

TO THE ZAMASP-NAMAK. I

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I GIVE below a portion of the Pahlavi Žāmāsp-Nāmak with notes. The text is easily accessible in J. J. Modi's *Jāmāspī, Pahlavi Pāzend 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. *pursīt Vištāsp šāh kū ēn dēn i apēčak čand sāl raþāk bavēt ut pas hač ān ē āþām ut žamānak rasēt.*

2. *guft-eš Žāmāsp i bitaxš kū ēn hazār sāl raþāk bavēt.*

3. *pas oēšān martomān i andar ān āþām bavēnd hamāk o miθrān družān ēstēnd.*

4. *ēvak apāk dit kēn ut arašk ut drōy kunēnd.*

5. *ut pat ān čim Ěrān šaθr o Tāčikān apaspārīhēt<sup>1</sup> ut Tāčikān har rōc nērōktar bavēnd ut šaθr saθr frāč gīrēnd.*

6. *martom o apārōnīh ut drōy vartēnd ut har čiš (i) ān gōþēnd ut kunēnd hač-ešān xvēš tan sūtōmandtar.*

7. *api-šān raþišn<sup>2</sup> i frārōn hač-eš apār bavēt.*

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

Žāmāsp, 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 Ěrān šahr will be delivered up to the *Tāčiks* and the *Tāčiks* 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.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. and *DP.* *apaspārēnd.*

<sup>2</sup> MSS. and *DP.* .

8. *pat apēdātīh ēn Ērān šaθr  
ō dāhyupatān bār i garān rasēt.*

9. *ut āmār i zarēn ut asimēn  
ut vas-č<sup>1</sup> ganž ut xvāstak hanbār  
kunēnd, ut hamāk aβinn ut apaitāk  
bavēt.*

10. *ut vas-č<sup>2</sup> ganž ut xvāstak i  
šāyakān ō dast ut pātxāhīh i  
dušmanān rasēt.*

11. *ut margīh i apēzamānak vas  
bavēt.*

12. *ut hamāk Ērān šaθr ō  
dast i ōešān dušmanān rasēt.*

13. *ut Anērān ut Ērān gumē-  
čihēnd ētōn kū ērīh hač anērīh  
paitāk nē bavēt, ān i ēr apāč (ō)  
anērīh ēstēnd.*

14. *ut pat ān i vat āβām ān i  
tuþānkār ān i driyuš farroxv  
dārēnd, ān i driyuš xvat farroxv nē  
bavēt.*

15. *ut āzātān ut vazurkān ō  
živandakīh i apēmēčak rasēnd.*

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

17. *ut duxt kē-š hač-š zāyēt  
pat vahāk bē fravaxšēt.*

18. *ut pus pitar ut mātar žanēt,  
api-š andar živandakīh hač katak-  
xvatāyīh yut kunēt.*

For its lawlessness, this Ērān  
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 Ērān šahr will fall  
into the hand of those enemies.

And Anērān and Ērān 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 him-  
self 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 life-  
time will deprive him of authority  
in the family.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. گوچ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. گوچ, DP. گوچ.

19. *ut kas brātar mas brātar  
žanēt, api-š xvāstak hač-eš stānēt,  
api-š xvāstak rād zūr apar gōbēt.*

20. *ut žan gyān i xvēš pat marg-  
aržān bē dahēt.*

21. *ut avarīk ut apaitāk martom  
ō paitākīh rasēt.*

22. *ut zūr ut gukāsīh i arāst ut  
drōy frāxv šavēt.*

23. *šap ēvak apāk dit nayn ut  
mað xvarēnd ut pat dostūh raþēnd<sup>1</sup>  
ut rōc i diiñkar pat gyān i ēvak  
ditikar čārak sācēnd ut vat handē-  
šēnd.<sup>2</sup>*

24. *ut andar ān vat āþām ān  
kē-š frazand nēst pat farroxv  
dārēnd, ān i kē-š frazand hast pat  
čašm xvār dārēnd.*

25. *ut vas martom ō uzdēhīkīh  
ut bēkānīh ut saxtīh rasēt.*

26. *ut andarvāy adišuftak ut  
sart vāt ut garm vāt vazēt.*

27. *ut bar i urvarān kēm bē  
bavēt ut zamīk hač barē bē<sup>3</sup>  
šavēt.*

28. *ut būm vižandak<sup>4</sup> ut vinās-  
kār<sup>5</sup> bē bavēt ut vas avérānīh 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.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *raþēt* (cf. Bthl., SR., 3, 30, No. 2), DP. *raþēnd*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *hand[ē]šēnd*, DP. *handēšēnd*.

<sup>3</sup> DP. *hač bar bē*.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. شاڻ. DP. شاڻ.

<sup>5</sup> MU. دن و سل، DE. سل دن و، DP. دن و سل.

29. *ut vārān i apehangām vārēt<sup>1</sup> ut ān kē vārēt apēsūt ut vat bavēt.*

30. *ut aþr apar āsmān gartēt.*

31. *ut dipēr<sup>2</sup> pat nipišt<sup>3</sup> i vat āyēt.*

32. *ut har kas hač guft ut gōbišn ut pašt ut patmān apāč ēstēnd.*

33. *ut har martom kē-š andak vēhīh ā-š živandakīh apēmēčaktar ut vattar bavēt.*

34. *ut katīčak bē kart xānak bavēt.*

35. *asþār<sup>4</sup> paðak ut paðak<sup>5</sup> asþār bavēt.*

36. *bandakān pat rāθ i āzātān raþēnd.*

37. *bē Yazdān āzātīh pat tan mēhmān nē bavēt.*

38. *ut martom i ān vis ō afsos-karūh ut apārōn kunišnīh vartēnd, ut mēčak i xvāstak nē<sup>6</sup> dānēnd.*

39. *api-šān miðr ut dōšar<sup>e</sup>m pat dahīk<sup>7</sup> martom.*

40. *apurnāy zūt pīr 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.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ریس لر، DP.

<sup>2</sup> MU. میلی، DE. میلی، DP. میلی.

<sup>3</sup> See notes.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *adi.* میلی.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *adi.* میلی.

<sup>6</sup> DP. نه، MSS. میلی به.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. بندیو، DP. بندیو.

41. ut *har kas kē pat vat kuniśnīh i xvēš šāt bavēt pat aparmānd dārēnd.*

42. ut *śaθr śaθr ut dēh dēh ut rōtastāk rōtastāk ēvak apāk dit kōxsišn i kārēcār kunēt.*

43. ut *hač ditīkar čiś pat apar stānēt.*

44. ut *sturg ut ruzd ut stahmak mart pat nēv dārēnd, ut frazānak ut vēh dēn martom pat dēv dārēnd.*

45. ut *kas-č kas pat apāyast i xvēš pat kāmak nē rasēnd.*

46. ut *martom i pat ān i vat āśām zāyēnd hač āśen ut rōd i saxt<sup>1</sup> saxtar bavēnd bē (ka) ham xōn ut gōśt bavēnd ēnyā hač sang saxtar bavēnd.*

47. ut *afsōs ut riyahrih pairaśak bavēt.*

48. ut *har kas o békānakīh ut [hač] xvēśīh i Ahraman druvand rasēnd.*

49. ut *miθrāndruž vinās andar ān āśām kunēnd.*

50. tēž ut *zūt dast (ō) passoxv rasēnd, čēgōn āp tačišn o drayāp.*

51. ut *ātaxśān i Ěrān śaθr o hanzāpišn ut apasārišn rasēnd.*

52. ut *hēr ut xvāstak o dast i Anērān i druvandān rasēt ut hamāk aydēn<sup>2</sup> 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 Ěrān śahr 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.

<sup>1</sup> DP. om.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ፲፻፷፻ aydēn, DP. ፲፻፷፻ aknēn.

53. *ut xvāstak vas gart kunēnd, api-š bar nē xvarēnd.*

And they will amass much wealth, but they will not enjoy the fruit of it.

54. *ut hamāk ō-dast i sardārān i apēsūtān rasēt.*

And it will all pass into the hands of unprofitable governors.

55. *ut har has kart kunišn i ōē dit nē passandēnd.*

And everyone will disapprove the work done by the other.

56. *ut saxtīk ut anākīh i ānšān hač ūešān apar rasēt.*

And the harshness and evil of those men will come upon these.

57. *živandakīh pat apēmēčak ut margīh pat pānakīh dārēnd.*

They will hold lifeavourless and death a refuge.

1. *pursīt* “asked”, NPers. *pursīdan* “to ask”, Av. *pərəsā* “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. l.w. *vard* “rose” beside NPers. *gul* may be explained either as from a dialect in which *r* > *ar*, cf. Oss. *mard* “dead” < \**mṛtā-*, *mary* “bird”, *ard* “oath” < \**rta-*, or as from a form with vowel *-ar-*. Sammānī *vāle* “rose” (quoted by Reichelt, loc. cit.) has probably compensatory lengthening due to the change *-rδ-* > *l*, cf. WPers. *sāl* < \**sard-*. Saka *vala* “rose, flower”, *Sacu Doc.* 52, 53, and *salī* “year”, *kamala-* “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. l.w. *bars*, *baš* “mane”,<sup>1</sup> Av. *barəša* “back of

<sup>1</sup> Hereto probably Saka *bṛhaṇa*, *Mait. Sam.*, 145; *bṛhaṇa kiḍi hvāhi piṭauṇa* “the back very broad and strong”. *bṛhaṇa* < \**braž-any-*, for *bṛ* < \**bra-* cf. *pr̥hiyā-* “open”, *Mait. Sam.*, 100, beside *prahalja* “open”, 2nd sing. imperat., *Mait Sam.*, 192, for *-h-* cf. *uhu* “you”, nom. < \**yūžam*, Av. *yūžam*, for *-aṇa* cf. Leumann, *Zf. vgl. Sprachfor.*, 1930, pp. 184 f. (not altogether convincing). Cf. also Afg. *wraž* “mane”, Oss. *bärzäi* “neck”, *barc* “mane”, Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*, p. 91. [In this passage *Mait. Sam.*, 145–50, containing the description of the *aśva-ratna* “horse-jewel”, it is possible to recognize: *dumei* “his tail”, Av. *duma-*, Pahl. *dumb dumbak*, NPers. *dum* *dumb* “tail”: *strīḥi dumei* “his tail is long-extended”, where *strīḥi* < \**strayža-* to \**strag-* beside *star-* “be extended” as \**grag-* to *gar-* “gather” (*hamgaljīndī*), Av. *drag-* “hold” to *dar-* “hold”. Tedesco, “Rapports sogdo-saces,” *BSL.*, 1924–5, vol. xxv. For *-h-* < \**yž-* cf. *vimūha-* “vimokṣa”].

horse ", Pahl. *bvš*, NPers. *buš* " neck, mane ", *HAG.*, 118. So, too, \**mary* " bird " may safely be recognized in *siramarg* " peacock ". De Lagarde's connection of it with Pahl. *sēn murv* is certainly possible : \**sēnamarg* may have been altered by assimilation of *n* to *r* in accord with the Armenians' etymology " loving the meadows ", *sēr* " love ", *marg* " meadow " = Iran. (Av.) *maryā*, *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 \**marg* " bird " is probably the second component in *loramarg* = *lor* " quail ", see *HAG.*, 237. Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry-*, Frag., 3, 38, 44, etc., should also be read \**mary*. The absence of the mater lectionis *v* is not decisive, but so many examples of *mry-* without *v* are fairly convincing. So, too, for Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry'yšt* " birds " : Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 79, reads \**muryišt*. Arm. lw. *ištrmuł* " ostrich ", *HAG.*, 157, is late, thirteenth century.

Arm. lw. *parh-* is a further example : *parhak*, *pahruk*, *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 *drunk' Čołai* " Gate of Čoł ". Hence a connection with Iran. \**prtū-*\**prθu-*, Av. *pərtu-*, Pahl. *pull*, 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 *Mt.*, 27, 32, *zna kalan pahak zi barjčē zxačn nora* " τοῦτον ἡγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἀρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόπειραν " : here *taraparhak* " beyond the way or passage ". So in *čanaparh* " way ", though the first part *čana-* is obscure to me : *čana-* can come from Iran. \**čāyana-* to *kay-*, *AIW.*, 441. Can Sogd. (Buddh.) *n'βč'n'y*, *SCE.*, 258, be compared ? Gauthiot translated " frontière ", *Gram. Sogd.*, 77, but Benveniste, *Glossaire*, " national ". Cf. *n'βč'kh* " Länder ", Frag., 3, 6.

Saka *vala* " rose " has *-ar* < \**vard*, like the Arm. lw. *vard*. Cognate with this word is Saka *vilakte*, *Sacu Doc.*, 65, *vilaki*, *ibid.*, 69, 73. < \**vrða-* " plant ". Cf. Av. *varəða-* " 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 *kṣum̥dai* " husband ", et pass. Both *-aka-* and *-ka* are found (perhaps originally diminutive) : *murka-* " (small) bird " beside *mura-* " bird ". Pahl. *murv*, NPers. *mury*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry-*, Oss. *mary* ;

*bataka* “few”, to *bata* “small”, cf. § 14 *infra*; *pīdaka* “written document”, *Sacu Doc.* 8, etc.; *spyaka* “flower”, *Sacu Doc.* 60, to *spīta* “flower”; *basaka-* “child”, *L.*, 127; *hvarakyau* instr. pl., *N.*, 163. 24, “sisters” < \**hvahar-*, Av. *xvarshar-*, *AIW.*, 1864. *Vilakye* is gen. sing. -*ye* < \**ahya*, cf. *L.*, 45, beside the common gen. sing. in -*i* < \**ē* < \**ah*. Accordingly I translate *Sacu Doc.*, 73:—

*khvā ni vijsye vilaki brrī mīrāram̄ am̄gi hamari gūsīndi biši*  
“as plucked plants they die early, in a short while they all pass away.”  
*vijsye* < \**vičita-*, cf. *dye* < \**dita-* “seen”, to *kay-* “select”, *AIW.* Av. *vīčinaot*, Pahl. *vičītan*, NPers. *guzīdan* “choose”, *čīdan* “pluck”; Eastern dialects, Sogd. (Christ.) *vyčnd’rt* “he chose”, *ST.*, 33. 12, etc., Yagnobi *čin-*: *čīt-* “gather”, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, ib, 339.

*brrī* “early” < *brūī* “early”, *Mait. Sam.*, 150, for *ūī* > *ī*, see § 27 *infra*.

*am̄gi hamari* “a short moment”: *am̄ga-* is probably < \**anta-* > \**anda-* (cf. pres. part. *-andai* nom. sing. masc. < \*-*antaka-*, fem. *-am̄ča* and *-am̄kyā* *N.*, 79. 6 f.) with *-ka*. Cf. Av. *huška-* “dry”, Saka *huška-*, Saka *bulysga* “long” < \**brz-ka-*, *rraysga-* “quick” < \**raz-ka*, etc. Hence, cf. *am̄ga-* with Pahl. NPers. *andak* “little, few” < \**antaka* to Pahl. *and* “so much”. The loc. pl. occurs *Sacu Doc.*, 54, *hamarvā vam amgvā ne paštara* “even for a few moments they are not permanent”.

*paštara-* adj. to *paštīndi*, *Sacu Doc.*, 55, “they stay” (*pati* + *stā*) for the form cf. *byātarā* “attentive”, *Mait. Sam.*, 277, *byāta-* “memory” + *ra*, and *ttarandara-* “body”.

*gūsīndi* “they go, pass away” < \**gaβ-s-* to Sogd. (Buddh.) *γβs'nt* “they advanced”, *VJ.*, 58e, pret. *γβt-*, *VJ.*, 784, etc., and MPT. *hnžftn* “to assemble”, Pahl. *hanžāpišn* “bringing to an end”, § 51 *infra*—\**gap-* beside \**gam-*. For the Saka form cf. *hūsīme* “I sleep”, *Sacu Doc.*, 71, *hūs[tī]* “he sleeps”, *N.*, 94. 8. < *hvaβ-s-*, Pahl. *xvaftan*, but Sogd. (Buddh.) *w'βs* “he fell asleep”, *Frag. 2a*, 13, without *h-*.

Arm. *mah, mark* “death”, *HAG.*, 472, a stem in *-u*, is also probably an Iran. loanword to Av. *mərəθyuš* “death”. In genuine Armenian words *-rt-* gives *-rd* (*mard* “man”, *ard* “now”, *ՃՌԻ*). 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 *mark* < *-rtr-* as a genuine Arm. word. It is important that Arm. *mah, mark* is an

-u stem like the Iranian word. The Gothic word *maurþr* (neut.), which Brugmann and Hübschmann compare, is classed by Brugmann, *Grund. Vgl. Idg. Gram.*, ii, 1, 343, with -*tro*-, -*trā*- formantia.

1. *Vištāsp šāh*. On *Vištāspa* see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 2; i, 3. *Vištāsp šāh* and *Kaivištāspšāh* in *Az.* (ed. Pagliaro), 1, *et passim*, and 39, etc.

1. *dēn i apēčak*. MPT. 'byčg, Sal. *Man. St.*, p. 44, NPers. اویژه ویژه. Cf. MPT. *dyn yvždhr* "pure Dēn", Sal. *Man St.*, p. 67.

1. *āβām* , discussed by Marquart, *Ādīna*, 3a, and Junker, *Wörter u. Sachen*, 1929, p. 151. The forms are: YAv. *aiwigāma-* (1) "winter", Pahl. transl. *zimastān*: *hama* . . . *aiwi gāme* "in summer . . . in winter"; (2) "year", *hazanrəm aiwi.gāmanym* "1,000 years". MPT. 'g'm, āgām "time", Sal. *Man. St.*, p. 39. Pahl. (Frah. Pahl.) 'vb'm, 'v'm = *āβām*, Paz. ōyām, ōgāma ōgām (*apud* Junker, loc. cit.). The development is: \**abi-gāma* > \**aβyām* > *āβām*.

For the Iranian words for "time" see Marquart, *Ādīna*, §§ 1–10. Junker's and Scheftelowitz's derivation of Iran. *žamān* from Ass. *simānu* (after Zimmern) is quite unconvincing (see *ZII.*, 4, 333), and is not repeated in Scheftelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalgottheit*, 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. *kādarna*, N., 9. 15, "with a sword;" to Av. *karəta-*, Pahl. *kārt*, NPers. *kārd*, and Av. *vāša-* "chariot" < \**vārta-*. On the verbs *vart-* "turn" and *gart-* "turn" see Morg., *Et. 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.gva*, 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. *Jamasp*, Syr. *Zāmāsp*, Arab. *Jāmāsb* *Jāmāsf*, Greek *Zαμάσπης*, NPers. *Ādīna*, YAv. *Jāmāspa-*, GAv. *Dējāmāspa-* (an experimental spelling *dēč* for *j*). The origin of S.W. ž is twofold initially, (1) < *j* < *g*, (2) < *y*. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, § 5, has shown that Mid. Iran. N.W. preserved initial *y*, S.W. changed *y* to ž (or *j*?): N.W. *yāvēdān*, S.W. *žāyēdān* "eternal", N.W. *yud* "separate", S.W. *žud*, NPers. *judā*. The date of this change is uncertain. In the Mahrnāmag occur two forms of the

Turkish title : 1. 77 *žβγv* \**žaβγū*, 1. 93 *yβγv* \**yaβγū* equivalent to Indo-Seyth. ZAOOY, *yavuga*, -*jaüia*, NPers. *jabyū*. There is equal uncertainty in regard to another loanword, the name “Jew”, Heb. יְהוּדִי, Arab. *yahūd*, Pahl. *yhv̄t*<sup>1</sup> 𐭠𐭫𐭪, Paz. *zuhudan*, MPT. *yhv̄d'n*, Sal. *Nachträge*, Christ. Sogd. *čxvd* (several times, *ST.*, p. 93), \**žahūd* \**jahūd*, but *ST.*, 32. 18, *yhv̄d'* “Judas”, 32. 22, *yhv̄d* “Judea”, 30. 6, *yhv̄dy yry* “mountains of Judea”. It is at least clear that the Chinese forms 朢 然 *šu-hu* < \**ju-hud* and 主 兀 *ču-wu*, discussed by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 533–4, need not, as he supposed, have come from NPers. The Sogd. *čxvd* could have been the source.

2. *bitaxš*. This is also Žāmāsp's title in *Az.*, 35, etc. The word has been much discussed, see Herzfeld, *Paikuli Gloss.*, No. 214. On the inscriptions occur (Pahl.) *bythš*, (Pārs.) *bhšy*, Greek (fifth century A.D.) ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ. It was a title of the margraves of Armenia and Assyria. In Arm. lw. *bdeašx*, Georg. lw. *pitiāxši*, *patiāxxi*. The *bitaxš* was an important imperial officer of high rank. For its application to Žāmāsp see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 171, No. 3. The form of the word is unusual. It is probably \**pati-āxša-*: *pit-* < *pati-* is found in Pahl. *patyārak* پاتیاراک beside *patyārak*, and in the nom. propr. (Arm.) *Bakour*, *b* and *p* vary : *Πάκορος*, Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 238 f.

2. *hazār sāl* “millennium”, see now Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, 38 f. The “thousand years” were to end with the coming (*paitākīh*, ἐπιφάνεια) of Uxyat.-art (Hōsētar). It was therefore found necessary to extend the period from Zoroaster's ἐπιφάνεια beyond the thousand years to explain the continued reign of evil.

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

Pahl. *drōy*. S.W. dial. *drōβ*, *MX.*, 2, 177 ; Nyberg, *Hilfb.*, p. 41. Andreas, *Facsimile*, p. 17, l. 6, دروی. The Semitic mask is *KDB* “false”.

Sogd. (Buddh.) *δryw*, Gr. *Sogd.*, 137, “mensonge”; *δrymh*

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. *y-* may stand for *y*, *ž-* or *j-*; cf. 𐭠𐭫 ḡiyān, žān “life”, NPers. *jān*, MPT. *gy'n* < \**vi-āna*, Av. *vyāna-* (only in loc. sing. *vyānayā*). To the same verb *an-*, Saka *uysāna-* translating Sansk. *ātman-*, N., 35. 7, 94. 12; cf. L., 74, and *uyisne-jsa* “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 *ž'y* “place”, NPers. *jāy*.

“imposture”, *SCE.*, 253, etc.; *rty prw dr̥ymw w'�'w w'βt* “and in falsehood he so speaks”.

Saka *drūjō hvatāndī* “they have spoken lies”, *Mait. Sam.*, 235.

Arm. lw. *droužem*, *držem* “transgress, infringe, fail”, *droužan* “faithlessness”, *ouxtadrouž* “violator of a vow, transgressor”.

The verb *družitan* occurs in Pahl., as *MX.*, 8, 15 (ed. Andreas, p. 24, ll. 10–11): *Miθr ut Zurvān i akanārak ut mēnōk i dātastān kē pat ēc kas nē družēt* “Mihr and Zruvān the infinite and the spirit of justice whom no one can deceive in aught”.

Herodotus noted (i, 138): *αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται*.

4. *arašk* “envy”. This is the Pahl. translation of Avestan *araskō* (*Y.*, 9, 5), NPers. *arašk*, *rašk* “envy”, MPT. *ryškyn* adj. “envious” (*Sal. Nachtr.*), and probably *ryšqvr'n* “enviers”? *Sal. Man. St.*, p. 124. Pahl., NPers., and MPT. have -šk- over against Avestan -sk-. Sogd. goes with the Avestan: Christ. Sogd. *'rsqny* (*ST.* 33, 18) : *šm'vn qt žyryty bvt 'rsqny ('arasqanē)*, Lk. 6, 15, *Σίμων τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτήν*.

8. *dahyupatān* 𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭧𐭫, Arm. lw. *dehpet*. Bthl., *MM.*, 3, 23 f., reads *dēhupat*; cf. *Az.* 17 : *ērān dēhupat*. It is the title of the great king OP *xšāyaθiya vazrka* as “King of the Lands”. Bab. *šar matātē*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, 33. In Pahl. it is parallel with *sardār*, *sālār*, *xvatāy* (Bthl., loc. cit.). Cf. on § 18 *infra*.

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

9. *āmār* “reckoning”. Iranian (*h)mār-* is well represented. Pahl. *marak* 𐭩, Paz. *mara*, NP. *mara* “number”, Pahl. *mar*, NPers. *mār* “number”, Pahl. *āmār* beside *ēnār*; see Bthl., *SR.*, 1, 21; Junker, *FP.*, 38, 93; *āmārēnītan* “pay” and “consider”, *MM.*, 1, 37, *SR.*, 4, 46. In compounds: *pasēmār* *pasmār* “defendant”, *pēšēmār* *pēšmār* “plaintiff”, *hamēmār*<sup>1</sup> “opponent”, *MX.*, 1, 37, etc.; Paz. *hamēmār* *hamēmāl* (= “Ankläger”, *MM.*, 2, 20; *MM.*, 1, 29),

<sup>1</sup> A similar form is found in Arm. lw. *hamemxt* “proportionate” < \**ham-aði-māta*. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, 463, has no solution.

*mārišn* “memory” (see *ZII.*, 2, 63). MP. Inscript. *'hmr \*ahmār* < *\*adimāra* in *ahmār'kār 'hmrkr* “Minister of Finance”, see Marquart, *Ādīna*, § 24, Arm. lw. *hamarakar*, see also Nyberg, “Pahlavi Inscriptions of Derbend,” *Bull. de la Société Scientifique d'Azerbaïdjan*, 1929, No. 8, part v. *'m'lkl \*amārkar*. NPers. *hamār* “number”, Arm. lw. *hamar* “calculation, number”, can come from *\*ham-māra-* or *\*adi-māra*.<sup>1</sup> Av. *mar-*, *AIW.*, 1147, Pahl. *pātmār* “judgment”, *FP.*, 122. On the preverb *\*adi-* see Marquart, *Ādīna*, §§ 21–6, and add Pahl. Psal. *'dvyn \*aδi'vēn* “law”.

Beside forms without *h* : *š*, are found, with *š*: Av. *hišmarəntō aiwi-šmarətō partišmarəmna patišmārəntəm*, Pahl. *ošmurtan, ošmarišn*, NPers. *šumurdan* “to count”, *šumār* “number”, Sogd. (Buddh.) *šm'rt* “he thinks”, *Dhuta*, 5, 11, etc.; *šm'r'kh* “thought”, *Dhuta*, 46, etc.; *ptšmyrty* “he counts”, *Frag.*, 2a, 9; *ptšm'r* “number”, *SCE.*, 3, etc.; Sogd. (Christ.) *šm'ryq* “reflective”, *šm'ryt* “thoughts”. Arm. lw. *nšmar* “trace”, *nšmarem* “perceive”. But Pahl. *mārk*, which Bartholomae derives from this word, is probably <*\*manθra-*, *SR.*, 1, 21, No. 1; cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) *m'r'kh* “words of sorcery”, *m'rkr'yt* “sorcerers”, Arm. lw. *margarē* “prophet”, MPT. *m̄hr-* “hymn”.

To *\*hmar-* 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-* <*\*aδi*, the same form of preverb resulted from *\*ati->ah-*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 63, No. 1, on MPT. *'hr'myd 'hr'myšn v'd'hr'm*, Pahl. *ahrāmišn* پارامیشن Pāz. *aharāmišn* “lead to”. I see the same preverb in a Sogdian passage which has been misunderstood, *SCE.*, 27–30. In l. 28 f. occurs :—

*rtyms 'sty Zkny čš'yt 'Pny wš'yt rtyms 'sty Zkny 'wyh γ'n'kh  
skwty rty prw ryz yurt 't ny'unt.*

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*

<sup>1</sup> Arm. lw. *hastat* “established” <*\*aδistāta* 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'sty Zkny čš'yt Pny wš'yt*. In this the two words *čš'yt* and *wš'yt* have lacked an explanation. Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, i, p. 72, clearly connects *čš'yt* with the word *čaš-* “to drink”, whence Sogd. (Buddh.) *čš'nt* “boisson”, cf. Arm. *lw. čaš* “meal, feast”, and so Benveniste in the *Glossaire, SCE.*, 74. For *wš'yt*, also in the *Glossaire*, “s'habiller” is given. But it seems better to explain both *čš'yt* and *wš'yt* as compounds of the verb *š'y-* which occurs also in *'βš'yt*, *SCE.*, 457, etc., “il sejourne,” the Sogdian cognate of Avestan *šay-*, Sanskr. *kṣeti*. Then *wš'yt* is clearly *\*vi-šāyati* “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. *vy'g*, Mid. Pers. Inscript. *gyv'k* in *Wörter und Sachen*, 1929, 147–8, as from *\*vivāhaka-*.

The other word *čš'yt* is rather more disguised. It is *\*čišāyit* from *\*ati-šāyati*. It is a case of assimilation, *tiš-* > *čiš-*, of which two other clear cases occur: *čštw'n* “poor”, *SCE.*, 11, 15, etc., and *čsn'* “thirst”. *čštw'n* is *\*čuštawān* from *\*duštavān* through *\*tuštavān*. The unassimilated form is also found: *ðštw'n* “poor”, Frag., iia, 3, 9, and in the abstract *ðšt'wčy* “poverty”, Frag., iia, 7. For the assimilation cf. further the Arm. *lw. t'šnami* “enemy” from *\*dušman-*.

Similarly *čsn'* *\*čišn-* “thirst” is from *\*tršna-*, New Pers. *tišna* “thirsty”. It should not be connected with *čaš-* “to drink” (Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, 163).

The development of *'čštyk* “third” is naturally different and comes from *\*Ortīya-*, see *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 141.

The preverb *ati-* may also be present in Ossetic in the form *-c-*. As is clear from *äcäg* “true” <*\*haθya-ka-, -θi-*> resulted in *-c-*. When, therefore, *-c-* is found in *acaunjin* “aufhängen”, *acamonjin* “anzeigen”, *bacamonjin* “belehren”, *ärkarazjn* “zurichten”, and other verbs, it can be explained as *\*abi-*, the form developed before vowels. This seems better than Miller's explanation, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, I Anhang, p. 84, of *-c-* from *us-*, *uz-*.

With more hesitation it is possible to derive Oss. *cäfsjn* “brennen” from *\*ati-tafsa-*, if it is assumed that *\*c'i-* could become *\*ct-* and *\*c-*.

The Saka preverb *tca-* in *tcabaljiti*, N., 50. 23, “er zerstückelt”, and *tcabrišti*, 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. *ganž* “treasure, treasury”. This word is attested for the Old Pers. period by the Aramaic lw. נְגַנְזָא \**ganzā*, *Eleph. Pap. Sachau*, 8 (see Scheftelowitz, *Scripta Universitatis . . . Hierosolymitanarum*, vol. i, 1920). *Ganž* “treasure” and *gāθ* “rank” are closely associated, hence the simile in *Az.* 85: čēgōn agāθ ut aganž martom “like a man without rank and rights and without treasure”.

10. *šāyakān* “royal”. Cf. *ganž i šāyakān* “royal treasury”, *Grund. Ir. Phil.*, ii, 113. *pāt<sub>ex</sub>šāyīkān* פָּתְּשָׁיִקָּן, *Pahl. T.*, 132, l. 2, with -y- beside forms with -h-, *pāt<sub>ex</sub>shāh*, -ih, see *JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 9 f. Cf. in the verb also NPers. *šāyad*, Pahl. *šāyēt* “it is possible”, but Jud. Pers. (*Sal.*, *Bull. ASP.*, 1900, p. 271) שָׁהֵד and שָׁהִידָתָא. Here *šāhīkān* may equally well be read, cf. Junker, *FP.*, 114.

11. *vas bavēt* “abounds”. Cf. Old Pers. *drauga dahyāhuvā vasiy abava* “The Lie abounded in the provinces”, *B.*, 1, 10.

13. *Anērān ut Ēran*, *ērīh*, *anērīh*, *ēr*. Pahl. ئَر can represent three distinct words: *aðara-*, *arya-*, *ayra-*, each of which resulted in *ēr* in the S.W. dialect.

(1) *aðar*, *ēr*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 225, *SR.*, 5, 54, No. 4. It is found in compounds: *aðar-(ēr-) mēnišn* “humility”, etc., *hačaðar* “under”, NPers. *azēr*, *zēr* “under”.

(2) *arya-*. Mid. Iran. N.W. dial. *'ry'n aryān*, Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 145; S.W. dial. *'yr'n ērān*, ibid.; Pahl. *ērān*, NPers. *ērān*; cf. Oss. *ir* “an Ossete”, *iron* “Ossetic”, and Saka *īrīnā gari* “Iranian Mountains”, *N.*, 158. 5. Both dialects are represented in Arm. lws.: *Ari-k'* and *Eran*.

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

With the suffix -āv : -āy it occurs in Pahl. *'kr'y* اَرْيَ ayraī “excellent”, MPT. (S.W.) *'gr'yy ayraī* in *T.*, iii, 260d, l. 4 (Scheftelowitz, *Oriens Christianus*, 1927).

Here belongs MPT. *'gr'v* (*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. *mryw*, Oss. *mary* “bird”, NPers. *mary* “meadow”, Sogd. *mryh* “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. *arəg-*, *arəjat*, Y., 50, 10 ; *arəjaiti*, *Haδ. Nask.*, 1, 6 ; *arəja-* “ valuable ”, *araži-* “ worthy ”, *aražah-* “ price ”.

Pahl. *arž*, *aržān*, Arm. *lw. aržan*, NPers. *arž*, *arž*, *aržān*, *aržādan*.

MPT. *'rg'v* “ dear ”, *'rg'vyf(t)* “ dearness ”, Sogd. (Buddh.) *'ry* “ price ”, *VN.*, 38, Oss. *ary* “ price ”, Arm. *lw. y-arg* “ price ”, *y-argem* “ to honour ”, *anargem* “ to dishonour ”, Skr. *arghá* “ price ”. Here belongs also Saka *alysānā*, later *eyṣānā*, “ prince ” : this is *\*arzāna-ka- < \*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., *dijsāka-* “ 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.) *\*arḡ* distinct from *\*arḡh*, as Leumann supposed, *L.*, 63. The form *alys-* (*\*arž-* 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 *gurēy* “ flight ”, *afrōy* “ rays ”, *rōz* “ day ”. For the voiced guttural cf. Pahl. NPers. *tang* “ constricted ”, Pahl. *vidang*, MPT. *vidang*, Arm. *lw. vtang* “ peril, distress ” beside NPers. *tanž* “ pressing, fixing ”, *tanžādan*. In Pahl. occurs *ကြ။ tanž* “ straining ” (of gaze), Iranian *\*tanga-* beside *\*tanžah-*. Hereto probably Sogd. (Buddh.) *wyty-* “ pain ”, *\*vitaya-*, a form without nasal, cf. *pð'nk-* beside *pðkh* “ law ”, Christ. Sogd. *pdq'*. In this way, too, is to be explained Saka *bāysi bāysu* “ garden ”, *N.*, 169. 3, 4, loc. sing. *bāša*, *L.*, 127, *N.*, 171. 15 (*ys* = *z*, *ś* = *z̄i*), from *\*bāž(ah)-*, over against Sogd. (Christ.) *b'g bāy* “ garden ”, *Mt.*, 21, 33 = *ἀμπελῶνα*, *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 *pā-rāsa-* (*s* = *z*, or it could be misspelling for *-ys-* as elsewhere). The *pā-*<sup>1</sup> < *pati-* cf. Pahl. *pātkōs*, *pātdahišn* *pāfrās* *pāzand*, Paz. *pādāšen*, NPers. *pāzahr*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 179–88, Marquart *Ādīna*, § 31. *-rāsa-* *\*rāza-* < *\*rāža-* is the form with palatal which corresponds to NPers. *rāy* “ a verdant meadow ”.

<sup>1</sup> Hereto Arm. *lw. pakas* “ defective ”, *pakasem* “ to lack ”, Pahl. *kās-* (*čašmkās*, *MX.*, 2, 181, ed. Andreas, p. 17, l. 11), *kāhēnitan* “ to diminish ”.

To return to Pahl. *ēr*. Paz. *anērī*, *MX.*, 21, 25, is rendered into Skr. by *anādesacāratā*. In *anērīh*, therefore, is included both the non-Iranian peoples and their habits. Pahl. *ēr* “Iranian” occurs in *Az.* 79: *eč ēr āzāt pasoxv nē dāt* “no Iranian noble answered”.

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

Arm. *erani*, and derivatives, “blessed”, may be from either *arya-* or *ayra*, 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 = *dei*, *N.*, 102. 10, instr. sing. *daina*, *N.*, 58. 9, loc. sing. *dāna*, *N.*, 156. 12, from \**dāya-*, cf. NPers. *dāy* “brand”, Av. *dag-* “to burn”, *AIW.*, 675. The palatal forms occur in the Saka verb *pa-dajsāñi* “to be burnt”, *N.*, 101. 41, with part. *padūta- padūya-* “burnt” < \**pa-dayda*.

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

14. *driyuš* “poor”. It is here defined by its antithesis *tuθānkār* “rich”. For the reading, Bartholomae (*MM.*, 1, 37) pointed to the Pārsi-Pers. درگوشان — درگوشان. In Pāz. *daryōš*, *daryōšī*, *darōšī*, *driošī*, *dryōšī*, *MX. Gloss.*, p. 55. Y.Av. *driyu-*, *drūvī* f., G.Av. *drəgu-*. The relation of Pāz. *daryōš* to NPers. *darvēš* is not clear. Has -*yō-* been interchanged with -*vē-*? It is possible to compare Pahl. *pērōž* < \**paryōž* (\**pari-ōjah*) and *aparvēž* < \**upary-ōž* (?) “victorious”.

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

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

16. *duxtar pat kāpēn*   “a daughter with

dowry". Phrases consisting of *pat* with a noun can be used attributively without the relative *i* (ē), see Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 9, 33: *duxtē pat ēn ađvēn* "such a daughter", *xvāstak pat stūrīh*, *xvāstak pat aparmānd ařzōn pat xvēšīh*, *žanišn pat ēn ađvēnak*, *dātastān pat var*. The phrases form adjs. *patmēčak* "savoury", *patnērōk* "strong", cf. *Husr.*, p. 90, No. 558, and frequently in NPers.: *bafarr* "splendid". For *kāpēn* "dowry", NPers. *kābīn*, Arm. *kapēn-k'*, see *HAG.*, 165.

18. *katak xvatāyīh* "authority in the house, *patria potestas*". *katak xvatāy* is found in two senses: (1) *katak* "house", corresponding to Av. *nmāna-* (G.Av. *dəmāna-*), OPers. *māniya-* (adj.), the family. (2) *katak* "House, the Great House", or *vis*, OPers. *viθ*. Hence *katak-xvatāyān* are Satraps, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, 1, 118; Bthl., *MM.*, 3, 34 f. So in the *Iran. Bund.*, 214, 13: *Alak [dv]sandar kēsar . . . ērān šaθr pat 90 \*katak [Text ۹۰] xvatāy baxt* "Alexander Cæsar divided Ěrān Šahr among 90 princes".

19. *zūr apar gōbēt*. *zūr* § 22, 1, 5, Arm. lw. *zour* "ἀδικος".

MPT. *zvr* "lies", *z'vrv'z* "lying speech", Sal., *Man. St.*, p. 80, 79, and *Nachträge*. The spelling **גַעַ** remains obscure (see Junker, *Cauc.*, 3, 56); it may be either graphic distinction from *zvr*, *\*zōr* "strength", or indicate a disyllable. In Pahl. occurs a word **پُلَسْك** *Iran. Bd.*, 187, l. 4: *sēz dart پُلَسْك bēš*, which could be "peril, pain, wrong, hatred". Then read *\*zuhar*, in which *-h-* may be in hiatus, or *\*zuar* with scriptio plena of *-a-*. The same word may occur in **پُلَسْك** *ham . . . ān* used of *dēvs*. Avestan *zūrah-* in compounds *zūrō.jata-*, *zurō.bərəta-*, *AIW.*, 1698; OPers. *zura* "wrong", *zurakara-* "doing wrong", *B.*, 4, § 13, possibly Skr. *hváras-* "deceit, wrong". Cf. *RV.*, 5, 20, 2 (374): *ápa dvéṣo ápa hváro 'nyávratasya saścire* "they fall away into the hatred and evil of the worshipper of other gods". Here *hváras-* appears with *dvéṣas-* as in the *Iran. Bund.* passage just quoted.

In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs another word for "wrong", *'rn*, *Dhuta*, 83, *Dhyāna*, 141, *'rnh*, *Dhyāna*, 144, *'rn ny γw'nh*, *VJ.*, 1450, "tort et péché", which seems to offer a means of explaining the Avestan *arənat.čaeša-*, *Yt.*, 10. 35, *āπaξ λεγ.*, epithet of Miθra—it remains unexplained in the latest translation of *Yašt* 10 (Hertel, *Die Sonne u. Mithra im Awesta*, p. 143, § 35, No. 1). By comparison with this Sogdian word *'rn* "wrong", the Av. is probably "punishing wrong": *\*arna-čaiša* to *kāy-*, *AIW.*, 464, Skr. *cáyate*, etc. Cf. also Miθra's

epithet *ačaētārōm*, *Yt.*, 10. 26, “punisher”, < \*ā-čai-tar-. To \*arna-, cf. Skr. *rṇá-*. For the spelling *t.č* = č, see Reichelt, *Aw. 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.) *krn-*, Pahl. *karr*, Av. *karəna-*. It is found also in the compound *ārragida-* < \*arna-kyta-. The Saka form with ā- supports the Avestan vocalization *ar-* against the Skr. *r-*.

21. *Avarīk* “inferior”. Av. *aorā* “under, down”, Skr. *āvara-* “inferior”, Pahl. *avarōn*, *ōrōn* “down”, MP. Inscript. *avarōnē*, *avarōndarē* “yonder, beyond, superior” (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*). This word *avarīk* should probably be read for § 58 *infra*: *xvartak* “small” is less suitable. For the form cf. Pahl. *aparīkān*, *aparīk*, *aparak* “superior”, *adarīkān* “inferiores”, *aparīkān* “superiores”, MPT. *'brg* “superior”; cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 4, 30.

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 or *ZY*), is there, too, sometimes strengthened by the addition of *kē*, *ka*, or *čēgōn*. On *i kā* 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. Paz., *MX.*, 41. 11, *panž drūž . . . i čuñ hast āž u xašm u varun u nang u axvarsandī* “the five Druž . . . which are avarice and anger and lust and shame and discontent”.

25. *uzdēhīkīh* “exile”. Av. *uzdahyunamča fravašayō*, *Y.*, 26. 9, “the Fravrtis of those who are outside the provinces,” is translated in the *Pahl. Comm.* by *uzdēhīkān-č ahraβān fravahr*. On *dahyu* § 8 *supra*. Sogd. (Buddh.) *'ztyw* \**"zdaʰyu* (Benveniste, *Gram Sogd.*, ii, 170) “exiled”. MPT. *'zdyh*, *'vzdyh* “exiled”, Sal., *Man. St.*, 49, 104.

25. *bēkānīh* “foreign parts” *bēkānakīh*, § 48. Pahl. *bē* “out, away”, frequently in the phrase *bē ō* *rūvān* *bē ō kū d"βārēt* “whither does the soul go?” Bthl., *SR.*, 2. 47. For *hač . . . bē*, see § 27 *infra*. Pahl. *bērōn* “outside”, MPT. *byrvn*, Sal., *Man. St.*, 62; Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 51; NPers. *bētōm* or *bētōm* “outermost”, superlative to *bē* “out”, MPT. *bydv̥m*.

Pahl. *bēkānak* “foreign”, NPers. *bēgāna* بیگانه. Pahl. *bē šabtrīk* راسنگووند “foreign”. Cf. Bthl., *MM.*, 3, 34, No. 1. It seems hard to separate from these words Sogd. (Buddh.) *βyk-*: *βyk'* “outside”, *βykprmw* “outside”, *βyks'r* “to the outside”, *βykδynyk* “heretic”, plur. *βykδyn'yt*, *DS.*, 5, 11, *čntr βyk*, *Dhuta*, 35, “inside and outside”. *βyk'r*, *Dhuta*, 123, *βyk'r'yčk*, *Dhuta*, 174, 50, etc., “external”. Christ. Sogd. (*ST.*, 70, 13, 14) (*fašaq)dārant vinē βēsā* “they drove him out”. Yagnobi *wīk* “outside”, *či . . . wīski* “outside of”, see Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 155–6. Further, Waxi *wīč* “outside”, *wīčung* “being outside”, Sariqoli *wač*, *wačenj*, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, *ib*, 308.

26. *aðšuftak* ۱۹۳۵۰ (ēšuftak) “disordered”. Marquart, *Ādīna*, § 24, has dealt with the preverb (Iranian) *adi-* > *að-*, *ah-*, *ē-*, see § 9<sup>supra</sup> (also Junker, *FP.*, 38–9, 93; Bthl., *SR.*, 1. 21, No. 1). This preverb is found often beside forms with *ā-*, in which one can recognize either Iranian *ā-* or *adi* > *ā-*. Pahl. Psal. *'dvyn* “law”, MPT. *'dy'vr* “helper” assure this *aði-* for Pahl. With *aðšuftak* cf. *višuftan* “to ruin”, *višōpišn*, *āšōp*, Arm. lw. *apšop*, *ašop* “tumult”, *HAG.*, 106, NPers. *āšōb*, *āšuftan*; Sogd. (Buddh.) *'βš'unpt*, *SCE.*, 104, “écorcher”.

27. *bar* بار “fruit”. Pahl. *bar*, NPers. *bar* “fruit, produce”. Draxt i Asōrīk, § 1 (Pahl. *T.*, 109) *bar-eš mānēt angūr* “its fruit resembles a grape”. *barbar* باربر “fruit-bearing”, “profitable”, Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 29. Sogd. (Buddh.) *βr'k* “fruit”, *VN.*, 80, (Christ.) *βryjt*, *βryty* “τῶν καρπῶν”, *ST.*, 19. 18, 21. 14. This is probably the word which occurs in the Saka (*Sacu Document*, 65) *ma ttā ttū pvai' sai bari vilakte brre vī* “Do not fear so, the fruit of the plants appears in its (time of) growth”.

*brre*, <*\*abi-rōða-*. The development will be *\*birūži* > *\*brūñi* > *\*brvī* > *brī*, (*brē*), for the loss of *-u-* - *v-* cf. *grīcyō*, *grūco*, *grvīcyau*, *N.*, 2. 20, and *tsīye* “he goes”, to *rvītti* “grows”, *Mait. Sam.*, 125, 126, 117 < *rūž-ti* < *\*rōðati*, Av. *raod-* “grow”, *AIW.*, 1492, NPers. *rustan*, *rōyad*, Pahl. *rōðišn*, *rustan*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *rwðt*, *\*rōðat* “grows”, *Dhyāna*, 284, etc., *rwð'k* “growing”, *Frag.*, 3. 4, *rwð't* “may it grow”, *Frag.*, 3. 5. The Saka compound *\*abi-rōð-* is found in *hambrūñti*, *Mait. Sam.*, 128, “grows together”, which also illustrates the earlier stage *-ruñ-*. For *-e*, cf. *bre* “dear”, *N.*, 163. 20, beside *brrī*, *N.*, 119. 6.

With *rvitti*, *sai* illustrates a tendency in Saka phonetics in the treatment of intervocalic -δ-. 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 *-aδa-* > *aī* > *ai*, *ei*, *ē* :— *mad-*, *maitti* “is intoxicated”, N., 127. 8, 15.

*band-*, *baitti* “he binds”, N., 127. 9, 21; *baindi*, 3rd plur.; *basta-*, part.

*sand-*, *saritti*, *seitti* “appears”, N., 21. 1, 50. 34, etc.; *saindi*, 3rd plur.; *sasta-*, part.

*vad-*, \**abi-vad-* *bvaitti* “mounts”, *Mait. Sam.*, 150; *bv'asti*, part., N., 76. 44; *bāyīndi* “they lead”, *bāsta-*, part.

\**ati-vad-*, *tvāyāki* “a guide”.

\**ni-vad-*, *nvāstai*, 2nd sing., “you have escaped”, N., 169. 10.

*rōd-*, *rvitti* “grows”, *rrusta-*, part., N., 171. 12; *hambrūtti* “grows together”.

But from *bōd-*, *butte* “he awakes”, *L.*, 129; *būtte* “it gives perfume”, *L.*, 129, *buvāre*, 3rd plur.; and from *rōd-*, *rruye* “is deprived of”, *Bhadrak. S.*, 32.

These verbs in *-ad-* therefore fall together in the present with -āy- verbs: *daitti* “he sees”, *daindi* “they see”, but with part. *dita-* “seen”; *pvai*, 2nd sing. imperat. “fear” < \**pa-baya-*, Av. *bay-*, *AIW.*, 927.

It accordingly becomes possible to explain the line *Mait. Sam.*, 249 : *nyaskya n̄j him̄ti bih̄iyu če tt̄je āhvainā kušde* “humiliation is upon them exceedingly, whoso looks upon these desirable things”.

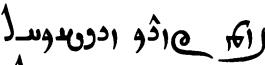
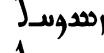
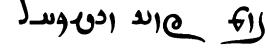
āhvainā < \*ā-hvāδana-ka- to Pahl. *xvāh-*, *xvāδ-*, *xvāstan* “desire”, NPers. *xvāh-*, *xvāstan* “desire”, Afg. *xwand* “taste, pleasure”, Av. *xvandra-kara-* “pleasing” (see Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*; *AIW.*, 1865), *xvāsta-* “cooked”, *AIW.*, 1878, to Skr. *svād-*. MPT. *xvāšt* “desired” to *xvaz-*, and *xvāšt* “desired” to *xvad-*. For *xvaz-*, Kurd. *xvaz-*, *xvāšt*, Zaza *vāz-*, *xoaz-*, *vašt*, see Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 55, No. 2. In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs *ywyz-* “beg for” (*ywyzy*, 3rd sing., *Dhuta*, 280, Frag., 2a. 10, etc.), *ywyz'kw* “question”, *Dhuta*, 77, *ywyz'y k'm* “will seek”, *Dhuta*, 144. Sogd. (Christ.) *ywžng'* “I will beg”, *ST.*, 75, 4, etc., *n'syrywzyty* (“not wishing well” = ) “enemies”. Christ. Sogd. keeps *y* distinct from *x*, although in *pčyny p'čyny* “answer” *y* may replace *x*. At least, it is impossible to separate Sogd. *ywz-* “seek” from the Western *xvaz-* “desire”. āhvainā is, therefore, “desired things”. In *kušde* I recognize the verb corresponding to Sogd. (Buddh.) *k'wš-* in *tk'wš-* “contemplate”, *tk'wšt* “he regards”,

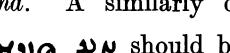
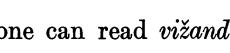
*Dhuta*, 87, etc. < \*ati-kōš- : *kuṣde* with *sde* (phonetically -ždē) < \*-šate as in *pyūṣde* “ he hears ”, L., 124, < \*pa-gōš-ate.

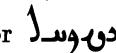
On *vilakte* see § 1 (on *pursīt*) *supra*.

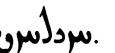
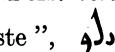
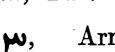
27. *hač . . . bē*  “ without ”. This frequent phrase is illustrated by Bthl., *SR.*, 2. 47. Cf. archaic NPers. از *bē az*, Browne, “ Old Pers. Comm. on the Kur’án,” *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 439 ; Pahl. *bē hač* , Spiegel, *Einl.*, 1. 147.

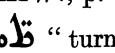
28. *būm* \*vižandak *ut* \*vināskār *bē bavēt*. All MSS. here are corrupt. The readings are :—

MU.	
DE.	
DP.	

 and būm and *pus*, are often confused. For  I read  vižandak “ injured, damaged ”, connected with Pahl. *vižand* “ damage ”, MPT. *vzynd*, NPers. *gazand*. A similarly corrupt passage seems to occur in *AV.*, 53. 5.  should be read  *zamīk vižandēnānd* “ they injure the earth ”. In *SBE.*, 47. 166, 

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 ”.

*avērāñh* “ desolation ”  *avērāñ* “ desolated, waste ” is usually written with *ع* = *v* (not *β*) : NPers. *vērāñ*, Paz. *avīrāñ*, Jud. Pers. , Pahl. *avērak* “ waste ”, , Arm. lw. *averak*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, p. 110, No. 1.

30. *gartēt*  “ turns about ”. Two roots *vart-* and *gart-* are to be distinguished. They occur together in *Mātikāñ i Čatrang*, § 17,

*vartišn ut gartišn*, Sal., *Bull. ASP.*, 1887. Morgenstierne, *Et. Voc. Pashto*, p. 27, has discussed these words. Pers. *gāštan gardidān* has confounded the two words in one, but Auromani *gī’l-* “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 *دیپر کے پاٹتے ایت*, that is, *ut dipēr kē pat vat āyēt*. On *کے پاٹتے ایت* see § 37, iii, 4, *infra*. Modi’s MSS. give: *دیپر کے پاٹتے ایت*, *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, *dipērt* with -ē- < -iβa- \**dipi-bar*, MP. Inscript. *dpyvr*. The -ē- < \*ja changed early to -i- (before ē < \*ai), hence Arm. lw. *dpir* “scribe”, but Arm. lw. *den* “religion” < \**dainā-*, Av. *daēnā*. In place of *āyēt*, *hast* “is” could be read by assuming that the scribe read *ایت* as *āyēt* and substituted the mask *ایت* *Y'TVN-ēt*, see Bthl., *WZKM.*, 25, 408.

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

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

34. *kart* “made”. For the vocalization cf. NPers. *kard*, MPT. *kyrd*, \**kerd* or \**kird*, Arm. lw. -*kert*, *HAG.*, 168. On the vowel *r*, see § 1 *supra*. Oss. has -*ar-*, *mard* “dead.”, *ard* “oath”, but Sogd. (Buddh.) *mwrtk* “dead”, Frag., 2a. 14, etc. Cf. *purč* “guilt”, Frag., 2a. 10, etc., Pahl. *purtak* “guilty”. Saka has *mūda-* “dead” < *mrta-*. Hereto also *būda-* “borne” < *brta-* and *pūmūda-* “withered” (cf. *pumida-*, N., 105. 35, “worn out (?)”) in *Sacu Doc.*, 53-4:—

<i>jūhānai bādi spyakyi</i>	<i>štām vā hārvaidi</i>
<i>mām šā’ vala stāka</i>	<i>dyejsa śirkā u būšajsa</i>
<i>mām šā’ vala dīsti</i>	<i>stāni pūmūda hamāte</i>
<i>mām ri būda ysīri byāji</i>	<i>kya spyakyi na stāka</i>

"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".

*jūhānai*, possibly part. middle to *jsūṣṭi* "he delights in", *Vajracchedikā*, 43 : for *js* = *j* = *gy* cf. *janādi* "they kill" = *jsanāndi*, *jsanāñi* "to be killed", *N.*, 101. 39, *jsīna* "lifetime", *jvīñi* "may I live", *jvīndi* "they live", *paljsite* "it blooms", *M.*, 120, *haspalgya* "make bloom", *M.*, 191. Beside *jsūṣṭi*, of which *js-* is unusual if it is related to Av. *zaoš-* (Skr. *josate*, etc.), occurs a word *ysūṣde* "he treasures", Leumann, *Supplet.*, p. 187, with the expected *ys-* = *z*, Av. *zaoš-*. For *-h* < *ž*, *s* cf. *uhu* "you", nom. <*\*yūžam*, *pihei* "he strikes", *pihyūñina* "with a blow", *N.*, 9. 15 <*\*piž-* to Av. *\*pais-* in *pištra-* "striking", NPers. *pišt* "meal", Skr. *pināsti*, *pistād*, and *bṛhañña*, § 1 *supra*. Hence *jūhānai bādi* "time of rejoicing (?)".

*spyakyi* "flowers", *spita-* "flower", with (diminutive) suffix *-ka*, see § 1 *supra*.

*būśajsa* probably adj. Cf. *rriṭ'ajsa* "having holes", *khūñājsa* "defective", *rrīmajsā* "defiled", *ysōjsa* "savoury".

*būda* "borne, carried" <*\*brta-*.

*pūmūda*<sup>1</sup> "withered" <*pāmrta-*. *mūda-* "dead" <*\*mrta-*, for *pā-*, *pū-* cf. *pāramjite* "diminishes" (to Afg. *rangai*).

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

In contrast to *būda mūda*, where *-u-* is due to the labial, *āyasdada-* "honoured" <*\*ā-uz-darta*, cf. Av. *adərətō.tkaēša-* "not honouring the teacher", and, for *\*āz-*, NPers. *āzmāyad* "he tries", Pahl. *uzmāyēt*, and *hamdāda-* "favoured" <*\*ham-dārta-*, cf. Arm. *lw.*

<sup>1</sup> In Saka a tendency to interchange *ā* and *ă* is distinctly noticeable. In *Sacu Doc.*, 62, occurs *māhāsamāñdrī* for Skr. *mahāsamudra*. Beside *kṣum̥dai* "husband" appears *kṣāmdai*, *N.*, 164. 8 : to be connected with Pahl. *šūd*, NPers. *šūy* "husband". Leumann's etymology, *N.*, 163. 10, *\*kṣāntaka* is unsatisfactory. For a derivation of *kṣundai* see Morg., *Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages*, i, p. 298. Parachi *xā* "husband" = Yd. *ſfōh* to Av. *fšuyant-* "peasant". Further, *ā* beside *ă* in Saka *rrūndī* = *rrāndī* "of the king", *JRAS.*, 1914, 340, and *kṣum̥qi* "regnal year", *Sacu Doc.*, 7, 32, beside *kṣāñqi*, *JRAS.*, 1914, 351.

*handart* “tranquil” have *-art-* and *-ārt-*. From *yan-* “make, do”, *yida-* < \**yirta-*, in which *-i-* is due to the *y-*, beside *yuda-*.

34. *pādak* or *pādīk* “footman”. Arm. lw. *payik* “foot-soldier”, NPers. *paig* “messenger”, Arab lw. *faij* “courier”, Syriac *pyg’* “foot-soldier”, *HAG.*, 220. The short *-ā-* is found also in OPers. *nipadiy* “behind”, NPers. *pai* “foot, track”, *az pai* “behind”, Pahl. پاده *pādē* (Nyb., *Hilfsb.*, p. 57), *pād*, *FP.*, p. 98. Sogd. (Buddh.) *pdy* *pdy*, \**pādē pādē* “at every step”, *Dhyāna*, 284. Here belongs also Saka *nvai*, *nvī* < \**nipadi* + *ahya*, *nva*, *nuva* < \**nipadā*, *nvaiya* < \**nipadayā* (loc. sing.), cf. *dāñā* < \**dāyanayā* “in the fire”, § 13 *supra*. References are *Mait. Sam.*, 157 (*nvai*), 247 (*nuva*); *Sacu Doc.*, 38, 63 (*nvī*); *Bhadrap. S.*, 18 (*nvī*), 7 (*nvaiya*). With long *-ā-*: Pahl. پاد, *FP.*, 10. 10, *pād* regularly written with the Semitic mask *RGLH*, *FP.*, 107. MPT. *p’d* “foot”, NPers. *pāy* “foot”, and in the derivative Pahl. *pādak* “station”, NPers. *pāya*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *p’ðk*, *p’ðy* “foot”, *Dhyāna*, 284, *Frag.*, 2a. 11. Christ. Sogd. *p’ðy* *vn-* “to set up”, *ST.*, 22. 22. *at pādē vantūqā* “καὶ στήσει”. *p’ðyt*, *pādēt* “feet”, *ST.*, 54. 17, etc. Saka *pā* “feet”, loc. plur. *pō*, *N. 47. 16*, *paduā* *pv’ā*.

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

37. *bē* *Yazdān* پادان. The Semitic mask *BL*’ is the correct representative of *bē* “without”, Syriac ܒܼܼܼ *b’lā* “without”. This is but a small part of the functions of پادان *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) پادان *bē*: (a) “but”, (b) verbal particle, (c) “God, majesty” = *bay*, *MM.*, 3. 9, *Az.*, 41; (d) “outside” in ܼܼܼܼ پادان *bētom* = ܼܼܼܼܼ پادان *bēšaθrīk* “foreign”, دادان پادان, see *MM.*, 3, 34, No. 1.

(2) پادان *xānak* “house”, Aram. *BYT* used for *xānak* “stream, spring”, *MM.*, 1. 39. Note, *SBE.*, 47. 155.

- (3) **חָמָם** *ham*, Aram. *HVH-* “I am”, for (a) *ham* “same”, *Az.*, 26, (b) “likewise”, *MX.*, ed. Andreas, p. 7, l. 8. For *hōm* “Haoma”, *Iran. Bund.*, 119. 15.

- (4) **וְשָׁ** *kū* “that”, Aram. *'YK*, for *kū* “where”.

- (5) **אָפָר**, Aram. QDM for *Apar* in **אֲפָרְשָׁהָר** *Aparšahr* "land of the "Anapoii", Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i. 108, No.; 82, No.

- (6) **ମାନେତ** *mānēt* “remains”, Aram. *KTRVN* for *mānēt* “resembles”.

- (7) *tar* “across”, Aram. *LSD* for *tarr* “fresh”, *Draxt i Asorik*, 1.

- (8) **ՈՐՈՇԵԼԻ** *uzītan* “go out”, Aram. *YNPQ* “go out” for *ōzītan* “injure”, see *MM.*, 1. 35.

- (9)      $\text{א}$  *ān* “that”, Aram. *ZK*, for *an* “other”.

- (10) **אֵם** *ē* “this”, Aram. *HN'*, for *ē* “optative particle”.

## II. The mask forms part of a word.

- (1) **ኀብር** *xvāparih* “goodness” beside **ለትወም**, *SR.*, 4, 30.

- (2) *Sj*, *nist* “lowest”, *ny* + the symbol for *sat* “hundred”, Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 43 = *MX.*, ed. Andreas, p. 16, l. 6.

- (3) **נַמְשָׁבֵךְ** *nāmxvāst*, Aram. *ŠM*— beside **נַמְשָׁבֵךְ**  
*Az.*, 4, 6.

- (4) وَسْلَمٌ كَرْ Kār ŠMak = Kārnāmak, Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 1, l. 1.

- (5) ~~வீங்கி~~, *dastkart* "a property", *Kn.*, 4. 19.

- (6) **لَوْجَهْ** *passoxxv* “answer”, *MX.*, 2. 170, for **لَوْجَهْ**

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

- (1) ~~गृही~~ *nSM nām* “name”, *MM.*, 1. 28; *SR.*, 1. 48, No. 1.

- (2) **କେଶାନ** *kMNšān = kēśān* “ who to them ”, *SR.*, 5. 48,  
No. 2.

- (3) ~~C~~ MNč = hač, SR., 1. 48, No. 1.

- (4) With Iranian "mask" دپر *d-dpyr-r* *dipēr*, after پهلوان *pahloān*  
*F.P.*, p. 89, was no longer clear.

(5) **زامان** *z-žamānak* for **مان** *žamān* with the short *z*, West, *Av. Stud. Zatsparm*, § 9.

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

(1) **ب** *bē* for **پ** *pat*—both pronounced *ba*.

(2) **پس** *pas*, Aram. *'HR* “after”, for **پس** *pus*, Aram. *BRH*, *JN*, iii, 6 : the MSS. vary between the two.

(3) Confusion of **که** *kā* “when”, Aram. *'MT* with **که** *kē* “who”, Aram. *MNV* and with **که** *kū* “that, where”—all pronounced later (*ki*, *ku*, *ka*) *kə*.

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

37. *mēhmān* **مهمان** **مهمان** “guest”. The “guest in the body” is a favourite expression. Pahl. Comm. to Y. 31. 6c (Spiegel, p. 134) *čand-š Vahman pat tan mēhmān* “as long as Vahman is a guest in the body”. *MX.*, 21. 13, Pāz. *vaš har drūž pa tan ēdum mahmā bənd*, *kuš həči vəhī ō tan nə hələnd* “And in his body all the Druž are guests so far that they allow no goodness into the body”. Pahl. *mēhmān*, NPers. *mihmān* “guest” < \**maiθman-*, cf. Av. *maēθana-*, Pahl. *mēhan* “dwelling-place”, Afg. *mēna* “habitation”, Morgenst., *Et. Voc.*, p. 44. The Afg. *mēlmə* “guest”, Morgenst., *Et. Voc.*, p. 44, is apparently uncertain. It is possibly < \**maiðman-* < \**maiθman-*. The ending *-mə* (-*mə*) possibly preserves the old nom. form \*-*mā*. The Sogd. (Buddh.) *'zrw'*, (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. \**zruvānam*. So Bang’s question can be answered, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, ii, p. 10, No. 1, *SBAW.*, 1929. The Uigur has *äzrua*, Mongolian *äsrua* (or *äsrūn*). See further § 47 *infra* on Saka *rrīman-*.

38. *vis* **ویس** “the Great House”, usually named after a real or fictitious ancestor: the Haxāmanišya House (Achaemenians) or the Spitama House (*Σπιταμᾶς* in Ktesias). See Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, p. 30 f., i, 145, No. 1. Hence the *vīsō.puθra-*, *AIW.*, 1455, as title of a member of a *vis*, already in Aram. Pap. **بني بيت** “sons of the house”. MPT. *vyspolh'r'n*, *vysduxt'n*, \**vispuhrān*, *visduxtān*, Sal., *Man. St.*, p. 33, ll. 17, 18.

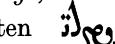
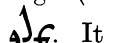
40. *dahūk* **دەھۈك**—?—. Freiman on Pandnāmak, § 34, *WZKM.*, 20, 271, has discussed this word, which is known only to Av. and Pahl.

Av. *dahika-*, *dahaka-*, *AIW.*, 704, *āat ahmi nmāne zayānte dahakāča 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 Pandnāmak, § 34, Freiman reads *dahikīk* داھیک, to the Av. passage the *Pahl. Comm.* gives **داھا**, 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 *Δάοι* in *Herodotus*, i, 125, and Avestan *dāhīnam dāhyunām* “Dāhian provinces”, Yt., 13. 144 (*AIW.*, 744), *Ind. Bund.*, 15. 29, *dāy* (*SBE.*, v, 59), *Iran. Bd.*, p. 107, l. 1, *dāh* **داھ**. 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. \**dahīk*. Is it possible also to refer to \**daha-* the Arm. lw. *dahič*, *πράκτωρ*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *ὑπηρέτης*, “executioner,” with the Syriac lw. *dhs'* “lictor, satelles”, *HAG.*, 133?

40. *apurnāy* “not fully grown, youth”. Here \**purna-* “full”, with *-rn-* preserved, but *purr* “full” as *karr* “deaf”; *-āy-* < \**āyu-*, Gy. Av. *āyav-* “duration” (only *āyū*, *AIW.*, 333), Skr. *āyu-*, surviving in Sogd. (Buddh.) *yh \*āya*, *DS.*, 76 (see Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 177). *Purnāyīh* “being of adult age”, Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 17. The compound is known already in the Av. *puθrahe apərənāyaoš*, N., 54, NPers. *burnā*, Pahl. *apurnāyak*, *-īk*.

41. *aparmānd* “privilege”, see Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 3 f., 48 f. Pāz. *awarmād*: *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 vēš pahrēčēt* “refrain from all injury and sinfulness.”

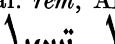
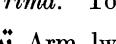
43. *apar* “booty”, verbal noun to *apurtan* “carry off”, \**apaburtan* (see *FP.*, 80). The *Pahl. Comm.* to Av. *hazahīšča* has *hač apar*, *AIW.*, 1799, and *apar*, *aparak* translate Av. *hazarhan-* “robber”, *AIW.*, 1799. Pāz. *apar* “booty”, *apardan* “carry off”, *Mx. Gloss.*, pp. 13–14. For the form \**bāra-* cf. *marak*, *mar* “number”, *bar* “fruit”. Hereto MPT. *śrg* (*M.*, 32, 9) *'vn sfsyr nyv čym 'v śrg 'stft* “O goodly sword, which for me in afflicting \*grief . . .”: \**śarag*, Arm. lw. *ašxar* “lamentation”, Pahl. *vitarak*, *vitarg* “passage”, Y.Av. *stara-* “sin”, *-kara*, *-bara*; *xvara-* “wound”.

44. *sturg ut ruzd*, see Sal., *Nachträge*, s.v. *rvzd*. *sturg* < \**sturak*, cf. Pahl. *vastrak* “garment”, written  (Av. *Gloss.*, 243) *vastarg*, Paz. *vastarg*, *gastarg*, *MX. Gloss.*, 86, 210, Pahl. *marg* “death” < \**marka*, Av. *mahrka-*, cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) *mrčh* “death”, but Pahl. *marak* “number”, written . 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. *mury* “bird”, Pahl. *murv*, see Junker, *Wörter u. Sachen*, 1929. To *sturg* < \**sturak* or \**starak*, NPers. *saturg* (*si-*, *su-*) “quarrelsome”.

*ruzd*, MPT. *rvzd* “greedy”, NPers. *razd* “glutton”, *ražad* (*sic*, Steingass) “voracious”. Salemann, loc. cit., .

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

46. *bē kā . . . ēnyā*  “otherwise”. For the definitive reading of this Pahl. word we are indebted to Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 132, No. 63: MP. Inscript. (Pārsīk) *'yny'* with the final *alif* certain. Pāz. *ainā*, *MX.*, 9. 6, etc.: *ēnyā*, cf. Y.Av. *ainyat* “except”, hence < \**anyād*, cf. Pahl. *ā*, § 33 *supra*, < \**ād*.

47. *riyahrih* “defilement”. Pāz. *riārī*, *ryārī*, *MX.*, 2. 184, etc., to Pahl. *rītan*, NPers. *rīdan*, Bal. *riyay*, Oss. *liyun* “cicare”, Av. *ray-*, *AIW.*, 1511, *iriman-* < \**rīma-mant-*, *AIW.*, 1529, “mit Unrat angefüllt”, MPT. *ryymn*, *rym*, Pahl. *rēman* (Pāz. *rīmanī*, *MX.*, 62. 27), NPers. *rīm*, Bal. *rēm*, Afg. *rima*. To the suffix cf. MPT. *žyōhr*, *\*zīvahr*. Pahl. *gōhr* —, Arm. lw. *gohar*, NPers. *gōhar*, Arab. lw. *žauhar* “essence”, are probably < \**gavaθra*, *gvaθra* (the Pahl. spelling with *-ah-* is naturally not conclusive) to Av.<sup>1</sup> *gav-*, *AIW.*, 504, *gūnaoītī* “er verschafft”. To this word belong Saka *gvāru* “Wesen”, N., 109. 36, *gvāna-* “existing”, *hugvāna-*, *Vajracch.*, 42a, 44a, 41b, and *gvīra* “they exist” in *Sacu Doc.*, 55:—

*ysāya drrāmāmjsa kyi hva hva gvīra* “born of such as exist by themselves”.

For *hva hva* < \**hvatah hvatah* cf. *hvatī hva*, N., 176. 2. Av. *xvatō*, Pahl. *xvat* , NPers. *xud*, Sogd. *γtw* \**xutō* (Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 119). Hence Vedic *gotrá-* (*RV.*, 2. 23, 18 (214) *gávām gotrám*) “stall” has probably been influenced by *gav-* “ox”. To the verb *ray-* belongs also Saka *rrīman-*, nom. sing. *rrīmī*, acc. plur. *rrīma*,

instr. plur. *rrīmañyau* “impurity”, *rrīmajsa-* “blemished”, *arrīmajsa-* “umblemished” < \**rēman-*, Pahl. *rēman* “impurity”; see Leumann, *Supplet.*, 192, whose etymology is too dependent on Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> With -ī- < ē, *rrīman-* is to be kept distinct from *tcei'man-* “eye” < \**čašman-*. Nom. sing. *rrīmī* is probably < \**rrīma*, neut. nom. sing. of -*man* “stem”, cf. on Pahl. *mēhmān*, § 37 *supra*.

50. **پاسوک** “sureties”: *passoxv* < \**pati-sahva(n)-* (1) “speaking in reply”, (2) “speaking for”. Cf. Saka *patīhvāna-*, *Mait. Sam.*, 92, “Zuweisung”. The converse to the second meaning seems to have been expressed by \**abi-sahva(n)-* preserved in Arm. lw. *osox* “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 Mātikān 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 **پاسوک**—**پاسوک** contain a scriptio plena of the *v*: *p'svxxv*, which disguises the word. For this spelling cf. MPT. *'vx, ox* “world”, Pahl. *axv*, MPT. *psvxx* and *frvx farrox*, *ZAIW.*, 47. So in Pāzand *ōxi, aoxi* = Pahl. **پاسوک** “world of” beside Pāz. *axān*, plur.; see Bthl., *WZKM.*, 25, pp. 395–6.

50. *āp tačišn* “stream of river (or of water)”. DP. reads **پاچان** *āp tačanān* “streams of river” or *āp ut tačanān* “river and streams”. For *āp* = “river” cf. *pat bār i āp i Dātyā* “on the bank of the river Dātyā”.

51. *hanžāpišn ut apasārišn* “bringing to an end and quenching”. Modi’s MSS. have **پاچان** *hanžāpišn*, but DP. **پاچان** *hanžāpišn*. For *hanžāp-* cf. MPT. *hnžft, hnzfz* “ended, completed”, Sal., *Man. St.*, p. 85, but *hnž'm'y* “you will assemble”: *žap-* causative to -*žap-* < \**gap-(gaβ-)* beside \**gam-*. NPers. *anjām* “end”, Pahl. *hanžām*, Jud. Pers. *anjāftan* “to bring to an end”, MP. *hanžāftan*, *hanžāmēnūtān* (Marquart, *Ādīna*, § 10).

<sup>1</sup> Saka *ttīma-* “seed” < \**tayma-*, cf. *sīya-* < \**sayda* “learnt” is to be connected with Sogd. (Buddh.) *tym-* “seed”, \**taym-* < \**tuym-* to OPers. *tau<sup>b</sup>man-* [Tolman, *Anc. Pers. Lexicon*, 91, is wrong in comparing *Čiθrataxma*, name of a Sagartian rebel, and hence dialectical form with -*xm-*. In South-Western Persian -*xm-* > -*hm-* > *m*, cf. NPers. *mardum* = MPT. *mrvhm*, Sogd. *mrtym-*], Av. *taoxman-*, Pahl. *tōxm*, MPT. *tvxm* “seed”, NPers. *tuxm* (N.W. dial. form). Leumann’s \**takṣman-* is needless, loc. cit., 192.

To *apasārišn*, *afsārišn* cf. *Iran. Bd.*, 214, l. 12 (*Alaksandar kēsar*) . . . *vas marak ātaxš apasārt* “Alexander Cæsar . . . extinguished a great number of fires”. Pahl. Comm. *apasāritan* to Av. *frāvayōit* “he should extinguish”, *AIW.*, 1407. Cf. NPers. *afsārdan* “press, constrain” and Oss. *äfsärün*, *äfsärjn* “aftreten, drängen”; Miller, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, Anhang, p. 57, 31 (otherwise).

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Arch. Mitt.*: Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1929.  
*AIW.*: Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1904.  
*ZAIW.*: Chr. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906.  
*Sachau*: *Aram. Papyri u. Ostraka*, 1911.  
*HAG.*: Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Teil i, 1897.  
*SBE.*: *Sacred Books of the East*.  
*Morg., Et. Voc. Pashto*: Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927.  
*WZKM.*: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
*Anc. Pers. Lexicon*: Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, 1908.  
*BSL.*: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*.  
*Grund. Iran. Phil.*: *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.  
*Bull. ASP.*: *Bulletin de l' Académie des Sciences St.-Péterbourg*.  
*Zvgl. S.*: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

#### PAHLAVI

- Ind. Bd.*: *Indian Bundahišn* (transl. *SBE.*, v), ed. Justi.  
*Iran. Bd.*: *Iranian Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria.  
*Pahl. T.*: *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J. M. Jamasp-Asana, 1913.  
*Az.*: “Ayātkār i Zarērān” in *Pahl. Texts*, 1–16; ed. Pagliaro, “Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nationale,” Roma, 1925.  
*MM.*: Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der Mitteliranischen Mundarten*, i–vi, Heidelberg.  
*Mir. St.*: Bartholomae, “Mitteliranische Studien,” i–vi, in *WZKM.*  
*AV.*: *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, ed. Haug and Jamaspji Asa, 1872.  
*AV. Gloss.*: *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak Glossary*, see *AV.*  
*SR.*: Bartholomae, *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, i–v, Heidelberg.  
*Zur Etym.*: Bartholomae, *Zur Etymologie u. Wortbildung*, Heidelberg, 1919.  
*Husr.*: *King Husrav and his Boy*, ed. Unvala.  
*Dād. Dēnīk*: *Dātastān i dēnik*, ed. Anklesaria.  
*FP.*: *Frahāng i Pahlavik*, ed. H. Junker, 1912.  
*Pahl. Psal.*: *Pahlavi Psalter*.  
*Nyb., Hilfsb.*: H. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 1928.  
*Kn.*: *Kārnāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān*.  
*Av. Stud.*: *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies*, 1904.  
*JN.*: *Jāmāsp Nāmak*, ed. J. J. Modi.  
*MX.*: *Mēnōkē Xrat*.

#### TURFAN MIDDLE IRANIAN

- Sal., Man. St.*: C. Salemann, “Manichaeische Studien,” *Mém. Acad. Sc. St. Péte.*, 1908.  
*Sal., Nachträge*: C. Salemann, “Nachträge zum Glossar,” *Bull. Acad. Sci. St. Pet.*, 1912.  
*Lentz, Die Stellung Iesu*: Lentz u. Waldschmidt, “Die Stellung Iesu im Manichäismus,” *ABA W.*, 1926.

Marquart, *Ādīna in Ungar. Jahrbuch*, 1927.

Tedesco, *Dialektologie : Monde Oriental*, 15. *Dialektologie der Westiranischen Turfanteexte*.

#### SOGDIAN

*Frag.* : *Fragments ; Dhuta : Dhuta-Text ; Dhyāna : Dhyāna-Text ; VN. : Vimala-kirtinirdeśa Sūtra :* in Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 1928.

*DS.* : "Dirghanakha Sūtra," ed. Gauthiot, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 17, 1912.

*VJ.* : "Vessantara-Jataka," ed. Gauthiot, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1912.

*Gram. Sogd.* : *Essai de Grammaire Sogdiennne*, i-ii, Gauthiot and Benveniste.

*SCE.* : *Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, ed. Benveniste.

*ST.* : *Soghdische Texte*, i, F. W. K., Müller, *ABA W.*, 1913.

#### SAKA

*Sacu Doc.* : ed. S. Konow, in *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang*, 1929.

*Bhadrap. S.* : *Saka Versions of the Bhadrakalpikā Sūtra*, ed. Konow, 1929.

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

For E. Leumann's works :—

*L.* = *Zur nordarischen Sprache u. Literatur*, 1912.

*N.* = *Buddhistische Literatur, Nordarisch u. Deutsch*, i, 1920.

*Mait. Sam.* = *Maitreya Samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten*, 1919.

*Suppletiv.* = "Suppletivwesen" im Nordarischen, *Zeits. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, 1930.

NOTE OF CORRECTION TO § 28.—The emendations proposed are unnecessary. The words are from čōδ- "to agitate", ՃՈԾ čōdak "agitated", ՃՈԾԱԾ čōdēnand "they agitate", ԱՅԾՎՈԾ čōdihēt is agitated, cf. Sanskrit *codayati*. For the meaning, *Iran. Bund.* 152, 10, āp . . . pat čōdišn ut čust šaspēt "the water tosses in agitation". Against a ՃՈԾ = \*vižand is also the regular spelling Ճ, Ծ, vizand.