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SHAPUR'S SHOOTING

By D. N. MacKENZIE

(PLATE I)

The Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum has in its collections an inscribed plaque (BM 136772) which is intriguing for bearing not one but one and a half inscriptions, for being almost perfectly legible, and yet for having no obvious purpose. There is no information about its provenance (the plaque was in a European private collection for some considerable time) other than that it is said to have come, indirectly, from Iran. Of this there can be little doubt, as we shall see. The plaque is of sheet silver, roughly rectangular, and measures approximately 13·5 cm. in width and 14·5 cm. in length. At some time it has been folded in half both ways, leaving a horizontal crack across the middle. Another crack runs across the bottom right-hand corner. It is possible to give these orientations because of the 21 lines of writing which, from their division, were incised in the plate after it acquired its present shape. The writing is 'inscriptional' Parthian. The first 14 lines bear a close copy of the corresponding version of the rock inscription of Shapur I at Hājiābād (by Persepolis), and ll. 15–21, probably by another hand, contain a repetition of the beginning of this. But this is by no means to say all.

As the only respectable complete edition of both versions of the Hājiābād inscription (Haj.), Persian and Parthian, is in Swedish and in a Danish *Festschrift*¹ it seems worth while to resume it and to some extent supplement it here. The texts are given first in the customary transliteration and then in a contemporary (i.e. A.D. 250±) phonemic transcription.² The transcription of Parthian verbal ideograms, in particular, is problematical: it is based primarily on the corresponding Pahlavi ideograms. Such matters, and several ambiguities of the spelling, can only be dealt with in the notes.

Hājiābād: Persian

tgł'hy ZNH LY mzdysn bgy šhpwħry MLK'n
tigrāh ēn man mazdēs̄n bay šābuhr šāhān

MLK' 'yr'n W 'nyr'n MNW ctry MN yzt'n
šāh ērān ud anērān kē čīhr az yazdān

BRH mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLK'n MLK' 'yr'n
pus mazdēs̄n bay ardaš'vr šāhān šāh ērān

MNW ctry MN yzt'n npy bgy p'pky MLK' 'Pn
kē čīhr az yazdān nab bay pābag šāh. u-n

¹ H. S. Nyberg, 'Hājiābād-inskriften', in *Øst og Vest: avhandlingar tilegnede Arthur Christensen*, København, 1945, 62–74 (hereafter 'HI'). W. B. Henning suggested two minor corrections to the reading of the Parthian version, 'Mitteliranisch', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, IV, Iranistik, I, p. 43, n. 2. Nyberg included the texts in his *Manual of Pahlavi*, I, Wiesbaden 1964, 122–3 (hereafter *Mn.*, I), but his final understanding of the texts can only be found scattered under several entries in the glossary, *Manual*, II, 1974. Meanwhile O. Klima had contributed some important notes, 'Etliche Bemerkungen zur Interpretation der Inschriften von Hājiābād', I, *Archiv Orientalní*, xxxvi, I, 1968, 19–23; II, *idem*, xxxvii, 2, 1969, 194–8.

² See my 'Notes on the transcription of Pahlavi', *BSOAS*, xxx, 1, 1967, 17–29.



Courtesy British Museum

BSOAS. XLI]

- 5 'MT ZNH ḤTY' ŠDYTN 'DYN_n L'YNY štdl'd'n
ka ēn tigr wist ēg-in pēš šahryārān
 W BRBYT'n W welk'n W 'z'tn ŠDYTN 'Pn LGLH PWN
ud wispuhrān ud wuzurgān ud āzādān wist. u-n pāy pad
 ZNH drky ḤNḤTWN 'Pn ḤTY' LŠDr ZK cyt'k
ēn darrag nihād u-n tigr tar ān čēdāg
 BL' LMYTN BL' 'LH wy'k 'YK ḤTY' LMYTN
be abgand. be ōy gyāg kū tigr abgand
 TMH wy'k ZK 'wgwn L' YḤWWN 'YK ḤT cyt'k
ānō gyāg ān owōn nē būd kū aqar čēdāg
- 10 cyty ḤWH 'DYN bylwny pty'k YḤWWN ḤWH
čēd hē ēg bēron paydāg būd hē.
 'ḤR LNH prm't MNW cyt'ky 'wldly
pas amāh framād kē čēdāg ōrōndar
 cyty MNW YDH ṬB ḤWH ZK LGLH PWN
čēd. kē dast-nēw hē ān pāy pad
 ZNH drky 'yw ḤNḤTWN W ḤTY' 'L ZK
ēn darrag ēw nihē(n)d ud tigr ō ān
 cyt'ky 'yw ŠDYTN 'ḤR MNW
čēdāg ēw wihē(n)d. pas kē
- 15 ḤTY' 'L ZK cyt'k LMYTN
tigr ō ān čēdāg abganē(n)d
 'LH YDH ṬB
ōy dast-nēw.

Parthian

- wt'wny ZNH LY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' šḥypwḥr
widāwan im man mazdēzn bay šābuhr
 MLKYN MLK' 'ry'n W 'ny'ry'n MNW šyḥr MN
šāhān šāh aryān ud anaryān kē čīhr až
 y'ztn BRY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' 'rthštr MLKYN MLK'
yazdān puhr mazdēzn bay ardaš'vr šāhān šāh
 'ry'n MNW šyḥr MN y'ztn pwhrypwḥr bg p'pk
aryān kē čīhr až yazdān puhrēpuhr bay pābag
- 5 MLK' W 'MT LN ZNH ḤTY' ŠDYt QDMTH ḥštrdryn
šāh. ud kaḍ amā im tīyr wist parwān šahradārān
 BRBYT'n RB'n W 'z'tn ŠDYt NGRYN pty ZK wym
wispuhrān wuzurgān ud āzādān wist, pād pad ēd wēm
 ḤQ'YMWt W ḤTY' LŠD LḤw šyty LBR' RMYt byš
awestād ud tīyr tar hō čēd bēh abgand. bē-ž
 TMH 'Nw ḤTY' NPLt LḤw znk 'TRH L' YḤWt 'YK
ōḍ kū tīyr ōbast hō zanaq wyāg nē būd kū
 'k šyty BNYt ḤWYndy 'L LBR' ŠṬR' 'ksy YḤWt
aq čēd dišt ahēndē ō bēh ārag āgas būd

- 10 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 LN 'wpdšt MNW šyty PNHstr
ahēndē. adyān amā ubdišt kē čēd ōrōnistar
 BNYt 'ws MNW YD' 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 NGRYN pty
dišt. awās kē dast-nēw ahānd pād pad
 ZNH wym hyp 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 W 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 'L hw
im wēm hēš awestē(n)d ud tiyr ō hō
 šyty hyp ŠDYW MNW 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 'L hw šyty
čēd hēš wihē(n)d. kē tiyr ō hō čēd
- 14 z'myWd LHwp YD' 𐭠𐭮𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩(?)
žāmē(n)d haw-ub dast-nēw ahēnd.

Translation (Parthian variants in square brackets])

This (is) the bowshot of me, the Mazda-worshipping god Shapur, king of kings of Eran and Non-Eran, whose descent (is) from the gods, son of the Mazda-worshipping god Ardashir, king of kings of Eran, whose descent (is) from the gods, grandson of the god Papak, king. And when we shot this arrow, then we shot it before the kings and princes and magnates and nobles. And we put (our) foot in this cleft [on this rock] and we cast the arrow beyond that cairn. But that place [there] where the arrow was cast [fell], there the place was not such [was not that kind of place] that, if a cairn had been erected, it would have been visible outside. Then we commanded that the cairn be erected more in this direction. [Now] whoever may be strong of arm, let them put (their) foot in this cleft [on this rock] and let them shoot an arrow to(wards) that cairn. Then whoever cast [send] an arrow (as far as) to that cairn, they are [indeed] strong of arm.

Notes. Persian

1. *tgl'hy* 'bowshot'. Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 193, reads *tigr-āhy* 'range of an arrow', abandoning his earlier etymology ('HI', 66, *tiyrāhē*: *tiyr* < *tiyri* + *āh* < OP **āθa-*, OIr. **āsa-* < *ā* + *vas* 'reach') in favour of *tigr* + **āfya-*, v.n. < *ā* + *√ap* 'reach'. Although his reading is different, he was perhaps brought to this by Klíma's comparison (art. cit., 21) of the 'Parthian' Pahl. word in *Pahlavi texts*, 5.22, 6.1, written *tgl'd'p*—Klíma *tiyr(i)yāf*, Nyberg *tigr-ayāp*. It is not clear how Klíma understood this, as he mentions the (late) change of postvocalic *-f* to *-h* in MP (*kōf* > *kōh*, etc.), suggesting a possible borrowing from Parth. (i.e. MP **tigryāh* < Parth. *tiyryāf* ?), but continues to speak of (his) *tiyrāhē* < OP **tiyra-āh'ya-*, OIr. *√ah* 'throw'.

It is difficult to combine the two words. The MP word can hardly have had *-h* < *-f* as early as this (cf. contemporary Man. MP *kwp* /*kōf*/ = NP *kōh*) and, even if it had, it would scarcely be spelled *-hy* in Inscr. Pahl. (cf. KKZ *kwl'py* = NP *kulāh*). *tgl'hy* must therefore be read as *tigrāh* (the 'Schluss-*y*', v. W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 67 f., is no more significant than in KKZ *hwytwt'd'hy* /*xwēdōdah*/ (< *°daθa-*) or KSM *p'tk'hy* /*pādgāh*/ (< *°gāθu-*, etc.), and possibly derived from a **tigra-āha-* 'arrow-shot' (though Skt. *iṣv-āsa-* is 'bowman' or 'bow') or, with Klíma, *-āhya-*. If Book Pahl. *tgl'd'p* is originally a Parth. form (which seems likely, rather than a MP alternative to *tigrāh*), it cannot be **tiyr-ayāb*, with Nyberg, because, apart from the unlikely spelling, Parth. does not have the verb (it would have been **aβyāb-* anyway, had it occurred). We are thrown back on **tigri-āpa-* > **tiyryāb*, or **āfya-* > **āf*.

4, 6, 7. 'Pn. There is little need to devote space to Nyberg's last-ditch stand in support of his reading *ap-*, *api-* (*Mn.*, II, 19 f.) for what is otherwise universally recognized to be an ideogram, 'P, for *u-* 'and' with enclitic pronouns (in Man. MP 'w-m, -t, -š, etc.), as opposed to *W* for the independent *ud*, Man. 'wd. There is not a scrap of evidence that his OIr. **ápi* 'must have existed' and even if it had, by his own admission, '*ap-* was certainly obsolete in the spoken language when the Manicheans *created their own literary language* [my italics] which was *not* based on the usage of the Sassanian chancelleries'. In fact Mani's Middle Persian texts, especially the *Šābuhragān*, were probably written purposely in the 'King's Persian', at much the same time as this inscription was being made, and it is ridiculous to suppose that two kinds of Middle Persian, 'royal' or 'chancellery' and 'Manichaean literary', could have had exclusively different words for 'and'.

The 1st plural enclitic *-n*, Av. *na-* (*AIWb.* 1031), replaced in Man. MP and Book Pahl. by *-mān*, lives on in some Kurdish dialects (see my *Kurdish dialect studies*, I, § 197, Piždarī and Mukrī *-(i)n*, alongside 2nd pl. *-ū*, Av. *wa-*, *AIWb.* 1310).

5, 6, 14. *ŠDYTN*. The bare ideogram stands for both past and present forms of *wistan* 'to shoot', whose pres. stem *wih-* (not **vind-*) is attested (*pace* Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 213, s.v. *vindak*) in phonetic spelling in both Man. MP and Parth. *wh-* (*W. Sundermann, Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, 137, s.v. *wyst*, and already Henning, *JRAS*, October 1942, p. 234, n. 5).

7. *drky* = *darrag* 'cleft', from the old ppp. **drna-* of *√dar* 'split', cf. H. W. Bailey, *Prolexis to the book of Zambasta*, Cambridge, 1967, 115, Khot. *dara-* 'ravine', etc. A meaning 'rock' is unlikely, despite the Parthian correspondence.

7, 9. *cyt'k*, 11, 14 *cyt'ky*, with Nyberg (*Mn.*, II, 55, *čitāk*) 'something set up in layers, a cairn, or the like'. The connexion with 10 *cyty* = *čid* 'piled up, erected' is clear: the vocalization *čēdāg* rests solely on the existence of Baloči *čēdag*, *čēday* 'cairn erected to commemorate any notable event', presumably (on account of *-d-*) a loan from a Persian dialect.

8. *BL'*, like the *BR'* of which it is a corruption (Aramaic *br'* 'outside'), is ambiguous and can stand for *be*, Man. MP *b'* '1. verbal particle; 2. but; 3. out(wards)'. But Parth. has no such verbal particle and 'but' is there /*bē-ž-*/, Man. *byc*, *byž*, Inscr. *byš*. The Parth. *LBR'*, therefore, can only stand for /*bēh-*/, Man. *byh*, 'out' (P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London, 1972, 56 to be corrected accordingly; Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 46, reads *ō bē*, confusing it with '*L LBR'*'). In Parth. 7 *LŠD LHw šyty LBR' RMYt*, therefore, *tar . . . bēh* must be taken as a pre- and postposition group, so 'cast across that cairn *outwards*', i.e. 'across and beyond, past that cairn'. The Pers. text expresses the same with *LŠDr . . . BL'*, so the first *BL' = be* 'out'. The second *BL'*, corresponding to Parth. *byš*, is clearly 'but' (Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 20 again to be corrected).

9. *TMH*. Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 19, *ānōd*, on the basis of a unique supposed spelling 'nvd (which is probably an undeleted error for *TWB*), ignores the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg*, xxv, 1, 'nwy. Man. MP, besides 'nwh, has once (M 554 v 6) 'wy < *ōd* < *awadā*, suggesting that *ān-* in *ānō(y)* is the ordinary demonstrative, added to distinguish the word from *ōy* 'he'.

11. *prm't MNW* is remarkable, in face of Man. *prm'd kw*, ŠKZ 24 *prm'ywmy 'YK*, but *MNW* /*kē-*/ can hardly be translated 'someone'.

'*wlndly*, Nyberg's (*Mn.*, II, 145) *ōrandar* 'further down', < **avar-antarah*

'within (the) downward (slope)', has to be compared with the Parth. equivalent *PNHstr*, his *ōristar*, same meaning, comparative of *ōr* < *avar*: thus Parth. *-istar* is a comparative morpheme, but Pers. *-dly* = *-dar* for him is not. In fact the MP comparative ending, Man. MP *-dr*, appears just so in KSM 42 [p]hndly 'wider', also with a word ending in *-n*: otherwise it is always spelled *-tly*, *-try* in inscriptions, even after *-n* in Paikuli 37' *krtk'ntly*, KSM 46 *lwšntry*. More conclusively, in the Paikuli inscription we find

Pers. 9 *plys[t](ky)* 'L LNH Y'TWN 'YK MLK'n MLK' PWN
 Parth. 8' [*pry*](štk)[y '(L)YN 'TYt ('YK MLK)YN (MLK)]' *pty*

krpkyyhy MN '[lmmny] 'wl(wn)y ('L) 'yr'n štry 'yw whycyt
krpkpy MN 'lmmny] PNH 'L 'ry'n hštr [hyp

'an ambassador came to us (to say), "May the king of kings graciously set out from Armenia hither to Eranshahr"' (v. Henning, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 517). Parth. 35' has 'k LKM 'LHYN MN hšynk PNH 'if Your Majesty since earlier (times) . . .' corresponding to Pers. 39 *HTn MN KZYnky* [. . .; the vital word is missing, but cf. KNRb 23 *MN KZY 'wlvny*, i.e. surely Paik. *agar-tān az ahēnag [ōrōn]* and KNRb *az ahy ōrōn*. There can be little doubt that Parth. *PNH* is the equivalent of MP *ōrōn*, and that (although the word is not attested in Man. Parth.) the two versions of Haj. read *ōrōndar* and **ōrōnistar* resp., 'more hither, in this direction' (cf. M. Boyce, *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica, 9), Téhéran, Liège, 1975, y 17 and note, 'c *'nwh 'wrvntr* 'from there more in this direction'). *ōrōn* presumably stems from Av. *avarā* (*AIWb*. 176) + *raon-* (1512), rather than simply **awa-rawan-* (so Gignoux, 'La construction de *ōrōn* en pehlevi', *St. Ir.*, 1, 1972, p. 16, n. 1: prep. *ō* + subst. *rōn* is directionally too general in its meaning).

12, 16. *YDH TB* = Parth. *YD' TB*, *dast-nēw*, though apparently not recognized by Nyberg, is clearly a compound,³ an inverted *bahuvrīhi* of the kind common in Kurdish, e.g. *das-čābuk* 'dextrous', *das-dirēz* 'rapacious, corrupt', *das-sist* 'clumsy', etc., corresponding to NP *čābuk-dast*, *dirāz-dast*, *xām-dast*, resp. The meaning of *dast-nēw* could be either 'dextrous, skilled, handy' or, from the context, 'strong-armed', since the whole tenor of the inscription seems to boast the length rather than the accuracy of the royal shot. Compare the NP term *nīk-andāz*, lit. 'good' shot, but certainly meaning a 'strong' shot, as opposed to an accurate marksman *bārīk-andāz*: see text and discussion by E. McEwen, 'Persian archery texts: chapter eleven of Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-ḥarb* (early thirteenth century)', *Islamic Quarterly*, xviii, 3-4, 1974, 86, 99.

12-16. *HWH*, *HNHTWN*, *ŠDYTN*, and *LMYTN* are so ambiguous that the corresponding Parth. forms must be compared: *HWYnt*, *HQ'YMWd*, *ŠDYW*, and *z'myWd*. *HWYnt* can only be a 3rd plural form of the stem *ah-* already found in 9, 10 *HWYndy*, i.e. 3rd sg. opt. *ahēndē*, Man. Parth. *'hyndy(y)*. The last word of the Parth. version must also be considered, but its reading is in some doubt. Nyberg, 'HI', had *HWYt*, to which Henning raised no objection, but in *Mn.*, 1, it appears as *HWYN*. In the British Museum plaque, as we

³ O. Klīma, 'Der Ausdruck *dast nēw* in der sassanidischen Inschrift von Hājjiābād', *Archiv Orientalní*, xxxix, 3, 1971, 260-7, actually quotes (p. 266) a *χειρόχρηστος* 'handfertig, geübt, tüchtig mit der Hand', but does not draw the obvious conclusion. His analysis of *dast nēw* as a nominal sentence, and also his separation of *TB* from a Book Pahlavi 'Pseudo-heterogramm' *tag, are unacceptable.

shall see below, it is *HWYnt*, the same as the form in Haj. l. 11. Whether the two forms are written differently at Haj. or not, Nyberg is probably correct (*Mn.*, I, 175 end) in interpreting 11 *HWYnt* as *ahānd* 3rd pl. pres. subj., and the final word of the inscription as the corresponding indicative *ahēnd* (cf. *HWYN* = *ahēnd* in ŠKZ 3, 11, 22, 23). In 12 *HQ'YMWd*, however, unless a change of concord has taken place, it is *-d* which marks the 3rd pl. pres. indic., used with the particle *hyp* (not met in Man. Parthian) to express an optative, and this necessarily implies that 13 *hyp ŠDYW*, with the same subject, also represents a 3rd plural form. There remains the puzzling 14 *z'myWd*. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 30, 66, has already noted the similarity of this and other forms to certain verbal ideograms with *-W* as the mark of the present stem (opposed to *-t* for the past stem, e.g. *ŠDYW : ŠDYt* here). In fact there are almost no present forms like Man. Parth. *-yh*, *-yd*, *-ynd* in all the Sassanian Parth. inscriptions other than those written ideographically with the 'phonetic complements' *-d*, *-t*, *-yt*, *-nt*. The 'phonetic' spellings with intrusive *-W* are mostly listed by Henning (loc. cit., 66): only *hym* Paik. 29', which is probably an error for *H<W>Ym*, and *prm(y)t* Paik. 41' (Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 60 *prmynt*) occur without it. Whatever its origin, it seems to be purely graphic. We may thus interpret *z'myWd* also as 3rd person indicative, plural or singular, i.e. *-ē(n)d*.

Given the close parallelism of the two versions, it seems certain that the Pers. ideograms also stand for 3rd plural forms. The indicatives (after 'yw = Man. MP *hyb*) *HNHTWN*, *ŠDYTN*, and probably *LMYTN* are clear—*nihē(n)d*, *wihē(n)d*, and *abganē(n)d*. *HWH* is more ambiguous: is it 3rd pl. subj. *hānd*, like the Parth., or optative, as in l. 10? If the latter, we have no Man. MP form to compare, but to judge by the Parth. 'hyndy, opt. for all persons, it could also have been *hē*, like 3rd sg. *hy*.

Parthian

1. *w'wny*. Nyberg ('HI', 66) was the first to identify the word and see it in the Armenian loan-word *vtavan*, modern EArm. *vtavan* 'bowshot'. He recognized the *-y* as 'spurious' (*Mn.*, II, s.vv. *vitāvanē*, *šitē*), but in false contrast to 'real' *-y*. That 'the silent final *-y* abundantly written in Persian inscriptions', and which he claims (*Mn.*, II, s.v. *ākasī*) 'is wanting in Parthian', often does occur in Parthian is shown by the score or more examples in R. Schmitt's 'Reversindex zum Glossar der mittelpersischen und parthischen Steininschriften', *IJJ*, xv, 4, 1973, 262–3. It is Nyberg's 'real' *-y* which is spurious.

Nyberg's finding the word *vitāvan* in the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg*, xxv, 4, inexplicably lodged in the middle of a list of conjunctions, adverbs, adjectives, etc., and glossing another unknown word, is also extremely doubtful.⁴

Lastly, Klíma's etymology (art. cit., 22) < **vi-tā-vana-*, cf. Skt. *vi-tan-* 'to draw (a bow)', etc., is rather more attractive than Nyberg's simple **vi-tāvana-*: long grade forms from the root *tav* are not attested.

2. *MLKYN MLK'*. Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 219, justifies his reading **xšāh* with the

⁴ On the unknown word written *ndkntnn*, v. Klíma, art. cit., 22 f. (whose own correct translation of the Pahl. *Yasnā* 57.28 removes its relevance). Among many possible readings there is no support whatever for Nyberg's *vindak* 'shot', v. Pers. note 5 *ŠDYTN* above, and *vitav* is an impossible reading of **wtw'*—such a word, say < **wi-tawa(h)-*, would necessarily be written **w(y)twb'*.

circular argument that the preservation of *xš-* in his supposed Parthian 'official language' is warranted by *xšahrīdār* [hštrdr], 'which is phonetically written'. Man. Parth. *š'h* and *šhrd'r* /šahr(a)dār/ show plainly that the Inscr. Parth. spelling *hš-* is historical, not phonetic.

That *-YN* is an ideographic plural spelling, and not phonetic *-yn* for an archaic Iranian plural *-īn* (although this is occasionally attested in Man. Parth., *hrwyn*, *jnyn*, *wx'ryn*, etc.), can be no more than a hypothesis. It is based, however, on the facts that (1) *-īn* is written, like the commoner *-ān*, with *-n* alone in *ZNHn* /imīn/, Man. 'ymyn, and (2) *BRBYT*'-n and *RB*'-n /wispuhrān, wuzurgān/ suggest that the final aleph of an ideogram was preserved before a phonetic complement, so that *LHYN* /bayān/, *GBRYN* /mardān/, *SWSYN* /aspān/ and *MLKYN* /šāhān/ have not simply lost an aleph before **-yn*. V. 5 *hštrdryn* below.

'ny'ry'n. Henning's reading 'an Ort und Stelle' ('Mitteliranisch', p. 43, n. 2), as in ŠKZ 1, 15, is ignored by Nyberg, *Mn.* His spelling 'n'ry'n does occur, in ŠVŠ 5, and in the plaque, v. *infra*.

šyhr. Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 186, s.vv. *šīhr*, *šītē*, 47 ²bēš (and p. 275, l. 3 'MiPrth often /š/ for /č/'), appears to think that č > š is phonetically 'characteristic of the NW language'. The large number of Man. Parth. words written with *c-*, as distinct from *š-*, is enough to refute this. No Man. Parth. **cyhr* 'seed' is attested, but *cyhrq* 'nature, essence, form' is common. The spelling ŠKZ 2 *š'š*, Gk. TCATCHNHC, for Čāč (Tāškant) further indicates that inscriptional *š* for *č* is purely graphic.

5. ŠDYt. From the present stem *wh-* (v. Pers. note 5) it is clear that in Parth. also the ideogram stands for **wist*.

hštrdryn. In view of the context, followed by three plurals in *-ān*, it would be surprising if *šahr(a)dār* here had the pl. *-īn*. As the word is one of those with 'Schluss-y' in the singular, *hštrdry* in ŠKZ 3 and Paik. 34-36, it is possible that this has been carried over into the plural, thus *hštrdry-n* /šahr(a)dār-ān/.

7. HQ'YMWt. This ideogram occurs in both transitive and intransitive contexts. As intrans. it presumably represents /īst-/ , Man. 'št-, 'stand', e.g. in ŠKZ Parth. 22 *TNH KTYBt HQ'YMWt* /ēdar nibišt īstēd/ = Pers. 27 *YKTYBWN YK'YMWnt* /nibišt ēstēd/ 'is written (here)'. As a trans. verb, however, it must be /awest-/ < *awa-stā-*, Man. 'wyst-, e.g. ŠKZ Parth. 19 *MH 'bdyn HQ'YMWt* /čē aβdēn awestād/ = Pers. 24 *MH 'dwyn HNHTWNt* /čē ēwēn nihād/ 'how (they) have been established'.

šyty /^{*}čēd/, Nyberg's *šūt(ē)*, v. 2 *šyhr* and Pers. 7 *cyt'k*.

LŠD . . . LBR' /tar . . . bēh/, v. note to Pers. 8 *BL*'.

byš 'but' corresponds to Man. Parth. *byc*, occasionally *byž*. To risk labouring the point, this shows that, as with *šyhr*, *šyty*, the *š* is purely graphic and not that (Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 47, ²bēš) 'Prth. *c* has very often changed to *š*'. 8. For *NPLt* Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 109, reads *kaft*, the common Man. Parth. verb 'to fall'. Book Pahl. *NPLWNstn*, however, is *ōbestan*, Man. MP 'wbyst, < **awa-pasta-*, √*pat*, which also occurs in a Parth. Nisa document (Nov. 280 'a' 1, 3; v. I. M. D'jakonov and V. A. Livšic, 'Novye naxodki dokumentov v Staroj Nise', *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik*, II, Moscow, 1966, 148) as 'wpst 'spilt' (of wine). The same verb could as well serve in this inscriptional context.

In 'ksy Nyberg, *Mn.*, II, 13, recognizes the Man. 'gs, but in pursuance of an untenable theory (about *-y* in Man. MP *wynybwōt* and *stwy bwdn*) invents a form *ākasī/ē* with 'a real ending' *-y*.

10. 'wpdšt, patently the same as Skt. *upa-diś* 'indicate, inform, instruct', OIr. **upa-dais*, *-dišta-*, Man. 'bdyšt, 'bdys-, Sogd. *pδ'yš-*, Oss. *āvdisən* 'show'.

Nyberg's supposed *avdištan* (*Mn.*, II, 36 f.) would have been **ōdišt* or **aβdišt*, neither of which has the *-v-* (i.e. */-w- /*) he sees behind the spelling *-wp-*: this does occur rarely in late 'Book Parthian', but only for intervocalic */w/*, e.g. in *'stwp'n* ~ *'stwb'n* /*āstawān/*, *bwp'y* /*bawē/*.

PNHstr, v. Pers. 11 *'wlnđly*.

11. *HWYnt*, v. Pers. 12–16 *HWH*, etc.

12, 13. '*L hw*. Henning I understood to see here (to my mind, now, unnecessarily) **LHw*, a contraction of '*L LHw*.⁵ The other pers. pronouns following *ō*, corresponding to MP '*L LY* /*ō man/* 'to me', '*L LNH* /*ō amā/* 'to us', are written as Aram. enclitic pronouns in the Parth. ideograms '*LY*, '*LYN*. But these can hardly represent enclitics in Parthian, **awi-m*, **awi-n*,⁶ since no such forms are attested in Man. Parthian—even corresponding to MP *'wys* /*awiš/*. Had there been a standard short form for /*ō hō/*, therefore, it would probably have been **LWHY*, not actually met outside Aramaic.

14. *z'myWd*, if it is so to be read (v. note to Pers. 12–16 and the other versions below), must be a form of Man. Parth. *j'm'dn*, *j'm-* = MP *z'pt*, *z'm-* 'to lead, send', i.e. /*žām-* / < *žāmayā-*. This Nyberg explains, but still inexplicably transcribes *zām-* (*Mn.*, II, 228), with Persian *z-*.

The inscription of Hājiābād was discovered by Sir Robert Ker Porter in 1818. Well over a century later, in 1956, a shorter bilingual inscription of similar content was discovered at Tang-i Burāq, some 100 km. to the north-west of Hājiābād. First mentioned by 'Alī Sāmī, this inscription was published by G. Gropp, *apud* W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1969, 229–37, with excellent photographs, a drawing, transliteration, translation, and notes. A reading of the photos leaves a few letters more doubtful than the editor's presentation of the text allows, but there can be no doubt at all of the content of the original inscriptions.

The Persian version is the most destroyed. At the top it reads:

Tang-i Burāq

(tgl)[']hy ZN(H)[
 (M)LK' 'yl'n W '(n)[
 mzdysn bgy 'rthš(t)[r] (M)[
 (y)zt'n npy bgy p'pky ML(K)[] '[P](n) [
 5 L'YNY štld(l)[]n [W] (B)[] (W) [w](c)[

Clearly these lines coincided exactly, except for the use of *l* for *r* in 2 *'yl'n*, with Haj. Pers. 1–6. Although the Parthian version differs somewhat, it is possible to reconstruct the remainder of the text as follows:⁷

6 MN ZNH cyt'k HTY' 'L (ZK cy)[t'k] LMY[TN MNW YDH TB]
 HWH ZK HTY' MN ZNH cyt'k '(L) [ZK cyt'k]
 [y]w Š(D)[Y]TN '(HR) MNW HTY' 'L ZK cyt'k [LMYTN]
 9 [LH] YDH TB

The Parthian text is more completely preserved and can be reproduced directly from Gropp, with minor exceptions.

⁵ A note from me to this effect accounts for the entry '*LHw* in Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 49.

⁶ Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 49, '*LYN* *ō-n* 'à eux' is thus doubly wrong.

⁷ Differing from Gropp in only two words: see notes to 5, 6.

- 10 wt(')wny ZNH LY mzdzny 'LḤ' šhyppwḥr MLKYN [ML](K)' 'r(y'n) [W
 'n'ry'n]
 MNW šhr MN y'ztn BRY mzdzny 'LḤ' 'rḥštr (ML)[K]YN MLK' 'r[y'n
 MNW šhr]
 MN y'ztn pwhryppwḥr 'LḤ' p'(p)k MLK' W '(M)T LN ZNH (H)[TY' ŠDYt]
 QDMTH ḥš[t]rdryn BRBYT'n RB'n W 'z'tn <ŠDYt W> MN ZNH wrt
 Ḥ[TY' 'L ḥw]
 šyty RMYt 'ws MNW YD' ṬB ḤWYnt MN ZNH wrt Ḥ[TY' 'L ḥw]
 15 šyty ḥyp ŠDYW MNW ḤTY' 'L ḥw š(yt)y (z')myWd LHwp (Y)[D' ṬB
 ḤWY(?)]

Again this differs from Haj. only from line 13 onwards.

Translation

(5/13) (And we) cast the arrow from this cairn [stone] to that cairn. [Now] whoever may be strong of arm, let them shoot an arrow from this cairn [stone]. Then whoever cast [send] an arrow to that cairn, they are [indeed] strong of arm.

Notes. Persian

- 5, end. Rather than Gropp's *W*, the reconstruction '*Pn*' is called for, as in Haj. Pers. 6.
 6. Gropp's *KN*, equivalent to Parth. '*ws*', is not found in Haj. 12.

Parthian

10. Harmatta's proposal (*Sprache*, xix, 1, 1973, 75) to read **mzdynz* and see in it a 'typical NWIr.' form **mazdyanz*, with metathesis *-zn-* > *-nz-*, founders on the plain fact that it is the letter before *n* which has the vestigial S-shape of a Parthian *z*, not the final, vertical stroke. Gropp's reading *mzdzny* is correct.
 13. After '*z'tn*' the verb *ŠDYt* of Haj. Parth. 6 is wanting: its absence would cause the adverbial phrase *QDMTH* . . . '*z'tn*' to qualify the verb *RMYt*, a major divergence from the Persian version. A mason's error is more likely.

wrt < **warta-*, Av. *warəta-* (*AIWb*. 1368: Bartholomae's translation 'Ball, Klos' seems to have been an inspired guess), gives Kurd. *bard* 'stone, boulder', etc.: for further detail, *v.* Harmatta, loc. cit.

15. On (*z')*myWd, *v.* note to Haj. 14 above. Gropp's 'heterogram' *Y'MYwd*, totally unknown and of unique form, could at best be from an Aram. root such as '*m*' 'say', *ym*' 'swear'—of no possible help here.

Clearly the conditions at Tang-i Burāq were such that from Shapur's stand his butt was perfectly visible, allowing two cairns to mark the full range of his shot. This lends credibility to the complicated explanation, at Ḥājīābād, of how the cairn marking the butt had to be moved nearer the stand for it to be visible therefrom. The text of TB could have applied to several places, but that of Haj. was particular to the place.

What then are we to make of the following text ?

BM plaque

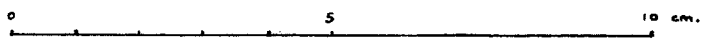
- (*bby*)'wny ZNH LY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' šhyppwḥr
 MLKYn MLK' 'ry'n W 'n'ry'n MNW šyhr MN
 [y]'ztn BRY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' 'rthštr MLKYn
 MLK' 'ry'n MNW šyhr MN y'ztn pw<ḥ>rypwwḥr bg
 5 p'pk MLK' W 'MT LN ZNH ḤṬY' ŠDYt QDMTH
 ḥš<trdryn> BRBYT'n RB'n (W) 'z'tn ŠDYt W NGRYN pty ZK wym
 ḤQ'YMWt W ḤṬY' LḤD LḤw šyty LBR' RMYt
 BR' TMH 'YK ḤṬY' NPLt LḤw znk 'TRH L'
 YHWt 'YK 'k šyty BNYt ḤWYndy 'L LBR' ŠTR'
 10 'ksy YHWt ḤWYndy 'dyn LN 'wpdšt MNW šyty PNH
 st' BNYt 'ws MNW Y(D)['] ṬB ḤWYnt NGRYN pty
 ZNH wym 'yb 'Q'YMWd W ḤṬY' 'L ḥw
 šyty ḥyḥ ŠDYt MNW Ḥ[Ṭ]Y' 'L ḥw šyty
 zymyWt LḤwp YD' ṬB ḤWYnt
- 15 wt'wny ZNH LY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' šhyppwḥr
 MLKYn MLK' 'ry'n W 'n'ry'n MNW šyhr MN
 y'ztn BRY mzdzyzn 'LḤ' 'rqḥštr MLKYn MLK'
 'ry'n MNW šyhr MN y'ztn pwwryppwwḥr bg p'-
 pk MLK' W 'MT LN ZNH ḤṬY' ŠDYt QDMTH
 20 ḥštr<d>ryn BRBYT'n RB'n W 'z'tn ŠDYt
 NGRYN pty ZK wym

Mistakes apart—and there are several—it reproduces the Parthian version of Ḥājiābād, with two significant differences. The first word of l. 8 is unmistakably *BR'*, corresponding to Haj. *byš*. The 'phonetic' spelling *byš*, as we know, represents *bē-š*, the word for 'but' found in Man. Parth. writing as *byc* and *byž*, i.e. *bē* < **bait* (v. Gershevitch, *Dr. J. M. Unvala memorial volume*, Bombay, 1964, 93) + *-ž* < *-šit*. This spelling has so far only been met in one other inscription, also of Shapur, at the Ka'ba-i Zardušt: ŠKZ 16 *byš* ZK 'wnt MN ZK *krty* 'wpdšt *KTYBtn* 'YK . . . 'but so much was for this reason ordered to be written, that . . .'. In Man. texts Parth. *byc* is twice as common as the Middle Persian synonym *bē-z*, also written *byc*. This is because MP also expresses 'but' by the unsuffixed form **be*, written *b'* in Man. script but with the ideogram *BR'* in Book and Inscr. Pahlavi (or *BL'* as we have seen in Haj. 8), from Aram. *br'* 'outside, without'. This ideogram also occurs for both the MP verbal particle **ba/e* and the adverb **bē* 'out(wards), outside' (which latter alone it originally represented). Inscr. Parth. has *LBR'* for *bēh* (Man. *byh*) 'outside', but *BR'* alone has not hitherto been attested in Parthian. We thus have here a unique example of *BR'* used for 'but' in this language, i.e. for *bē-š*. As such, it can only be an innovation by a writer accustomed to Middle Persian, in which language alone 'outside' and 'but' are (near) homophones. In Parthian there is no likelihood of a **BR'* for *bēh* 'outside' being used for *bē-š*.

The same is true of the substitution of 'YK for Haj. 'Nw, both for *kū*, in the same line. In Haj. 8 and ŠKZ 16 (the only known occurrences) 'Nw stands for the relative *kū* 'where',⁸ in accordance with the origin of the ideogram, Aram. 'n 'where' (interrogative). Elsewhere in ŠKZ, and as far as can be

⁸ Wrongly Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 46, s.v., de sorte que '.

כרוב כעונש לו אלו בוזג על מה שאמרתי
 אלו אלכע כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 ובזמנ כרוב אלו בוזג על מה שכתבתי אמלא
 אלכע כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 5 מע מע אלכע כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 10 כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 15 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 20 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא
 אמלא כרובע רעעשכע זענא אש אמלא



seen in Paikuli, the Parth. ideogram 'YK (Aram. 'yk 'how') represents only the conjunction *kū* ' (so) that '. It is only in Middle Persian that 'YK appears for both homonyms.

These are the only serious departures from the text of Haj. and, being in the direction of 'better-known' (i.e. Persian) spellings, they might be thought suspicious. If the plaque were a modern forgery, it might be argued, such variations from the known text of Haj. could be just what a knowledgeable and ingenious forger would introduce to give an air of verisimilitude to his work. But why should such a man choose to vary these two, and only these two, so characteristically Parthian forms *byš* and 'Nw, and then only in a way which must be interpreted as 'obvious' (albeit actually wrong)? Such a hypothesis seems to call for too high a degree of subtlety on the part of both 'forger' and 'suspector' to be tenable. On the contrary, the spellings 'BR' and 'YK seem to point clearly to the inadvertance of an old, non-Parthian, scribe.

The other mistakes are far from deliberate. They seem to be mainly the errors of a careless copier (or copiers), e.g. the omitted letters in 4 *pw(h)rypwhr*,

6 *hš<trdryn>*, and 20 *hštr<d>rym*, the writing of *š* as the similar letter *H* in 7 *LH D* for *LSD* (caused, no doubt, by the following *LHw*), the ' for *H* in both 12 'yb and 'Q' *YMWd* for **hyb* and *HQ' YMWd*, and the *q* for *t* in 17 'rqhštr. *hyh* in l. 13 is also a mistake for Haj. *hyp* and, since *h* resembles *p* more closely than *b*, this was presumably what was intended. But then 12 'yb for **hyb* becomes more remarkable, only being explicable as a new and unique free-lance 'phonetic' spelling of the 'optative' particle which occurs in Haj. Pers. as 'yw /ēw/, but Man. Pers. as *hyb* /hēb/ = Haj. Parth. *hyp* /*hēβ/.

Particularly in the first version (ll. 1–14), several letters are poorly formed. Most baffling of all is the writing of the first word of l. 1. Instead of *wt-* in *wt'wny* there are first two elongated letters, rather sharply angled at the top right-hand corner, which could perhaps be either *b*'s, *k*'s or *r*'s. If any of these letters had really been intended, it could only have been the combination **bd-* (the latter then without the subscript arc which distinguishes it from *r*), to represent a pronunciation /**bidāwan*/ of *wt'wny*. But such a phonetic development of initial *w*- > *b*-, found in late Middle Persian but nowhere attested in Parthian, seems to be completely ruled out in this case by the following apparent -*y*-, for which there is no linguistic explanation. Instead the first three 'letters' seem to be nothing more than a grossly distorted and blundered copying of handwritten *wt-*. The letters *y* and *z* are repeatedly confused, *y* being too serpentine and *z* too straight in the cases underlined *y*, *z* in the text. 14 *zymyWt*, or *yymzwt* as it actually appears, is particularly unfortunate in view of the doubt remaining over the interpretation of the word in its spelling Haj. *z'myWd*, TB (*z'*)*myWd*. The letter *m* is particularly cursive and straggly, to the extent of having turned completely on its side in 11 *MNW*. On the other hand, the number of ligatures employed suggests a certain familiarity with the script. They may, however, have been taken over unthinkingly from a better written original. The commonest ligatures are of *NW* in *MNW* (2, 4, 10, 11) and *HW* in *LHw* (7) and *hw* (12, 13): the unjoined letters also occur, however, in 8 *LHw* and 14 *LHwp*. A unique ligature is that of 'L in l. 9, in contrast to the separate letters in 12, 13. A similar oddity is the circular *W* in l. 6.

The position of *str*, squeezed in the margin before l. 11, shows that it was at first omitted when the word *PNHstr* was split at the end of the previous line. A final divergence from Haj., the extra *W* before *NGRYN* in l. 6 which is not repeated in ll. 20–21, is no more than a further example of careless copying, of no redactional significance.

In comparison with this, the second copy of the text in ll. 15–21 is more neatly and 'squarely' written and is almost certainly by another hand. Apart from the mistakes in writing 17 **rthštr* and 20 **hštrdryn* already noted, the only oddity is the splitting of the name *p'pk* over the lines 18–19.

The problem is to explain how these one and a half versions of an inscription peculiar to the circumstances of Hājīābād came to be engraved, one of them particularly ineptly, on a silver plaque. This is hardly the material to be used for a school exercise. Nor is there any obvious reason why part of an inscription, the Parthian version of it, intended to be cut monumentally at a particular site, should be recorded separately in miniature. Rather does the combination of material (metal) and scale suggest a draft, a text in inscriptional script intended ultimately to serve as the master-copy for the rock engraver. Why the metal should be silver is the most intriguing question. The only explanation which offers itself is that the plaque was meant for presentation to the king: Shapur, having dictated his wishes, if not the precise text, for the Hājīābād inscription in Persian, probably demanded to see how it would look before it was finally

engraved, and a miniature copy on silver was thought fit for the occasion. If this was the case, something clearly went wrong with the first attempt at the Parthian version. Not only was the drafter less than fully competent in the orthography of that language, but worse, the first engraver to whom the execution of the plaque was entrusted was quite unfit for the task.

No doubt the chief secretary responsible for the project was not amused when he saw ll. 1–14, and the services of another engraver were obtained. This man prudently took the opportunity offered by the spoiled plaque, still one-third unused, to practise engraving the beginning of the inscription—a very necessary precaution as his own, albeit fewer, mistakes show—before, presumably, working on a new plaque. The BM plaque is then the equivalent of waste paper, as it were, perhaps purposely folded and cracked, but at the same time costly waste which somehow escaped ‘recycling’. Whether the second engraver’s next copy was the one which actually served as model for the Haj. Parthian inscription will depend largely on whether the written draft from which he and his unsuccessful foregoer worked had meanwhile also been corrected by someone more competent in Parthian, to bring it to the state we know from Hājjiābād itself. Perhaps the master-copy, or its putative Persian twin, has survived and will one day come to light—but then its authenticity will be that much harder to establish.

[In a recent article on ‘Pahlavi forgeries’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University* (Shiraz), No. 1, 1977, 2, R. N. Frye writes, as connoisseur: ‘Many years ago I was shown in Paris a beautiful Sasanian silver plate with a well carved inscription on it. On closer examination the inscription turned out to be a copy of part of the Middle Persian inscription of Shapur I at Hājjiābād. The forgery of inscriptions, unfortunately, is rather common’. One must deduce that Frye regarded that on the said beautiful plate as being a forgery. Whether the ‘plate’ in question was the same as, or similar to, the B.M. plaque (hardly ‘beautiful’ and not ‘part of the Middle Persian inscription’) cannot be established without further information. If it was another, similar plaque its existence might be taken to support the hypothesis above.]