫𐭥𐭥...

988 cf. Pers. I. 7 𐭲𐭥𐭭[...𐭤.𐭪.𐭲] 𐭫𐭥𐭥[...𐭤.𐭪.𐭲]

Fragments. In Paik. the end of a noun in pl. In Pers. the photograph does not allow to read the complete word, we must expect a proper name with its patronymic.

989 E′ 15,2 𐭲𐭥𐭤. 𐭪𐭫𐭫.

.*TVB*, perhaps one character missing at the beginning.

990 E′ 14,4; F′ 8,6 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭 𐭫𐭦𐭥𐭥

tóχm, Av. *taoχman*-, Soghd. *tóχm*, OP. *tauʰma*-, Armen. loan-word *tohm*, Syr. תוהמא, NP. تخم 'seed, race, stock, origin, family house'. PhlB. 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩. The Pársík equivalent does not survive, but was certainly 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭮.

991 A′ 8,6 [𐭫𐭦𐭥𐭪]𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫

992 B 9+8,2 𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭 [𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭮]𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭

tómikistar and *tómiktume*. This is a comp. or superl. of the adj. *tómik*, terminating in *-ik*, stem *tóm*-. Av. √*tav*-, OP. *tauman*- 'power (to accomplish a thing)', cf. NP. توان, PhlB. *tuvánik* and *patúkih*. The meaning is 'able, capable, powerful'.

C′ 10,2 [𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫][𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫] 993

C 4,5 [𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫][𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫] 994

N. pr. *taχms(á)hipuhr*, *taχmš(á)hpuhre*, honorific name or title, compound of *taχm* 'strong, strength', and the name of *Sháhpuhr* I. Cf. Tam-Khusrau, Tam-Ohormizd, Tam-Yazdkirt, &c. We know a personage of that name in later time, Narseh Tamsháhpuhr, a great persecutor of the Christians and satrap of Adiabene, during the reign of Sháhpuhr II., cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭab.* p. 443 n. 1 and Hoffmann, *Syr. Akt. Pers. Märt.* n. 2109.

Pers. II. 1 𐭲𐭩𐭫 𐭲𐭥𐭧 995

tir, PhlB. 𐭲𐭩𐭫, NP. تير, name of the planet Mercury and of the fourth month of the Pársí year.

H 11,4 𐭲𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭲𐭣 𐭲𐭥𐭤𐭤𐭲𐭥𐭧 996

N. pr. *Tírd(á)t*, OP. **Tiridáta*- 'given by Tír', Gr. Τιριδάτης, Armen. *Trdat*. In the Paik. inscription it is Tírdát the Great of Armenia, the protector of Grigor the Illuminator, reigning as a child from 238—252, and after an interregnum from 286/7 until his death in 314. He was the father-in-law of Pápak the Bítákhsh. With an attack on Tírdát, Narseh opened the war against Rome in 296 A. D.

On the gem Z.D.M.G. XXXI. 1877 no. 26 the name appears as that of a scribe, *dipér*, with the spelling 𐭲𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭲𐭥𐭧.

H 14,4 𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭲𐭦𐭧𐭭 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫 997

téraχičin, or *tíraχčin*, n. pr. ethn. of a Śaka tribe. The ruler is one of the 'lords' which appear in the third group of the independent princes paying homage to Narseh.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 15 𐭲𐭩𐭤.𐭲𐭥𐭤.. 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭤. .. 998

Almost illegible on the photograph. Two words, perhaps u *kirtakán* u *déne*.

C′ 14,2 𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭤𐭲𐭥𐭧𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭫 999

takarpati, title of a high dignitary, in the rank of a *vispuhr*. Armen. loan-word *takarapet*, Hbschm.,

sound in both versions is to be read *z*. The name must be an ethnical or geographical one, and the ruler belongs to the second group of independent kings. Astonishing as the following interpretation may sound, it seems to be almost certain. The name is a compound. Its first element is *žand-*, possibly *žang-*, *žank-*. This word appears e. g. in 𐭪𐭣𐭭𐭪 or 𐭪𐭣𐭭𐭩, *Frhg.* IX 2, designating the African elephant and explaining the ideogram 𐭠𐭩𐭤𐭪. By the way, this explanation of the ideogram 𐭠𐭩𐭤𐭩 is not correct. We must amend it to 𐭠𐭩𐭤𐭪, i. e. Greek ῥινοκέρωτα, the 'rhinoceros', see Fr. Müller, *Bemerkungen z. Pahl.-Paz. Gloss.* W.Z.K.M. VI. p. 152. *pil* alone is the 'elephant', written ideographically 𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭭𐭪, *Frhg.* IX 2. *žandak* or *žand-* refers to Zanzibar in Africa. Having determined the first element of our name as *Žand-*, the explanation of the second element is easy: *-frik* is obviously 'Africa', *-afrik*. The *mater lectionis* 𐭠 at the beginning of this word, the vowel being a short one, is dropped, just as in the name 𐭠𐭪𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭠𐭪 *Aq-aqatäran*, following the same orthographical rule as in NP., Salemann, *Pers. Gram.* § 2c, § 42 no. 1. Hence, we must transcribe *žand-afrik* 'Zand in Africa' or 'the African Zand', i. e. Zanzibar.

971 Áwr. 1 שנת 𐭮𐭭𐭯

Pers. I. 1; II. 1 שנת 𐭮𐭭𐭯

Ideogram, Aram. שנא, *stat. constr.* שנת 'year'. Av. *sarəδa-*, OP. *θard-* (the word means 'year' in all the occurrences in the OP. inscriptions, *Bist.* IV, 1.4-5 = § 52; 1.41 = § 56; 1.45 = § 57; 1.60 = § 67 and col. V 1.3, Elam. *pe-l-ki-ma*) MP.T. *sár*, *Frhg.* XXVII 1 𐭮𐭭𐭯 · 𐭮𐭠𐭫, read sál. For the Pahlavík we may accept the same pronunciation, the change of sounds having taken place already in the 3rd century B. C.

972 F 15,5 שפיר 𐭱𐭦𐭥𐭩𐭫

Ideogram, Aram. שפיר 'good', *Frhg.* XXVI. 1 𐭮𐭭𐭯 · 𐭥𐭫 · 𐭱𐭦𐭥𐭩𐭫, hence read vêh or vah, veh. OP. *vahi-*, Soghd. and MP.T. *vêh*, NP. بِه. The word is in common use on gems, see Horn-Steindorff, p. 27 no. 9, Berl. 2161, and the frequent 𐭱𐭦𐭥𐭩𐭫 𐭥𐭫𐭩 *l. c.* p. 30 no. 17 a–d; Mordtmann III. p. 62 (Copenhague).

Pers. I. 6 שתה. 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫. 973

Ideogram, the first character is indistinct, probably 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫', see this.

see 𐭠𐭬𐭥𐭫 שתלי, שתרי 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭤, 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫 974

תשרי חורהאדיחי 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭮, 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫 975

see 𐭠𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭤𐭠𐭲𐭤

F 5,5 שתרי מרוחי 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭮𐭮, 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫 976

šatre xvatáy, 'lord of the Empire', see 𐭠𐭬𐭥𐭫 and 𐭩𐭮𐭮.

see 𐭠𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭫𐭠𐭤 שתרדאלי 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭤𐭫𐭤 977

E 6,6 שתלפאן 𐭮𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭱𐭫𐭠𐭭 978

šatrapán, plur. of *šatrap*, OP. **χšaθrapána-*, Hebr. אחשדרפנים, Aram. אחאשדרפניא, beside OP. *χšaθrapáva-*; Arm. loan-word *šahap*, Hbschm., *Arm. Gram.* p. 208 n. 461; Elam. *s'ak's'ap'avan-*, instead of *k's'as's'a-*, NP. شهربان. 'satrap', cf. תעתלא and 𐭠𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭤𐭫𐭠.

𐭩 𐭬 𐭮

D′ 15,1 ת- 𐭬- 979

E 2,3 ת- 𐭮-

Fragment *-t*, apparently in both the cases the Iranian termination of a part. perf. pass. of a verb.

D 15,5 תאנדי... 𐭬𐭠𐭭𐭤𐭩... 980

D′ 15,3 נת..... 𐭭𐭬..... 981

...*tánde*, fragm., corresponding to Pahlavík *-nt*, apparently a verbal termination. 𐭮 and 𐭠 not absolutely certain.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 20 תבע 𐭡𐭮𐭢 982

Ideogram, probably תבע, cf. Aram. תבע 'to ask, beg, invite', and Arab. تبع 'to follow'. The phrase in the N. i Rjb. inscr. is 'the man who is a doer of good and is walking 𐭡𐭮𐭢 of the good'. The word is met again on two gems, unfortunately with incomplete legends. Horn-Steindorff p. 39 no. 44 must be read:

𐭡𐭮𐭢 𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭣 ... 𐭮 𐭡𐭮𐭢 𐭩𐭮𐭮

'God's 𐭡𐭮𐭢 č.... the liars and ill-gotten wealth.'

The other is, Thomas, J. R. A S. XIII. no. 19:

ERRATA

p. 3 l. 11 read busts, and instead of busts. Hence

p. 6 ll. 10—11 from below read is about 300 years later and 600 A. D. instead of is also about 300 years older and 600 B. C.

p. 11 l. 5 read 𐭥 instead of 𐭩

p. 12 fig. 13 change the two titles 'Block F 11' and 'Block E' 6' on the right half of the figure

p. 14 l. 3 read 𐭠𐭣𐭫 instead of 𐭠𐭣𐭪

p. 15 l. 14 from below read 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭩 inst. of 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭪

p. 16 l. 10 „ „ „ 𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭩 „ „ 𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭪

p. 19 l. 2 „ „ „ 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭪 „ „ 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭩

p. 20 l. 14 reverse the order of the words:

𐭠𐭣 𐭥𐭣𐭱 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭩 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭩

p. 21 l. 10 from below strike out /𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭩/

p. 23 l. 6 read Therefore, it is obvious that instead of This is obvious, as

p. 23 l. 17 read [𐭠𐭫]𐭥[𐭱]𐭣𐭥 instead of [𐭠𐭩]𐭥[𐭱]𐭣𐭥

p. 27 l. 19 from below read 𐭱𐭠𐭫𐭠 inst. of 𐭱𐭣𐭫𐭠

p. 31 l. 15 read Pahlavík block inst. of group

p. 31 l. 9 fr. bel. read H inst. of B

p. 33 l. 17 fr. bel. read 𐭫𐭥𐭣 inst. of 𐭪𐭥𐭣

p. 34 l. 22 read 𐭠𐭪𐭫𐭣𐭫𐭩 inst. of 𐭠𐭪𐭫𐭣𐭫𐭥

p. 38 l. 20 fr. bel. read 𐭥 inst. of 𐭣

p. 39 l. 19 read current inst. of currend an

p. 40 l. 9 fr. bel. read approached from inst. of approached

p. 43 l. 8 fr. bel. put (S. DE SACY p. 300) between parenthesises, strike out says and insert (Varhrán III) after ce prince

p. 45 ll. 7 & 25 read god inst. of lord

p. 46 l. 10 insert of between parts and which

p. 46 l. 21 read but inst. of and

p. 46 l. 31 „ god „ „ lord

p. 62 l. 17 „ 𐭩 „ „ 𐭥

p. 63 paenult. „ 𐭦 „ „ 𐭢

p. 64 l. 9 read 𐭪𐭪𐭢𐭦𐭩 inst. of 𐭪𐭪𐭢𐭦𐭪

p. 65 l. 11 „ 𐭪𐭫𐭪𐭥 „ „ 𐭪𐭫𐭪𐭣

p. 76 l. 8 fr. bel. „ positive „ „ position

p. 77 l. 11 strike out other examples of

p. 77 l. 12 fr. bel. read Nuhraván inst. of Mahr°

p. 78 ll. 10 & 12 read Pitiaxes inst. of °azes

p. 81 l. 8 fr. bel. „ *sháh* „ „ móbedh

p. 83 transl. l. 3 „ buyer „ „ byer

p. 83 „ ll. 3 & 8 „ 55 „ „ 45

p. 85 text l. 3 „ 𐭫𐭦𐭱𐭠𐭩 „ „ 𐭫𐭦𐭩𐭩

p. 85 transcr. l. 3 „ yazatán „ „ yazdán

p. 86 transcr. l. 2 „ yazatán „ „ yazdán

p. 86 „ l. 4 „ yazatán „ „ yaztán

p. 87 text ll. 2 & 4 „ 𐭫𐭦𐭱𐭠𐭩 „ „ 𐭫𐭦𐭩𐭩

p. 87 transcr. ll. 2 & 4 „ yazatán „ „ yazdán

p. 89 l. 3 insert (12′) below 13

p. 89 text l. 14′ read 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭫 . inst. of 𐭱𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭫 . .

p. 90 transcr. l. 6 „ MXRX*it* „ „ MXR*it*

p. 91 transcr. l. 24 „ ZYVAKYČY „ „ °YXY

p. 94 text l. 1′ „ 𐭠𐭲𐭫𐭠 „ „ 𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭠

„ l. 10 fr. bel. „ 𐭰𐭱𐭪𐭩 „ „ 𐭰𐭱𐭪𐭥

„ l. 7 „ „ „ 𐭲𐭱𐭱𐭠𐭩 „ „ 𐭲𐭱𐭱𐭠𐭥

„ l. 6 „ „ „ 𐭪𐭪𐭢𐭦𐭩 „ „ 𐭪𐭪𐭢𐭦𐭥

„ l. 2 „ „ „ 𐭪𐭫𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭰 „ „ 𐭪𐭫𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭣

p. 95 translit. l. 4 fr. bel. read XVAT inst. of XVÉŠ

p. 96 l. 4 read 𐭥 inst. of 𐭠

„ l. 9 fr. bel. read 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣] inst. of 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭩

p. 98 l. 4 read [𐭦𐭩]𐭪𐭪𐭲 inst. of [𐭦𐭣]𐭪𐭪𐭲

p. 100 l. 3 „ 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣 „ „ 𐭠𐭫𐭠

„ l. 13 „ 𐭥𐭠𐭠𐭫 „ „ 𐭥𐭠𐭠𐭫

p. 101 l. 9 „ XVÁH(*é*)*m* „ „ XVÁ(*é*)*m*

p. 102 l. 4 „ 𐭢𐭪𐭦 „ „ 𐭢𐭪𐭦

„ l. 15 „ 𐭫𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭫 „ „ 𐭫𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭣𐭥

Arm. Gram. p. 211 no. 472, and p. 251 no. 639; 'Chief cup-bearer (?)'. Cf. Faustus of Byzanz § 46, transl. LAUER: 'der Kellermeister Schapstan', transl. LANGLOIS 'Schabesdan, grand-maître de la cour'. *shapistán*, as a matter of fact, is not the name, but means literally 'night-place' in contradistinction to *rôžistán* 'day-place'. It designates either the place of the private, secret audience, or that audience itself. Hence, the *takarpati* of the *shapistán* must have been a sort of chamberlain. In the Armenian history he plays the role of a general of the Persian army. I doubt the usual explanation of this word, 'cup-bearer', which connects it with NP. تغار 'barrel'. Cp. OP. *tačarapati* 'chief' or 'commandant of the palace'.

1000 Hjb. 8′ תמה 𐭯𐭰𐭬
Hjb. 9 תמה 𐭩𐭮𐭥

Ideogram, Aram. תמה, adv. 'there', *Frhg.* XXV 1 𐭯𐭰𐭬, read ÁNÓD, ÁNÓY. In Pahlavík we have the phonetic writing 𐭠𐭭𐭥𐭣, see this, just beside the ideogram 𐭯𐭰𐭬, hence we cannot accept the reading of the *Frhg.* for the Pahlavík, and I propose to read ÓD only. *ód* is to OP. *avadá* as *ós* to *avaθá*.

1001 F′ 12,6 תן- 𐭭-
G 2,4; G 6,1; G 12,5 תן- 𐭩-

-t(á)n, enclitic pron. of the 2nd p. plur. 'you', appended to 𐭮𐭮, 𐭩𐭮, and 𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭭𐭥, the last meaning apparently ANÍK-*t(á)n* 'another (than) you'.

1002 F′ 12,3 תן.... 𐭭....
G 2,3 תני.... 𐭩....

-tan, *-tane*, both the fragments are equivalents, apparently the terminations of an infinitive, DÁ*táne* or DÁŠ*tane*.

N. i Rjb. Krt. 20 תני 𐭩 1003
Dénake gem. תניש 𐭩𐭮 1004
Corn. Petersbg. תנש 𐭩𐭮 1005

tane, or with suff. of the 3rd pers. *taneš*, *taniš*, PhlB. 𐭭𐭩, NP. تن, 'body, person, existence'. In the curious phrase PA *taniš apastán*, occurring on the Dénake gem and on the Petersburg cornaline, the meaning evidently cannot be 'body', but rather 'person', if the preposition PA means 'in', 'in his (or her) person be trust, confidence'. But the common phrase *apastán* Ó *yazdán* 'trust in the gods' or 'in God', shows that Ó is the preposition employed with *apastán*. Hence, the meaning remains somewhat doubtful. I suppose that the words mean something like 'self-reliant'.

Pers. I. 3 .תוסה. .𐭩𐭭𐭠𐭭𐭥 1006

reading doubtful, the two but last character may be ג or ב, probably one character, viz. the copula, missing at the beginning. Possibly *turkist(á)n* or *tuχ(á)rist(á)n*.

A′ 1,2; C′ 13,3 תתרוסן 𐭯𐭰𐭬𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭭 1007
A 5,2; C 9,6 תתלוסן 𐭩𐭰𐭬𐭫𐭥𐭮𐭭

Tatarós(á)n, n. pr. patron., name of the father of *Vahunám*, the general and chief supporter of Varhrán III. in his struggle with Narseh. It is not absolutely excluded that the name be a gentilicium, but in no case the title which then ought to follow survives. The name seems not to be an Iranian one. Perhaps it is a Śaka name. It sounds rather Turkish.

ERRATA

p. 104 l. 5 read 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 106 l. 4 fr. bel. read 𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬎 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬎

p. 108 paenult. read 𐬀𐬎𐬀 inst. of 𐬀𐬎𐬀

p. 109 l. 9 read ÁBAR(*é*)*t* inst. of °R(*é*)

p. 110 l. 4 read 𐬀𐬎𐬀[𐬎 𐬀]𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 inst. of 𐬀𐬎𐬀[𐬎].[𐬀]𐬎𐬀𐬎

p. 110 l. 5 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬀

„ l. 6 read 𐬀𐬎 inst. of 𐬀𐬀

„ l. 9 fr. bel. 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 112 l. 5 divide 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀

„ l. 8 fr. bel. read 𐬀𐬎𐬀 inst. of 𐬀𐬎𐬀

„ l. 3 „ „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ °𐬀𐬉𐬀

„ ult. „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 114 l. 9 fr. bel. „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 118 l. 7 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ l. 9 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉° 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ l. 11 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉°

p. 118 l. 16 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉[𐬀]𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of °𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ l. 17 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ l. 20 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 119 l. 14 „ *téraχčin* „ „ *ér*°

„ l. 7 fr. bel. read Zúrádičín inst. of °dián

p. 121 text l. 10 The last word 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉.𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 stands in the inscription between ll. 10 and 11 under 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 121 l. 11 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 instead of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ lit. transl. l. 10 read to His Majesty (?) (his) father . . . . . by him to himself (?)

p. 121 lit. transl. l. 11 read a blessing has been offered

p. 125 l. 6 fr. bel. read takes inst. of taker

p. 131 no. 54 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉° 𐬀𐬉

p. 132 right ll. 11—12 fr. bel. read *éránšahr χvarréh*

p. 137 no. 96 l. 4 read NP. inst. of NB. [*kirt šáhpuhr*

„ no. 98 l. 3 fr. bel. read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of °𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 139 right l. 6 read السُّرْيَا نيّون inst. of السَّرْ

„ „ l. 8 „ Hüan „ „ Müan

„ „ l. 12 „ athúr „ „ attúr

„ „ ult. „ *Frhg.* XX „ „ XXI

p. 141 „ l. 3 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉° 𐬀𐬉

p. 142 no. 122 l. 3 read hence „ „ 'hence'

p. 144 no. 140 l. 5 „ *harván* „ „ *hárv*°

„ no. 141 l. 10 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉°

p. 146 left l. 15 fr. bel. read the inst. of these

p. 147 right l. 9 insert perhaps between is and 𐬀𐬉

„ no. 165 l. 9 strike out no

p. 148 no. 166 add G 6,7

„ right no. 176 l. 4 read and inst. of but

„ no. 179 l. 7 „ Révand „ „ Hév°

p. 150 no. 185 l. 3 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 155 no. 213 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 156 no. 217 l. 2 fr. bel. „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ °𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 157 left l. 6 fr. bel. read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of °𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 158 no. 235 l. 2 read MARD inst. of MART

p. 160 no. 247 ll. 3, 7, 8, 10 read XTYMUN inst. of HT°

„ right l. 10 read l. 9 and l. 13 inst. of 1.9 and 1.13

„ „ l. 14 „ *χazânu* „ „ °*mu*

„ „ l. 13 fr. bel. read will inst. of wile

p. 161 left l. 18 fr. bel. insert ﴿ between الخشمة and به

„ „ l. 16 „ „ read يؤدّيه instead of يؤ

p. 162 no. 252 דנלחי must stand left of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ right l. 19 read TIRÍ instead of tíré

„ no. 253 l. 9 „ ambiguous „ „ °gous

p. 167 right l. 22 „ indicates „ „ indicate

p. 170 at the end of no. 301 add Cf. 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 *vistan*

„ no. 306 read וכלחאי instead of אי°

and VK*artáy* or VT*artán*

„ „ peanult. read ל inst. of ר

p. 171 no. 312 l. 4 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

„ no. 313 l. 20 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 instead of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉°

p. 172 right l. 3 read facts instead of fact

p. 174 left l. 20 „ means „ „ meaning

„ right l. 10 „ ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ „ „ ΟΡΑ°

p. 176 left l. 1 „ Uda „ „ Nda

„ right l. 20 „ names „ „ passages

p. 184 no. 360 l. 8 „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 „ „ 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

p. 185 no. 360 l. 15 fr. bel. read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of °𐬀𐬉°

p. 188 no. 382 l. 22 strike out I. behind Ardashír

p. 195 no. 429 l. 5 read p. ١١٧ s. inst. of ١١٧٥

„ no. 435 l. 9 fr. bel. read an exceptional one inst. of exceptional

p. 198 no. 453 l. 1 read 2,4 inst. of 3,4

p. 199 left l. 15 read 𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉

p. 201 no. 476,6 l. 1 read BÁŠ inst. of BÁT

p. 208 no. 549 l. 2 fr. bel. read piacere inst. of placere

„ no. 555 l. 5 read 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉 inst. of 𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬉

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Reference:

- Barometric height
- Marsh
- Canal
- Ancient canal
- Spring
- Low rocky ridges
- Mound of ruins (Tell.)
- Bridge
- Main road
- Camel-Road or mule path
- Pass
- Telegraph line
- Port
- Mohammedan Shrine
- Camp
- Ancient site

see chief-map

BAGHDAD

see carton ③

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FROM SURVEYS MADE DURING THE EXPLORATIONS

OF

Dr. ERNST HERZFELD

1905-1917.

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FROM MOSUL TO KARKUK

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