

LESSON 14

PHONOLOGY. CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS 2: MEDISMS.

By the time Old Persian became the official Iranian language under the Achaemenids numerous Median words had found their way into it. The Median words are not restricted to technical terminology such as administration, but are from all parts of the lexicon. Sometimes both Median and Old Persian forms are found.

The main differences between the two languages as reflected in Old Persian are the following:

—The Indo-European palatal velars **k̑*, **g̑*, and **g̑h* had become palatal affricates in Indo-Iranian **č* [tʃ], **j̑* [dʒ],²⁵ and **jh* [dʒh] (> OInd. *ś, j, h*), which in Iranian probably lost the palatalization becoming **ts* and **dz*. In Old Persian these finally became *θ* and *d* [ð?], but *s* and *z* in the other Iranian languages.

—An exception were the groups **k̑u*, **g̑u*, and **g̑uh*, Indo-Iranian **č̑u*, **j̑u*, and **j̑hu* (> OInd. *śv, jv, hv*), which in Old Persian were simplified to *s* and *z*, but elsewhere became **sp* and **zb*.

—In Old Persian Proto-Iranian **θy* > *šy* and **θr* > *ç*, but remained elsewhere.

—Indo-European **k̑t* became Median *št*, but OPers. *st*.

Note therefore the following correspondences:

Indo-Eur.	Indo-Ir.	Proto-Ir.	OPers.	Med., Av.	Examples
<i>*k̑</i>	<i>*tš</i>	<i>*ts</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>aθaga</i> ~ <i>asā</i>
<i>*g̑(h)</i>	<i>*dž(h)</i>	<i>*dz</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>adānā</i> ~ <i>vazarka-</i>
<i>*k̑u</i>	<i>*tšu</i>	<i>*tsu</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sp</i>	<i>uvasa</i> ~ <i>uvaspa</i>
<i>*g̑u(h)</i>	<i>*dž(h)u</i>	<i>*dzu</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zb</i>	<i>hazānam</i> ~ <i>patiyazbayam</i>
<i>*ty</i>	<i>*ty</i>	<i>*θy</i>	<i>šiy</i>	<i>θy</i>	<i>hašiya</i> ~ <i>xšāyaθiya</i>
<i>*tr</i>	<i>*tr</i>	<i>*θr</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>θr</i>	<i>xšaça</i> ~ <i>Xšaθrita</i>
<i>*k̑t</i>	<i>*tšt</i>	?	<i>st</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>ufraštam</i> ~ <i>ufrastam</i>

Note: The phonological features characterizing these “Median” words in Old Persian were probably common in most non-Old Persian languages of the Median-Achaemenid periods, most notably Avestan. The assumption that these words are in fact Median, is therefore based on a political/historic-linguistic argument.

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS. CORRELATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS.

A number of adjectives and adverbs are formed from the pronominal stems *a-* and *ava-* and *ya-* that sometimes, but not usually, occur in pairs. These are often referred to as “correlative.” Other pronominal stems may also correspond:

Demonstrative	Relative	Interrogative/indefinite	Other
<i>avākaram</i> “of such a sort”		<i>ciyākaram</i> “of what sort”	
<i>avaθā</i> “in that manner, thus”	<i>yaθā</i> “as, like”		<i>aniyaθā</i> “else, differently”
<i>ada°</i> , <i>adakaiy</i> “then”	<i>yadiy</i> “when, if”		
<i>idā</i> “here,” <i>avadā</i> “there”	<i>yadā</i> , <i>yadāyā</i> “where(ver)”		<i>vispadā</i> “everywhere”
<i>avadaš</i> (<i>hacā</i> ~) “from there”			<i>dūradaš</i> (<i>hacā</i> ~) “from afar”
<i>āciy</i> “then”	<i>yaciy</i> “whatever”		
<i>avā</i> “so much”	<i>yāvā</i> “as long as”		
	<i>yātā</i> “until, as long as, while”	<i>citā</i> “however long”	
	<i>yaniy</i> “where, in which”		

²⁵ Note that in Iranian the voiced aspirate series merged with the voiced series: **d* and **dh* > *d*, etc., e.g., OInd. *dā-* and *dhā-* both = Iran. *dā-*.

The ending *-daš* is, according to K. Hoffmann, to be explained by the proportion

Bābirauv : hacā Bābirauš = avadā : X ⇒ X = avadaš

Examples:

yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiya avadā adam Auramazdām ayadaiy artācā barzmani “where previously the *daivas* were worshiped, there I worshiped Ahuramazdā according to Order in the height” (XPh 39-41)

pasāva dādāršiš citā mām amānaya arminiya yātā adam arasam mādam “Then Dādārši waited for me in Armenia for as long as it took for me to arrive in Media.” (DB 2.47-49)

adakaiy fratara maniyaiy afuvāyā yadiy vaināmiy hamičiyam yaθā yadiy naiy vaināmiy “When I see something rebellious, then I feel myself farther beyond fear than when I do not see (it).” (DNb 38-40)

yaθā paruvamciy avaθā adam akunavam āyadanā tayā Gaumāta haya maguš viyaka “As (they were) before, thus I made the temples that Gaumāta the magian had ruined.” (DB 1.63-64)

VERBS. THE PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT.

The Old Iranian perfect tense appears to have been lost in Old Persian. The old perfect was formed through reduplication, that is, the initial consonant of the stem + a vowel, mostly *a*, was repeated before the stem, e.g., $\sqrt{\text{kar}} > \text{cakār-}$. Only one such form is found in Old Persian: *caxriyā*, which is a 3rd sing. optative perfect. It is only attested in a potentialis construction with the optative expressing irrealis (see lesson 16).

In Old Persian a new perfect was formed, however: a periphrastic formation consisting of a past participle in *-ta-* (ppp.) + forms of “to be” (often omitted).

There are forms of both transitive and intransitive verbs. As the ppp. of transitive verbs has passive meaning (“done, killed”) the perfect construction in these instances is formally passive. There is no *active* perfect construction corresponding to the *passive* one, however, and the ppp. in the perfect corresponds to both active and passive presents and imperfects.

When the ppp. is from a transitive verb but the agent is not expressed, the perfect participle corresponds to a passive imperfect (*taya kartam ~ taya akariya*) and should be translated as a passive perfect (“what has been done”).

SYNTAX. PERFECT.

The function of the perfect is as a true “present perfect,” that is, it expresses the result seen in the present of a past action or event. It is often used to “sum up” past events told in the imperfect. Often, but not exclusively, the perfect is found in relative clauses.

ava ahayāyā dipiyā naiy nipištam “That has not been written (is not written) in this inscription.” (DB 4.47)

kāsaka haya kapautaka utā sikabruš haya idā karta hauv hacā Sugudā abariya “The blue glass (= lapis lazuli) and the carnelian, which has been made here, that was brought from Sogdiana.” (DSf 37-39)

ārajanam tayanā didā pištā ava hacā Yaunā abariya “The decoration with which the fortress has been painted, that was brought from Ionia.” (DSf 41-43)

stūnā aθagainiya tayā idā kartā Abirāduš nāma āvahanam Ūjaiy hacā avadaš abariya “The stone

columns that have been made here were brought from Abirādu, a town in Elam.” (DSf 45-47)

*θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha utāmaiḡ aniyašciy vasiy **astiy kartaḡ*** “King Darius announces: ‘By the greatness of Ahuramazdā and myself much else too has been done.’” (DB 4.45-47)

*θātiy Dārayavauš Xš Čūšāyā paruv frašam **framātam** paruv frašam **kartaḡ*** “King Darius announces: ‘In Susa much beautiful (work) had been ordered, much has been made.’” (DSf 55-57)

If an agent is expressed it is in the gen.-dat., but note that the only examples are with *karta-* “done.” Most often the agent is a pronoun, but there are also examples of nouns as agents. When an agent is expressed in a perfect construction it corresponds to an active imperfect and should be translated as active, unless a translation as passive would be better English style. In any case it is wrong to translate it *consistently* as passive, as there is no *active* perfect construction corresponding to the *passive* one.

In fact, formally *manā kartaḡ astiy* “I have done” could also be understood as a possessive construction of the type *manā puça astiy* “I have a son” and is thus parallel with English *I have a son* and *I have done*.

*θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya ima taya **manā kartaḡ** Pārsaiy* “King Darius announces: ‘This (is) what I have done in Persia.’” (DB 3.52-53)

*θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya tayaiy paruvā xšāyaθiyā yātā āha **avaišām** avā naiy **astiy kartaḡ** yaθā **manā** vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda **kartaḡ*** “King Darius announces: ‘The previous kings while they were (kings/alive) have not done as much as I by the greatness of Ahuramazā have done in one year by the greatness of Ahuramazā.’” (DB 4.50-52)

*[i]mā uvnarā tayā Auramazdā [upa]r[iy mā]m niyasaya utādiš atāvayam barta[nai]y vašnā Auramazdāha tayamaiy **kartaḡ** imaibiš ūvnaraibiš akunavam tayā mām Auramazdā upariy niyasaya* “These talents which Ahuramazdā bestowed upon me, I was able to support them. By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, that which I have done, that I did with these talents that Ahuramazdā (had) bestowed upon me.” (DNb 45-49)

*mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš utā tayamaiy **kartaḡ** utā tayamaiy **piça** Dārayavahauš Xšhāyā **kartaḡ** avašciy Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš* “May Ahuramazdā together with the (other) gods protect me and that which I have done! And that which my father King Darius has done, may Ahuramazdā together with the (other) gods protect that as well!” (XPc 12-15)

In DSf, *karta-* and *akariya* are used in the same contexts. The difference between the two is one of perspective: the imperfect focuses on the past activities, whereas the perfect looks at what has been done and is now in place.

In the following passage, which recurs several times only with change of actors and scenery, the use of the perfect instead of the imperfect is difficult to explain. If it is not an example of incipient confusion of the two tenses, we may perhaps regard the forms as conjunct past participles rather than as finite verbs:

*θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya patiy duvitīyam hamičiyā **hagmatā paraitā** patiš Dādaršim hamaranam cartanaiy Tigra nāmā didā Arminiyaḡ avadā hamaranam akunava* “King Darius announces: ‘For a second (time) the rebels, having come together and gone off against Dadarši to fight a battle, fought the battle at a fortress in Armenia named Tigra.’” (DB 2.37-39)

Corresponding to the present perfect there is a past perfect or pluperfect using the imperfect of “to be.”

*xšaçam taya hacā amāxam taumāyā **parābartam āha** ava adam patipadam akunavam ... adam taya **parābartam** patiyābaram* “The empire that had been taken away from our family, that I put back in its place (back to where it belonged). ... I brought back that which had been taken away.’” (DB 1.61-63, 67-68)

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where it belonged. It has been painted with beautiful decoration. In Babylon nothing had been made that was better than what I have made in Persia. Ahuramazdā is satisfied with what I have ordered.

TEXTS. XERXES'S BUILDING ACTIVITIES.

XPc 9-15

*θātiy Xšayaqršā Xš vazarka vašnā Auramazdāha ima hadiš Dārayavauš Xš akunauš haya manā pitā
mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš utā taya manā kartam utā tayamaiy piça Dārayavahauš Xšhaya
kartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš*

XPf 32-48

*yaθāmai y pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava vašnā Auramazdahā adam xšāyaθiya abavam piça gāθavā
yaθā adam xšāyaθiya abavam vašiy taya fraθaram akunavam tayamaiy piça kartam āha
ava adam apayaiy utā aniya kartam abijāvayam
tayapatiy adam akunavam utamaiy taya pitā akunauš ava visam vašnā Auramazdahā akumā
θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya mām Auramazdā pātuv utamaiy xšaçam utā taya manā kartam
utā tayamaiy piça kartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv*

VOCABULARY 14

Abirādu-: place name

apaya- < pā-

ardata- neut.: silver

asan-: stone

avā < avant-: so much

axšaina-: blue-green (turquoise)

āvahana- neut.: settlement

citā: for as long as; citā ... yātā: however long (it
took) until

çitīyam: a third time

paruva-: former

pati-bara- < √bar: to bring back

patipadam √kar: to reestablish, to put back to where it
belongs

piru-: ivory

pišta- < √paiθ: to paint

sikabru-: carnelian

Θūravāhara-: month name

upariy-ay- < √ay: to abide (by: + inst.-abl.)

vispadā: everywhere

yaniy: where, in which

yāvā: as long as

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PHONOLOGY. PERSIAN AND MEDIAN 2.

As a rule the Elamite transcriptions of Old Persian names show the Persian form, while the Akkadian ones show the older, Median, form, e.g.:

OPers.	Elamite	Akkadian
<i>Āçina-</i>	ha-iš-ši-na	at-ri-na = *Āθrina
<i>Ciçaⁿtaxma-</i>	ti-iš-š-ša-an-tam-ma	ši-it-ra-an-tah-ma = *Ciθrantaxma
<i>Bāxtrī-, Av. Bāxδī-</i>	ba-ik-tur-ri-iš = *Bāxtriš, ba-ak-ši-iš = *Bāxçiš	ba-ah-tar = *Bāxtar?
<i>Ārta-vardiya-</i>	ir-du-var-ti-ia	ar-ta-mar-zi-ia = *Artavarziya
<i>Bardiya-</i>	Bir-ti-ja	bar-zi-ja = *Barziya

In some instances, the Elamite and Akkadian transcriptions reflect Persian forms not used in the inscriptions (see also lesson 11):

OPers. *Ciçaⁿtaxma-*, but Elamite *ti-iš-š-šá-an-tam-ma* = **Tiçaⁿta^hma*, with 1) a dialectal change (dissimilation) of *č - ç > *t- ç, for which we may compare Greek *Tissaphernēs* from OPers. **Ciça-farnah-*; and 2) **xm* > Pers. *hm* as in *tau^hmā-* < **tau^hxmā-*.

OPers. *vispa-zana-*, but Elamite *mišadana* = **visa-dana*, has Pers. *visa* for *vispa* and *dana* for *zana*.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs in Old Persian are formed in various ways. One large group of adverbs consist of the so-called correlative adverbs (lesson 14). Other adverbs include the following types:

1. adverbs without identifiable derivation: *apiy*, °*patiy*; *nūram*;
2. adverbs derived from adjectives,
 - a. using the nom.-acc. sing. ending *-am*: *apataram*, *dargam*, *duvitīyam* and *çitīyam*, *paruvam*;
 - b. using the loc. sing. ending *-(a)iy*: *vasiy*, *ašnaiy*, *dūrai(y)apiy*;
3. adverbs derived from adjectives or other words using other endings:
 - a. ending *-ta^h*: *paruviyata^h*, *a^hmata^h*, *fravata^h*.
4. compounds: *pati-padam*, *duvitā-paranam*, *hayāparam* (*patiy hayāparam*) “once again,” *fra-haravam*, *ni-padiy*, *pasāva* (< *pasā-ava*), *para-draya^h*.

Note that adverbs can be used as predicate of “to be”:

kāra Pārsa utā Māda haya upā mām āha hauv kamnam āha “The Persian and Median army I had at my disposal was insufficient.” (DB 2.18-19)

VERBS. THE INJUNCTIVE.

The injunctive is formally an imperfect without the augment, e.g., *tarsam*, vs. imperf. *ataršam*.

VERBS. THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

The subjunctive marker was originally the addition of an “extra” thematic vowel, that is, athematic verbs had subjunctive stems in *-a-*, while thematic verbs had subjunctive stems in *-ā-*. Early on, however, the marker of the thematic verbs (*-ā-*) began spreading to the athematic verbs, as well, as in *kunavāniy*, etc.

In the 1st sing. the ending has an *-n-* rather than an *-m-*.

Only singular forms of the subjunctive are attested:

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	athematic	thematic
Active Sing.		
1	- <i>aniy</i>	- <i>āniy</i>
2	- <i>ahay</i>	- <i>āhay</i>
3	- <i>atīy</i>	- <i>ātīy</i>

	athematic	thematic
Middle Sing.		
1	- <i>anaiy</i>	- <i>ānaiy</i>
2	- <i>ahay</i>	- <i>āhay</i>
3	- <i>ataiy</i>	- <i>ātaiy</i>

athematic	thematic
<i>ahaniy</i>	<i>kunavāniy</i>
<i>āhay</i> (< * <i>ahahay</i>)	<i>vaināhay, kunavāhay, θāhay</i>
<i>ahatiy</i>	<i>bavātiy, kunavātiy</i>

athematic	thematic
	<i>kunavānaiy</i>
	<i>maniyāhay (maniyā^haiy)</i>
	<i>yadātaiy</i>

Notes:

The form *θāhay* is subjunctive in DB 4.55 and must be contracted from **θahāhi* (cf. lesson 11).

The form *maniyāiy* in XPh 47 may be purely orthographic for *maniyā^haiy* or a late form with contraction.

SYNTAX. INJUNCTIVE.

The injunctive is used in Old Persian in the first and second persons with *mā* to express exhortations (“let me not do, be!” “you should not do/be doing!”).

hacā anīyanā mā taršam “Let me not fear another!” (DPe 20-21)

martiyā hayā Auramazdāhā framānā hauvtaiy gastā mā θadaya paθīm tayām rāstām mā avarda mā stabava “Man! Let not the command of Ahuramazdā seem evil to you! Do not leave the straight path! Do not be obstinate!” (DNa 56-60)

SYNTAX. USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

The main functions of the subjunctive in Old Persian are:

1. to express future (< “prospective/eventual subjunctive”), mainly in main, temporal, conditional, and relative clauses (“he who, whoever”);

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya yadiy avaθā maniyāhay hacā anīyanā mā taršam imam Pārsam kāram pādiy “King Darius announces: ‘If you think: Let me not fear another! then protect this Persian people!’” (DPe 18-24)

yadiy kāra Pārsa pāta ahatiḡ hayā duvaiš[t]am šiyātiš axšatā hauvcīy aurā nirasātiy abiy imām viθam “If the Persian people is protected (then) precisely the longest peace unbroken will come down upon this house.” (DPe 18-22)

avākaramcamaiy ušīy u[t]ā framānā yaθāmaiḡ taya kartam vaināhay [y]adivā āxšnavāhay utā viθiyā utā spāyaⁿtiyayā “And my understanding and thought is in the manner you see (from) that which I have done or if you hear (about it), both at home and in the camp.” (DNb 27-31)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya tuvam kā x[šāyaθiya ha]ya aparam āhay hacā draugā daršam patipayauvā mart[iya haya drau]jana ahatiḡ avam ufraštam pārsā yadiy avaθā man[iyāhay] dahayāušmaiḡ duruvā ahatiḡ “King Darius announces: ‘You who will be king in the future, protect yourself strongly from the lie. If you think: Let my land be safe! (then) punish well any man who may be a liar!’” (DB 4.36-40)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya yadiy imām haduḡām apagaudayāhay naiy θāhay kārahayā “King Darius announces: If you hide this testimony (and) do not tell it to the people ...” (DB 4.57-58)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya tuvam kā xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhay tayām imaišām martiyānām taumām

[ubar]tām paribarā “King Darius announces: ‘You who will be king in the future, treat well the family of these men!’” (DB 4.86-88)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya haya Auramazdām **yadātaiy** yānam avahayā **ahatiy** utā jīvahayā utā martaḥayā “King Darius announces: ‘He who worships Ahuramazdā will receive a boon both (while) alive and (after he is) dead.’” (DB 5.18-20=33-36)

2. in final clauses “in order that”; only negated clauses are attested: *mātaya* “lest, in order that ... not”:

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam ava ahayāyā dipiyā naiy nipištam avahayarādiy naiy nipištam **mātaya** haya aparam imām dipim patiparsātiy avahayā paruv **θadayātiy** taya manā kartam naišim ima **varnavātaiy** duruxtam **maniyātaiy** “King Darius announces: ‘By the greatness of Ahuramazdā and my self much else has been done.²⁶ That has not been written in this inscription for the reason that whoever may read this inscription in the future should not find what I have done too much and does not believe it (but) thinks it has been made up (= is a lie).’” (DB 4.45-50)

tuvam kā haya aparam imām dipi[m] patiparsāḥay taya manā kartam varnavatām θuvām **mātaya** dra[uga]m **maniyāhay** “You whoever may see this inscription in the future believe that which I have done, so that you do not think it is a lie!” (DB 4.41-43)

3. to express the “hortative,” i.e., exhortation to 1st person: “may I be/do!” “let me be/do!”:

šiyāta **ahaniy** jīva utā marta ąrtāvā **ahaniy** “Let me be happy (while) alive and blessed (after I am) dead!” (XPh 47-48)

SYNTAX. INDIRECT AND DIRECT SPEECH.

In Old Persian indirect speech does not exist, instead direct speech is used. Direct speech is introduced by *taya* or without any introductory particle, in which case the content of the speech or thought follows directly upon the introductory verb (to say, think, know) and can be recognized from the choice of tense or mood in it.²⁷

yadipatiy **maniy[āhaiy ta]ya** ciyakaram [āha a]vā dahayāva tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya patikarā dīdiy tayaiy gāθum baratiy “Also, if you think: ‘How were those lands that King Darius held,’ then look at the statues that carry the throne!” (DNa 38-42)

avahayarādiy kāram avājaniyā **mātayamām** xšnāsātiy **taya** adam naiy Bardiya amiy haya Kurauš puça “For that reason he would kill the people (thinking) that: ‘May it (they) not know me (and realize that): «I am not Smerdis son of Cyrus!»’” = “He would kill the people in order that it should not realize that he was not Smerdis son of Cyrus!” (DB 1.51-53)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha taya **amaniyaiy** kunavāniy avamaiy visam ucāram āha “King Darius announces: ‘By the greatness of Ahuramazdā whatever I thought ‘let me do’ all (that) was easy for me.’” = “... whatever I thought I would do was easy for me.” (DSI)

tuva kā haya apara yadi-**maniyāiy** šiyāta ahaniy jīva utā marta ąrtāvā ahaniy avanā dātā parīdiy taya Auramazdā niyaštāya “You whoever in the future may think: ‘Let me be happy both (while) alive, and (after I am) dead let me be blessed!’ behave according to the law which Ahuramazdā set down!” = “You whoever in the future may think you will be happy both (while) alive and (after you are) dead you will be blessed, behave ...” (XPh 46-50)

²⁶ See lesson 17 for another interpretation of this passage.

²⁷ Schmitt, 1995b.

TEXTS. DARIUS'S ACCESSION.

DSf 8-18

*θātiy Dārayavauš XŠ ... vašnā Auramazdāha haya ma[nā] pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma haya manā
[ni]yāka av[ā] ubā ajīvatam yadiy Auramazdā mām XŠ[ya]m akunauš ahayāyā BUyā Auramazd[ām
ava]θā kāma āha ha[r]juvahayāy[ā BUyā] mar[tiyam mām]avar[navatā mā]m XŠyam a[kunauš
ahayā]yā BUyā*

VOCABULARY 15

ada-: then
apa-gaudaya √gaud: to hide
aparam: henceforth, afterward
apiy: also
Asagarta-: Sagartia
aurā: hither
avarda for ava-hārda- < √hard(?): to leave, relinquish
axšata-: undisturbed
dūraiadv.: far
hayāparam (patiy hayāparam) adv.: once again
huška-: dry
ni-rasa- √ras: to come down
parā-gmata- < √ay/gam: gone far (partic.)
parataram: farther away, beyond²⁸
pati-jan- < √jan mid.: to fight
pati-parsa- < √pārs/fraθ: to read
paθī- fem.: path
spāya^{tiya}-: *army camp
tuvam kā ... haya: you who
θadaya- < √θa^d: to seem (+ gen.-dat.)
xšnāsa- < √xšnā/dān: to know

²⁸ Schmitt (2000, p. 32) argues for a noun meaning “enemy” and reads *parataram*, presumably “the one on the other side, the enemy.”

LESSON 15

LESSON 16

VERBS. OPTATIVE.

The optative is sparsely represented in our inscriptions but must still have been quite common. The forms are the regular Indo-Iranian ones. They are:

	athematic	thematic	athematic	thematic
Active				
Sing.				
3	-iyā ^t	-aiš	avājaniyā ^t ; biyā ^t , ājamiyā ^t ; caxriyā ^t	vināθayaiš, kəriyaiš, fraθiyaiš
Plur.				
3	-	-aiš(a ⁿ ?)		yadiyaiš(a ⁿ ?)
Middle				
Sing.				
2	-	-aišā		yadaišā
Plur.				
3	-	-aya ⁿ tā		akunavaya ⁿ tā

VERBS. THE AUGMENTED (PRETERITAL) OPTATIVE.

In Old Persian and Avestan we find a few optative forms with augments, made from present indicative or aorist stems. The forms are:

Sing. 3 avājaniyā^t
 Plur. 3 akunavayaⁿtā

VERBS. THE POTENTIALIS.

There are a few verbal constructions in Old Persian involving a past participle + forms of √bav or √kar. These constructions are now called potentialis.

	active	passive
Present optative		
3	dītam caxriyā ^t	
Imperfect indicative		
3	kərtam akunauš	ka ⁿ tam abava

SYNTAX. PARTICLES.

-ca “as well”

utā aniyašca āha taya duškərtam akəriya ava adam naibam akunavam
 “And there was other matter as well that had been made badly—that I made good.” (XPh 41-46)

-ciy “just, precisely; even; too, as well”

adamšim gāθavā avāstāyam yaθā paruvamciy “I put it (back) in its place, just as (it had been) before.”
 (DB 1.61-63)

tayataiy gaušāyā θ[ahəyātiy] avāšciy āxšnudiy “Listen to just that which is said into your ears.” (DNb 53-54)

yadiy kāra Pārša pāta ahatiy hayā duvaiš[t]am šiyātiš axšatā hauvciy aurā nirasātiy abiy imām viθam
 “If the Persian people is protected (then) precisely the longest peace unbroken will descend upon this house.” (DPe 18-24)

ima hadiš taya Čūšāyā akunavam hacāciy dūradaš ārajanamšaiy abariya “This palace which I built at Susa, the decoration for it was brought even from far away.” (DSf 22-23)

vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartaṁ “by the greatness of Ahuramazdā and myself much else too has been done.” (DB 4.46-47)

vašnā[ciy] Auramazdāha ada[m] abiyajāvayam abiy ava kartaṁ utā frataram akunavam “also by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I added to that work and made it better.” (XPg 7-12)

See also indefinite pronouns (lesson 13).

SYNTAX. NOMINATIVE. 3.

A variety of verbs other than “to be” take a nominative predicate, cf.:

vayam Haxāmanišiyā Ōahayāmahay “We are called Achaemenids.” (DB 1.7 = DBa 10-11)

Naditabaira haya Nabukdracara agaubatā “Nidintu-Bēl, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar” (after DB 1.84)

avahayarādiy naiy nipištam mātaya haya aparam imām dipim patiparsātiy avahayā paruv Ōadayātiy taya manā kartaṁ “It has not been written (here) lest that which I have done seem (too) much to whoever read this inscription in the future.” (DB 4.47-49)

adakaiy fratara maniyaiy afuvāyā yadiy vaināmiy hamičiyam yaθā yadiy naiy vaināmiy “When I see something rebellious, then I feel myself farther beyond fear than when I do not see (it).” (DNb 38-40)

Transitive verbs that take two accusatives (direct object and predicate of the direct object) take two nominatives when passive:

Fravartiš aḡarbiya ānayātā abiy mām ... duvarayāmai bastā adāriya “Phraortes was seized and led to me. He was kept bound at my gate.” (DB 2.73-75)

cf.

utā Cičataxmam aḡarbāya ānaya abiy mām “And they seized Cičantaxmam and led him to me.” (DB 2.87-88)

utā[šām haya maθ]ištā Skuxa nāma avam aḡarbāya [bastā]m ānaya [abiy mām]
 “And their leader, Skunxa, him they seized and led (him) bound to me.” (DB 5.26-28)

SYNTAX. OPTATIVE.

The optative is used to express a wish (negation *naiy*), hence also exhortation (commands, prayers) and prohibitions (negation *mā*). It is used to express potential (pres. opt.) and unreal (perf. opt.) conditions (with *yadiy*). Examples:

Auramazdām yadaišā ąrtācā bąrzmaniy “You should worship Ahuramazdā according to the Order in the height!” (XPh 50-51)

Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā utā[ta]iy taumā vasiy biyā “May Ahuramazdā be pleased with you, and may you have much family!” (DB 4.55-56)

Auramazdāta[i]y *jatā* **biyā** *utātaiy taumā* **mā biyā** “May Ahuramazdā strike you, and may you have no family!” (DB 4.56-59)

abiy imām dahayāum **mā ājamiyā** *mā hainā mā dušiyāram ma drauga aita adam yānam jadiyāmiy Auramazdām* “Against this land may there come neither an enemy army nor famine nor the lie! This boon I ask Ahuramazdā for.” (DPd 18-22)

patiyazbayam daivā **mā yadiyaiša** “I proclaimed ‘The *daivas* should not be worshipped!’” (XPh 38-39)

na[i-mā] *kāma taya skauθiš tunuva*^m*tahayā rādiy miθa* **karīyaiš** *naimā ava kāma taya t*[u]nuvā *skauθaiš rādiy miθa* **karīyaiš** “It is not my desire that a weak (man) should be wronged by a mighty (one), nor is it my desire that a mighty (man) should be wronged by a weak (one).” (DNb 8-11)

naimā kāma taya martiya **vināθayaiš** *naiyatimā ava kāma yadiy* **vināθayaiš** **naiy fraθiyaiš** *martiya* “It is not my desire that a man should work damage, nor is it my desire that a man should not be punished if he should work damage.” (DNb 19-21)

SYNTAX. PRETERITAL OPTATIVE.

The “augmented” or “preterital optatives” are used to express repeated or habitual action in the past.

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya imā dahayāva tayā manā pati[yāiša] *vašnā Auramazdāha ma*[n]ā *badakā āhatā manā bājim abaratā* [taya]šām *hacāma aθahaya xšapavā raucapativā* *ava* **akunavayatā** “King Darius announces: ‘These lands which came to me, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā they were my subjects. They paid me tribute. Whatever was said to them by me at night or also by day, that they would do.’” (DB 1.17-20)

vašn[ā] *Auramazdāha imā dahayāva tayanā manā dātā apariyāya yaθāšām hacāma aθahaya* [a]vaθā **akunavayatā** “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā these lands which abode by my law, as was said to them by me, thus they would do.” (DB 1.22-24)

kārašim hacā daršam atarša kāram vasiy **avājaniyā** *haya paranam Bardiyam adānā avahayarādiy kāram* **avājaniyā** *mātayamām xšnāsātiy taya adam naiy Bardiya amiy haya Kurauš puça* “The people/army feared him strongly: He would kill in large numbers the people who had known Smerdis in the past. For that reason he would kill it (them; thinking) that: ‘May it (they) not learn that I am not Smerdis son of Cyrus!’” (DB 1.50-53)

SYNTAX. POTENTIALIS.

The potentialis expresses either completion of an action or the feasibility of an action.

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya naiy āha martiya naiy Pārsa naiy Māda naiy amāxam taumāyā kašciy haya avam Gaumātam tayam magum xšaçam **dītam caxriyā** “King Darius announces: ‘There was not a (single) man, either Persian, Median, or anyone of our family, who could have taken the power from that Gaumāta, the magian.’” (DB 1.48-50)

yātā **kartam akunavam** “until I finished (doing)” (DNa 51, XPf 45-46)

yaniy dipim naiy **nipištām akunauš** “where he had not finished writing (or: been able to write) an inscription” (XV 22-23)

yaθā **katam abava** “when it had been finished digging” (DSf 25)

TEXTS. DARIUS IN EGYPT.

DSab (inscription on a statue of Darius found at Susa but transported there from Egypt)

*baga vazarka Aurama[z]dā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā marti[yahayā haya D]ārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš
iyam patikara aθagaina tayam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya niyaš{ā}tāya cartanaiy Mudrāyaiy avahayarādiy
hayašim aparam vainātiy avahayā [azdā bavā]tiy taya Pārsa martiya Mudrāyam adāraiya
adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθi[yānām] xšāyaθi[ya dahayūnām] xšāyaθiya
ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā Vištāspahayā puça Haxāmanišiya
θātiy Dāra[yava]uš xšā[yaθiya mā]m Auramazdā pātuv utā tayamaiy kartam*

TEXTS. THE SUEZ CANAL.

DZc

*[baga] vazarka Auramazdā haya avam asmānam adā haya imām bū[mī]m adā haya [mar]tiyam adā
ha[ya š]iyātīm adā martiyahayā haya Dārayavaum XŠyam aku[nau]š haya D[ā]rayavahauš XŠyā
xšaçam frābara taya vazarkam taya [uvaspam u]mar[ti]yam adam Dārayavauš XŠ vazarka XŠ
XŠyānām XŠ dahayūnām v[ispazan]ānām [XŠ a]hayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai y apiy
Vištās[pahayā p]uça Haxāmanišiya
θātiy Dārayavauš XŠ ada[m P]ārsa ami[y hac]ā Pārsā Mudrāyam aḡarbā[ya]m adam ni[ya]štāyam
imām [yauviyā]m kaⁿtanaiy hacā Pirāva nāma rauta taya Mudrāyaiy danu[vatīy a]biy [d]raya taya
hacā Pārsā aitiy pas[āva] iyam yauviyā [akani]ya ava[θā yaθā] adam niyaštāyam ut[ā nāva]
āyaⁿtā hacā [Mudrā]yā ta[ra imā]m yauviyām abiy Pārsam [ava]θā yaθā mā[m kāmā āha]*

VOCABULARY 16

fraθiya- < √pars/fraθ: to be punished
nūram: now
paranam: previously
pati-paya- √pā mid.: to guard (oneself)

pati-zbaya- √zbā: to proclaim
skauθi- = škauθi-: weak, poor
xšap- fem.: night
yadāyā (for *yadāyadā?): where(ever)

LESSON 17

SYNTAX. COORDINATION.

Parataxis.

Main clauses often follow one another without any coordinating particle, where in English one would use “and” or “but.”

VIII manā taumāyā tayaiy paruvam xšāyaθiyā āha adam navama “(There were) eight in my family who were kings before; I (am) the ninth.” (DBa 14-17)

iyam Gaumāta haya maguš adurujiya avaθā aθaha “This (is) Gaumāta, the magian; he lied (and) said thus.” (DBd)

**pasāva I martiya āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā* “Then there was a certain man called Gaumāta; he rose up ...” (DB 1.35-36)

pasāva adam frāišayam Ūvjam hauv Āçina basta ānayatā abiy mām
(DB 1.82-83)

Coordination by *-cā*.

A B-cā:

vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā “by the greatness of Auramazdā and me, King Darius” (DPd 9-11)

A-cā B-cā:

aitamaiy aruvastam upariy manašcā ušicā “This is my ability in both thought and understanding.” (DNb 31-32)

*ima taya adam akunavam duvitiyāmca *çitāmca θardam pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya [abavam]* “This is what I did in the second and third year after I became king.” (DB 5.2-5)

A B-cā C-cā D^{instr.}-cā:

adam niyaçārayam kārahayā abicariš gaiθāmcā māniyamcā viθhišcā tayādiš Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā “I restored to the people the pastures, the cattle, the household (slaves), and the houses²⁹ that Gaumāta the magian had taken from them.” (DB 1.64-66)

Coordination by *utā*.

A utā B:

vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai “by the greatness of Ahuramazdā and me” (DB 4.45-47) (cf. *vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā* (DPd 9-11))

yakā hacā Gadārā ābariya utā hacā Karmānā “The sisso wood was brought/carried from Gandhara and from Carmania.” (DSf 34-35)

²⁹ See lesson 9 on Instrumental-ablative as subject and direct object.

AM Anahita [u]tā Mītra mām pātuv hacā vispā gastā utamaiy kartaṃ “May Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Miθra protect me from all evil as well as that which I have done!” (A²Sd 3-4)

manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv hadā visaibiš багаibiš utā imām dahayāum Auramazdā pātuv “May Ahuramazdā bear me aid together with all the gods, and may Ahuramazdā protect this land!” (DPd 13-16)

A B utā C:

AM Anahita [u]tā Mītra mām pātuv hacā vispā gastā “May Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Miθra protect me from all evil!” (A²Sd 3-4)

A utā B utā C:

*mām Auramazdā pātuv hacā *gastā utamaiy viθam utā imām dahayāum* “May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil, as well as my house and this land.” (DNa 51-53)

utā A utā B.

utā avam Vahayazdātam agarbāya utā martiyā tayašaiy fratamā anušiya āhatā agarbāya “They both seized that Vahayazdāta and seized the men who were his foremost followers.” (DB 3.47-49)

utā A utā B utā C.

pasāva Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā Kabūjiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahayāva “Then Gaumāta the magian robbed Cambyses of both Persia and Media and the other lands.” (DB 1.46-47)

Coordination by -cā ... utā.

adam kāram gāθavā avāstāyam Pārsamcā Mādamcā utā aniyā dahayāva “I settled the people/army in (its) place, both Persia and Media and the other lands.” (DB 1.66-67)

Coordination by repetition.

utā imām dahayāum Auramazdā pātuv hacā haināyā hacā dušiyārā hacā draugā “May Ahuramazdā protect this land from the enemy army, from famine, (and) from the Lie!” (DPd 15-18)

abiy imām dahayāum mā ājamiyā mā hainā mā dušiyāram ma drauga “Against this land may there come neither an enemy army nor famine nor the lie!” (DPd 18-20)

Sentence-introductory utā.

utā I martiya Bābiruviya Naditabaira nāma Aina[ira]haya puça hauv udapatatā Bābirauv “And there was a certain Nidintubēl, a Babylonian: he rose up in rebellion in Babylon.” (DB 1.77-78)

utā atar aitā dahayāva āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya “And among these lands (just enumerated), there was (one) where formerly bad gods had been worshipped.” (XPh 35-36)

“Empty” utā:

Occasionally *utā* introduces a main clause after a subordinate clause with the function of accommodating an enclitic pronoun:

[i]mā uvnarā tayā Auramazdā [upa]r[iy mā]m niyasaya utādiš atāvayam barta[nai]y “These (are) talents that Ahuramazdā bestowed upon me. And I was able to bear them.” (DNb 45-47)

Perhaps also in:

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam “King Darius announces: ‘By the greatness of Ahuramazdā I have done much else as well.’” (DB 4.45-47)³⁰

Disjunction.

A B-vā:

martiya haya draujana ahatiy hayavā zūrakara ahatiy avaiy mā dauštā biyā “A man who is a liar or does crooked deeds—those you shall not befriend!” (DB 4.68-69)

yadiy imām dipim vaināhəy imaivā patikarā naiydiš vikanahəy “If you see this inscription or this images (and) do not destroy them...” (DB 4.72-73)

martiya taya kunautiy yadivā ābaratiy anuv taumanišaiy xšnuta amiy “What a man does or endeavors (to do) according to his powers I am pleased (with).” (DNb 25-26)

A-vā B-vā:

[taya]šām hacāma aθahəyā xšapavā raucapativā ava akunavayatā
“Whatever was said to them by me either at night or also by day, that they would do.” (DB 1.19-20)

Parenthetical clauses.

I martiya Martiya nāma Cicaxraiš puça Kuganakā nāma vardanam Pārsaiy avadā adāraya hauv udapatatā Ūvjaiy “A certain Martiya, son of Cincaxra dwelt in the town of Kuganakā in Persia. He rose up in Elam.” (DB 2.8-9)

cf.

I martiya Fra[vartiš nāma Māda] hauv udapatatā Mādaiy
(DB 2.14-15)

SYNTAX. SUBORDINATION.

Subordination by parataxis.

In Old Persian the verbs meaning “to command, order to do” are occasionally construed by parataxis: “he ordered someone (who) did”. The construction recalls the Middle Persian construction with relative pronoun: *framūd kē* “he ordered (someone) who did.” The more common practice is to use an infinitive construction (lesson 13).

**niyaštāyam hauv Arxa utā martiyā tayaišaiy fratamā anušiya āhatā Bābiraav uzmayāpatiy akariyatā*
“I commanded (that) that Arxa and the men who were his foremost followers should be impaled in Babylon.” (DB 3.91-92)

*vašnā AM *Anahəta utā Miθra adam nīstāy^a apadānā imam akunaiy^a* “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Miθra, I ordered (that) one/they should build this palace.” (A²Sa 4, see lesson 19)

The same construction is found with *kāma ah-*:

Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha Dārayavaum haya manā pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš ahəyāyā būmīyā

³⁰ Thus Schmitt, 1986. The expression *utamai kartam* “and my work” is common, however, so the other interpretation (lesson 15) seems more probable.

“It was the wish of Ahuramazdā that he made my father Darius king of this earth.” (XPf 21-25)

Relative clauses modifying phrases with the existential verb (“there is, was”) can lack a relative pronoun as subject (cf. Eng. *there is nothing pleases me more*).

yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam astiy atar aitā dahayāva tayaiy upariy nipištā ayauda
 “When I became king there was among these lands that are written above (one that) was in turmoil.”
 (XPh 29-32)

Subordinating conjunctions.

***taya* “that”**

The conjunction (neut. relative pronoun) *taya* is used in a variety of subordinate clauses, like Eng. *that*, French *que*, etc.

Substantival clauses:

Subject-clauses.

na[imā] kāma taya skauθiš tunuvatahyā rādiy miθa karīyaiš naimā ava kāma taya t[u]nuvā skauθaiš rādiy miθa karīyaiš ... naimā kāma taya martiya vināθayaiš “It is not my desire that a weak (man) should be wronged by a mighty (one), nor is it my desire that a mighty (man) should be wronged by a weak (one)... Nor is it my desire that a man should do harm.” (DNb 8-11, 19-20)

yaθā Kabūjiya Bardiyam avāja kārahay[ā naiy] azdā abava taya Bardiya avajata
 “When Cambyses had killed Smerdis, it did not become known to the army/people that Smerdis had been killed.” (DB 1.31-32)

avahayarādiy hayašim aparam vainātiy avahayā [azdā] bavātiy taya Pārsa martiya Mudrāyam adāraiya
 “... for the reason (that) whoever would see it in the future, he should be aware that a Persian man held Egypt.” (DSab 2)

As *nominativus pendens* (cf. lesson 12 on Assimilation of antecedent):

utā taya BU akaniya fravata utā taya θikā avaniya utā taya ištīš ajaniya kāra haya Bābiruviya hauv akunauš “And (the fact) that the earth was dug down, and that the rubble was filled in, and that the brick was pounded (into shape): the Babylonian contingent, it did (it).” (DSf 28-30)

Without *taya*:

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya Auramazdāha ragam [v]ardiyaiy yaθā ima hašiyam naiy duruxtam adam akuna[vam hama]hayāyā θarda “King Darius announces: ‘I *swear by Ahuramazdā that this is true, not something said as a lie, (**that**) I did (it) in one and the same year.’” (DB 4.43-45)

Direct object-clauses containing direct speech:

yadipatiy maniy[āhaiy ta]ya ciyakaram [āha a]vā dahayāva tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya patikarā dīdiy tayaiy gāθum baratiy “Also, if you think: ‘How were those lands that King Darius held,’ then look at the statues that carry the throne!” (DNa 38-42)

avahayarādiy kāram avājaniyā mātayamām xšnāsātiy taya adam naiy Bardiya amiy haya Kurauš puça
 “He would kill the people in order that it (they) should not realize that he was not Smerdis son of Cyrus!” (DB 1.51-53)

Adverbial clauses:

Purpose/result-clauses.

draugadi[š hamičiy]ā akunauš taya imaiy karam adurujiyaša “The Lie made them rebellious, so that these (people) lied to the people/army.” (DB 4.34-35)

Final clauses.

tuvam kā haya aparam imām dipi[m] patiparsāhay taya manā kartam varnavatām θuvām mātaya dra[uga]m maniyāhay “You whoever may see this inscription in the future believe that which I have done, so that you do not think it is a lie!” (DB 4.41-43)

avahayarādiy ... (mā)taya “in order that (not)”:

avahayarādiy karam avājaniyā mātayamām xšnāsātiy taya adam naiy Bardiya amiy haya Kurauš puça “He would kill the people in order that it (they) should not realize that he was not Smerdis son of Cyrus!” (DB 1.51-53)

avahayarādiy naiy nipištam mātaya haya aparam imām dipim patiparsātiy avahayā paruv θadayātiy taya manā kartam “That has not been written in this inscription for the reason that whoever may read this inscription in the future should not find what I have done too much and does not believe it.” (DB 4.47-49)

Without *taya*:

avahayarādiy hayašim aparam vainātiy avahayā [azdā] bavātiy “for the reason (**that**) whoever would see it in the future, he should be aware.” (DSab 2)

Temporal clauses (*yaθā taya*).

yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam astiy atar aitā dahayāva tayaiy upariy nipištā ayauda “When I became king there were among these lands that are written above (one that) was in turmoil.” (XPh 29-32)

Local clauses (*yadātaya*).

utā atar aitā dahayāva āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya “And among these lands (just enumerated), there was (one) where formerly bad gods had been worshipped.” (XPh 35-36)

***yaθā* “as; than”**

Comparison:

vašn[ā] Auramazdāha imā dahayāva tayanā manā dātā apariyāya yaθāšām hacāma aθahaya [a]vaθā akunavayātā “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā these lands which abode by my law, as was said to them by me, thus they would do.” (DB 1.18-24)

yaθā paruvamciy avaθā adam akunavam āyadanā tayā Gaumāta haya maguš viyaka “As (they were) before, thus I made the temples that Gaumāta the magian had ruined.” (DB 1.63-64)

pasāvadi[š Auramaz]dā manā dastayā akunauš yaθā mām kāma avaθādi[š akunavam] “Then Ahuramazdā delivered them into my hand. As I willed, so I did to them.” (DB 4.35-36)

tayaiy paruvā xšāyaθiyā yātā āha avaišām avā naiy astiy kartam yaθā manā vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda kartam “The previous kings while they were (kings/alive) have not done as much as I by the greatness of Ahuramazā have done in one year by the greatness of Ahuramazā.”

(DB 4.50-52)

avākaramcamaīy ušīy u[t]ā framānā yaθāmai yaya k̄artam vaināh̄ay [y]adivā āxšnavāh̄ay utā viθiyā utā spāyantiyayā “And my understanding and thought is in the manner you see (from) that which I have done or if you hear (about it), both at home and in the camp.” (DNb 27-31)

adakaiy fratara maniyaiy afuvāyā yadiy vaināmiy hamīçiyam yaθā yadiy naiy vaināmiy “When I see something rebellious, then I feel myself farther beyond fear than when I do not see (it).” (DNb 38-40)

*Auramazdāha *ragam *v̄ardiyaiy yaθā ima hašiyam naiy duruxtam adam *akunavam *hamah̄ayāyā θarda* “I *swear by Ahuramazdā that this is true, not something said as a lie, (that) I did (it) in one and the same year.” (DB 4.44-45)

Temporal:

*Auramazdā yaθā avaina imām būmim *yau datīm pasāvadīm manā frābara* “When Ahuramazdā saw this earth, (that) it was in commotion, then he gave it to me.” (DNa 33-34)

yaθā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya abava vasiy taya fraθaram akunauš “When Darius became king, he improved on a lot of things.” (XPf 25-27)

yaθā Kambūjiya Bardiya avāja kārah̄ayā [naiy] azdā abava taya Bardiya avajata “When Cambyses had killed Smerdis, it did not become known to the army/people that Smerdis had been killed.” (DB 1.31-32)

yaθāmai pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava vašnā Auramazdahā adam xšāyaθiya abavam piça gāθavā “When my father Darius had gone to his place/throne (in heaven), (then), by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I became king in my father’s place (on my father’s throne). (XPf 32-48)

yaθā Mādam parārasa Māruš nāma vardanam Mādaiy avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā Mādaibiš “When he arrived in Media, then he fought a battle with the Medians at a town called Māru.” (DB 2.22-23)

yaθā ... pasāva:

yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava pasāva kāra arīka abava “When Cambyses had gone off to Egypt, then the army/people became disloyal.” (DB 1.33)

yaθā adam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam pasāva I martiya Āçina nāma Upadarmahayā puça hauv udapatatā Ūvjaiy “When I had killed Gaumāta the magian, then a certain Āçina, son of Upadarma, rose up in Elam.” (DB 1.73-75)

yaθā kantam abava pasāva θikā avaniya “When it had finished being dug (when it had been completely dug), then the gravel was filled in.” (DSf 25)

pasāva yaθā:

ima taya adam akunavam pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam “This is what I did after I became king.” (DB 1.27-28)

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamah̄ayāyā θarda pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam “This I what I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, in one and the same year after I became king.” (DB 4.3-5)

*ima taya adam akunavam duvitīyāmca *çitāmca θardam pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya [abavam]* “This is what

I did in the second and third year after I became king.” (DB 5.2-5)

yaθā taya:

yaθā taya *adam xšāyaθiya abavam astiy atar aitā dahayāva tayaiy upariy nipištā ayauda* “When I became king, there were among these lands that are written above (one that) was in turmoil.” (XPh 29-32)

Causal:

avahayarādī *mai Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha tayai [y hatiy **ya]θā naiy arīka āham naiy draujana āham naiy zūrakara āham*** “For this reason did Ahuramazdā, as well as the other gods there are, bear me aid, because I was not disloyal, nor a liar, nor did I do anything crooked.” (DB 4.62-67)

Result:

ava *adam akunavam [vašnā] Auramazdāhā **yaθā** aniya aniyam naiy jatiy* “That I accomplished, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, that they no longer kill one another.” (DSe 34-36)

*dātam taya manā haca avanā tarساتiy **yaθā** haya tauvīyā tayam skauθim naiy jantiy naiy vimardatiy* “They fear *my* Law, so that no longer does the mighty kill the poor nor *wipe him out.” (DSe 37-44)

yadātaya, yadāyā³¹ “where”

*utā atar aitā dahayāva āha **yadātaya** paruvam daivā ayadiya* “And among these lands (just enumerated), there was (one) where formerly bad gods had been worshipped.” (XPh 35-36)

yadāyā *paruvam daivā ayadiya **avadā** adam Auramazdām ayadaiy artācā bqrzmaniy* “Where previously the *daivas* were worshiped, there I worshiped Ahuramazdā according to Order in the height” (XPh 39-41)

yaniy “in which, where”

*utā ima stānam hauv niyaštāya kaⁿtanaiy **yaniy** dipim naiy nipištām akunauš* “And he gave order to dig this niche, where he had not finished writing (or: been able to write) an inscription” (XV 20-23)

yātā “while, until”

*tayaiy paruvā xšāyaθiyā **yātā** āha avaišām avā naiy astiy kartam yaθā manā vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda kartam* “The previous kings while they were (kings/alive) have not done as much as I by the greatness of Ahuramazdā have done in one year by the greatness of Ahuramazdā.” (DB 4.50-52)

*pasāva dādaršiš **citā** mām amānaya arminiyaiy **yātā** adam arasam mādam* “Then Dādarši waited for me in Armenia for as long as it took for me to arrive in Media.” (DB 2.47-49)

yāvā “as long as”

yāvā *utava\$\$ āhay avathādiš paribarā* “As long as you have the strength, maintain them thus (as they are).” (DB 4.71-72)

³¹ R. Schmitt (1994) assumes an error for **yadāyadā* “wherever.”

yadiy imām dipim vaināhəy imaivā patikarā ... utātaiy yāvā taumā [ahatiy] paribarāhədiš Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā ... utātaiy yāvā taumā ahatiy naiydiš paribarāhəy Auramazdātaiy jatā biyā “If you see this inscription or these images ... and, for as long as you have strength, you maintain them, (then) may Ahuramazdā love you... (but if), for as long as you have strength, you do not maintain them, (then) may Ahuramazdā strike you down!” (DB 4.71-79)

TEXTS. FRAGMENTARY TEXTS.

Many of the Old Persian inscriptions have suffered various kinds of deterioration over the millennia. As a matter of fact, some of the most interesting inscriptions and parts of inscriptions are quite lacunary.

In the case of inscriptions with known or routine contents the texts can often be reconstructed by comparing similar inscriptions, as well as the Akkadian and Elamite versions.

In other cases, when the inscriptions contain new information, not known from other inscriptions, we have only the help of the Akkadian and Elamite, occasionally also the Aramaic, versions. Where these are absent or themselves fragmentary, we can do little to reconstruct the Old Persian texts.

TEXTS. DARIUS AND HIS EMPIRE.

DSe

[baga vazarka Aur]amazdā haya imā[m būmim adadā] haya avam as[mānam adadā haya mar]tiyam ada[dā haya šiyātim] adadā mart[iyahəyā haya Dārayavaum] XŠm ak[unauš aivam parūv]nām XŠm a[ivam parū]vn[ām framāt]āram

adam Dārayava[uš XŠ vazarka] XŠ XŠyānām [XŠ dahəyūnām vis]pazanānām xšəyaθiya ahəy[āyā būmi]yā vazarkāyā [d]ūrai[y apiy] Vištāspahəyā puça Ha[xāmani]ši[ya] Pārsa Pārsahəyā p[uča] Ariya Ariya ciça

θā[tiy] Dārayava[uš XŠ] vašnā Aura[mazd]āha im[ā dahəy]āva tayā [adam a]gərbāya[m apata]ram hac[ā Pārsā] adam[šām pat]iya[xšəyaiy manā] bā[jim abara tayašām hacāma aθahəya ava akunava dātam taya manā avadiš adārəya Māda Ūvja Parθava Haraiva Bāxtriš Suguda Uvārazmiš Zraka Harauvatiš θataguš Maciyā Gadāra Hiduš Sakā haumavargā \$\$ Sakā tigraxaudā Bābiruš Aθurā Arabāya Mudrāya Armina Katpatuka Sparda Yaunā tayaiy drayahəyā utā tayaiy paradraya Skudra Putāyā Kušiyā Karkā

θātiy Dārayavauš xšəyaθiya vasiy ta]ya duš[kartam^a āha ava naibam a]kunavam dahəyāva [ayauda aniya] aniyam aja ava a[dam] akunavam [vašnā] Auramazdāhā yaθā a[niya a]niyam naiy jatiy ci[tā gā]θavā kašciy astiy^b d[ātam] taya manā haca avanā tar[sati]y yaθā haya tauviyā tayam skauθim naiy jatiy nai[y] vimardatiy

θātiy [Dārayavauš] XŠ vašnā Auramazd[āhā dasta]kartam vasiy taya [paruvam naiy] gāθavā kartam [ava adam gāθa]vā akunavam [utā Čūšyā avai]nam didā d[uškartā āha ha]yā paruvam [kartā x x x]daš ā pasā[va didām] aniy[ā]m a[kunavam]

θātiy D]ārəya[vauš XŠ mām Auramazdā pāt]uv hadā [bagaibiš utamaiy] viθam utā [tayamaiy ni]pištam

a. = Akk. *bīši*. – b. = Akk. *ušib*; read *āstaiy* “sits”? –

TEXTS. DARIUS AND HIS INSCRIPTION.

DB 4.88-92

θātiy Dārayavauš xšəyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha ima dipi[c]i[çam] taya adam akunavam patišam ariyā utā pavastāyā utā carmā gra[ftam āha pat]i]šam[c]i]y [nāmanā]fam^a akunavam pa[t]i]šam[daš u]vadāt[amb akunavam] utā niyapai[θiya u]tā patiyafrasiya paišiyā mā[m] pasāva ima dipi[ciçam] frāstāyam vispadā atar dahəyāva kāra hamā[t]axšatā

a. Elamite *hi-iš* “name.” – b. Elamite *e-ip-pi* “lineage.”

TEXTS. DARIUS'S TESTAMENT.

DNb 50-60

marikā dqršam azd[ā] kušu[vā ciyā]karam ahay ciyākaramm-taiy uv[narā ciy]ākaramm-taiy parīyanam mātaiy [ava fraθa]mam θadaya tayataiy gaušāyā θ[ahayātiy] avašciy āxšnudy taya [paratar-^a θahay]ātiy

*ma[rī]kā mātaiy ava [naibam θadaya taya x x x] kunavāt(a)iy taya [skauθiš kunav]ātiy avašciy dīdiy marikā [x x x x] mā [par]āyātaya d[x x x x] mā[patiy š]iyātiyā^b *ayāumainiš^c bavā [...]diy mā raxθa⁽ⁿ⁾tuv ...*

a. Aramaic *prtr.* – b. Aramaic *ṭwbk.* – c. Aramaic *ʾymnš.*

TEXTS. XERXES'S INSCRIPTIONS. 1.

The inscriptions of Xerxes contain numerous orthographic and phonetic peculiarities that are partly to be ascribed to a more developed stage of the language and partly to dialect differences. Of special interest in this respect is XPI, which is Xerxes's version of Darius's DNB.

XPa

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahayūnām paruv zanānām xšāyaθiya ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai apiy Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāhā imam duvarθim visadahayum adam akunavam vasiy aniyašciy naibam kartam anā Pārsā taya adam akunavam utamaiy taya pitā akunauš tayapatiy kartam vainataiy naibam ava visam vašnā Auramazdāhā akumā

θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya mām Auramazdā pātuv utamaiy xšačam utā taya manā kartam utā tayamaiy piça kartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv

XPb

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahayūnām paruvzanānām xšāyaθiya ahiyāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai apiy Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka taya manā kartam idā utā tayamaiy apataram kartam ava visam vašnā Auramazdāhā akunavam

mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš utāmai xšačam utā tayamaiy kartam

XPc

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām Xšm akunauš aivam parūnām Xšm aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā Xš vazarka Xš Xšānām Xš dahayūnām paruv zanānām Xš ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai apiy Dārayavahauš Xšhayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā Xš vazarka vašnā Auramazdāha ima hadiš Dārayavauš Xš akunauš haya manā pitā mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš utā taya manā kartam utā tayamaiy piça Dārayavahauš Xšhayā kartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš

XPd

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahayūnām paruvzanānām xšāyaθiya ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai apiy Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka vašnā Auramazdāha ima hadiš akunavam

mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā bagaibiš utāmai xšačam utā tayamaiy kartam

LESSON 17

VOCABULARY 17

*ayāumaini-: *not in control (of: + gen.dat.)
carman-: skin, hide, parchment
citā: naiy ... *citā “not any more”(?)
dastakarta-: property
*dipi-ciça- neut.: form of writing(?)
*duškarta-: in bad shape(?)
fra-stāya- < √stā: to send out
*grafta-, pp. of garbāya-: seized, grasped

*huvadāta-: *lineage
*nāmanāfa-: *genealogy
parā-yātaya-: ?
pati-fraθiya- = -frasiya- < √pars/fraθ: to be read
patišam: in addition
pavastā-: clay tablet
yauḍa- < √yauḍ: to be in turmoil

LESSON 18

SYNTAX. WORDORDER. 1.

The Old Persian unmarked (neutral) word order is (Adverb +) Subject + predicate or direct object (+ predicate of the direct object) + finite verb.

Basic structures.

Adv. + Su. + Pred. + V:

vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya amiy “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā I am king.” (DB 1.11-12)

Adv. + Su. + DO + V:

vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšačam dārayāmiy “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā I hold this royal power.” (DB 1.26)

(Su.) + DO + OPred. + V:

aniyam ušabārim akunavam “Another I made camel-borne.” (DB 1.86-87)

Indirect object.

The indirect object can precede or follow (emphatic?) the direct object:

Su + IO + DO + V:

imā dahayāva ... manā bājim abaratā “These lands brought me tribute.” (DB 1.18-19)

aniyahayā asam frānayam “For another I brought forth a horse.” (DB 1.87)

Su + DO + IO + V:

Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara “Ahuramazdā gave me the royal power.” (DB 1.12)

Sentence modifiers.

Sentence modifiers (adverbial phrases of time, place, cause, etc.) are regularly initial, but can also be internal or final:

Initial:

avahayarādiy vayam Haxāmanišiyā θahayāmahiy hacā paruviyata āmātā amahay “For this reason we are called Achaemenids: From long ago we have been noblemen.” (DB 1.6-8)

vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšačam dārayāmiy “By the greatness of Ahuramazdā I hold this power.” (DB 1.26)

After the subject/before the verb:

**hauv paruvam idā xšāyaθiya āha* “He had been king here before.” (DB 1.29)

drauga dahayauvā vasiy abava “The Deception became rampant in the lands.” (DB 1.34)

pasāva hauv Vidarna hadā kārā ašiyava “Then that Vindafarnah went off with the army.” (DB 2.18-30)

pasāva Naditabaira hadā kannaibiš asabāraibiš amuθa “Then Nidintu-Bēl fled with a few horsemen.” (DB 2.1-5)

pasāva kāra Māda ... abiy avam Fravartim ašiyava “Then the Median army went against that Phraortes.” (DB 2.16-17)

*pasāva Kabūjiya Mudrāyam *ašiyava* “Then Cambyses went off to Egypt.” (DB 1.32-33)

hauv kārahayā avaθā adurujiya “He lied thus to the army/people.” (DB 1.38-39)

Raising (fronting).

When a sentence part is moved from its unmarked position toward the beginning of the clause, we say it is *raised* (or *fronted*). The opposite action is *lowering* (or *backing*).

It is not always obvious whether we are dealing with raising or lowering, since, for instance, raising of the DO sometimes has the function of highlighting the Subject, which therefore can be said to have been lowered (see examples below).

Verb:

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya “King Darius announces.” (passim)

Note that in the following type we have lowering of the accusative of direction rather than raising of the verb:

pasāva adam nijāyam hacā Bābirauš ašiyavam Mādam “then I left Babylon (and) went to Media.” (DB 2.64-65)

Direct object:

xšaçam hauv aqarbayātā “He seized the command for himself.” (DB 1.41-42)

xšaçamšim adam adīnam “I took the command from him.” (DB 1.59)

Direct object + rel. clause:

xšaçam taya hacā amāxam taumāyā parābartam āha ava adam patipadam akunavam “I put back in place that command that had been taken away from our family.” (DB 1.61-62)

avadā avam kāram tayam Naditabairahayā adam ajanam vasiy “There I struck down mightily that army of Nidintu-Bēl.” (DB 1.88-89)

*mām Auramazdā pātuv hacā *gastā utāmai viθam utā imām dahayāum* “May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil, as well as my house and this land!” (DNa 51-53)

TEXTS. XERXES’S INSCRIPTIONS. 2.

XPI

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahayūnām paruv zanānām xšāyaθiya ahayāyā būmīyā vazarkāyā dūrai apiy Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya manā pitā Dārayavauš Dārayavahauš pitā Vištāspa nāma āha Vištāspahayā

*pitā Aršāma nāma āha
 utā Vištāspa utā Aršāma ubā ajīvatam āciy Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha Dārayavaum haya manā
 pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš ahayāyā būmīyā
 yaθā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya abava vasiy taya fraθaram akunauš
 θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya Dārayavauš puçā aniyaiciy āhatā Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha
 Dārayavauš haya manā pitā pasā tanum mām maθištam akunauš
 yaθāmai y pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava vašnā Auramazdahā adam xšāyaθiya abavam piça gāθavā
 yaθā adam xšāyaθiya abavam vasiy taya fraθaram akunavam tayamai y piça qartam āha
 ava adam apayaiy^a utā aniya qartam abijāvayam
 tayapatiy adam akunavam utamai y taya pitā akunauš ava visam vašnā Auramazdahā akumā
 θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya mām Auramazdā pātuv utamai xšaçam utā taya manā qartam
 utā tayamai y piça qartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv
 a. I protected as my own?*

XPg

*θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka vašnā Auramazdāha vasiy taya naibam akunauš utā frāmāyatā
 Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya haya manā pitā vašnā[ci]y Auramazdāha ada[m] abiyajāvayam abiy ava
 qartam utā frataram akunavam
 mām Auramazdā pātuv [had]ā bagaibiš utāmai xšaçam*

XPh

*baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya
 šiyātīm adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam
 parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya
 dahayūnām paruv zanānām xšāyaθiya ahayāyā būmīyā vazarkāyā dūrai y apiy
 Dārayavauš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišiya Pārsa Pārsahayā puça Ariya Ariyaciça
 θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdahā imā dahayāva tayaišām adam xšāyaθiya āham apataram
 hacā Pārsā adamšām patiyaxšayai y manā bājīm abara[h]a tayašām hacāma aθahiya ava akunava
 dātām taya manā avadiš adāraya Māda Ūja Harauvatiš Armina Zraka Parθava Haraiva Bāxtriš
 Sugda Uvārazmiš Bābiruš Aθurā θataguš Sparda Mudrāya Yaunā taya drayahiya dārayatiy utā
 tayai y paradraya dārayatiy Maciyā Arabāya Gadāra Hiduš Katpatuka Dahā Sakā haumavargā
 Sakā tigraxaudā Skudrā Ākaufaciya Putāyā Karkā Kūšiya
 θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam astiy atar aitā dahayāva tayai y upari y
 nipištā ayauda
 pasāvamai y Auramazdā upastām abara
 vašnā Auramazdahā ava dahayāvam adam ajanam utašim gāθavā nišādayam utā atar aitā dahayāva
 āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya
 pasāva vašnā Auramazdahā adam avam daivadānam viyakanam utā patiyazbayam daivā mā yadiyaiša
 yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiya avadā adam Auramazdām ayadaiy qrtācā bāzmani y
 utā aniyašca āha duškartam akariya ava adam naibam akunavam
 aita taya adam akunavam visam vašnā Auramazdahā akunavam
 Auramazdāmai y upastām abara yātā qartam akunavam
 tuva kā haya apara yadi-maniyāiy šiyāta ahani y jīva utā marta qrtāvā ahani y avanā dātā parīdiy taya
 Auramazdā niyaštāya Auramazdām yadaišā qrtācā bāzmani y
 martiya haya avanā dātā pariyaite taya Auramazdā ništāya utā Auramazdām yadataiy qrtācā
 bāzmani y hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavati y utā marta qrtāvā bavati y
 θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya
 mām Auramazdā pātuv hacā gastā [u]tāmai y viθam utā imām dahayāvam
 aita adam Auramazdām jadiyāmi y aitamai y Auramazdā dadātuv*

XPj

*adam Xšayaqršā Xš vazarka Xš Xšānām Xš DHyūnām Xš ahayāyā būmi[y]ā Dārayavauš Xšyahayā
 puça Haxāmanišiya
 θātiy Xšayaqršā Xš
 imam tacaram adam akunavam*

XV

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā martiyahayā haya Xšayaqršām XŠm akunauš aivam parūnām XŠm aivam parūnām framātāram adam Xšayaqršā XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠānām XŠ dahayūnām paruv zanānām XŠ ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūraiyy apiy Dārayavahauš XŠhayā puça Haxāmanišiya

θātiy Xšayaqršā XŠ vazarka

Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya haya manā pitā hauv vašnā Auramazdāha vasiy taya naibam akunauš utā ima stānam hauv niyaštāya kaⁿtanaiy yaiy dipim naiy nipištām akunauš pasāva adam niyaštāyam imām dipim nipaištānaiy mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā ba[gaibiš utāmaiyy xšaçam utā tayamaiy kartaṃ]

Around 1970, a stone tablet with an Old Persian inscription was discovered at Persepolis. It soon became clear that it was an inscription by Xerxes that closely imitated Darius's second inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam (DNb), and it was long referred to as XDNb. Later it was correctly added to the sequence of inscriptions by Xerxes from Persepolis and called XPI. Interestingly, the text of XPI seems to follow a copy of DNb that differs somewhat from the known inscription. It also differs in many points of orthography.

DNb

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya adadā ima frašam taya vainatai[y] haya adadā šiyātīm martiyahayā haya xraθum utā aruvastam upariy Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam niyasaya

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāhā avākaram amiy taya rāstam dau[š]tā amiy miθa na[i]y dauštā amiy

*na[i-mā] kāma taya skauθiš tunuvatahayā rādiy miθa kariyaiš
nai-mā ava kāma taya t[u]nuvā skauθaiš rādiy miθa kariyaiš
taya rāstam ava mām kāma
martiyam draujanam naiy daušt[ā] amiy*

*naiy manauviš am[iy]
[ya]ci-maiy [pa]rtanayā bavatiy dāršam
dārayāmiy manahā
uvaipašiyahayā dārša[m] xšayamna a[m]iy*

*martiya haya hataxšataiy anu-dim [ha]kartaṃhayā avaθā-dim paribarāmiy
haya [v]ināθayatiy anu-dim vinastah[ya] ava]θā
paṛsāmiy*

*nai-mā kāma taya martiya vināθayaiš
nai-pati-mā ava kāma yadiy vināθayaiš naiy fraθiyaiš
martiya taya patiy martiyam θātiy ava mām naiy vaṛnavataiy yātā ubānām hadugām āxšnauvaiy*

XPI

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya adā imam fra[ša]m taya vainatay haya adā šiyātīm [mar]tiyahayā haya xratu[m] utā aruvastam upar[iy] Xša[yaqrš]ām xšāyaθiyam n[iyasaya]

[θātiy Xšay]aqršā [xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdā]hā a [.] ta [avākaram a]hmiy taya r[āsta]m dauš[tā] ahmiy m]iθa naiy dauš[tā] ahm[i]y

*[nai-mā k]āma taya skauθiš tunu[va]ta[hay]y[ā] r]ādiy miθa kariya[iš]
nai-[mā] a[va kāma] taya tunuvā skau[θaiš rād]iy miθa kariyaiš
taya rā[stam ava] [mām] kāma
martiyam draujana[m nai]y dau[št]ā ahmiy*

*naiy m[anauviš a]hmiy
yaca-maiy paṛtanāyā [bavat]i[y] dāršam
dārayāmiy manahay[ā]
[uva]i]pašiyahayā [dār]šam xšayamna a[hmiy]*

*mart[i]ya haya [hatax]šataiy anu[v haka]r]taṃhay[ā] avaθa-d[im pa]r]ibarā[m]iy
[haya v]ināθayatiy [anu-dim vinastahayā]
paṛsāmiy*

*na[i-mā kāma taya marti]ya vināθayaiš
na[i-pati-mā] ava [k]āma yadiy vināθaya[iš naiy fraθiya]iš
martiya haya upa[riy martiya]m θātiy ava mām
na[iy vaṛnavatai]y yātā ubānām hadugām
āxšnūmiy*

LESSON 18

*martiya taya kunautiy yadi-vā ābaratīy anuv
taumani-šaiy xšnuta amiy utā mām vasiy kāma utā
u[θad]uš amiy (...)*

a. For <ma-va-ta-i^o>.

*avākaram-ca-maiy ušīy u[t]ā framānā yaθā-maiy
taya k̄artam vaināh̄ay [y]adi-vā āxšnavāh̄ay utā
viθiyā uta spāyatiyayā
aita-maiy aruvastam upariy manašc[ā u]šicā ima
pati-maiy aruvastam taya-maiy tanuš tāvayat[i]y
hamaranakara a[m]iy ušhamaranakara*

*hakaram-maiy ušīyā gā[θa]vā [h]i[št]ataiy yaciy
va[i]nāmiy hamīçiyam yaciy naiy vaināmiy
utā ušībiyā utā framānāyā adakaiy fratara
maniyaiy afuvāyā yadiy vaināmiy hamīçiyam yaθā
yadiy naiy vaināmiy*

*yāumaniš amiy utā dastaibiyā utā pādaibiyā
asabāra uv'asabāra^a amiy
θanuvaniya uθanuvaniya amiy utā pastiš utā
asabāra
aršt[i]ka amiy uv'arštika^b utā pastiš utā asabāra*
a. For <u-va-a-sa-^o>. – b. For <u-va-a-ra-^o>.

*[i]mā unarā tayā Auramazdā [upa]r[iy mā]m
niyasaya utā-diš atāvayam barta[nai]y*
a. For <ba-ba-ta-^o>.

*vašnā Auramazdāhā taya-maiy k̄artam
imaibiš uv[naraibi]š akunavam tayā mām
Auramazdā upariy niyasaya
(see lesson 17)*

*martiya taya kunautiy yadi-vā ābaratīy anuv taumā
avanā-šaiy xšnuta bavāmiy uta-mām vasiy kāma
utā uθaduš ahmiy utā vasiy dadāmiy agriyānām
ma(r)tiyānām^a*

*avākara-may ušīyā utā framānā yaθā-maiy taya
k̄artam vaināhiy yadi-vā āxšnavāhiy utā viθiyā uta
spāyatiyayā
aita-maiy aruvastam upariy manašcā ušicā ima-
pati-maiy aruvastam taya-maiy tanuš tāvayatiy
hamaranakara ahmiy ušhamaranakara*

*hakaram-maiy ušīyā gāθavā haštataiy yaciy
vaināmiy hamīçiyam yaciy naiy vaināmiy
utā [u]šībiyā utā framānāyā adakaiy fraθara
maniyaiy afuvāyā yadiy vaināmiy hamīçiyam yaθā
yadiy naiy vaināmiy*

*yāumaniš ahmiy utā dastaibiyā utā pādaibiyā
asabāra uvasabāra ahmiy
θanuvaniya uθanuvaniya ahmiy utā pastiš utā
asabāra
arštika uvarštika ahmiy utā pastiš utā asab(ā)ra*

*imā unarā tayā Auramazdā upariy mām niyasaya
utā-diš atāvayam ba(r)tanaiy^a*

*vašnā Auramazdahā taya-maiy k̄artam
imābiš unarābiš akunavam taya mām
Auramazdā upariy niyasaya
mām Auramazdā pātuv utā taya-maiy k̄artam*

EXERCISES 18

Compare the orthography of Xerxes's inscriptions with those of Darius.

VOCABULARY 18

Daha-: name of a district and its people (east of the Caspian); Dahistan, Dahians

^huvaipašiya-: self

pařtanā- = pařtana-

LESSON 19

SYNTAX. WORDORDER. 2.

Lowering:

Subject:

*vašnā Auramazdāha vasiy taya naibam akunauš utā frāmāyatā **Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya** haya manā pitā*
“By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, there was a lot of good (building) that my father, King Darius did and ordered (to be done).” (XPg 2-7)

Direct object or indirect object + direct object:

*aīta xšačam taya Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā **Kabūjijam** ... pasāva Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā **Kabūjijam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahayāva*** “This empire which Gaumāta the magian had robbed Cambyses of... Then Gaumāta the magian robbed Cambyses of both Persia and Media and the other lands.” (DB 1.44-47)

*adam niyačārayam **kārahayā abicarīš gaiθāmcā māniyamcā viθbišcā tayādiš** Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā* “I restored to the people the pastures, the cattle, the household (slaves), and the houses that Gaumāta the magian had taken from them.” (DB 1.64-66)

*Auramazdā yaθā **avaina imām būmim *yaudatīm pasāvadim manā frābara*** “When Ahuramazdā saw this earth, (that) it was in commotion, then he gave it to me.” (DNa 33-34)

*yadiy imām haḍugām apagaudayāhəy naiy θāhəy ***kārahayā*** “If you hide this testimony (and) do not tell it to the people ...” (DB 4.57-58)

cf.

*yadiy imām haḍugām naiy apagaudayāhəy **kārahayā θāhəy*** “If you do not hide this testimony (and) do tell it to the people ...” (DB 4.54-55)

*yadiy imām dipim **vaināhəy imaivā patikarā** naiydiš vikanahəy* “If you see this inscription or these images (and) do not destroy them...” (DB 4.72-73)

cf.

*yadiy imām dipim **imaivā patikarā vaināhəy vikanahədiš*** “If you see this inscription or this images (and) do destroy them...” (DB 4.77-78)

*baga vazərka Auramazdā haya **adadā ima frašam** taya vainataiy haya **adadā šiyātīm martiyahəyā** haya **xraθum utā aruvastam** upariy Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam **niyasəya*** “Ahuramazdā (is) the great god, who put in place this wonderful (work) that is seen, who put in place happiness for man, who bestowed reason and physical ableness upon King Darius.” (DNb 1-5)

Prepositional complements:

*hauv Āčina basta ānayātā **abiy mām*** “That Āčina was led bound to me.” (DB 1.82-83)

*hauv amuⁿθa **hadā kamnaibiš asabāraibiš*** “He fled with a few horsemen.” (DB 3.71-72)

*pasāva adam Bābirum ašiyavam **abiy avam Naditabairam*** “Then I went off to Babylon against that Nidintu-Bēl.” (DB 1.83-86)

*pasāva kāra haruva **hamiçiya** abava **hacā Kabūjijā** abiy avam ašiyava* “Then the whole people/army conspired to leave Cambyses (and) went over to *that one* (= Gaumāta).” (DB 1.40-41)

patiy duvītīyam Bābiruviyā hamīçiyā abava hacāma “For the second time the Babylonians conspired to leave me.” (DB 3.77-78)

cf.

pasāva kāra Bābiruviya hacāma hamīçiya abava abiy avam Arxam ašiyava “Then the Babylonian army conspired to leave me and went over to that Arxa.” (DB 3.81-82)

**pasāva I martiya āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā hacā *Paišiyāuvādāyā* “Then there was a certain Gaumāta; he rose up from Paišiyāuvādā.” (DB 1.35-37)

Adverbial complements:

avadā avam kāram tayam Naditabairahayā adam ajanam vasiy “There I smashed that army of Nidintu-Bēl’s greatly.” (DB 1.88-89)

cf.

kāram vasiy avājaniyā “He killed the people/army in large numbers.” (DB 1.51)

pasāva adam kāram frāišaya nipadiy “Then I sent an army in pursuit.” (DB 2.72-73)

cf.

*pasāva Vivāna hadā kārā *nipadišaiy ašiyava* “Then Vivāna went with the army in pursuit of him.” (DB 3.73-74)

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam “This is what I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, in one and the same year after I became king.” (DB 4.3-5)

cf.

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda akunavam “This what I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I did in one and the same year.” (DB 4.40-41)

Local complements:

hauv udapatatā hacā Paišiyāuvādāyā Arakadriš nāma kaufa hacā avadaš “He rose up from the mountain Arakadri in Paišiyāuhuvādā.” (DB 1.36-37)

pasāva I martiya Āçina nāma Upadarmahayā puça hauv udapatatā Ūvjaiy “then a certain Āçina, son of Upadarma, rose up in Elam.” (DB 1.73-75)

ašiyava Patigrabanā nāma vardanam Parθavaiy “He went to the town of Patigrabanā in Parthia.” (DB 3.4-5)

cf.

Ragā nāmā dahayāuš Mādaiy avaparā ašiyavā “He went beyond the land of Ragā in Media.” (DB 2.71-72)

Appositions:

*avahayā Kabūjiyahayā brātā *Bardiya nāma āha hamātā hamapitā Kabūjiyahayā* “That Cambyses had a brother called Smerdis, having the same father and mother as Cambyses.” (DB 1.29-30)

Parenthetical or explanatory phrases:

[*utā*] *drauga dahayauvā vasiy abava utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā aniyauvā dahayūšuvā* “And the lie became much (abundant) in the land, both in Persia and in Media and in the other lands.” (DB 1.34-35)

**pasāva I martiya āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā hacā *Paišiyāuvādāyā* “Then there was a certain Gaumāta; he rose up from Paišiyāuvādā.” (DB 1.35-37)

Relative clauses:

*adam Bardiya amiy **haya Kurauš puça Kabūjyahayā brātā** “I am Smerdis, who is the son of Cyrus. I am king.” (DB 1.39-40)*

*paraidiy avam kāram jadiy **haya manā naiy gaubataiy** “Go forth! Crush that army which does not call itself mine!” (DB 3.14-15)*

cf.

*paraidiy kāra **haya hamičiya manā naiy gaubataiy** avam jadiy “Go forth! Crush that army which has conspired and does not call itself mine!” (DB 2.30-31)*

*pasāva adam kāram Pārsam utā Mādam frāišayam **haya upā mām āha** “Then I sent (off) that Persian and Median army that I had at my disposal.” (DB 3.29-30)*

cf.

*kāra Pārsa utā Māda **haya upā mām āha** hauv kamnam āha “The Persian and Median army that was at my disposal was insufficient.” (DB 2.18-19)*

*adam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam **haya Bardiya agaubatā** “I killed that Gaumāta, the magian, who called himself Smerdis.” (DB 4.81-82)*

cf.

*avadā [hauv] Naditabaira **haya Nabukudaracara agaubatā** āiš hadā kārā patiš [mām] *hamaranam cartanaiy “There that Nidintu-Bēl who called himself Nebuchadrezzar came with the army against me to fight a battle.” (DB 1.92-94)*

Enumerations:

In enumerations items other than the first are often lowered:

*avaθā adam hadā kamnaibiš martiyaibiš **avam Gaumātam** tayam magum **avājanam utā tayaišaiy fratamā martiyā** anušiya āhatā “Then I with a few men killed that Gaumāta the magian and those men who were his foremost followers.” (DB 1.56-58)*

cf.

*pasāva adam avam **Vahayazdātam utā martiyā tayaišaiy fratamā** anušiya āhatā Uvādaicaya nāma vandanam Pārsaiy avadašiš uzamayāpatiy akunavam “Then I impaled that Vahayazdāta and the men who were his foremost followers in the town of Uvādaicaya in Persia.” (DB 3.50-52)*

*paraitā **Vivānam** jatā **utā avam kāram** haya Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā gaubataiy “Go, strike Vivāna and that army which does not call itself King Darius’s!” (DB 3.58-59)*

*avahayarādimaiy **Auramazdā** upastām abara **utā aniyāha bagāha** tayaiy [hatiy] “For this reason did Ahuramazdā, as well as the other gods there are, bear me aid.” (DB 4.62-63)*

***mām** Auramazdā pātuv hacā ga[stā] **utāmai** viθam **utā imām dahayāum** “May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil, both my house and this land.” (DNa 51-53)*

TEXTS. LATE INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions of Artaxerxes the II and his successors contain numerous forms that are incorrect by the standard of the inscriptions of Darius I and Xerxes I. What we are dealing with is in fact a post-Old Persian stage of the language (or pre-Middle Persian), which already has its own morphology, which is barely disguised by pseudo-Old Persian orthography.

The inscriptions from Artaxerxes II on are written in what is clearly a post-OPers. stage of the language. Those from Artaxerxes I and Darius II are less clear; they are written in a late-OPers. form, as seen from the thematic forms such as *Dārayavaušahayā* and some grammatical constructions, but they are too short and formulaic to tell us much.

Among the (orthographic-)phonetic peculiarities of the post-OPers. stage note:

LESSON 19

Vowels:

Cy for Ciy: *n^ayāka-*, *apar^ayāka-*; *ab^ayapara*;
 use of *i*, *y*, or *iy* to wrote long *ē*: *paradaydām* for *pardēd^a(?)*, cf. MPers. *pālēz*; *saiymam* (A¹) for *sēm^a*
 from Gk. *ásēmos*.³²
 contraction of *iya* > *ī* in *martīhayā* (A³?);
 perhaps <a> for *ā*: *kayādā* for **kayad^a*; *šāyātim* for **š^ayātim* for **šiyātim* (perhaps pronounced *šāī*);
 defective writing of *ā*: *n^ayaka-* (A²Sa);
 defective writing of *i* or *ī*: *nastāya* for *n^īstāy^a*.

Consonants:

voicing of *t* to *d* in *Ardaxcašca*;
 merger of *c* and *š(?)*: *Xšayārcahayā*; [*usta*]canām (A²), *ustašanām* (A³); *Ardaxcašca*;
 st for št in *nastāya*.

Loss of final consonants and probably vowels in endings, as evidenced by the indiscriminate use of short and long vowels and omission of final *m*:

acc. sing.: *imam bātugara* (A¹); *imam apadāna*, *apadānā imam*; *imām hadiš utā imām *ustacanām taya aθagainām*, *Artaxšaça* (A²); *imām būmām*, *avam asmānām*, *Artaxšaça xšāyaθiya*, *imam ustašanām aθaganām* (A³);
 1st sing.: *n(ī)stāya*, *akunā*, *akunavām*;
 3rd sing.: *aθavā*; *akunaš*;
 3rd plur.: *akunaiy(a)* < **akunavayaⁿ* (cf. *akunavayaⁿtā*).

TEXTS

A¹I (Artaxerxes I Longimanus, 465-25)

Artaxšaça Xš vazarka Xš Xšyānām Xš DHyūnām
Xšayaqršahayā Xšhayā puça
Dārayavaušahayā Xšhayā puça Haxāmanašiya
haya imam bātugara sēymam viθiyā karta

Note the Persian-type relative clause: “who this *silver *cup was made in the house” for “in whose house ...”

D²Ha (Darius II Nothus, 424-05)

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahayā haya Dārayavaum Xšm akunauš aivam parūnām Xšm aivam parūnām framātāram
adam Dārayavauš Xš vazarka Xš Xšānām Xš dahayūnām paruvzanānām Xš ahayāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā dūrai y apiy
Artaxšaça(āhay)ā^a Xšhayā puça
Artaxšaçaāhayā Xšayaqršahayā Xšhayā puça
Xšayaqršahayā Dārayavaušahayā Xšhayā puça Haxāmanašiya
θātiy Dārayavauš Xš
Auramazdā imām dahayāum manā frābara
vašnā Auramazdāha adam Xš ahayāyā būmiyā amiy
mām Auramazdā pātuv utāmai y viθam utā xšaçam taya-mai y frābara
 a. The omission occurred at the line division: <²-ra-ta-xa-ša-ça-(/a-ha-ya-)a>.

³² This inscription (see the text above) may be a fake, since Gk. *ásēmos* does not yet seem to have meant “silver” at this time.

D²Sa

*[imam apadā]nam stūnāya [a]θagainam Dāra[yavauš XŠ vazq]rka akunauš
Dāraya[vaum XŠ]m AM pātuv hadā BGibiš*

A²Hc

*baga vazarka Auramazdā haya maθišta bagānām haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānām adā haya
martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā martihayā haya Artaxšačām XŠm akunauš aivam parūnām XŠm
aivam parūnām framātāram
θātiy Artaxšačā XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠyānām XŠ DHyūnām XŠ ahayāyā BUyā
adam Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça
Dārayavaušahayā Artaxšačāhayā XŠhayā puça
Artaxšačāhayā Xšayāršāhayā XŠhayā puça
Xšayārcahayā Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça
Dārayavaušahayā Vištāspahayā nāma puça Haxāmanašiya
θātiy Artaxšačā XŠ vašnā Auramazdāhā adam XŠ ahayāyā BUyā vazarkāyā dūrai y apiy amiy
Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara
mām Auramazdā pātuv utā xšačam tayamaiy frābara utāmai y viθam*

A²Sa (Artaxerxes II Mnemon, 405-359; Steve, 1987, pp. 88-90)

*θātiy Artaxšačā XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠyānām XŠ DHyūnām XŠ ahayāyā BUyā
Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça
Dārayavaušahayā Artaxšač[ā]hayā XŠhayā puça
Artaxšačāhayā Xšayārcahayā XŠhayā puça
Xšayārcahayā Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça
Dārayavaušahayā Vištāspahayā puça Haxāmanašiya
imam apadāna Dārayavauš apanayākam akunāš abayapara upa Artaxšačā nayakam aθavā
vašnā AM [Anahā]ta utā Miθra adam nastāya apadānā imam akunai y
AM Anahāta utā Miθra mām pātuv [hacā] vispā gastā
utā imam taya akunā mā yātum mā kayādā vi[-]jitu[y]*

A²Sc 4-6

[i]mām hadiš utā imām [usta]canām taya aθagainām ta[...]

A²Sd

*adam Artaxšačā XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠyānām XŠ DHyūnām XŠ ahayāyā BUyā Dārayavauš XŠāhayā puça
Haxāmanišiya
θātiy Artaxšačā XŠ
vašnā AMhā imām hadiš taya jivadiy paradaydām adam akunavam (vars. akunavām, akuvnašāš)
AM Anahita [u]tā Mⁱtra mām pātuv hacā (var. hašā) vispā gastā utamai y kartam*

A³Pa (Artaxerxes III Ochus, 359-338)

*baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmām adā haya avam asmānām adā haya martiyam adā haya
šiyātīm adā martihayā haya mām Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya akunauš aivam parūvnām xšāyaθiyam aivam
parūvnām framātāram
θātiy Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya DHyūnām xšāyaθiya ahayāyā
BUyā
adam Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya puça Artaxšačā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya puça
Dārayavauš Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya puça
Artaxšačā Xšayāršā xšāyaθiya puça
Xšayāršā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya puça
Dārayavauš Vištāspahayā nāma puça
Vištāspahayā Aršāma nāma puça Haxāmanišiya
θātiy Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya imam ustašanām aθaganām mām upā mām kartā
θātiy Artaxšačā xšāyaθiya mām Auramazdā utā Miθra бага pātuv utā imām DHyaum utā taya mām
kartā*

LESSON 19

AVsa

Ardaxcašca XŠ vazarka

EXERCISES 19

Write the inscriptions of the Artaxerxeses in correct Old Persian.

VOCABULARY 19

abayapara: subsequently

akunaiy, for **akunavaya*ⁿ

Anāhātā: Anahita

apanayāka-, for *apaniyāka-: great-grandfather

bātugara-: a kind of vessel

Miθra-: Mithra

nayāka-, for *niyāka-: grandfather

paraday(a)dā-, i.e., *pardēd: garden, pleasure grounds(?)

Patigrabanā-: place name

stūnāya-: having columns (?)

ustašanā-, ustacanā-: staircase (with carved reliefs?)

^hUvādaicaya-: place name

LESSON 20

STYLISTIC FEATURES.

The Old Persian prose is a highly literary prose, probably influenced both by the epic-poet and the religious language, perhaps also by the style of neighboring literatures.

Formula variations.

Schmitt, 1992, lists the following variants of the end-formula “May Ahuramazdā protect me, etc.”:

A <i>mām auramazdā pātu</i>	A' <i>mām auramazdā utā miθra бага pātu</i>
B <i>hacā gastā</i>	
C <i>hadā visaibiš багаibiš</i>	C' <i>hadā багаibiš</i>
D <i>utā vištāspam haya manā pitā</i>	
E <i>utā-maiy viθam</i>	
F <i>utā imām dahayāvam</i>	F' <i>utamaiy dahayum</i>
G <i>utamaiy xšačam</i>	G' <i>utā xšačam tayamaiy frābara</i>
H <i>utā tayamaiy kartaṃ</i>	
I <i>utā tayamaiy piča kartaṃ</i>	I' <i>utā tayamaiy piča dārayavahauš Xšayā kartaṃ</i>

distributed as follows:

DPh	A			E					
DNa	A	B		E	F				
DSe	A		C	E				+	??
DSf	A			D	F'				
DSj	A				F'				
DSs	A							H	
DSz	A				F'				
DSab	A							H	
DH	A			E					
XPa	A					G	H	I	K
XPb	A		C'			G	H		
XPc	A		C'				H	I'	K
XPd	A		C'			G	H		C'
XPf	A					G	H	I	K
XPg	A		C'			G			
XPh	A	B		E	F				
XPl	A							H	
XV	A		C'			G	H		
D ² Ha	A			E		G'			
A ² Hc	A			E		G'			
AsH	A			E	F				L
A ³ Pa	A				F		H		M

Identical formulas in different syntactic contexts.

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam
(DB 4.3-5)

cf.

ima taya adam akunavam // vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda akunavam
(DB 4.40-41)

DB 1.61-71

xšačam taya hacā amāxam taumāyā parābartam āha ava adam patipadam akunavam

adamšim gāθavā avāstāyam

yaθā paruvamciy

avaθā adam *akunavam āyadanā tayā Gaumāta haya maguš viyaka ...*

adam kāram gāθavā avāstāyam *Pārsamcā Mādamcā utā aniyā dahayāva*

yaθā paruvamciy

adam *taya parābartam patiyābaram ...*

adam hamataxšaiy yātā viθam tayām amāxam gāθavā avāstāyam

yaθā paruvamciy

avaθā adam *hamataxšaiy vašnā Auramazdāha*

Word order variation.

paraidiy avam kāram jadiy haya manā naiy gaubataiy “Go forth! Crush that army which does not declare itself as mine!” (DB 3.14-15)

cf.

paraidiy kāra haya hamiçiya manā naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy “Go forth! Crush that army which has conspired and does not declare itself as mine!” (DB 2.30-31)

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam “This is what I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, in one and the same year after I became king.” (DB 4.3-5)

cf.

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda akunavam “This what I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I did in one and the same year.” (DB 4.40-41)

Parallelism.

This is the pattern AB AB:

utā avam *Vahayazdātam agarbāya utā martiyā tayašaiy fratamā anušiyā āhatā agarbāya* “They both seized that Vahayazdāta and seized the men who were his foremost followers.” (DB 3.47-49)

**yaθā naiy arīka āham naiy draujana āham naiy zūrakara āham* “because I was not disloyal, nor a liar, nor did I do anything crooked.” (DB 4.63-64)

Chiasmus.

This is the pattern AB BA:

yadiy imām dipim vaināhay imaiivā patikarā naiy diš vikanahay “If you see this inscription or these images (and) do not destroy them...” (DB 4.72-73)

yadiy imām dipim imaiivā patikarā vaināhay vikanahadiš “If you see this inscription or these images (and) do destroy them...” (DB 4.77-78)

TEXTS. FAKES.

There are numerous falsified Old Persian inscriptions in Western museums and other art collections, as well as in private collections. Most of the time these fakes can be identified by the style of the writing or by grammatical errors committed by modern falsifiers not conversant with Old Persian.

Ariaramnes, Hamadan (AmH)

Ariyāramna xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya Pārsā Cīšpaiš xšāyaθiyahayā puça Haxāmanišahayā napā

