



New epigraphic and exegetical remarks on Paragraph 70 of the Bisotun Inscription, Old Persian version (DB/OP IV ll. 88-92)

MARCO FATTORI
SAPIENZA UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide a new edition of paragraph 70 of the Old Persian version of the Bisotun inscription (DB/OP IV ll. 88-92). Although this badly preserved passage received an enormous scholarly attention, only a few researchers could directly examine the inscription, and their editions differ significantly from one another. In absence of good published photographs, it is currently impossible to critically evaluate the reliability of these editions and propose new readings based on a first-hand inspection of the stone. To overcome this inconvenience, this article includes a full photographic documentation of the passage and a detailed discussion of each reading. Since this new examination of the inscription resulted in the improvement of several readings, the edition is followed by a commentary where a possible interpretation of the newly read words is offered.

KEYWORDS: Old Persian, Bisotun Inscription, Paragraph 70

1. *Introduction*

The last lines of the fourth column of the Bisotun inscription preserve what is probably the most famous and debated passage in the whole Old Persian corpus¹. The main reason for that is surely its great historical significance, because therein Darius talks about the drafting of his own inscription and the diffusion of its political message across

¹ It is not the aim of this article to discuss in depth the interpretation of this passage and the vast amount of literature dealing with it. A complete bibliography on DB § 70 can be found in ROSSI (2000) and ROSSI (forthc.). Among the most important contributions on the subject, one may also cite HINZ (1952); HARMATTA (1966); LECOQ (1974: 66-84); GERSHEVITCH (1982: 102-109) and HUYSE (1999), all representing different stages of the scholarly discussion.

the empire. However, beside the existence of different views on the historical consequences of Darius' claims, a major source of disagreement among scholars has always been the actual reading and restoration of this portion of text, which is extremely damaged. Since the Bisotun inscription is located in an impervious place, only few people had the chance of examining the monument at close distance until recently, and nobody has ever published good photographs. So, the whole discussion mentioned above had to rely on the few editions based on a fresh inspection of the stone, which are the following:

- a) King & Thompson (1907: 77-78), who studied the inscription on site (*ibid.* xxi-xxii) and published the text in typesetted cuneiform characters.
- b) Cameron (1951: 52), who studied the inscription on site and took some paper squeezes on which he could work subsequently. He did not publish reproductions of the stone or the squeezes, but in his article and in some private letters published in Lecoq (1974: 77-79) he offered a detailed description of the traces he saw.
- c) Schmitt (1991: 45, pl. 25), who worked on some photographs taken during a mission of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (1963-64). In a preliminary study he also provided a critical discussion on selected passages of DB, including some sections of § 70 (Schmitt 1990: 56-61 and pl. 11). Schmitt's edition is the only one where a selection of photographs is included, and is currently regarded as the standard edition of the Old Persian version of DB.

Although Schmitt's work represents a major step forward in the documentation of this passage inasmuch as it contains some reproductions of the inscription, it cannot be regarded as definitive. The photographs published there are of low quality and too small to allow a proper study of the traces on the stone. This makes them of little help in improving the text of DB § 70, and Schmitt himself admitted that he considered his edition of this passage as still provisional: «As a last remark I would like to add that I myself regard neither the restoration nor the translation given here for this last paragraph as final»

(Schmitt 1991: 74). Despite this explicit statement, Schmitt's text has been mostly accepted as reliable and nobody has tried to discuss critically his readings and restorations.

As one will clearly see by comparing his transliteration with the one given below, this confidence was not fully justified, since Schmitt's edition of this passage is essentially a restoration based on previous scholars' accounts rather than a new reading. In addition, he made a quite optimistic use of critical signs, marking as completely preserved (with no brackets) signs which were already unreadable to Cameron and, on the other hand, putting between full square brackets signs for which clear traces still exist on the stone and do not match his restoration.

This being the state of the facts, I believe that the most obvious way to allow progress to be made in the study of this text is to provide a proper photographic documentation of it, which is the main purpose of the present article. In what follows, I will present my own reading of the passage, confining my notes to the explanation of my interpretation of the traces on the stone and to a linguistic commentary of the new words resulting from my attempt of edition (see the Commentary). This article does not have the ambition of discussing the overall translation of the passage in comparison to the corresponding Elamite text (DB/Elam. L), nor that of giving a full account of the earlier positions on the textual and exegetical problems posed by DB § 70 (see fn. 1 above). My aim is simply to provide a solid philological basis on which to build the future debate on the subject.

The fulfillment of this work would not have been possible without the kind help of Salman Aliyari Babolghani, who gave me permission to study and publish some photographs taken by Amin Mirzaee. To him goes my utmost gratitude².

² I wish to thank also A. V. Rossi, who put me in contact with Dr. Aliyari Babolghani in the framework of the DARIOSH project and expressed to me his views on my new readings. I am also very grateful to M. Mancini, M. Maggi, A. Del Tomba, F. Michetti, Ph. Huyse and W. F. M. Henkelman for providing me with useful advice and criticism. All responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article, including errors and omissions, is only mine.

2. Edition and translation

Here follows my transliteration of ll. 88-92 of DB/OP IV. Although the beginning of l. 88 does not belong to § 70, I included it as well taking the opportunity to correct an erroneous reading accepted in former editions. The symbol <ø> is employed to indicate a space of the size of at least one sign deliberately left empty by the engraver (usually to avoid a pre-existing crack on the stone), and the symbol <+> is employed to represent an unidentified character (unrecognizable or totally lost). The criterion for the placement of brackets in the text is the following: if traces of all the wedges of a sign are preserved, however faint, no square brackets are used, whereas half square brackets are used when traces of at least one wedge compatible with the sign are preserved. Question marks are used only to indicate readings which I regard as possible but highly conjectural. My translation choices will be discussed in the Commentary below.

[88]-[m : t¹-u-m-a-m : [a]-[v¹-a-¹m¹ [:] p-r-¹i-b-r¹-a øø : ¹θ¹-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-¹y¹-v-u-š : ¹x-š-a¹-[y-θ-i]-¹y¹ : v-ø-¹š¹-n-a : ¹a-u¹-[89]-[r-m-z]-d-a-¹h¹ : i-[m] : d¹-i-p-i-¹ç¹-i-¹y-m¹ [:] t-¹y¹ [: a]-¹d¹-m : a-k^u-u-n-v-m : p-t-i-š-m : a-¹r¹-i-¹y-a : ¹øø u-t-¹a : p¹-v-s-t-[90]-[a : u-t-a] : ¹c-r¹-[m]-a : g-r-¹š¹-ø-¹i²-y-t-i-y¹ : ¹p-t¹-i-š-m-š-i-y¹ : n¹-i-p-i-θ-n-m : a-k^u-u-n-v-m : ¹p-t¹-i-¹š¹-[+ +](-)v²-a-c²-a-[91](-)¹+¹-[+ + - + - +]-m : ø ¹u¹-t-a : ¹n-i-y-p¹-i-θ-i-[y : u]-¹t-a : ¹p-t-i-¹y-f-r-θ-i¹-y : p-i-š-i-y-a : m-a-[m :] ¹p¹-s-¹a-[v] : i-m : d¹-[92]¹i¹-[p-i-ç-i]-¹y¹-m : ¹f-r¹-a-s-t-a-¹y-m¹ : ¹v¹-i¹-[s-p-d-a] : a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] ¹ k-a-r : h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a |

(§ 69 ... *tayām imaišām martiyānā*)m *taumām*, [a]*vām paribarā*. § 70 *ḏāti Dārayavauš xšā*[*yaḏi*]ya: *vašnā Au*[*ramaz*]*dāba i*[*ma*] *dipiçiyam taya* [a]*dam akunavam patišam ariyā. utā pavast*[*ā utā*] *carmā gr*[*š*]*iyatai* (?). *patišamšai nīpaišanam akunavam patiš*[... ? ...]m. *utā niyapiḏiya utā patiyafrāḏiya paišiyā mām. pasāva ima di*[*piçi*]yam *frāstāyam vi*[*spadā*] *antar dahyā*[*va*]. *kāra hamāuxḏatā*.

‘... protect the family (of these men). Proclaims Darius the king. With the help of Auramazda, this is the text which I made additionally in Aryan. It is filed (?) both on clay tablets and parchment. I added to it a “signature” ... and it was written and read aloud before me. Then, I sent this text everywhere across the countries. The people repeated/learned it.’

3. Epigraphic notes

The whole transliteration presented above will be divided into small sequences accompanied by photographs. Each photograph is given in two copies: the upper one is the bare image and the lower one includes a tracing of the expected shape of the signs based on other occurrences taken from DB. A red tracing is used for signs of sure identification whereas a blue tracing is used for uncertain or fully reconstructed signs. No tracing has been given for long segments lacking any recognizable trace.

88a: <-^rm : t¹-u-m-a-m : [a]-^rv¹-a-^rm¹ [:]^{fig. 1} p-r-^ri-b-r¹-a øø^{fig. 2}>



Figure 1.

This segment belongs to the end of DB/OP § 69. Schmitt (1991) adopted the traditional restoration <[u-b-<r>]-t-a-m> which requires to postulate an error in the lacuna. The correct reading is rather <[a]-^rv¹-a-^rm¹>, as the traces after the crack are clearly the three horizontal wedges of <v>. This restores the correspondence with the Elamite version, where no equivalent of **ubrtām* is found (^{DIŠ}NUMUN^{MEŠ} *appa* ^{DIŠ}LÚ^{MEŠ} *appini kuktaš*, ‘protect the family of these men’).



Figure 2.

88b: <ʿθ¹-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-ʿy¹-v-^{fig.3}u-š : ʿx-š-a¹-[y-θ-i]-ʿy¹^{fig.4} : v-ø-ʿš¹-n-a : ʿa-u¹-^{fig.5}>

Here begins § 70. This section does not need any comment, as it is totally predictable.



Figure 3.

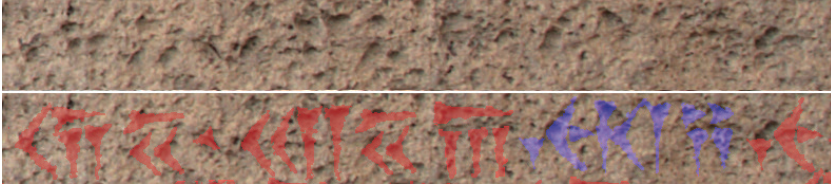


Figure 4.



Figure 5.

89a: <[r-m-z]-d-a-ʿh¹ : i-[m] : ^{fig.6}d¹-i-p-i-ʿç¹-i-ʿy-m¹ [:] t-ʿy¹^{fig.7} [: a]-ʿd¹-m : a-k¹-u-n-v-m : ^{fig.8}>

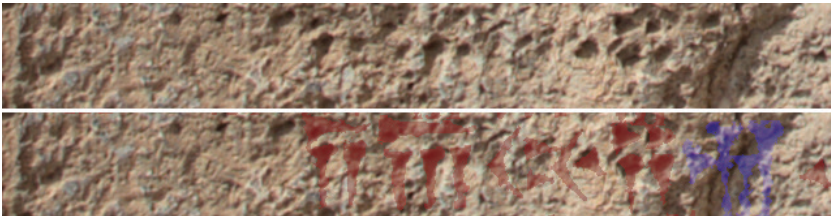


Figure 6.

The first three signs in Figure 6 are completely lost, then the end of *Auramazdāha* is clear. There follows the neuter demonstrative *ima* <i-[m]>: note that the <m> was already lost at the time of King and Thompson, but Cameron, followed by Schmitt, printed it without square brackets.



Figure 7.

The following word (Figure 7), corresponding to Elam. *tuppi*me ‘text, content of an inscription’, is crucial. The first four signs are unproblematic, but the following sequence is severely damaged. Schmitt (1990: 57-58) rightly rejected the previous attempts to read the fifth sign of the word as <m>, <v> or <vⁱ> and described the traces he saw in his photograph as follows: «Für das fünfte Zeichen, das unmittelbar auf *dⁱ-i-p-i-* folgt, erscheinen mir jedoch sowohl *v-* wie auch *vⁱ-* ausgeschlossen; es kann dort nur eines der Zeichen vorliegen, die links oben den ‚Kopf‘ eines Keiles haben, denn der Eindruck von einem solchen ist überdeutlich vorhanden. Am besten wird den Spuren, die auszumachen sind, sicher *c* gerecht». This is partially correct: there surely is the trace of an upper horizontal wedge, but neither in Schmitt’s picture (1990, fig. 33) nor in Figure 7 here I can see a trace corresponding to the small horizontal wedge expected on the right side of <c> (see below Figures 10 and 15). In fact, there is not enough space for that. The traces rather point to <ç>: the two upper traces would belong to the first horizontal wedge, the central trace on the right would be the tip the second horizontal wedge³, and the lower

³ Normally, one expects the head of a wedge to be preserved better than its tip, as it was usually carved in more depth, but in these heavily eroded portions of stone it is likely that the surface was damaged unevenly – note that also the upper wedge survived only in its head and tip but not in the middle. To be completely sure one should check in person the depth of each trace and of the surroundings.

left trace would be the head of the first vertical wedge, which is exactly the same height and shape as the previous <p>, as expected. After this <ç> there is certainly a <i> and then another difficult sign. Schmitt (*ibid.*) saw «drei Keil-,Köpfe'» which he read as <ç> whereas from our photograph it is clear that there is but one. Comparing his photograph with the one published here, it seems that he took for traces the shadow projected by some sediment on the upper left side. In my view, the best possible reading for this sign is <y>, the single central trace on the right being its small horizontal wedge (which is usually the only surviving part of this character in damaged passages, see below). If one observes carefully the color of the surface on the left, a faint V-shaped halo left by the Winkelhaken is visible. The small point in the center of that halo could actually be part of the tip of the Winkelhaken. Moving to the next sign, the heads of the two long vertical wedges of <m> are visible, and their identification is confirmed by the occurrence of the same word at l. 92. The whole reading of this word is then <dⁱ-i-p-i-^ʿç^ʿ-i-^ʿy-m^ʿ>, on which see the Commentary below.

There follows quite clearly <t-y>: note the remarkable unevenness with which the traces of <y> are preserved. The following words (Figure 8) do not pose any problem.

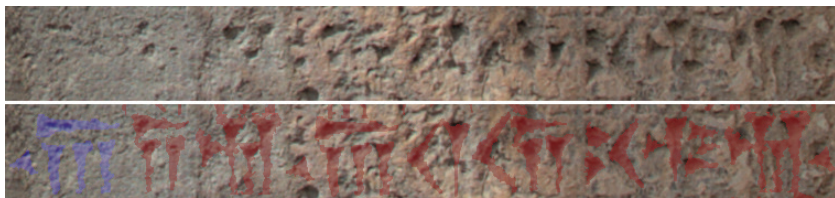


Figure 8.

89b: <p-t-i-š-m : a-^ʿr^ʿ-i-^ʿy-a :^ʿ øø^{fig. 9} u-t^ʿa : p^ʿ-v-s-t^{fig. 10}>

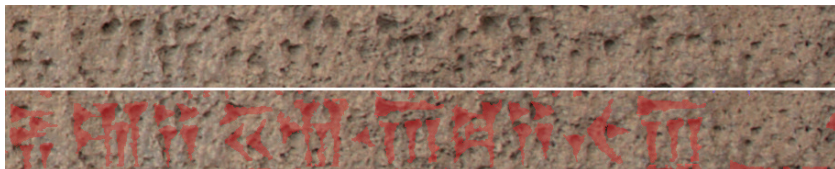


Figure 9.

This segment (Figures 9-10) is well readable, and, as rightly observed by Schmitt (1991: 45, in the apparatus), between *ariyā* and *utā* there is a blank space. I shall draw attention for the last time on the deceptive shape often assumed by the damaged traces of <y>, which stands out as one of the least recognizable signs of the syllabary in these contexts.



Figure 10.

90a: <-[a : u-t-a] : ʿc-rʿ-[m]-a : ^{fig. 11}g-r-[šʔ]-ø-ʿiʔ-y-t-i-yʿ : ^{fig. 12}>

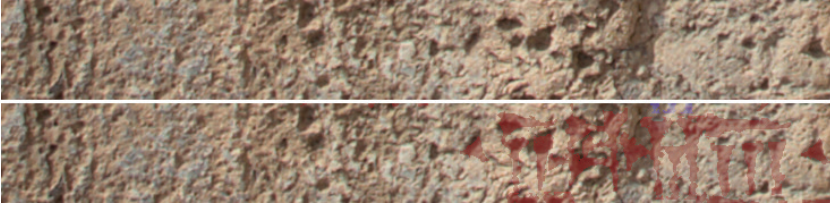


Figure 11.

The first half of l. 90 is very difficult (Figure 11). The beginning of the line is completely lost, and the first visible thing is unrecognizable traces, which could correspond to what King and Thompson interpreted as a damaged <y>. However, the whole surface is extremely damaged, so it cannot be decided whether these are actually traces of writing or holes caused by erosion. For the same reason, I cannot follow Cameron in his reading <a-ʿyʿ-[a :] u-t-a>. On the contrary, I regard as certain that such a reading/restoration exceeds the available space by approximately two signs. My sensation is that all scholars overinterpreted the damages on the stone as traces of writing, almost nothing being extant already at King and Thompson's time. Since *pavásta-* is a neuter noun in Vedic, I would simply restore <p-v-s-t-|90|[a : u-t-a]>, taking OP *pavastā*

as a neuter Instr.Sg. (rather than a feminine **pavastāyā* as was always assumed), which fits perfectly the space on the stone.

The first readable word represents OP *carmā* <c-r-m-a> ‘on parchment’, which matches quite well the visible traces but surely cannot be regarded as fully preserved as appears from Cameron and Schmitt’s edition. If the restoration of *pavastā* (Instr.Sg.Nt.) proposed above is accepted, one should abandon Benveniste’s idea that this word is an archaic proterodynamic locative **carmān* (to be compared with OAv. *cašmaq̄m* ‘in the eye’ <**cašmān*) and take *carmā* as an instrumental⁴.

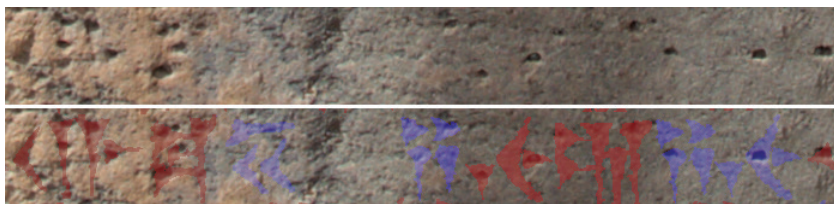


Figure 12.

What follows (Figure 12) should be the verb describing what action has been performed ‘on clay and parchment’ having as object the Bisotun text. The first two signs are either <g-r> or <d^u-v> (so already Cameron *apud* Lecoq 1974: 78, mentioning also the impossible <g^u>). Since the second option implies an irregular spelling, it seems preferable to accept the first one, and to assume that the first vertical wedge of <g> is damaged so as to seem divided into three small wedges. The rest has always been regarded as unreadable. Schmitt’s text <g-r-[f-t-m] : ‘a-h’> requires that the first visible trace is a word divider,

⁴ Cf. BENVENISTE (1951: 41). The expected Loc.Sg. of this word would be OP **carmani* or **carmaniyā*. The preservation in Old Persian of an archaic form of Loc.Sg. with zero ending and proterodynamic inflection, which is already residual in Old Avestan and unattested in Vedic (cf. BEEKES 1988: 122), seems unlikely in light of the tendency towards innovation and simplification shown by OP morphology. One should then resort to the explanation proposed by BRUST (2018: 179) who takes *carmā* as an Instr.Sg.Nt. from <**carmnā*>. As an alternative, one could postulate a thematization of Ir. **carman-* to OP *carma-*, with regular thematic Instr.Sg.Nt. *carmā*. A similar problem is posed by the word *taumā* ‘strength’ in XPl, which could be seen as a thematic Nom./Acc.Pl.Nt. rather than an archaic proterodynamic form **taumān* (to be compared with OAv. *damān* ‘creatures’ etc.) as proposed by SCHMITT (1999: 40-41).

which is hardly the case. Also, there is nothing to suggest that the following traces belong to <a> and <h>. I have formulated my reading proposal starting from the only sign I regard as certain, i.e. <t> (the third-to-last in Figure 12): the traces correspond to both the external vertical wedges and the upper horizontal one on the left. Moving to the left, the traces are placed in a way which is only compatible with <y> (the horizontal wedge on the right and the vertical one on the left, the Winkelhaken having completely disappeared). The remaining traces have been interpreted *a posteriori* in light of what I consider a plausible restoration for a verbal form such as <g-r...-y-t...>, namely *gršiyatai* ‘it is tied’, a passive present of the verb **graš-* ‘to tie’ (see the Commentary for further discussion). Admittedly, this requires postulating a gap between <š> and <i> in <g-r-[š]-ø-^ri-y-t-i-y^l>, but I could not think of an easy way to fit three meaningful signs in the lacuna. Thus, I am inclined to interpret the first visible thing after <r> as a pre-existing rupture of the stone which was avoided by the engraver.

90b: <^rp-^ti-ⁱ-š-m-š-i-y^r: n^l-i-p-^{fig. 13}i-θ-n-m: a-k^u-u-n-v-m^{fig. 14}: ^rp-^ti-^rš^l-[+ +](⁻)v²-a-c²-a-^{fig. 15}>

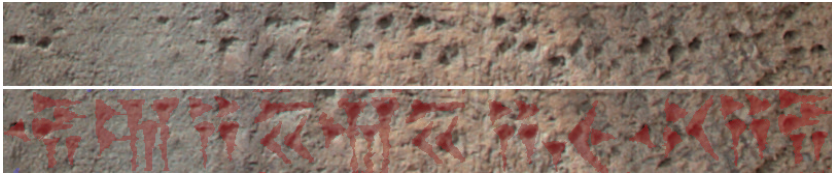


Figure 13.

As can be seen from the red drawing, for space reasons the first trace in Figure 13 must be interpreted as a word-divider and not as part of <p>⁵. The rest of *patišam* is quite clear. After <m> one can easily read <š> in the photograph: the enclitic attached to the previous word is then the 3rd person pronoun *-šai* <-š-i-y> rather than *-mai* <-m-i-y> or *-ci* <-c-i-y>, as previously proposed. This has some weight in clarifying the meaning of *patišam* + *kar-* because it shows that, unlike the

⁵ CAMERON *apud* LECOQ (1974: 78) has probably understood the first two traces as part of <p>, reconstructing a *vacat* before <t>.

simple verb *kar-*, it can be construed with an indirect object (see the Commentary). This sign can clearly be read as such in fig. 34 published in Schmitt (1990), so one cannot but be puzzled by the author's choice of restoring <-[c]-i-y> as if no traces were visible (*ibid.* 60-61).

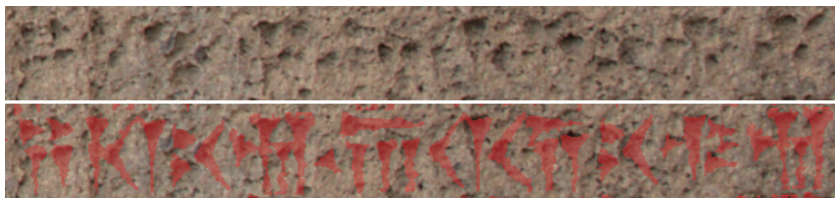


Figure 14.

The following word (here split between Figures 13 and 14) had been partially read as <[dⁱ]-i-p-i-[+ -]-n-m> by King and Thompson. The fact that neither Cameron nor Schmitt could read any trace here tells a lot about the insufficient quality of their reproductions. With a good photograph it is not difficult to read <n-i-p-i-θ-n-m> every single wedge of which is at least partially preserved. This word can be transcribed as *nīpaiθanam* lit. 'act of writing' (see the final Commentary). Accordingly, the ghost-word † *nāmanāfa-* should be deleted from the Old Persian vocabulary.

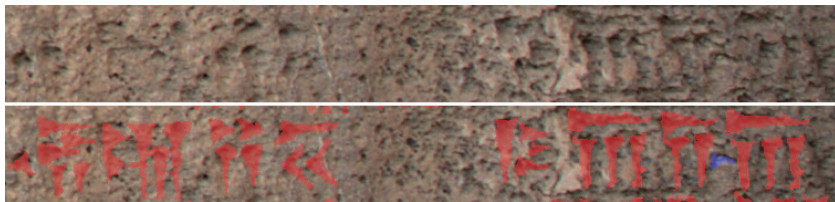


Figure 15.

The segment reproduced in Figure 15 is another difficult one. Cameron first read <[p-t¹-i-š-[m : +]-v-a-d-a> but then (*apud* Lecoq 1974: 79), after re-examining his squeezes, commented again on this passage «I regret that this reading cannot be considered as certain». In fact, the traces of <p-t> are very scanty, but the required signs fit the space and the reconstruction is supported by the other occurrences of *patišam* in the text. What is certainly wrong is the restoration of two signs plus

a word-divider after <š>. As can be seen, the space is very small and it can fit at most one sign plus a word divider or two medium sized signs without any word divider. Therefore, I believe that the restoration <[-m : u-]>, hitherto accepted by all scholars (see the apparatus in Schmitt 1991: 45), can be safely discarded as impossible. The most likely option in my view is that the lacuna contains only one sign plus a word divider, the sign being either <m> or <a> (for an Acc.Pl.) if *patiša-* is not an adverb but an inflected adjective (see the Commentary).

The first sign of the following word could either be <v> or <s> and the third sign, always read as <d>, shows a small horizontal trace which could be taken as the small wedge of <c>. So, the options are <s-a-d-a>/<v-a-d-a>/<s-a-c-a>/<v-a-c-a>. It should be pointed out that, if one reconstructs the verb *akunavam* at the beginning of the next line, there is no space left, so the word represented by these four signs must be regarded as whole. I have no plausible interpretation at hand for this word, which is usually seen as the counterpart of Elam. *eppi* (for earlier *aiappi*). In earlier Elamite texts *aiappi* is often attested together with *hiš* ‘name’ in contexts where a meaning ‘royal titulature’ or the like could fit (cf. Hinz 1952: 31 ‘Name und Art, Protokoll’), but its exact meaning is not certain⁶. However, since the newly established OP *nipaiḡanam* does not translate exactly as ‘name’, it is not clear to what extent the Elamite version should be taken as a basis to explain this technical expression in Old Persian (see the Commentary below).

91a: <[(?)¹⁷]-[+--+--+]-m : ø¹⁶ ‘u¹-t-a¹⁶: ‘n-i-y-p¹-i-[θ]-i-[y : u]-‘t-a :¹⁷fig. 17>

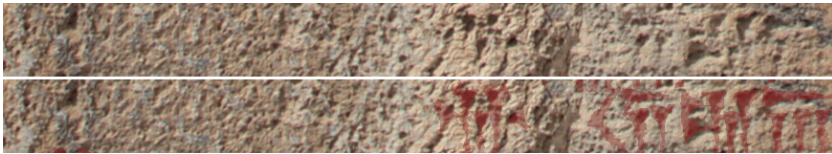


Figure 16.

⁶ This word – I read <a-ap-pi> and <a-ha-pi> as *aiappi* and <ah-pi> and <e-ip-pi> as *aippi/eppi* with syncope – is mainly attested in theophoric anthroponyms, which are of little help in clarifying its meaning. By examining the few (and obscure) attestation of the bare word, GRILLOT & VALLAT (1984: 23) translate it as ‘nom, renom, célébrité, gloire’ and HINZ-KOCH (1987: 16, 35) as ‘Abstammung’, but many other options are conceivable.

As was said above, if one reconstructs the verb *akunavam* ‘I did’ at the beginning of this line (so Cameron *apud* Lecoq 1974 and Schmitt), there is only space for a word-divider, which could correspond to the first visible trace: so maybe <𐎠 [a-k^u-u-n-v]-m>. No doubt, the previous attempts to restore one or two letters belonging to the preceding word (e.g. <[u]-v-a-d-a-[m]> or <[u]-v-a-d-a-[t-m]>) plus *akunavam* must be discarded and, consequently, the ghost-words † *uvādā-* and † *uvādāta-* must be deleted from the Old Persian vocabulary.

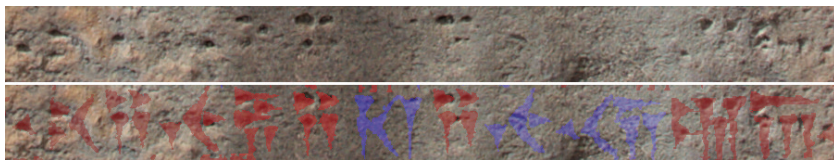


Figure 17.

The following passage (Figure 17) is badly damaged, but the traces match very well the generally accepted restoration, which is assured by the Elamite version.

91b: <p-t-i-^ry-f-r-θ-i^l-y :^{fig. 18} p-i-š-i-y-a : m-a-[m^{fig. 19} :] 𐎠-s-^ra^l-[v] : i-m : d^{i-fig. 20}>

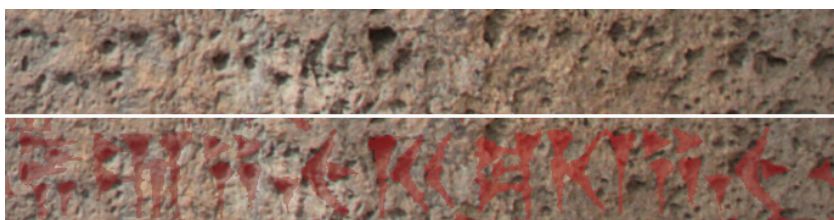


Figure 18.

This segment (Figures 18-20) is well preserved. Note that the trace of <θ>, correctly read by Schmitt, is clear enough to rule out the alternative readings <š> or <s> proposed by previous scholars (see the apparatus in Schmitt 1991: 45).



Figure 19.



Figure 20.

92a: <[i¹]-[p-i-ç-i]-[y¹-m : [f-r¹-a-s-t-fig. 21a-[y-m¹ : [vⁱ-i¹]-[s-p-d-a] :fig. 22>



Figure 21.

The traces of <y> in *dipiçiyam* are uncertain (Figure 21): perhaps what is visible corresponds to part of the vertical wedge below, part of the horizontal one on the right and immediately to its left a rest of the Winkelhaken. These two small traces, very close to one another, could be what was read as <i> by King and Thompson, then as <d> by Cameron and finally as <ç> by Schmitt. In any case, it is apparent that Schmitt's <i-p-i-¹c-i-ç¹-m> is not a fair representation of what is visible at the beginning of this last line either here or in the photographs published in his edition.



Figure 22.

As can be seen in Figure 22, the adverb *vispadā* ‘everywhere’ is mostly restored. One can only spot the traces of the initial <vⁱ-i> and something which could belong to a <p> in the middle of the lacuna.

92b: <a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] ^{fig. 23} k-a-r ^{fig. 24} : h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a ^{fig. 24} >

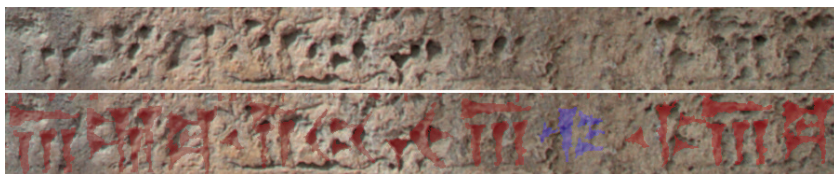


Figure 23.

This last segment (Figures 23-24) is unproblematic apart from the last word, corresponding to Elam. *sapiš* ‘they repeated’ or ‘they copied’.



Figure 24.

Taking a look at the previous reading proposals, it is immediately clear that the editors saw plenty of traces, but they could not interpret them correctly. King and Thompson read <h-m : a-m-x-m-t-a> and Cameron (*apud* Lecoq 1974: 79) <h-m-a-t-x-š-Ø-t-a>, observing that after <a> there could be a word-divider. Both these readings are

partially correct, as appears from our picture: Cameron's word-divider is the Winkelhaken of <u> and the third-to-last sign, read as <m> by King and Thompson because of the two vertical wedges on the sides, is rather a <θ> (<š> is certainly wrong instead). It is also true that before <t-a> there is a small *vacat*, correctly identified by Cameron. By a careful examination of the traces visible in our photograph, it should be clear that the correct reading is <h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a> *hamāuxθatā*, which I explain as an inchoative verbal form from a root *vac-* or *auc-* meaning 'to repeat' or 'to learn' (see the Commentary for further details).

4. Commentary

4.1. *dipiçiyam* <dⁱ-i-p-i-ç-i-y-m> 'text', 'Inscriptionfassung'

This is the best reading I can propose according to the visible traces on the stone. The word can be read as *dipiçiyam* (or *dipiçaiyam*), a compound of OP *dipi-* 'inscription' and the verb OP *çay-* 'lean, lay down' (IIr. **çray-*, Av. *sraii-*, Ved. *śray-*)⁷. The meaning of this word suggested by the context and by its Elamite counterpart *tuppime* is something like 'content of an inscription'⁸, which in my opinion corresponds more or less to what we would call 'text' today⁹. A solution to match this

⁷ Cf. CHEUNG (2007: 354-355).

⁸ Elam. *tuppime* is an abstract formation derived from *tuppi* 'inscription' (cf. LECOQ 1974: 67-73 for a discussion of the relevant occurrences). A perfectly parallel example of the value of *-me* found in *tuppime* is now attested in the administrative document Fort. 2045-101 where the sentence *haltapme inni turnaš* 'he did not know the content of the *haltap*' is found. Elam. *haltap* is a noun referring to a kind of document (maybe *haltap* < **hal(a)t-tuppi-*, as suggested by Günther Korbel *apud* HINZ-KOCH 1987: 609) and is normally employed in its basic form with concrete verbs (e.g. *haltap inni tinkiš* 'he did not send a *haltap*' quoted by HINZ-KOCH 1987), but as the object of the abstract verb *turna-* 'to know' it takes the suffix *-me*, as one can 'know' only the content of a document, and not the document itself.

⁹ So HENKELMAN (2008: 349-350 fn. 819). I shall not come back on the old theory upheld especially by W. Hinz (see e.g. HINZ 1952) and formerly accepted by several scholars, including R. Schmitt himself, according to which Elam. *tuppime* and the corresponding OP word should refer to the newly invented Old Persian cuneiform script. Today, this idea has been universally given up: cf. HUYSE (1999: 46b) «Regarding the meaning of Elam. *tup-pi-me*, it is now obvious that the word cannot mean "script" in the sense of "writing system"», and SCHMITT (2014: 169) who translates his † *dipiciça-* as 'Inscriptionfassung, -version' (see also the literature quoted in fn. 1).

meaning with the semantic value of the root *çay-* is to reconstruct a deverbal compound with *-ya-* suffix having abstract or gerundive meaning¹⁰. In the latter case *dipiçiya-* would literally mean ‘thing to be laid down in an inscription’, which might sound a counter-intuitive way to describe a text from a modern perspective, but seems understandable in a widely non-literate society where the inscription could be more readily perceived as a concrete object than as a text-carrier. In the case of an abstract noun ‘act of laying down in an inscription’ the focus would be rather on the concept of ‘Inscripfassung’, with reference to the new updated version of the Bisotun text in comparison to the first monolingual Elamite version. Cross-linguistic parallels for the employ of the metaphor of ‘laying down’ in the context of writing are found in several modern languages: cf. French ‘coucher sur le papier’, English ‘to write down’, German ‘Niederschrift’, Italian ‘stesura’ etc.

4.2. *patiša-* (adj.) or *patišam* (adv.) <p-t-i-š-m>, <p-t-i-š-[+]>
‘additional(ly)’

As to the translation of this word, I agree with the commonly accepted idea that in DB § 70 *patišam* construed with the verb *kar-* ‘to do’ should mean something like ‘to add’ (so Lazard 1976: 182-184). The new reading *patišam-šai nipaīdanam akunavam* ‘I added a “signature” to it’ further confirms this assumption, as it shows that this expression can take an indirect object, as expected from a meaning like ‘to add’ rather than ‘to do’.

As Schmitt (2014: 232) has rightly remarked, the formal analysis of this word is more problematic. It is still unclear whether *patišam* is the inflected form of a predicative adjective or an adverb. Unfortunately, the only attestation which could provide an answer to this question is fragmentary (end of l. 90, see above). Even though it is not crucial to the overall interpretation of DB § 70, I shall take the opportunity to offer a brief discussion on this word and its possible Avestan counterpart.

¹⁰ On deverbal compounds with *-ya-* suffix cf. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (1936: 107-108) and DEBRUNNER (1954: 827-841, § 664 on «neutrale Nomina verbalia auf *-ya-* als Hinterglieder», especially point f. for a comparison with Iranian).

Bartholomae (1904: 836 s.v. *paitiša*-) provides a somewhat misleading presentation of the Avestan occurrences of this word, giving the impression that all of them belong to an adjective. In reality, two sharply distinguished morphological treatments for this stem can be identified, each one endowed with a different semantic nuance:

On the one hand, there is an invariable adverb YAv. *paitiša* (Bartholomae: «nur IS *ša* als Adv.»), meaning ‘in front’ (as opposed to *pasca* ‘behind’ in Vd. 8.41ff.) or ‘towards’, used prepositionally with the accusative case (e.g. Yt. 12.3 *paitiša hū adβanəm* ‘towards the path of the Sun’, see also Yt. 5.62). In this latter usage, the word is closely comparable to OP <p-t-i-š> ‘towards, against’ (with the accusative), and I would be inclined to consider YAv. *paitiša* and OP *paitiša* – read so rather than **patiš* – as reflexes of the same Iranian form¹¹.

On the other hand, there are but two significant occurrences of *paitiša*- with an inflectional ending (the third one being the name of a *daēuua*- in Vd. 19.43), for which the meaning ‘contrarius, widrig’ assumed by Bartholomae seems quite unfounded. Actually, it seems to me that both could work with a meaning ‘additional’, in the way described as follows:

N.83.7-8 *yezi paitišā uruuarā upa dadāiti ratufriš*
 parō upa.dātā frastərante aratufriš

‘if he puts (on it) **additional** plants, he acts correctly. (If) he spreads the ones placed before, he acts incorrectly’ (Pahlavi: *agar urwar drūnēd [kū barsom ī nōg bē kunēd] radīhā. ān ī pēš abar *drūd frāz wistarēd aradīhā* ‘if he collects plants [i.e. he makes a new *barsom*] he acts correctly. (if he) spreads the ones collected before, he acts incorrectly’)¹².

¹¹ This was already proposed by NYBERG (1974: 157a). The reason why already BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 835) read OP <p-t-i-š> as *patiš* («s-Erweiterung von *pati*», SCHMITT 2014: 232) lies probably in the final vowel, because YAv. *paitiša* can only go back to Ir. **paitišā*, and the expected outcome of the latter would be OP **<p-t-i-š-a> paitišā*, with long *-ā*. However, the supposed instances of Av. *paitiš* (see BARTHOLOMAE, *ibid.*) are scanty and probably corrupt, whereas a slight irregularity in the correspondence between the Avestan and OP word-end would not be unparalleled: compare the case of OP *cašma* <c-š-m> ‘eye’ Nom./Acc.Sg.Nt. of Ir. **cašman-* instead of expected OP **cašmā* <c-š-m-a> from Ir. **cašma*.

¹² Cf. KOTWAL & KREYENBROEK (1992-2009/4: 74-75) with minor adjustments.

Far from being «une phrase obscure du Neyrangestân, dont on ne peut rien tirer» (Lazard 1976: 183), this sentence makes full sense, and its interpretation is supported by the Pahlavi translation, which was surely produced by people who had first-person knowledge of the rituals dealt with.

Yt. 19.58 *vaēm hqmraēθβaiieni*
 vispa taršuca xsūdṛaca [...]
 **θβqzjaiti ahurō mazdā*
 paitišā dāmān daḏānō

This passage reports the words of the evil Fraṇrasiian who is trying to seize the *xvarənah*. Translators usually apply in this passage Bartholomae's meaning 'contrarius, widrig': Hintze (1994: 294) «Beides will ich durcheinandermengen, alles Feste und Flüssige [...] In Aufregung gerät Ahura Mazdā beim Schaffen der **widrigen** Geschöpfe»; Humbach-Ichaporla (1998: 139) «I will mix up both kinds of things, all that is solid and all that is liquid [...] Ahura Mazdā is in action, engaging (His) creatures **against** (me)».

In my view, neither of these translations is convincing: Humbach and Ichaporla simply force the syntax to make sense out of the expression, whereas Hintze has to call into play the slippery notion of "irony" in order to justify the fact that Ahura Mazdā's creation is called 'hostile'¹³. If one applies to *paitiša*- the same meaning witnessed by N. 83.7-8 a more straightforward translation is possible: 'Ahura Mazdā will be distressed [on the odd indicative present cf. Hintze (1994: 295-296)] creating **additional** [i.e. other, new] creatures', because if Fraṇrasiian mixes up everything Ahura Mazdā will have to perform another creation to restore the world.

If this interpretation is correct, the adjective YAv. *paitiša*- 'additional' can represent a good parallel for OP *patisa*- in § 70, suggesting that the latter could be an adjective as well. In this perspective, the first two instances of *patisām* should be interpreted as a predicative adjective agreeing in case and gender with *dipiçiyam* and *nipaiḏanam*,

¹³ Cf. HINTZE (1995: 284-285).

and the third *patis̥*[...] at the end of l. 90 should be inflected according to the following noun.

In conclusion, from a purely comparative point of view, two different word-forms can be identified: an adverb ‘in front, towards’ Av. *paitiša*, OP *patis̥a* and an adjective ‘additional’ Av. *paitiša-*, OP *patis̥a-*. Both meanings are conceivable developments within the semantic sphere of the Iranian particle *pati*: cf. OP *pati*¹⁴ ‘zu, bei, an’ and *pati*² «Adverb mit weiterführender und steigender Bedeutung» (Schmitt 2014: 230-231). However, in absence of an assured etymology, it is difficult to clarify the relationship between the two forms¹⁴.

4.3. *gršiyatai* (?) <g-r-[š̥]-ø-ʾi²-y-t-i-y¹> ‘(it) is filed’

This is the best reading and restoration I could think of based on the available traces, but I do not regard it as totally satisfactory. In what follows, I will attempt to illustrate the reasoning behind the choice of this solution, which should be considered as a mere working hypothesis.

I regard as quite sure, in light of the new reading discussed above, that we are dealing with a passive present rather than a past form. In fact, the absence of an augment has always puzzled interpreters, and most of them tried to avoid the problem by postulating a construction with a past participle and the verb *āha* ‘it was’ (cf. Schmitt 1991: 74 mentioning earlier proposals and accepting Hinz’s *gr*[*ftam*]). Actually, the traces on the stone are rather compatible with a present ending *-tai*. We could be dealing with a passive present used instead of the imperfect to indicate a condition which was already true when § 70 was being written. Unfortunately, the Elamite version lacks a counterpart for this verb, so that the identification of the exact OP form is highly conjectural¹⁵.

¹⁴ The connection with Av. *paitiianc-* proposed by BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 836, so Av. *paitiša-* < **patīc-ya-*, cf. HUMBACH & ICHAPORIA 1998: 139) is disproved by the fact that the expected OP outcome would be **patis̥iya-*. One should not exclude a proto-form **patis̥a-* from a verbal root **aiš-* ‘to move towards’ or ‘seek, desire’ (e.g. Ved. *gav-iṣā-* ‘wishing for cows’). On the verbal stem *paiti-iṣa-* in Avestan cf. KELLENS (1976 *passim*).

¹⁵ This omission could be due to an error, cf. LECOQ (1974: 74) «Il se pourrait bien que le graveur élamite ait omis un terme en copiant son modèle. Le mot *kudda* ‘et’ est en effet répété six fois en l’espace de trois lignes [...] et il est le dernier de la ligne [...]: le scribe s’est alors trompé de *kudda* et a omis un mot, probablement un verbe».

From a purely logical point of view, a plausible perspective is that the text refers to the fact that the narration carved in Old Persian on the rock of Mt. Bisotun ‘is (also) kept’, by means of parchment scrolls and clay tablets, in the royal archives. This would have ensured its preservation and would have discouraged anybody from trying to destroy or alter Darius’ inscription, which is in line with the admonition to posterity contained in the previous section of DB/OP IV.

In light of the initial <g-r> (if this is really the correct reading instead of <d^u-v>!), the solution I propose is the Ir. root **graṣ-* ‘to tie’ (Ved. *grath-* ‘id.’), already taken into consideration by Kent (1952: 14b) and Harmatta (1966: 277-278). In this case **graṣ-* can hardly mean ‘to compose (a literary work)’ as proposed by Kent, and I am inclined to accept Harmatta’s idea that somehow it refers to the *realia* involved in the filing procedure of documents, though not in the way envisaged by him (*ibid.* 258). The passive stem *gr̥šiya-* would represent the OP counterpart of MP *giših-* <gyšyh> ‘to be tied’ (Ppt. *gišt* < **gr̥šta-*), better attested in the prefixed form *hangiših-* ‘to be connected, to immediately follow’ (cf. Henning 1933: 181; Henning-Ghilain 1937: 377)¹⁶. In the Persepolis administrative texts there are some occurrences of the Elamite verb *rabba-* ‘to tie, to bind’ with reference to documents, but the context is not clear enough to decide whether it means ‘to attach’ a document to another one – which would not work well in DB § 70 – or ‘to close with a knot’ for sealing¹⁷. It is worth mentioning

¹⁶ In M 28 I R i 31 *čē-tān Ahrimen u-š bazzagih hangiš pus ī yazdān* SKJÆRVØ (1995: 245) translates ‘why to Ahrimen and his sin did you *assign the son of god(s)?’ and proposes for *hangiš* a different etymology (< **kaiš-*, Av. *cinasti* ‘assign’) «which would make sense in our passage, although it does not quite fit the cosmological passage [i.e. the other attestation of the same verb where it means ‘to follow immediately, to be connected’, M.F.]» (*ibid.* 248). The solution adopted by DE BLOIS (2020: 162) ‘for the son(s) of the gods bound your devil and his sin’, where ‘yours’ refers to the followers of the religion criticized in this strophe, seems better to me.

¹⁷ The verb occurs in two contexts. The first is the sentence *haltap hi battiziknuš-e rabbaka ŠĀ-ma dak* (PF 231, PF-NN 1871, Fort. 607-101), found at the end of some “memoranda” and variously translated as ‘the copy of this *haltap* was “bound”, and the ŠĀ-mi was deposited’ (HALLOCK 1969: 128), ‘was diese Tonurkunde (betrifft): ihre Abschrift is zusammengebunden worden und wurde [mit der Tontafel] zusammen abgelegt’ (HINZ-KOCH 1987: 609), ‘this tablet was tied to its copy and deposited together (with it)’ (HENKELMAN 2008: 162 fn. 352), ‘the tablet, including its bound copy (or: its copy bound [to it])’

that the practice of folding and tying documents with a string before sealing them is well attested for Aramaic parchments and papyri from the Achaemenid period¹⁸. So, in DB § 70 ‘it is tied’ could refer by extension to the fact that the new version of the Bisotun narration, in the moment when Darius ideally talks to the future reader, is safely filed and sealed both on clay tablets (closed in their *pavasta*-, lit. ‘cover, envelope’) and on parchment scrolls¹⁹.

Another option is that the verb ‘to tie’ acquired the technical meaning of ‘to store, to archive’ because, when a group of consistent documents were deposited in an archive, they were tied together. A very nice parallel for this semantics is found in English ‘to file’ < French *filer* lit. ‘to string’, i.e. to string documents on a thread or wire to keep them in order.

4.4. *nipaiṣanam* <n-i-p-i-ṭ-n-m> lit. ‘act of writing’

This new word, which is perfectly readable in the expression *patiṣam-šai nipaiṣanam akunavam* ‘and I added a “signature” to it’, can easily be analysed as a neuter deverbative noun with *-ana-* suffix from the verb *ni-paiṣ-* ‘to write’, according to a very common pattern of nominal derivation well attested in OP (*ā-yad-ana-* ‘place of worship’, *ham-ar-ana-* ‘battle’, *ā-vah-ana-* ‘village’) as well as in Avestan

was deposited (i.e., submitted or filed for later compilation?)’ (AZZONI & STOLPER 2015: 45 fn. 39). A literal translation could be ‘this tablet, a copy of it was “tied” and deposited in/with it’, without it being clear what ‘in/with it’ refers to (the original? the load of goods the text is about?). Anyway, I do not see the point in binding the exact copy of a document to the original one, so either *battiziknuš* refers to an Aramaic copy of the Elamite text or *rabbaka* means something different than ‘to attach’. The second kind of attestation is found in “journals”, where one encounters simply *halmi inni rabbaka* (PF 1954) ‘a sealed document was not attached [?]’ (HALLOCK 1969: 558) or *halmi inni rabbaka kudda inni Daddama inni nuku tiriš kuš nuku marriut* (Fort. 2046-102) ‘no sealed document was attached [?], and so they told neither Daddama nor us until we took it’ (so M. Stolper in a note to the edition on the OCHRE platform). Again, the context is unclear, and STOLPER (2017: 753) referred to the sentence in Fort. 2016-102 as problematic and put a question mark on the translation ‘attached’.

¹⁸ Cf. NAVEH & SHAKED (2012: 38) and GARRISON & KAPTAN (2020: 1-8 *passim*, especially fn. 10).

¹⁹ For a similar semantic development compare Khot. *pajsiṭh-* ‘to store away’ < **patijarṣya-*, from the same root **graṣ-* (cf. EMMERICK 1968: 66).

and Vedic (cf. Debrunner 1954: 185-186). So, *nipaiḍana-* would literally mean ‘act of writing’ or ‘written thing’. However, the Elamite version in this point has the words *hiš* and *eppi*, usually interpreted as ‘name and titlature’ (see above the notes to l. 90b), neither of which corresponds to the expected meaning of *nipaiḍana-*. The most obvious conclusion is that we are dealing with a technical term, elliptically referring to an especially prototypical act of writing. This could either be the writing of one’s name, only corresponding to Elam. *hiš*, or the writing of the royal protocol (so *nipaiḍana-* = ‘title, epigraph’), rendering the whole Elamite expression *hiš kudḍa eppi*. The choice between these two alternatives, representing two equally plausible semantic developments, depends on the identification of the following word of the OP version, for which I have no solution (see again above). In this article, I chose the provisional translation of “signature” between quotes, simply because the English word underwent a comparable semantic evolution (ultimately from Lat. *signare* ‘to mark with a sign’), but it should be considered as a non-committal solution awaiting a more valid proposal.

4.5. *hamāuxḍatā* <h-m-a-u-x-ḍ-t-a> ‘repeated’ or ‘learned’

This new reading settles once and for all the matter of the correspondence between the Elamite verb *sapi-* ‘to copy, to repeat’ and its OP counterpart, for which several restorations have been proposed (cf. Baghbidi 2009: 52-53 for a synopsis of earlier proposals). I take the verb as an inchoative present from the root *vac-* ‘to say’ or *auc-* ‘id.’, with double preverb *ham-* and *ā-*: so IIr. **ham-ā-a-uk-sḥ-atā* (Impf. Mid.3.Sg.). Apparently, this formation was continued in MP, where a stem *hamōxs-* ‘to learn’ (or *hamuxs-*, MPM <hmwx>) is attested as the passive counterpart of the more common *hamōxtan* ‘to teach’²⁰.

²⁰ The discovery of the OP form reveals that the commonly accepted etymology for MP *hamōxtan* is wrong. The most widespread view (cf. GHILAIN 1939: 80; WEBER 1970: 97; MACKENZIE 1971 s.v. *hammōz-* and CHEUNG 2007: 270) is that *hamōxtan* derives from an Iranian root **mauc-*. However, the OP verb proves that this cannot be the case, because the augment placed before a root **mauc-* should give a spelling such as **<h-m-m-°>*. An etymology **ham-vac-* was accepted by HENNING (1933: 170), quoting earlier literature whereas a derivation from **ham-auc-* was proposed by CANTERA (1995: 563; cf. especially

The semantic development ‘to repeat’ > ‘to learn’ is straightforward, but it cannot be decided whether OP *hamvac-/hamauc-* had already taken the meaning of MP *hamōxtan* ‘to teach’/*hamōxs-* ‘to learn’ or still preserved the idea of ‘saying repeatedly’, which would work better with Elam. *sapi*-²¹.

The identification of this new OP word confirms N. Sims-Williams’ sharp intuition (Sims-Williams 1981: 7) that the OP verb *rax-ḡatu* (DNb, l. 60), attested in a very fragmentary context, should be regarded as an inchoative formation with OP *-xḡ-* < Ir. **-x-sć-* from the same root as Sogd. *āraxs-* ‘to take refuge’ (cf. Cheung 2007: 190 s.v. **Hrak-*) or Khot. *ārīs-* ‘to decrease’, *pārīs-* ‘to diminish’ (cf. Cheung 2007: 191-192 s.v. **Hranj-*). The establishment of the OP outcome of the IIr. **-sć-* suffix in post-consonantal position allows to confirm and complete the currently accepted reconstruction of the development of this cluster²². The outcome *-ḡ-* alternates with *-s-* according to the position within the word, the latter being restricted to the sole intervocalic context. As was rightly understood by Nyberg (1931: 214, see fn. 22 above), this distribution suggests that at some point the two variants were distinguished by a simple vs. geminate opposition. In particular, the intervocalic position was the only context where a geminate conso-

Sogd. *ywc-* ‘to teach’ and *ywx-* ‘to learn’ and Khot. *nyūj-* ‘to teach’ and *nyūs-* ‘to learn’, linked to the same root IIr. *Hauč-* by CHEUNG, 2007: 216-217, 270). The simplification of the double prefix *ham-ā-* to *ham-* alone in the MP form has a parallel in the pair OP *pati-ā-vah-* ‘to pray’ > MP *paywāh-* ‘id.’ (cf. FATTORI 2023: 703-704).

²¹ A translation ‘lernen’ for Elamite *sapi-*, still upheld in HINZ-KOCH (1987: 1064), is hardly acceptable. It is quite clear from attestations in administrative context that *sapi-* means ‘to reiterate, to copy’, that its nominal derivative *sapsap* means ‘copy’ and that the *pubu parsippe tuppime sapimanpa* attested in several texts (see HINZ-KOCH 1987 *ibid.*) are ‘Persian “boys” (who) are copying texts’ (so HALLOCK 1969) rather than ‘Schriftlerlerner’.

²² Cf. LUBOTSKY (2001: 49), quoting an old reconstruction proposed by NYBERG (1931) according to which one should postulate for common Iranian a sound-change IIr. **-č-* > Ir. **-s-* and IIr. **-sć-* > Ir. **-ss-*, followed by a specific OP development Ir. **-s-* > OP *-ḡ-* in some contexts «which is perfectly understandable in view of the fact that PIIr. **s* yielded Ir. **h* in most positions» (so LUBOTSKY 2001 *ibid.*). In my view, it is more economic to skip an intermediate stage passing through **s* and recognize that a palatal phoneme **č* survived until the common Iranian stage. On this subject cf. also GERSHEVITCH (1964 *passim*), who refuted Nyberg’s hypothesis and defended the idea of a synchronic co-existence of *s* and *z* beside *ḡ* and *ḍ* as outcomes of Ir. **č* and **j* in Achaemenid Old Persian (*ibid.* 13).

nant (here tentatively represented by *-ćć-) could survive, whereas in initial, pre- and post-consonantal position, where gemination is impossible, the sequence merged with the simple *-ć- and regularly developed into OP -ǧ-, as shown in the following scheme:

IIr. *-VśćV-	> Ir. *-VććV-	> OP -s-	e.g. IIr. *yasća- > Ir. *yaćća- > OP <i>yasa-</i> 'to take', Ved. <i>yaccha-</i>
IIr. *#śćV-	> Ir. *#ćV-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *śadaya- > Ir. *ćadaya- > OP <i>ǧadaya-</i> 'to appear', Ved. <i>chadaya-</i>
IIr. *-CśćV-	> Ir. *-CćV-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *°uksća- > Ir. *°uxća- > OP ° <i>uxǧa-</i>
IIr. *-VśćC-	> Ir. *-VćC-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *tusćyá- > Ir. *tućyá- > OP * <i>tuǧiya-ka-</i> > MP <i>tuhīg</i> 'empty', Ved. <i>tucchyá-</i>

Marco Fattori

Dipartimento di Lettere e culture moderne

Sapienza Università di Roma

marco.fattori@uniroma1.it

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