TO THE ZAMASP-NAMAK. I

By H. W. Bailey

I GIVE below a portion of the Pahlavi Žâmâsp-Nâmak with notes.

The text is easily accessible in J. J. Modi's Jâmâspi, Pahlavi Pâzend and Persian Texts, 1903, Bombay, and, for a part only, in West's edition in Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies, 1904. It has, therefore, seemed unnecessary to reprint the Pahlavi. West used a MS., entitled DP., of the late Shams ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (West, loc. cit.), for the other MSS. see Modi's introduction, loc. cit. I have noted the chief discrepancies only (Modi's MSS. are quoted as "MSS.", or separately as MU., DE.).

1. pursût Vištâsp sâh kû ēn dên i apēčak ēnd sâl raṣâk bavēt ut pas hač ēn ćē aṃãm ut žamânak rašēt.

2. guft-š Žâmâsp i bitaxš kû ēn hazâr sâl raṣâk bavēt.

3. pas ćēšân martomân i andar ēn aⁿâm bavēnd hamâk ć miôrân-družâń êstênd.

4. ēvak apâk dit kên ut araśk ut druŷ kunênd.

5. ut pat ēn cîm Ėrân saṭr o Tâčîkân apasparîhêt 1 ut Tâčîkân har rôc nêrêktar bavēnd ut saṭr saṭr frâc gîrênd.

6. martom o apârônih ut druŷ vartênd ut har ćîs (i) ēn gošênd ut kunênd hač-šân xvēš tan sûtômântâr.

7. api-šân raṣîšn 2 i frârôn hač-š apâr bavēt.

Vištâsp asked, saying: How many years will this Pure Religion endure, and afterwards what times and seasons will come?

Žâmâsp, the minister, said: It will endure a thousand years.

Then those men who are at that time will all become covenant-breakers.

One with another they will be revengeful and envious and false.

And for that reason Ėrân šahr will be delivered up to the Tâčîks and the Tâčîks will daily grow stronger and will seize district after district.

Men will turn to unrighteousness and falsehood, and all that they say or do will be the more profitable for themselves.

And from them righteous conduct will be distant.

1 MSS. and DP. apaspârênd.
2 MSS. and DP. šâxn.
8. pat apēdāth ēn Ėrān šahr ā dahyupatān bār i garān rasēt.

9. ut āmār i zarēn ut asimēn ut vas-ē¹ ganē ut xvāstak hanbār kunēnd, ut hamāk aśinn ut apaitāk bavēt.

10. ut vas-ē² ganē ut xvāstak i šayakān o dasē ut pāť,xəhīh i dušmanān rasēt.

11. ut margīh i apēzamānāk vas bavēt.

12. ut hamāk Ėrān šahr o dasē i őēsān dušmanān rasēt.

13. ut Anērān Ėrān gumē-čhēnd ētōn kā ērīh hāc anērīh paitāk nē bavēt, ān i ēr apāc (ō) anērīh ēstēnd.

14. ut pat ān i vat āśām ān i tuśānkār ān i drīyuš farroxxv dārēnd, ān i drīyuš xvat farroxxv nē bavēt.

15. ut āzātān ut vazurkān o živandakīh i apēmēčak rasēnd.

16. api-šān margīh ētōn xvaš sahēt cēgōn pit ut māt vēnišn i frazand ut mātar duxtart pat kāpēn bē bavēt.

17. ut duxt kē-š hāc-š zāyēt pat vahāk bē fruvaxšēt.

18. ut pus pitar ut mātar žanēt, api-š aṅdar živandakīh hāc kaka- xvātyīh yut kunēt.

For its lawlessness, this Ėrān šahr will come as a heavy burden to the governors of the provinces.

And they will store up the tale of gold and silver, and much treasure and wealth also, and all will disappear and pass out of sight.

And much royal treasure and wealth also will pass into the hands and possession of enemies.

And untimely deaths will abound.

And all Ėrān šahr will fall into the hand of those enemies.

And Anērān and Ėrān will be confounded, so that the Iranian will not be distinguished from the foreigner; those who are Iranians will turn back to foreign ways.

And in that evil time rich men will deem the poor fortunate, but the poor man will not himself be fortunate.

And the nobles and the great will come to a savourless life.

And to them death will seem as sweet as to father and mother the sight of children and to a mother a dowered daughter.

The daughter who is born of her she will sell for a price.

And the son will strike father and mother and during his lifetime will deprive him of authority in the family.

¹ MSS. ² MSS.  DP.
19. ut kas brātar mas brātar žānēt, api-š xvāstak hač-š stānēt, api-š xvāstak rād zūr apar gōbēt.

20. ut žan gyān i xvēš pat margaržān bē dahēt.
21. ut avarīk ut apaiāk martom ō paitākīh rasēt.
22. ut zūr ut gukāsīh i arāst ut drōy frāxe šavēt.
23. šap ēvak apāk dit nayn ut mač xvarēnd ut pat dōstīh rašēnd ¹ ut rōc i ditēkar pat gyān i ēvak ditēkar čārak sācēnd ut vat handēšēnd. ²

24. ut andar ān vat ābām ān kē-š frazand nēst pat farrokh dārēnd, ān i kē-š frazand hast pat čaśm xvār dārēnd.

25. ut vas martom ō uzdehīkīh ut bēkānīh ut saxīh rasēt.

26. ut andarvāy aśišuťak ut sart vāt ut garm vāt vazēt.

27. ut bar i urvarān kēm bē bavēt ut zamīk hač bare bē ³ šavēt.

28. ut būm vižandak ⁴ ut vinās-kār ⁵ bē bavēt ut vas avērānīh bē kunēt.

And the younger brother will strike the elder brother, and will take his wealth, and for his wealth will make false statements.
And a woman will commit mortal sin against her own life.
And the inferior and obscure man will come into notice.
And wrong and false witness and lies will abound.
By night one with another they will eat bread and drink wine, and walk in friendship, and next day they will plot one against the life of the other and plan evil.
And in that evil time him who has no children they deem fortunate, but him who has children they hold cheap in their eyes.
And many men will go into exile and foreign lands and fall into distress.
And the atmosphere will be confounded, and cold wind and hot wind will blow.
And the fruit of the plants will become less, and earth will be without fruit.
And the earth will be corrupt and injurious and will cause much desolation.

¹ MSS. raśēt (cf. Bthl., SR., 3, 30, No. 2), DP. raśēnd.
² MSS. handēšēnd, DP. handēšēnd.
³ DP. hač bare bē.
⁴ MSS. raśē, DP. raśē.
⁵ MU. rašē, DE. raśē, DP. raśē.
29. ut vārān i apēhangām
vārēt\(^1\) ut ān kē vārēt apēsūt ut vat bavēt.
30. ut aṣb apar āsmān gartēt.

31. ut dipēr\(^2\) pat nipišt\(^3\) i vat āyēt.
32. ut har kas hač guft ut gōbišn ut past ut patmān apāč ēstēnd.
33. ut har martom kē-š andak vēhē hē-š živandakēh apēmēčaktar ut vattar bavēt.
34. ut kātēcak bē kart xānak bavēt.
35. asbār\(^4\) pađak ut pađak\(^5\) asbār bavēt.

36. bandakān pat rāb i āzātān raštēnd.
37. bē Yazdān āzātēh pat tan mehmān nē bavēt.
38. ut martom i ān vis ē afsōs-karēh ut apārōn kunišnīh vartēnd, ut mēčak i xvāstak nē\(^6\) dānēnd.
39. api-šān mīdr ut dōsār'm pat dahēk\(^7\) martom.

40. apurnāy zūt pēr šavēt.

And unseasonable rain will fall, and that which falls will be unprofitable and bad.
Clouds will gather over the sky.
And the scribe will come with bad writing.
And everyone will repudiate word and statement, covenant and agreement.
And every man who has little good, for him life becomes more savourless and more evil.
A small house, being built, will pass for a mansion.
A horseman will become a man on foot, and the man on foot a horseman.
Slaves will walk in the path of nobles.
Save through Yazdān, nobility is not a guest in any body.
And the men of that Great House will turn to mockery and iniquity and know not the flavour of wealth.
And for them affection and love will be towards the despised man.
The youth swiftly will become an old man.

---

1 MSS. 2 MUR. 3 DE. 4 DP. 5 MUR. 6 DP. 7 NE. 8 MUR. 9 DP.
41. ut har kas kē pat vat kunışnīh i xveš sāṭ bavēt pat aparmanānd dārēnd.
42. ut saṭr saṭr ut dēḥ dēḥ ut rotastāk rotastāk evak apāk dīt kōxšīn i kārēēr kūnēt.

43. ut hač dītākar čiš pat apar stānēt.
44. ut sturg ut ruzd ut stahmak mart pat nēv dārēnd, ut fraznāk ut vēh dēn martom pat dēv dārēnd.

45. ut kas-č kas pat apāyast i xveš pat kāmāk nē rasēnd.

46. ut martom i pat ān i vat āśām zāyēnd hač āsīn ut roō i saxt saxtār bavēnd bē (ka) ham xōn ut gōšt bavēnd ēnyā hač sang saxtār bavēnd.
47. ut afsōs ut riyaḥrīh pairodak bavēt.
48. ut har kas ō bēkānakōh ut [hač] xvešīh i Ahramar druwand raseṃ.
49. ut mihrāndruč vinās andar ān āśām kunēnd.

50. tēz ut zūt dast (ō) passoxv raseṃ, čēgōn āp tačišn ō drayāp.

51. ut ataxšān i Ėrān saṭr ō hanžāpišn ut apasārišn raseṃ.

52. ut hēr ut xvaṣtak ō dast i Anērān i druwandān raseṭ ut hamāk aylēn ² bē bavēnd.

And everyone who rejoices in his own bad deeds, they will hold it his privilege.
And the several districts and provinces and cultivated tracts one with another will struggle in conflict.
And from another he will take a thing as plunder.
And the contentious and greedy and violent man they will deem good, but wise men of good faith they will hold as dēvs.
And the several persons will not attain their desires according to their needs.
And the men who are born in that evil time will be harder than hard iron and brass; save that they are likewise blood and flesh they will be harder than stone.
And mockery and defilement will be an ornament.
And everyone will turn to strange ways and kinship with Ahraman the evil.
And the covenant-breakers will work injury at that time.
Swiftly and speedily their hands will be given to sureties, as the streams of a river flow to the sea.
And the fires of Ėrān saḥr will come to an end and be extinguished.
And treasure and wealth will come into the hands of foreigners, and all will become men of evil faith.

¹ DP. om.
² MSS. /display/DP.  ayldēn, DP.  āknēn.
53. ut xwāstak vas gart kunēnd, apiš bar nē xvarēnd. And they will amass much wealth, but they will not enjoy the fruit of it.

54. ut hamāk ṅ dast i sardārān i apēsūtān rasēt. And it will all pass into the hands of unprofitable governors.

55. ut har kas kart kuniśn i ṅē dit nē passandēnd. And everyone will disapprove the work done by the other.

56. ut saxtīh ut anākīh i ānāsān haṅ oēsān apar rasēt. And the harshness and evil of those men will come upon these.

57. ėvandakiḥ pat apēmēcak ut margīh pat pānakāh dārēnd. They will hold life savourless and death a refuge.

1. pursū “asked”, NPers. pursēdan “to ask”, Av. pēvē “I ask”. The problem of the r vowel in Iranian was fully discussed by Bartholomae (MM., 6, 1925), and is touched upon by Reichelt in Gesch. d. Idg. Sprachwiss., Bd. iv, Iranisch, pp. 34–5. The position of Armenian loanwords has not been clearly recognized. Junker, Wörter u. Sachen, 1929, p. 138, seems to consider that corresponding to NPers. mury “bird” Armenian must have had *murg, not *marg. The case is otherwise. Arm. lw. vard “rose” beside NPers. gul may be explained either as from a dialect in which r > ar, cf. Oss. marde “dead” < *myr-tā-, maré “bird”, arā “oath” < *公安- or as from a form with vowel -ar-. Sammānī väle “rose” (quoted by Reichelt, loc. cit.) has probably compensatory lengthening due to the change -rā- > l, cf. WPers. sāl < *sarē-. Saka vala “rose, flower”, Sacu Doc. 52, 53, and sāℓ “year”, kamalo “head”, have not developed this long vowel—*vard-, *sard-, *kamard-. Hence, in Arm. lws. -ar- exists beside -u- in the other dialects as representative of the r vowel. Another word of this kind is: Arm. lw. barš, baš “mane”, 1 Av. barēša “back of

horse”, Pahl. buš, NPers. buš “neck, mane”, HAG., 118. So, too, *mary “bird” may safely be recognized in siramary “peacock”. De Lagarde’s connection of it with Pahl. sēn murv is certainly possible: *sēnamary may have been altered by assimilation of n to r in accord with the Armenians’ etymology “loving the meadows”, sēr “love”, marq “meadow” = Iran. (Av.) margvā, HAG., 193. The Georgian pharšamangi < *frašamarg “peacock” has apparently dissimilated the second r to n, but such a form as varšamangi “tiara”, from Arm. lw. varšamak “headband, napkin”, suggests the possibility of analogy in the ending. The same word *marq “bird” is probably the second component in loramarg = lor “quail”, see HAG., 237. Sogd. (Buddh.) margv-, Frag., 3, 38, 44, etc., should also be read *margv. The absence of the mater lectionis v is not decisive, but so many examples of margv- without v are fairly convincing. So, too, for Sogd. (Buddh.) margvīst “birds”: Benveniste, Gram. Sogd., ii, 79, reads *margvīst. Arm. lw. ištrmut “ostrich”, HAG., 157, is late, thirteenth century.

Arm. lw. parh- is a further example: parhak, pahrak, pahak (HAG., 218) occur as part of a geographical name: pahak Čorai near Derbend. Hübschmann renders “Wache von Čor”. The Armenian phrase corresponding is kapan Čorai “the pass of Čor” or drunki Čotai “Gate of Čok”. Hence a connection with Iran. *pṛthu-*pṛthu-, Av. pṛṣṭu-, Pahl. puhlu, NPers. pul, Kurd. purd “pass, bridge” is likely. I find the same word in taraparhak and pahak in the phrase taraparhak varel, pahak varel or ounel “angariare” (Ciakciak). In Mīt., 27, 32, zna kalan pahak zi barjce zzačn nora “tovon ṛgṛaṃsuvaṃ ṯa āṛṣṇ tōv saṃvṛṇo avṛto ṯa” : here taraparhak “beyond the way or passage”. So in ēnaparh “way”, though the first part ēna- is obscure to me: ēna- can come from Iran. *dāyana- to kay-, AIW., 441. Can Sogd. (Buddh.) n’bēn’y, SCE., 258, be compared? Gauthiot translated “frontière”, Gram. Sogd., 77, but Benveniste, Glossaire, “national”. Cf. n’bēkh “Länder”, Frag., 3, 6.

Saka vala “rose” has -ar < *var, like the Arm. lw. vard. Cognate with this word is Saka vilakye, Sacu Doc., 65, vilaki, ibid., 69, 73. < *varḍa “plant”. Cf. Av. varśa- “name of a plant”, AIW., 1369. (On Sacu Doc. 65, see § 27 infra.) The -aka- suffix is a Saka innovation. Old (Iran.) -aka was lost through *-aya > -aa- nom. sing. -ai, as kṣumdi “husband”, et pass. Both -aka- and -ka are found (perhaps originally diminutive): murka- “(small) bird” beside murka- “bird”. Pahl. murv, NPers. mury, Sogd. (Buddh.) margv-, Oss. margv;

khvā ni vijsye vīlakī bṛrī mīrārām amṛi hamari ġusiṃdi biśi
"as plucked plants they die early, in a short while they all pass away."


bṛrī "early" < bṛrū "early", Mait. Sam., 150, for uī > ī, see § 27 infra.

amṛi hamari "a short moment": amṛga- is probably < *anta- > *anda- (cf. pres. part. -andai nom. sing. masc. < *antaka-, fem. -amča and -amkya N., 79. 6 f.) with -ka. Cf. Av. huṣka- "dry", Saka huṣka-, Shakā bulyṣga "long" < *brz-ka-, rrayṣga- "quick" < *raz-ka, etc. Hence, cf. amṛga- with Pahl. NPers. andak "little, few" < *antaka to Pahl. and "so much". The loc. pl. occurs Sacu Doc., 54, hamarvā vam amṛvā ne pastara "even for a few moments they are not permanent."

pastara- adj. to pasṭiṃdi, Sacu Doc., 55, "they stay" (pātī + sā) for the form cf. byātarā "attentive", Mait. Sam., 277, byāta- "memory" + ra, and darandara- "body".

gusiṃdi "they go, pass away" < *gaβ-s- to Sogd. (Buddh.) γβs'nt "they advanced", VJ., 58e, pret. γβt- VJ., 784, etc., and MPT. ḥnuʒtīn "to assemble", Pahl. hanžāpišn "bringing to an end", § 51 infra—*gap- beside *gam-. For the Saka form cf. huṣime "I sleep", Sacu Doc., 71, ḥuṣ[tī] "he sleeps", N., 94. 8. < hvβ}s-s-, Pahl. xvaftan, but Sogd. (Buddh.) wβs "he fell asleep", Frag. 2a, 13, without h-.

Arm. mah, marh "death", HAG., 472, a stem in -u, is also probably an Iran. loanword to Av. marṇθyuś "death". In genuine Armenian words -rt- gives -rd (mard "man", ard "now", ārτ). For -rti- in Arm. I have no example, but t before r is lost initially (erek' "three") and -atr- gave -aur (haur "πατρός"). Brugmann, Grund. Vgl. Idg. Gram., i, 1, 433, and Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., 472, derive marh < -rt- as a genuine Arm. word. It is important that Arm. mah, marh is an
-u stem like the Iranian word. The Gothic word maurpr (neut.), which Brugmann and Hübschmann compare, is classed by Brugmann, Grund. Vgl. Idg. Gram., ii, 1, 343, with -tro-, -trā- formantia.

1. Vistāsp sāh. On Vistāspa see Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., i, 2; i, 3. Vistāsp sāh and Kaivištāspāh in Az. (ed. Pagliaro), 1, et passim, and 39, etc.


For the Iranian words for “time” see Marquart, Ādīna, §§ 1–10. Junker’s and Schefellowitz’s derivation of Iran. zamān from Ass. simānu (after Zimmern) is quite unconvincing (see ZII., 4, 333), and is not repeated in Schefellowitz, Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit, 1929. Marquart’s suggestion (from the verb gam-) is the only possible etymology. To these Iranian words add Saka bāda- “time” < *varta- “the revolving”. For the -ā- cf. kādana, N., 9, 15, “with a sword” to Av. kardā-, Pahl. kārd, NPers. kārd, and Av. vāsa- “chariot” < *vartə-. On the verbs vart- “turn” and gart- “turn” see Morg., Br. Voc. Pashto, p. 27.

2. Žāmāsp. Historically certified by the Gathic references Y., 46. 17; 49. 9; 51. 18, and the important “Catalogue of the Community”, Yt., 13. 103. He was a member of the wealthy *Haugava (GAv. Hvō.gv, YAv. Hvōva) family, whence came also Zoroaster’s third wife Hvōvī “The Haugava”. Later as a type of omniscient wise minister.

For the form of the name cf. HAG., 68. Arm. Žamasp, Syr. Zāmāsp, Arab. Žamāšb Žamāsaf, Greek Zαμαςσης, NPers. Žamāsp, YAv. Zāmāspa-, GAv. Dzhāmāspa- (an experimental spelling đc for j). The origin of S.W. ʾz is twofold initially, (1) < ʾj < ʾg, (2) < y. Tedesco, Dialektologie, § 5, has shown that Mid. Iran. N.W. preserved initial ʾy-. S.W. changed y- to ʾz (or j ?): N.W. yāvēdān, S.W. žāyedān “eternal”, N.W. yud “separate”, S.W. žud, NPers. jūdā. The date of this change is uncertain. In the Mahrnāmag occur two forms of the
Turkish title: l. 77 žβγυ *žaβρυ, l. 93 yβγυ *yaβγυ equivalent to Indo-Sceyth. ZAOOY, yavuga, -jayia, NPers. jaby. There is equal uncertainty in regard to another loanword, the name "Jew", Heb. יְדֵי.

Arab. yahūd, Pahl. yhyt ¹ یییی, Paz. zuhudān, MPT. yχv n, Sal. Nachtrage, Christ. Sogd. ęxv (several times, ST., p. 93), *zahūd *jahūd, but ST., 32. 18, yχv "Judas", 32. 22, yχv "Judaea", 30. 6, yχv ygy "mountains of Judaea". It is at least clear that the Chinese forms 亖 盡 शु-hya < *ȳ-hua and 主 堂 ھ-у-wu, discussed by Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 533-4, need not, as he supposed, have come from NPers. The Sogd. ęxv could have been the source.

2. bitaxš. This is also Zāmāsp’s title in Az., 35, etc. The word has been much discussed, see Herzfeld, Paikuli Gloss., No. 214. On the inscriptions occur (Pahl.) bylsh, (Pārs.) bthyš, Greek (fifth century A.D.) ΠΤΙΑΠΧΣ. It was a title of the margraves of Armenia and Assyria. In Arm. lw. bdeasx, Georg. lw. pitationši, pationši. The bitaxš was an important imperial officer of high rank. For its application to Zāmāsp see Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., i, 171, No. 3. The form of the word is unusual. It is probably *pati-axša-: pit- < pati- is found in Pahl. pityšraš beside patešraš, and in the nom. propr. (Arm.) Bakour, b and p vary: Πάκοπος, Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 238 f.

2. hazy sân “millennium”, see now Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., ii, 38 f. The “thousand years” were to end with the coming (paitākš, êπεφάβεια) of Uxšyat-art (Hōš/star). It was therefore found necessary to extend the period from Zoroaster’s êπεφάβεια beyond the thousand years to explain the continued reign of evil.

3. midrāndrušān. 4, 6, drøy. Wherever this word is found in Middle Iranian its meaning is “falsehood”, as the corresponding duruxta-, draušana-, drauga- of the Old Persian inscriptions. The forms occurring are:—

Pahl. drøy. S.W. dial. drbš, MX., 2, 177; Nyberg, Hilfsb., p. 41. Andreas, Facsimile, p. 17, l. 6, یییی. The Semitic mask is KDB’ “false”.

Sogd. (Buddh.) ṣhyv, Gr. Soqd., 137, “mensonge”; ṣhyvñh

¹ Pahl. y- may stand for y, ž- or j-; cf. یییی giyān, žān “life”, NPers. žān, MPT. gy’n < *vi-ana, Av. vyāna- (only in loc. sing. vyānayā). To the same verb an-, Saka uṣṣāna- translating Sansk. ātman-, N., 35. 7, 94. 12; cf. L., 74, and vyāša-jēa “exhaling”, instr. sing., N., 50. 24. The word an- is poorly represented in Iran., see AIW., 112, 358. To Pahl. *žān “life”, cf. MPT. S.W. gy’g and žy “place”, NPers. fāy.
“imposture”, SCE., 253, etc.; rty prw δρυμω ω’νω ω’βτ “and in falsehood he so speaks”.

Saka drųjó hvatándj “they have spoken lies”, Mait. Sam., 235.

Arm. lw. droužem, držem “transgress, infringe, fail”, droušan “faithlessness”, owxtadrouz “violator of a vow, transgressor”.

The verb družitan occurs in Pahl., as MX., 8, 15 (ed. Andreas, p. 24, ll. 10–11): Mīdr ut Zrvān i akanārak ut mēnōk i dāstān ké pat ēc kas nē družit “Mihr and Zrvān the infinite and the spirit of justice whom no one can deceive in aught”.

Herodotus noted (i, 138): αὐχεστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμιστοι.

4. arāsḵ “envy”. This is the Pahl. translation of Avestan araskō (Y., 9, 5), NPers. arāsk, raš “envy”, MPT. ryškyn adj. “envious” (Sal. Nachtr.), and probably ryšqun “enviers”? Sal. Man. St., p. 124. Pahl., NPers., and MPT. have -šk- over against Avestan -sk-. Sogd. goes with the Avestan: Christ. Sogd. 'rṣquy (ST. 33, 18): ṣmʼn q t ẓyqτy but 'rṣquy (‘arasqan), Lk. 6, 15, Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτῖν.


9. zarēn ut asimēn. zarēn can be explained from *zaran(y)a-. It is then distinct from the adj. zarrēn < *zar-n-aina (cf. AIW., Sp. 1678). So in zarēn kart, zarēn pēšit, AV. Gloss., 148, pš asimēn is adj. “of silver”, but in asimēn pēšit, AV., 12, 9, is apparently noun. It could be explained as analogic to zarēn. Hence (a)simēn might be kept in Az. 11 and here.

9. āmār “recommending”. Iranian (h)mār- is well represented. Pahl. marak. Paz. mara, NP. mara “number”, Pahl. mar, NPers. mār “number”, Pahl. āmār beside ēmār; see Bthl., SR., 1, 21; Junker, FP., 38, 93; āmārinan “pay” and “consider”, MM., 1, 37, SR., 4, 46. In compounds: pasēmār pasmār “defendant”, pēśmār “plaintiff”, hamēmār “opponent”, MX., 1, 37, etc.; Paz. hamomār hamomāl (= “Ankläger”, MM., 2, 20; MM., 1, 29),

1 A similar form is found in Arm. lw. hamemθ “proportionate” <*ham-adimāta. Hübeschmann, Arm. Gram., 463, has no solution.

VOL. VI. PART I. 5
mārīšn “memory” (see ZII., 2, 63). MP. Inscription. ḫmr *əhmər < *ədīmāra in aḥmər kār ḫmrkr “Minister of Finance”, see Marquart, Ḍīna, § 24, Arm. lw. hamarakar, see also Nyberg, “Pahlavi Inscriptions of Derbend,” Bull. de la Société Scientifique d’Azerbaïdjan, 1929, No. 8, part v. ’mīkēl *amārkar. NPers. hamār “number”, Arm. lw. hamar “calculation, number”, can come from *ham-māra-or *adī-māra.1 Av. mar-, AIW., 1147, Pahl. pātmār “judgment”, FP., 122. On the preverb *adī- see Marquart, Ḍīna, §§ 21–6, and add Pahl. Psal. ḍevn *adīwēn “law”.

Beside forms without ḫ- : ȫ-, are found, with ȫ: Av. hišmarontō aivi-šmarontō partismaromna patišmārōntom, Pahl. əśμūrtan, əšmarišn, NPers. šumurdan “to count”, šumār “number”, Sogd. (Buddh.) əmērt “he thinks”, Dhuta, 5, 11, etc.; əmīrkh “thought”, Dhuta, 46, etc.; ptēsmrrty “he counts”, Frag., 2a, 9; ptēsmr “number”, SCE., 3, etc.; Sogd. (Christ.) əmēryq “reflective”, əmēryt “thoughts”. Arm. lw. nəmar “trace”, nəsmarem “perceive”. But Pahl. mārīk, which Bartholomae derives from this word, is probably < *mənθra-, SR., 1, 21, No. 1; cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) mrrkh “words of sorcery”, mrrkrtyt “sorcerers”, Arm. lw. mərərē “prophet”, MPT. mḥr- “hymn”.

To *hmār- belong also Saka hamara- “moment”, Sacu Doc., 54, 73, N., 6, 40, etc., and ahumāra- “many, countless”, N., 3, 34, 66, 28, 75, 30, etc. Leumann’s derivation *a-sumātra is, as often, too Indian (N., 78. 10).

To ahmār: Beside this M. Iran. ah- < *ədī, the same form of preverb resulted from *ati- > ah-, see Bthl., ZAIW., 63, No. 1, on MPT. ʻhrmyd ʻhrmyšn v’dʻhr’m, Pahl. aḥrəṃšn Pâz. aḥrəṃšn “lead to”. I see the same preverb in a Sogdian passage which has been misunderstood, SCE., 27–30. In l. 28 f. occurs:—

rtym ʻsty Zkny əšyrt ʻPny wšyrt rtym ʻsty Zkny ʻwyh ɣ’n’kh skewty rty prw ryz γwrt ʻt nγwnt.

This Benveniste translates: puis il y a celui qui a nourriture et vêtement (?). Puis il y a celui qui demeure dans une maison et a, à sa satisfaction, nourriture et vêtements. But the Chinese text refers only once to food and clothing, in Pelliot’s translation, ll. 10 f.: il y en a qui entrent au palais et vivent à la cour, et ont à leur gré vêtements et

1 Arm. lw. hastat “established” < *ədīsṭāta beside Pahl. ēstāt, NPers. ēstād.
nourriture. This antithesis is preceded in the Chinese ("il y en a qui errent au dehors et que la faim et le froid torturent") and in the Sogdian by the antithesis of hunger and cold and want of lodgment. With this it is possible to take l. 28, rtyms `stly Zknys čs'yjt `Pny ws'yjt. In this the two words čs'yjt and ws'yjt have lacked an explanation. Gauthiot, Gram. Sogd., i, p. 72, clearly connected čs'yjt with the word čas- "to drink", whence Sogd. (Buddhl.) čs'nt "boisson", cf. Arm. lw. čas "meal, feast", and so Benveniste in the Glossaire, SCE., 74. For ws'yjt, also in the Glossaire, "s'habiller" is given. But it seems better to explain both čs'yjt and ws'yjt as compounds of the verb s'y- which occurs also in 'bš'yjt, SCE., 457, etc., "il sejourne," the Sogdian cognate of Avestan šay-, Sanskr. kṣetī. Then ws'yjt is clearly *vi-sāyati "dwells apart, or in various places", for the vi- cf. Sanskr. vivas- "to dwell abroad, to lodge", and Junker's explanation of Mid. Pers. Truf. vj'g, Mid. Pers. Inscript. gvr'k in Wörter und Sachen, 1929, 147-8, as from *vivāhaka-.

The other word čs'yjt is rather more disguised. It is *čišāyt from *ati-šāyati. It is a case of assimilation, tis- > čis-, of which two other clear cases occur : čśtw'n "poor", SCE., 11, 15, etc., and čsn' "thirst". čśtw'n is *cuštavān from *duštavān through *tuštavān. The unassimilated form is also found : čśtw'n "poor", Frag., iia, 3, 9, and in the abstract čśtw'y "poverty", Frag., iia, 7. For the assimilation cf. further the Arm. lw. tśnami "enemy" from *dušman-.

Similarly čsn' *čišn- "thirst" is from *tr̥śna-, New Pers. tišna "thirsty". It should not be connected with čas- "to drink" (Gauthiot, Gram. Sogd., 163).

The development of čśtyk "third" is naturally different and comes from *ṛṭīya-, see Gram. Sogd., ii, 141.

The preverb ati- may also be present in Ossetic in the form -c-. As is clear from ācāy "true" < *hāṭya-ka-, -ṭi- resulted in-c-. When, therefore, -c- is found in acaunjīn "aufhängen", acamonin "anzeigen", bacamonin "belehren", acaurazin "zurichten", and other verbs, it can be explained as *aṭi-, the form developed before vowels. This seems better than Miller's explanation, Grunadr. d. Iran. Phil., I Anhang, p. 84, of -c- from us-, uz-.

With more hesitation it is possible to derive Oss. cāś'in "brennen" from *ati-tafa-, if it is assumed that *c't- could become *c- and *c-.

The Saka preverb tca- in toabaljiṭi, N., 50. 23, "er zerstückelt", and toabrīṭi, N., 50. 34, "er zerbricht", may possibly contain a similar ati- developed either before a vowel or by assimilation and later
transferred to other verbs. For a similar development in the case of pati- see Bthl., ZAIW., 179-88.

9. ganţ “treasure, treasury”. This word is attested for the Old Pers. period by the Aramaic lw. סננה *ganţa, Eleph. Pap. Sachau, 8 (see Scheftelowitz, Scripta Universitatis ... Hierosolymitanarum, vol. i, 1920). Ganţ “treasure” and gād “rank” are closely associated, hence the simile in Az. 85: چگون اگد ut aganţ martom “like a man without rank and rights and without treasure”.


13. Anērān ut Ėrān, ērīh, anērīh, Ėr. Pahl. 𐭬.argsort can represent three distinct words: ašara-, aryə-, ayra-, each of which resulted in Ėr in the S.W. dialect.

(1) ašar, Ėr, see Bthl., ZAIW., 225, SR., 5, 54, No. 4. It is found in compounds: ašar-(Ēr-) mēniš “humility”, etc., hašašar “under”, NPers. azerbai, zēr “under”.

(2) aryə-. Mid. Iran. N.W. dial. ʾryʾn *aryān, Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 145; S.W. dial. ʾryʾn *ērān, ibid.; Pahl. ērān, NPers. ērān; cf. Oss. ēr “an Ossete”, iron “Ossetic”, and Saka ērinā gari “Iranian Mountains”, N., 158. 5. Both dialects are represented in Arm. lws.: Āri-k’ and Ėrān.

(3) ayra-. Pahl. anayrān, anērān, Av. anayrānām raocaŋəŋ “the 30th day of the month”, cf. Oss. aly “peak”.

With the suffix -āv : ały it occurs in Pahl. ʾkrʾy 𐭫𐭩 aly “excellent”, MPT. (S.W.) ʾgrʾyy ayraŋ in T., iii, 260d, l. 4 (Scheftelowitz, Orients Christianus, 1927).

Here belongs MPT. ʾgrʾv (Sal., Man. St., 45, and Sal., Nachtr.). For the treatment of -gr- and -rg- see Bthl., MM., 6, 13–14: these two groups are not confused (by metathesis to -yr-) in Iranian. Cf. NPers. mury, Sogd. ʾmryw, Oss. mary “bird”, NPers. mary “meadow”, Sogd. mryŋ “wood”; but Pahl. anayrān, NPers. anērān.

Andreas (apud Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu, p. 41, Note) is, therefore,
in error when he connects MPT. ’gr’v with ’rg’v. MPT. ’rg’v “precious, dear” is to be connected with arg- “to be worth”. This word is well represented: Av. arg-, arṣat, Y., 50, 10; arṣajīt, Haḍ. Nask., 1, 6; arṣa- “valuable”, arṣjī- “worthy”, arṣah- “price”.

Pahl. arz, aržān, Arm. lw. aržān, NPers. arz, arj, arzan, arzīdan.

MPT. ’rg’v “dear”, ’rg’y vt(t) “dearness”, Sogd. (Buddh.) ’rg “price”, VN, 38, Oss. arγ “price”, Arm. lw. y-arg “price”, y-argem “to honour”, anargem “to dishonour”, Skr. arghā “price”. Here belongs also Saka alysānā, later eysānā, “prince”: this is *arzānaka- < *arzāna-. It is necessary to recognize ys (notation of z) < ž palatal development of Iranian -g. Similarly in Saka diysde translating Skr. dhārayati, L., 89, 5, and elsewhere, beside dijs- in dijsāti, 3rd sing conj., dijsaka- “one who holds”, L., 89, 15, 97, 36, etc., and drijsāna, N., 107, 28, “to be held”, Av. drag- “hold”. Alysānā, therefore, does not represent a base (Indo-Iran.) *arγh distinct from *arγh, as Leumann supposed, L., 63. The form alys- (*arz- or *alz-) with palatal agrees with NPers. and Pahl. aržān “worthy”. Two forms, one palatal and one guttural, exist side by side, originally due to the development of gutturals to palatals before front vowels in Indo-Iranian. Examples of the two forms in Pahl. -k and -č are: āmōč beside āmōk “teaching”, NPers. gurēz beside gurē “flight”, afrōγ “rays”, rōz “day”. For the voiced guttural cf. Pahl. NPers. tang “constricted”, Pahl. vidang, MPT. vidang, Arm. lw. vtang “peril, distress” beside NPers. tanj “pressing, fixing”, tanjīdan. In Pahl. occurs ći tanj “straining” (of gaze), Iranian *tanga- beside *tanjah-. Hereto probably Sogd. (Buddh.) vtary- “pain”, *vitayā-, a form without nasal, cf. pdṅk- beside pdkh “law”, Christ. Sogd. pdq’. In this way, too, is to be explained Saka bāysi bāysu “garden”, N., 169, 3, 4, loc. sing. bāṣa, L., 127, N., 171. 15 (ys = z, ʂ = z|), from *bāzh(ah)-, over against Sogd. (Christ.) b’gy bāy “garden”, Mt., 21, 33 = ἄμπελῶνα, ST., 19. 15, etc.; Pahl. NPers. bāy “garden”, otherwise Leumann, Zvgl. S., 1930, 188.

The Saka word pārāse (Sacu Doc., 63) can be explained in the same way. It may be pār-rāsa- (s = z, or it could be misspelling for -ys-as elsewhere). The pā- < pati- cf. Pahl. pātkōs, pātdaṁš pāṭfrās pāzand, Paz. pādaśon, NPers. pāzahr, see Bthl., ZAIW., 179–88, Marquart Ādīna, § 31. -rāsa. *rāsa- < *rāza- is the form with palatal which corresponds to NPers. rāy “a verdant meadow”.

1 Hereto Arm. lw. pakaś “defective”, pakasem “to lack”, Pahl. kās- (čaṃkas, MX., 2, 181, ed. Andreas, p. 17, l. 11), kāhētan “to diminish”.

TO THE ZAMASP-NAMAK 69
To return to Pahl. ēr. Paz. anōrī, MX., 21, 25, is rendered into Skr. by anādesacārata. In anērīh, therefore, is included both the non-Iranian peoples and their habits. Pahl. ēr “Iranian” occurs in Az. 79: ēē ēr āżāt paso$xv nē dāt “no Iranian noble answered”.

Ērān uḍ Anērān forms a regular part of the titulary of Sasanian kings, Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 145. Both Northern (aryān uḍ anaryān) and Southern (ērān uḍ anērān) forms are known.

Arm. erani, and derivatives, “blessed”, may be from either arya- or avra-, with a development of meaning in ecclesiastical use.

In Saka beside palatal forms, as above, a form with guttural is to be recognized in dau “fire”, Mait. Sam., 297, dai “fire”, N., 58. 16 = deī, N., 102. 10, instr. sing. daina, N., 58. 9, loc. sing. dāñha, N., 156. 12, from *dāya-, cf. NPers. ḍay “brand”, Av. dag- “to burn”, AIW., 675. The palatal forms occur in the Saka verb pa-daajśāñi “to be burnt”, N., 101. 41, with part. padēta- padiya- “burnt” < *pa-daỵa.

14. vât (Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, p. 55, ḍāy) “bad”, NPers. bad, Arm. lw. vât. In Saka, bata-, bataka- is “small”. It is possible to compare for the semantics Sogd. (Buddh.) ks-, Av. kasu- “small” with Gr. κακός “bad”. For the Saka words see N., 13. 41; 93. 42; 76. 27; bataku, 13. 42; Mait. Sam., 286, etc.

14. driyā “poor”. It is here defined by its antithesis tuţānakar “rich”. For the reading, Bartholomae (MM., 1, 37) pointed to the Pers. دروبان — درووشان. In Paz. dariyōs, dariyōshi, darōsti, driosī, dryōsī, MX. Gloss., p. 55. Y.Av. driyu-, drīvī f., G.Av. dręgū. The relation of Paz. dariyōs to NPers. darvēs is not clear. Has -yō- been interchanged with -vē-? It is possible to compare Pahl. pērōz < *paryōz (*pari-ōjaḥ) and aparvēz < *upary-ōz (?) “victorious”.

15. āzatān “nobles”: epithet of the head of a vis, OPers. viθ, and his family—“nobly born”. Az., 79, ēr āżāt “noble Iranian”, see Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., i, 183, No. 2, Av. āzāta-. The OPers. passage, B., 1, 3, āılmatā amahy “we are noble” is still disputed. Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., adopts the conjecture ādātā, which would fit admirably. āzatāh “nobility, high birth” is a favour from Yazdān in § 37 infra.

For āżāt in the sense of “free”, NPers. āsād, see Bthl., SR., 1, 47, No. 5: mart ē kā-š anšabrīk . . . āżāt bē kart “when a man has freed the slave”.

16. duxtar pat kāpēn ʾūs ʾūs “a daughter with
dowry". Phrases consisting of *pat with a noun can be used attributively without the relative i(e), see Bthl., SR., 5, 9, 33: *duzê *pat én adevê "such a daughter", *xvâstak *pat stûrih, *xvâstak *pat aparmând abzôn *pat xvêsh, *zanišn *pat én advenak, dâlastân *pat var. The phrases form adj. *patmêcak "savoury", *patnêrûc "strong", cf. Husr., p. 90, No. 558, and frequently in NPers.: *bafarr "splendid". For kâpê "dowry", NPers. kâbên, Arm. kâpên-k, see HAG., 165.

18. *katak xvatalîh "authority in the house, patria potestas". *katak xvatalî is found in two senses: (1) *katak "house", corresponding to Av. nmâna- (G.Av. domâna-), OPers. mâniya- (adj.), the family. (2) *katak "House, the Great House", or vis, OPers. við. Hence *katak-xvalâyân are Satraps, HerZFeld, Arch. Mitt., 1, 118; Bthl., MM., 3, 34 f. So in the Iran. Bund., 214, 13: Alak [de]sandar kësar . . . ërân shâdr *pat 90 *katak [Text ño] xvatalî baxt "Alexander Caesar divided Érân Shahr among 90 princes".

19. zûr apar göbet. zûr § 22, ñû, Arm. lw. zour "axios".

MPT. zvr "lies", z'vrouz "lying speech", Sal., Man. St., p. 80, 79, and Nachträg. The spelling ñû remains obscure (see Junker, Cauz., 3, 56); it may be either graphic distinction from zvr, *zôr "strength", or indicate a disyllable. In Pahl. occurs a word Sûslûs Iran. Bd., 187, 1. 4: ñeç dart Sûslûs bës, which could be "peril, pain, wrong, hatred". Then read *zuhar, in which -h- may be in hiatus, or *zuvar with scriptio plena of -a-. The same word may occur in ham . . . án used of dëvs. Avestan zûрак- in compounds zûrâ,jâta-, zûrû,borota-, AIW., 1698; OPers. zura "wrong", zurakara- "doing wrong", B., 4, § 13, possibly Skr. hvâras- "deceit, wrong". Cf. RV., 5, 20, 2 (374): ápâ dvêsô ápâ hvâro 'nâyârâtasya saâcëre "they fall away into the hatred and evil of the worshipper of other gods". Here hvâras- appears with dvêsas- as in the Iran. Bund. passage just quoted.

In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs another word for "wrong", 'rn, Dhuta, 83, Dhyâna, 141, 'rnh, Dhyâna, 144, 'rn ny nyv'nh, VJ., 1450, "tort et pêché", which seems to offer a means of explaining the Avestan armat,çaesa-, Yt., 10. 35, ãarmaç leç, epiteth of Miþra—it remains unexplained in the latest translation of Yašt 10 (Hertel, Die Sonne u. Miþra im Avesta, p. 143, § 35, No. 1). By comparison with this Sogdian word 'rn "wrong", the Av. is probably "punishing wrong": *arma-çaisa to käy-, AIW., 464, Skr. câyate, etc. Cf. also Miþra's
epithet açaētārem, Yt., 10. 26, "punisher"; <*ā-čai-tar-. To *arna-, cf. Skr. ṛṇā-. For the spelling t.ē = ē, see Reichelt, Avw. Elem. buch., p. 45, § 61.

The same word is in Saka ārra-, translating Sanskrit aparādha-, L., 88, Mait. Sam., 274, etc. For the form cf. kārra- "deaf", Sogd. (Buddh.) krm-, Pahl. karr, Av. karṇa-. It is found also in the compound ārāgīḍa- <*arna-kṛta--. The Saka form with ā- supports the Avestan vocalization ar- against the Skr. r-.


24. ān i kē, ān kē "he who". Pahl. MSS. are of no critical value in deciding on the presence or absence of the relative i (ē) < OPers. hya. The full relative sense was gradually obscured, and although still frequent in Pahl. (written either ṭ or ṭ Z Y), is there, too, sometimes strengthened by the addition of kē, ka, or čēgōn. On i kē see MX., 2. 165, 186; Bthl., SR., 2. 26, No. 3; Pāz. i ka, MX., loc. cit. On i kē, Bthl., Zur Etym., 23 (where the text can be kept). On i čēgōn, cf. Pāz., MX., 41. 11, panē drūž . . . i čuḥ hast āž u xašm u varun u nang u axvarandī "the five Druž . . . which are avarice and anger and lust and shame and discontent".


25. bēkānīh "foreign parts" بیدست, bēkānakīh, § 48. Pahl. bē "out, away", frequently in the phrase bē ā ḫa ḫo, ruvān bē ā kū d'barēt "whither does the soul go?" Bthl., SR., 2. 47. For hač . . . bē, see § 27 infra. Pahl. bērōn "outside", MPT. byren, Sal., Man. St., 62; Bthl., ZAIW., 51; NPers. پیرون. Pahl. bētōm بیدست or بیدست "outermost", superlative to bē "out", MPT. bydēm.

26. aššufṭak (čšufṭak) “disordered”. Marquart, Ādina, § 24, has dealt with the preverb (Iranian) adī– aš-, ah-, ē-, see § 9 supra (also Junker, FP., 38–9, 93; Bthl., SR., 1. 21, No. 1). This preverb is found often beside forms with ē-, in which one can recognize either Iranian ad- or adī > ē-. Pahl. Psal. 'dye:n “law”, MPT. 'dy'vr “helper” assure this aš- for Pahl. With aššufṭak cf. višuštān “to ruin”, višōpišn, āšāp, Arm. lw. apšop, ašop “tumult”, HAG., 106, NPers. āšēb, āšufṭan, Sogd. (Buddh.) ’bš’wpnt, SCE., 104, “écorcher”.

27. bar “fruit”. Pahl. bar, NPers. bar “fruit, produce”. Druxt i Asōrik, § 1 (Pahl. T., 109) bar-š mānēt angūr “its fruit resembles a grape”. barbar “fruit-bearing”, “profitable”, Bthl., SR., 5. 29. Sogd. (Buddh.) br’k “fruit”, VN., 80, (Christ.) brījt, brījty “tōn karpōw”, ST., 19. 18, 21. 14. This is probably the word which occurs in the Saka (Sacu Document, 65) ma tā tū āvā’ sai bari vilakye brre vī “Do not fear so, the fruit of the plants appears in its (time of) growth”.

brre, < *abi-rōṣa-. The development will be *bīrūjī > *brūj > *brvī > bṛi, (brē), for the loss of -u–v- cf. grīcyō, grūco, grīcyau, N., 2. 20, and tēīye “he goes”, to rvīti “grows”, Mait. Sam., 125, 126, 117 < rājīt < *rōdāti, Av. raed- “grow”, AIW., 1492, NPers. rōstān, rōyad, Pahl. rōśīn, rustān, Sogd. (Buddh.) rvōt, rōdē’t “grows”, Dhyāna, 284, etc., rvōk “growing”, Frag., 3. 4, rvōt “may it grow”, Frag., 3. 5. The Saka compound *ubi-rōd- is found in hambrūttī, Mait. Sam., 128, “grows together”, which also illustrates the earlier stage -ruī-. For -e, cf. bre “dear”, N., 163. 20, beside brrī, N., 119. 6.
With rvṛtti, sai illustrates a tendency in Saka phonetics in the treatment of intervocalic -ś-. For sai “appears” = saitti, seitti, N., 50. 24, etc., cf. kei’ “he thinks”, Mait. Sam., p. 41 (E., xiv, 31) = kē’ti, N., 22. 33. In Saka -ada- became -aḍa- > aï > ai, ei, ē:—
mad-, maiti “is intoxicated”, N., 127. 8, 15.
band-, baiṭti “he binds”, N., 127. 9, 21; baindi, 3rd plur.; basta-, part.
sand-, saiṭti, seitti “appears”, N., 21. 1, 50. 34, etc.; saindi, 3rd plur.; sasta-, part.
vad-, *abī-vad- bvaṭṭi “mounts”, Mait. Sam., 150; bv’asti, part., N., 76. 44; bāyāṇḍi “they lead”, bāṣṭa-, part.
*ati-vad-, tvāyāki “a guide”.
*ni-vad-, nvaṣṭai, 2nd sing., “you have escaped”, N., 169. 10.
rōḍ-, rvṛtti “grows”, rrusters-, part., N., 171. 12; hambrvṛtti “grows together”.
These verbs in -ad- therefore fall together in the present with -āy-verbs: daitti “he sees”, daindi “they see”, but with part. āta- “seen”; pva’, 2nd sing. imperat. “fear” < *pa-baya-, Av. bay-, AIW, 927.
It accordingly becomes possible to explain the line Mait. Sam., 249: nyakṣya nī ‘hiṃṭī bhiṣyā ṝe ṭiṭṭe āḥwainā kusḍe “humiliation is imposed upon them exceedingely, whoso looks upon these desirable things”.
āḥwainā < *a-hvaṇḍana-ka- to Pahl. xwāḥ-, xwāṭ-, xvāṣṭan “desire”, NPers. xwāḥ-, xvāṣṭan “desire”, Afg. xwanda “taste, pleasure”, Av. xvandra-ka- “pleasing” (see Morg., Et. Voc. Pashio; AIW, 1865), xvāṣṭa- “cooked”, AIW., 1878, to Skr. svāḍ-. MPT. xvāṣṭ “desired” to xvaz- and xvāṣṭ “desired” to xvad-. For xvaz-, Kurd. xvaz-, xvāṣṭ, Zaza vāz-, xoaz-, vaṣṭ, see Bthl., SR., 5. 55, No. 2. In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs γwyz- “beg for” (γwyzty, 3rd sing., Dhuta, 280, Frag. 2a. 10, etc.), γwyz’κ “question”, Dhuta, 77, γwyz’y k’m “will seek”, Dhuta, 144. Sogd. (Christ.) γwzę “I will beg”, ST., 75, 4, etc., n’ṣṛγwzęty (“not wishing well” =”) “enemies”. Christ. Sogd. keeps γ distinct from x, although in pöṃy p’öṃy “answer” γ may replace x. At least, it is impossible to separate Sogd. γwzę- “seek” from the Western xvaz- “desire”. āḥwainā is, therefore, “desired things”. In kusḍe I recognize the verb corresponding to Sogd. (Buddh.) k’wś- in tk’wś- “contemplate”, tk’wśt “he regards”,
Dhuta, 87, etc. <*ati-kōš-* : kuśde with śde (phonetically -žde) < *-šate as in pyūšde “he hears”, L., 124, < *pa-gōš-ate.

On vilakye see § 1 (on pursīt) supra.


28. būm *vižandak ut *vināskār bē bavēt. All MSS. here are corrupt. The readings are :

MU.  
DE.  
DP.  

and ḥaz, būm and pus, are often confused. For I read vižandak “injured, damaged”, connected with Pahl. vižand “damage”, MPT. vzyn, NPers. gazand. A similarly corrupt passage seems to occur in AV., 53. 5. zamāk vižandēnand “they injure the earth”. In SBE., 47. 166, (West, gangiaito): one can read vižandēhēt—a passive form of the denominative vižandēnītān, see Bthl., Mir. St., 5. 35: raḥākīhān, pass. to raḥākēnītan. [But see Corr.]

For I read vināskār. Vinās “(1) injury, damage, (2) sin”, as in Arm. lw. vnas “(1) injury, (2) sin”. Cf. § 74 infra, the complaint of Spandaramat. Pagliaro, Az., 48, translates vinās kunēt by “usando frode”, but a less ethical sense is equally possible: “he causes damage, does injury to”. NPers. gunāh is “sin”. Cf. Bthl., SR., 5. 6, vināskārīh (1) “Verschulden”, (2) “Schädigung”.


30. gartēt “turns about”. Two roots vart- and gart- are to be distinguished. They occur together in Mātīkān i Čatrang, § 17,
vartišn ut gartišn, Sal., Bull. ASP., 1887. Morgenstierne, Et. Voc. Pashto, p. 27, has discussed these words. Pers. gāštān gārdīdan has confused the two words in one, but Auromani gāl- “to turn” and other dialect forms prove the existence of gart-.

31. dipēr et seqq. There appears to be serious corruption in the MSS. here. DP., often the better MS., has that is, ut dipēr kē pat vat āyēt. On see § 37, iii, 4, infra. Modi’s MSS. give:

\[\text{dipēr hač nipišt vat āyēt.}\]

I have tentatively adopted dipēr pat nipišt i vat āyēt. For the reading dipēr cf. Christ. Sogd., ST., 17, 4, dipēr with -ē < -iβa- *dipē-bar, MP. Inscription. āyēr. The -ē < *ia changed early to -ī (before ē < *ai), hence Arm. lw. dpîr “scribe”, but Arm. lw. den “religion” < *dainā-, Av. daēnā. In place of āyēt, hast “is” could be read by assuming that the scribe read as āyēt and substituted the mask Y’TVM-et, see Bthl., WZKM., 25, 408.

33. ā-ś. ā “then”, frequent as correlative, < *ād, Y.Av. āat, Bthl., SR., 4. 46. It is regularly followed by an enclitic pronoun, ā-ś, ā-mān, ā-sān, or -ē, -ēi, ā-ē, ā-ēi “then also” ād-ē. For examples see Bthl., SR., 3. 23, 24; SR., 5. 8. 25, 38; MM., 1. 8; MM., 4. 14.

34. katēčak bē kart xānak bavēt. For the predicative use of the participle cf. ut hač hamāk ēē vattar kē bē murt xvatay hač ēē huśnūt nēst “He is worst of all with whom being dead God is not satisfied”. Pahl. T., p. 40, l. 17. Katēčak, diminutive to katak “house”, see Sal., Grund. Iran. Phil., i, 281; Horn, ibid., ib, 181.


\[\text{jūhānai bādi spakyi} \quad \text{ṣṭām vā hārvāi} \\
\text{maṃ sā' vala štāka} \quad \text{dyejasa širka u būsajsa} \\
\text{maṃ sā' vala dīstī} \quad \text{štāni pūmūda hamālē} \\
\text{maṃ ri būda yērī byājī} \quad \text{kya spakyi na štāka}\]
"In the time of delight (?) the flowers grow. This rose of mine is good to see and sweet-scented. This rose in my hand will fade. But it is carried in my mindful heart when the flowers are no more ".

jūhūnai, possibly part. middle to jsūṣṭī "he delights in", Vajrachchedikā, 43 : for js = į = qy cf. janūḍī "they kill" = jasanīṇī, jasanāṇī "to be killed", N., 101. 39. jśīnā "lifetime", jvīṇī "may I live", jvīṇī "they live", pālṣṭīte "it blooms", M., 120, haspālgya "make bloom", M., 191. Beside jsūṣṭī, of which js- is unusual if it is related to Av. zaoś (Skr. jośate, etc.), occurs a word ysūṣde "he treasures", Leumann, Supplet., p. 187, with the expected ys- = z, Av. zaoś. For -h- < ž, š cf. uhu "you", nom. < *yūžam, pihe "he strikes", pihyūnīna "with a blow", N., 9. 15 < *piž- to Av. *paiš- in piśtra- "striking", NPers. pišt "meal", Skr. pindaṣṭi, pišta-, and byhaṇa, § 1 supra. Hence jūhūnai bāḍi "time of rejoicing (?) ".

spyakṣi "flowers", spīṭa- "flower", with (diminutive) suffix -ka, see § 1 supra.

būṣajṣa probably adj. Cf. rṛj’ajṣa "having holes", khūnajṣa "defective", rṛmaṇajṣa "defiled", ysojṣa "savoury".

būḍa- "borne, carried" < *byrta-.

pūmūḍa-1 "withered" < pūṃṭa-. mūḍa- "dead" < *mṛṭa-, for pā-, pu- cf. ārāṃjīte "diminishes" (to Afg. ranjai).

yṣīri byājī "in mindful heart". byājī is adj to byāta- "memory": *byāgya- < *byāṭa-kya. For omission of -t- cf. bāna "with wind", nāṃdi "they took" beside nāti "he took", dā, nom. acc. sing. "law" = dāta-. The suffix is treated by Leumann, L., 101. The word daji, Sacu Doc., 67, daji gūni "of — colour", is probably an adj. meaning "of fire": daji < *dāgya- to dai, dei "fire", only one would have expected *dājī, cf. dāna, loc. sing., "in the fire" < *dāya-.

In contrast to būḍa mūḍa, where -u- is due to the labial, āydaḍa- "honoured" < *ā-vad-darta, cf. Av. advṛṣṭi, ḫaṛṣṭa- "not honouring the teacher", and, for *āz-, NPers. āzmāyad "he tries", Pahl. uzmāyēt, and harnḍaḍa- "favoured" < *ham-dārta-, cf. Arm. lw.

1 In Saka a tendency to interchange ā and ċ is distinctly noticeable. In Sacu Doc., 62, occurs māhāsmaṇḍari for Skr. mahāsamudra-. Beside kṣundai "husband" appears kṣāṇḍai, N., 164. 8: to be connected with Pahl. šūd, NPers. šay "husband". Leumann's etymology, N., 163. 10, *kṣāntaka is unsatisfactory. For a derivation of kṣundai see Morgenstern, Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages, i, p. 298. Parachii xā- "husband" = Yd. fōh to Av. fśūyant- "peasant". Further, ā beside ā in Saka rrumāj = rāmāj "of the king", J.R.A.S., 1914, 340, and kṣumni "regnal year", Sacu Doc., 7, 32, beside kṣāṇi, J.R.A.S., 1914, 351.
handart "tranquil" have -art- and -ārt-. From yan- "make, do", yida- < *yirta-, in which -i- is due to the y-, beside yudā-

34. padak or pađik "footman". Arm. lw. payik "foot-soldier", NPers. paig "messenger", Arab lw. faṗḥ "courier", Syriac pyq "foot-soldier", HAG., 220. The short -ā- is found also in OPers. nipadiy "behind", NPers. pai "foot, track", az pai "behind", Pahl. padē (Nyb., Hilfsb., p. 57), padē, FP., p. 98. Sogd. (Buddh.) pōy pōy, *padē padē "at every step", Dhyāna, 284. Here belongs also Saka nva, nvi < *nipadi + ahya, nva, nva < *nipadiā, nvaia < *nipadiyā (loc. sing.), cf. dāna < *dāyanayā "in the fire", § 13 supra. References are Mait. Sam., 157 (nva), 247 (nva); Sacu Doc., 38, 63 (nvi); Bhadrak S., 18 (nvi), 7 (nvaia). With long -ā-:

For the treatment of -d- in the Saka forms, cf. § 27 supra. In compounds two treatments are found: (1) -d- (= -d-) is preserved, padita "burnt" < *pa-dayda. (2) -d- > -y-, ayistwā, loc. plur., Sacu Doc., 45, *a-dišta- "not built, unwalled”, cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) šst-, *dišta- "built", VJ., 11b, to *daiz-, Av. daēz-, AIW., 673; āyāri "they appear", Vajrac., 41b < *ā-dāy-.

37. bē Yazdān. The Semitic mask BL’ is the correct representative of bē "without", Syriac ḫla bла "without". This is but a small part of the functions of bē. Semitic masks may be employed as phonetic symbols with the phonetic value of the corresponding Iranian word ("inverse masks"). Of this use are the following types:—

I. (1) bē: (a) "but", (b) verbal particle, (c) "God, majesty" = bay, MM., 3. 9, Az., 41; (d) "outside" in ṭom bētom = ṭom bēṣabrīk "foreign", see MM., 3, 34, No. 1.

(2) xānak "house", Aram. BYT’ used for xānak "stream, spring", MM., 1. 39. Note, SBE., 47. 155.

(4) ꞌusahaan, Aram. 'YK, for ꞌu "where".


(6) ʿmnēt "remains", Aram. KTRVN for ʿmnēt "resembles".

(7) ʿtar "across", Aram. LSD for tarr "fresh", Draxt i Asörük, 1.

(8) ḫuštān "go out", Aram. YNPQ "go out" for ḫuštān "injure", see MM., l. 35.

(9) ḫān "that", Aram. ZK, for an "other".

(10) ʾē "this", Aram. HN', for ē "optative particle".

II. The mask forms part of a word.

(1) ʿwatāparēkh "goodness" beside ʿwatāparēkh, SR., 4, 30.

(2) ʿnīst "lowest", ʿny + the symbol for ʿsat "hundred", Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, p. 43 = MX., ed. Andreas, p. 16, l. 6.

(3) ʿnām xāvāst, Aram. ŠM—beside ʿnāmxāvāst, SR., 4, 6.

(4) ʿKār ŠMak = ʿKārnāmāk, Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, p. 1, l. 1.

(5) ʿdastkār "a property", Kn., 4, 19.

(6) ʿpasōxu "answer", MX., 2, 170, for ʿpasōxu.

III. Semitic mask with "phonetic complement" prefix or suffix.

(1) ʿnīs ŠM nām "name", MM., 1, 28; SR., 1, 48, No. 1.

(2) ṣōṭ ʾkmôšān = ṣēšān "who to them", SR., 5, 48, No. 2.

(3) ʿnīs ŠMē = ṣēšān, SR., 1, 48, No. 1.

(4) With Iranian "mask" ʾnē ḫ-d-pyr-r dipēr, after ʾnē ḫ-d-pyr-r dipēr, after ŠMē, FP., p. 89, was no longer clear.

IV. Confusion due to later pronunciation of the Iranian words.

(1) $bē$ for $pət$—both pronounced $ba$.

(2) $pəs$, Aram. 'HR "after", for $pəs$, Aram. BRH, JN., iii, 6: the MSS. vary between the two.

(3) Confusion of $kā$ "when", Aram. 'MT with $kē$ "who", Aram. MNV and with $kū$ "that, where"—all pronounced later ($ki$, $ku$, $ka$) $ka$.

On Yazdān see Marquart, Ādīna, §§ 45–6.

37. mehmān, "guest". The "guest in the body" is a favourite expression. Pahl. Comm. to Y. 31. 6c (Spiegel, p. 134) čand- $Vahman$ $pət$ tan mehmān "as long as Vahman is a guest in the body". MX., 21. 13, Pāz. vaš har drūž $pət$ tan ʔūm mahmā bond, kūš hōči vohī $d$ tan nū hōlod "And in his body all the Druž are guests so far that they allow no goodness into the body". Pahl. mehmān, NPers. mihmān "guest" $<*maidman$, cf. Av. maēdana-, Pahl. mehann "dwellings-place", Afg. mēna "habitation", Morgenst., Et. Voc., p. 44. The Afg. mēlma "guest", Morgenst., Et. Voc., p. 44, is apparently uncertain. It is possibly $<*maidman$ $<*maidman$. The ending -mā (-mä) possibly preserves the old nom. form $*mā$. The Sogd. (Buddh.) 'zrv', (Man.) 'zrv' (Lentz, Die Stellung Iesu, p. 71) is, in the same way, from the nom. $*zruvā = "Zurvān"$ in the Manich., but translating "Brahmā" in the Buddhist texts, Pahl. and MPT. zurvān is from the acc. $*zruvan$. So Bang's question can be answered, Türkische Turfan-Texte, ii, p. 10, No. 1, SBAW., 1929. The Uigur has āzrua, Mongolian āsrua (or āsrun). See further § 47 infra on Saka rrīman.-


40. dahāk $dāvāt$ —?—. Freiman on Pandnāmak, § 34, WZKM., 20, 271, has discussed this word, which is known only to Av. and Pahl.
Av. dahika-, dahaka-, AIW., 704, āat ahmi nmāne zayānte dahakača mūrakāča "and in this house are born—?—and—?— (Daevish creatures)", Y., 11, 6. Dahāka- is the name (or epithet) of the Aži, a mythological dragon, who plays a great part, in human form, in Iranian saga. In the Pandṇāmak, §34, Freiman reads dahiikik, read by Neryosang as daxšak "mark". Etymologically daha- suggests Saka daha- "man" in contrast to "woman", N., 127. 5; 125. 38; 131. 29, etc. hudaha- "good man", and the tribal name Δαοι in Herodotus, i, 125, and Avestan dāhīŋm dakhynm "Dāhian provinces", Yt., 13. 144 (AIW., 744), Ind. Bund., 15. 29, dāy (SBE., v, 59), Iran. Bd., p. 107, l. 1, dāh . On the Indian side correspond Skr. dāsa-, dasyu- in form, but with evil connotation "foreigners", therefore dangerous men. It is clear that daha- could take on a derogatory sense, and in this way it is possible to connect Av. dahaka-, dahāka-, Pahl. *dahik. Is it possible also to refer to *daha- the Arm. lw. dahič, πράκτωρ, σπεκούλατωρ, ἕτη, “executioner,” with the Syriac lw. ḏḥš’ “lctor, satelles”, HAG., 133?

40. apurnāy "not fully grown, youth". Here *purna- "full", with *-m- preserved, but purr "full" as karr "deaf"; -āy- <*āy-, Gv. Av. āyav- "duration" (only āyā, AIW., 333), Skr. āyu-, surviving in Sogd. (Buddh.) yh *āya, DS., 76 (see Benveniste, Gram. Sogd., ii, 177). Purnāyih "being of adult age", Bthl., SR., 5. 17. The compound is known already in the Av. puṭrahe aparmāyaoṣ, N., 54, NPers. burnā, Pahl. apurnāyak, -iṣ.

41. aparmānd "privilege", see Bthl., SR., 5. 3 f., 48 f. Pāz. avarmād : aparmānd in juristic sense of a special type of inheritance, SR., 5. 19. In JN. Frag., iii (Modi, p. 17), occurs frōtmānd "sin": hač har vinās ut frōtmānd i vēs pahrečēt "refrain from all injury and sinfulness."

43. apar "booty", verbal noun to apurtan "carry off", *apaburtan (see FP., 80). The Pahl. Comm. to Av. hazahīša has hač apar, AIW., 1799, and apar, aparak translate Av. hazar-pan- "robber", AIW., 1799. Pāz. apar "booty", apardan "carry off", Mx. Gloss., pp. 13-14. For the form *bāra- cf. marak, mar "number", bar "fruit". Hereto MPT. šrg (M., 32, 9) 'vn sfsyr nyz ćyym ’v šrg 'stft "O goodly sword, which for me in afflicting *grief...": *sarag, Arm. lw. ažzar "lamentation", Pahl. vitarak, vitarq "passage", Y.Av. stara- "sin", -kara, -bara; xvara- "wound".

VOL. VI. PART I.
44. sturg ut ruzd, see Sal., Nachträge, s.v. ruzd. sturg < *sturak, cf. Pahl. vastrak “garment”, written (Av. Gloss., 243) vastarg, Paz. vastarg, gastarg, MX. Gloss., 86, 210, Pahl. margv “death” < *marka, Av. mahrka-, cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) mrēh “death”, but Pahl. marak “number”, written (Arabic) ١١١١١١١١١١١. It therefore appears that -rak, -rk are alike changed to -rg, but with exceptions: whereas -rg remains in N.W. dial., but is -rv in S.W. NPers. murγ “bird”, Pahl. murv, see Junker, Wörter u. Sachen, 1929. To sturg < *sturak or *starak, NPers. saturas (si-, su-) “quarrelsome”.


45. pat apāyast i xvēš “for their own needs”: Husr., 5, api-šān hēr pat apāyast i xvēs ēstāl “and they had treasure according to their needs”.


47. riyahrīḥ “defilement”. Pāz. rīrī, ryārī, MX., 2. 184, etc., to Pahl. rītan, NPers. rīdan, Bal. riyay, Oss. liyun “cacare”, Av. ray-, AIW., 1511, irimant- < *rīma-mant-, AIW., 1529, “mit Unrat angefüllt”, MPT. ryymn, rym, Pahl. rēmān (Pāz. rīmanī, MX., 62. 27), NPers. rīm, Bal. rēm, Afg. rīma. To the suffix cf. MPT. žyvr, *žvahr. Pahl. gōh(r) تـسیسْ، تـسیسْ، تـسیسْ، Arm. lw. gohar, NPers. gōhar, Arab. lw. jauhar “essence”, are probably < *gavātra, gavātra (the Pahl. spelling with -ah- is naturally not conclusive) to Av.1 gav-, AIW., 504, gūnāōti “er verschafft”. To this word belong Saka gavāru “Wesen”, N., 109. 36, guvāna- “existing”, huvvāna-, Vajracch., 42a, 44a, 41b, and gūrā “they exist” in Sacu Doc., 55 :—

yosāya ḍrūmāṃjṣa kyi hva hva gūra “born of such as exist by themselves”.

For hva hva < *hvataḥ hvataḥ cf. hvati hva, N., 176. 2. Av. xvāti, Pahl. xvāt, NPers. xvāt, Sogd. yvī *xvūtī (Benveniste, Gram. Sogd., ii, 119). Hence Vedic gotrā- (RV., 2. 23, 18 (214) gavām gotrām) “stall” has probably been influenced by gav- “ox”. To the verb ray- belongs also Saka rrīman-, nom. sing. rrīmi, acc. plur. rrīma,
instr. plur. rrīmaṇyauc “impurity”; rrīmaṣa- “blemished”, arrīmaṣa- “blemished” < *rēman-. Pahl. rēman “impurity”; see Leumann, Supplet., 192, whose etymology is too dependent on Sanskrit.1 With -t < ē̄, rrīman- is to be kept distinct from icae′man- “eye” < *ćaṣman-. Nom. sing. rrīmi is probably < *rrīma, neut. nom. sing. of -man “stem”, cf. on Pahl. mēhmān, § 37 supra.

50. प्रमाण “sureties”: passoxv < *pati-sahva(n)- (1) “speaking in reply”, (2) “speaking for”. Cf. Saka paṭiḥvāna-, Mait. Sam., 92, “Zuweisung”. The converse to the second meaning seems to have been expressed by *abi-sahva(n)- preserved in Arm. lw. osoz “litigatore, accusatore, nemico” (Ciakciak), osoxem “to be at law” (Bedrossian). This word has not yet apparently been noticed in Pahl. texts. Bartholomae had met this word passoxv, pāsoxv “surety” frequently in the Māṭikān i hazār Dātastān, but failed to recognize it in the unusual spelling. In SR., 4, p. 6, he gave the meaning “Bürge”, and on p. 19 the variant forms. These forms वर्ज़त्रत्र contain a scriptio plena of the v: p’suxv, which disguises the word. For this spelling cf. MPT. ’vx, ox “world”, Pahl. axv, MPT. psux passox and frsx farrox, ZAIW., 47. So in Pāzand ोξ, ोξ = Pahl. वर्ज़त्रत्र “world of” beside Pāz. axan, plur.; see Btlh., WZKM., 25, pp. 395–6.

50. ṣap ṭačiṣn “stream of river (or of water)”. DP. reads ṣap tačaṇān “streams of river” or ṣap ut tačaṇān “river and streams”. For ṣap = “river” cf. pat bār i ṣap i Dātya “on the bank of the river Dātya”.

51. hanžāpiṣṇ ut apasāriṣn “bringing to an end and quenching”. Modi’s MSS. have hanžāp- but DP. hanžāpiṣṇ ut apasāriṣṇ. For hanžāp- cf. MPT. hnzft, hnzft “ended, completed”, Sal., Man. St., p. 85, but hnz’m’y “you will assemble” : ṣāp- causative to -zap- < *gap-(gaβ) beside *gam-. NPers. anjām “end”, Pahl. hanžām, Jud. Pers. anjāftan “to bring to an end”, MP. hanžāftan, hanžāmēntān (Marquart, Ādīna, § 10).

1 Saka ttīma “seed” < *ta․ma-, cf. siya < *sya ‘da “learnt” is to be connected with Sogd. (Buddh.) tym- “seed”, *ta․ma- to OPers. tavšman- [Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lexicon, 91, is wrong in comparing ṣidrataxzma, name of a Sagartian rebel, and hence dialectical form with -xm-. In South-Western Persian -zm > -km > m, cf. NPers. marudum = MPT. mrtahm, Sogd. mrtym-]. Av. ta.m.man-, Pahl. tāzēm, MPT. tuxm “seed”, NPers. tuxm (N.W. dial. form). Leumann’s *takšman- is needless, loc. cit., 192.

ABBREVIATIONS

Arch. Mitt.: Herzfeld, Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, 1929.
AIW.: Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, 1904.
ZAIW.: Chr. Bartholomae, Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch, 1906.
HAG.: Hübschmann, Armenische Grammatik, Teil i, 1897.
SBE.: Sacred Books of the East.
WZKM.: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
BSL.: Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique.
Grund. Iran. Phil.: Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.

PAHLAVI

Mir. St.: Bartholomae, “Mitteliranische Studien,” i–vi, in WZKM.
AV. Gloss.: Artāy Virāz Nāmāk Glossary, see AV.
SR.: Bartholomae, Zum sassanidischen Recht, i–v, Heidelberg.
Husr.: King Husrav and his Boy, ed. Unvala.
Nyb., Hilfeb.: H. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, 1928.
Kn.: Karnāmak i Artaxēr i Pāpakan.
MX.: Mēnōkē Xrat.

TURFAN MIDDLE IRANIAN

Tedesco, Dialektologie : Monde Oriental, 15. Dialektologie der Westiranischen  
Turfantexite.  

**SOGDIAN**  
Frag.: Fragments ; Dhuta: Dhuta-Text ; Dhyāna: Dhyāna-Text ; VN.: Vimala-  
kīrinirdēśa Sūtra: in Reichelt, Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des  
Britischen Museums, 1928.  
Gram. Sogd.: Essai de Grammaire Sogdiennne, i–ii, Gauthiot and Benveniste.  
ST.: Sogdianische Texte, i, F. W. K., Müller, ABAW., 1913.  

**SĀKA**  
Vajracch.: Vajracchedikā, ed. Konow, in Hoernle’s Manuscript Remains of Buddhist  
Literature.  

For E. Leumann’s works:—  
N. = Buddhistische Literatur, Nordarisch u. Deutsch, i, 1920.  
Suppletiv. = “Suppletivwesen” im Nordarischen, Zeits. für vgl. Sprachforschung,  
1930.  

**Note of Correction to § 28.**—The emendations proposed are unnecessary. The words are from ęṓ- “to agitate”, ę́dak  
“agitated”, ā́dēnā “they agitate”, ā́dēhēl is agitated, cf. Sanskrit codayati. For the meaning, Iran. Bund. 152, 10,  
āp . . . pat ādiśn ut āust āasēt “the water tosses in agitation”. Against a į́s = *vį́zand is also the regular spelling į́s vizand.