

used as though itself also a feminine; for case formation, see Lex. s.v. *nāman*-. Typical examples: DB 2.29f *Dādaršiš nāma Arminiya manā badaka avam fraišayam Arminam* 'Dadarshi by name, an Armenian, my subject—him I sent forth to Armenia.'

DB 1.58f *Sikayawatiš nāmā didā Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādaiy awadašim awājanam* 'a fortress by name Sikayawati, a district by name Nisaya, in Media—there I smote him.'

These phrases are perhaps based on similar phrasings in Aramaic, which suggest this manner of expression, if indeed they are not caused merely by the difficulty of expressing clearly by case endings such a statement as that just cited, with an accumulation of locatives the relation of which to each other might be obscure: 'in the fortress Sikayawati in the district Nisaya in Media' (the same difficulty was met in expressing genealogical lines with a string of genitives; note the substitutes in DB 1.4-6 and A³Sa).

I. With names of persons, 41 occurrences (9 in a list, DB 4.8-29, and 6 in another list, DB 4.83-6). The resumptive is *haw*, *hawam* (DB 1.29), *avam*, *abiy avam* (DB 3.56f). In some passages the phrase has *āha* 'was' and makes a complete sentence (DB 1.30, 36; 4.8; XPf 18, 19); in three of these (DB 1.30; XPf 18, 19) the continuation precludes reference by resumptive pronoun. There is also no resumptive in Sa, where the name-phrase is the entire inscription, nor in the corrupt A³Pa 19f, where *nāma* is used twice with genitives (one a nominative form in genitive function). Further, the *nāma*-subject in DB 2.8f and 3.22 is not repeated by a pronoun before the verb, because a *nāma*-phrase of place intervenes, which has its own resumptive *awadā* in each passage. The six helpers of Darius (DB 4.83-6) are not followed by resumptives, because they stand in a list appositive to a preceding substantive, and are not further mentioned. Typical phrasings are those of DB 2.29f (quoted above) and of 1.77f *I martiya Bābiruiya Naditabaira nāma Ainairahyā puça haw udapatatā Bābiraw* 'One man, a Babylonian, Nidintu-Bel by name, son of Ainaira—he rose up in Babylon.' A preceding *I martiya*, as in this passage, is the only generic term used for persons. The most interesting example is DB 3.12-4, where the nominative *nāma*-phrase stands after the verb and functions as direct object, without resump-

tive: *pasāva adam fraišayam Dādaršiš nāma Pārsa manā badaka Bāxtriya xšaçaṣpāvā abiy avam* 'Afterward I sent forth a Persian by name Dadarshi, my subject, satrap in Bactria, against him (= Frada).'

II. With names of places, 32 occurrences. The common sequence is typified by DB 2.39 *Tigra nāmā didā Armⁿiyaⁱy awadā hamaranam akunana* 'A stronghold by name Tigra, in Armenia—there they made battle.' A more elaborate phrase is in DB 1.58f, quoted above. After the place name and *nāma* or *nāmā* follows a generic name, then commonly but not always a locative stating the governmental province in which the place is located (replaced in DB 1.92 by *anw Ufrātuwā* 'beside the Euphrates'), and then a resumptive adverb. The generic names are *dahyāuš* 'district, province', *didā* 'fortress, stronghold', *wardanam* 'town', *āvahanam* 'village', *kaufa* 'mountain', *rawta* 'river'. The resumptive adverbs are *awadā* 'there', *hacā awadaša* 'from there' (DB 1.37, 3.79; DSf 47), *hacā awanā* 'from that (mountain)' (DSf 31), *awaparā* 'along there' (DB 2.72). The aberrant example is DZc 9 *hacā Pīrāva nāma rawta* 'from a river by name Nile', where the nominative phrase functions as an ablative depending on *hacā*.

§313. THE ARTAXERXES GENEALOGIES take a form not found in earlier inscriptions; type, 'A son of B son of C son of D, an Achaemenian'. Since 'Achaemenian' applies to 'A', it is clear that the intervening phrases are dependent phrases (not independent sentences, as they are sometimes translated). This makes a difficulty in OP, for a succession of genitives from 'B' to 'D' would hardly be intelligible; therefore the appositive *puça* 'son' is always in the nominative, as are other embarrassing appositives (cf. §257, §312).

I. Inscriptions AI, A³Sa, A²Sc, A²Ha, A²He have genealogies of the type found in A³Sa 1-3: *Artaxšaça... Dārayawaušahyā XŠhyā puça Dārayawaušahyā Artaxšaça^hyā XŠhyā puça Artaxšaça^hyā XŠayārcahyā XŠhyā puça XŠayārcahyā Dārayawaušahyā XŠhyā puça D[ārayawaušahyā V³tāspahyā puça Haxamān²šiya*.¹ In this the first phrase of parentage is grammatically correct; in the second, the gen. *Dārayawaušahyā* is repeated as a basis for clarity, and the appositive *puça* is in the nom. (see above), with proper depending

¹ The neologisms in the passage are treated in §57.

genitives; further phrases are of the type of the second. At the end, 'Achaemenian' is appositive to the initial 'Artaxerxes'. We may imitate this scheme in English, as follows: 'Artaxerxes, . . . son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Artaxerxes the King, of Artaxerxes (who was) son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.'²

II. The inscriptions A²Sb, A²Sd, A²Hb, AsH, A³Pa have a different scheme, in which the nominative of the royal name replaces the genitive. Only A³Pa is truly cogent, for the others have only these slightly varying versions of 'son of Darius the King': A²Sb *Dārayawauš XŠyā puça*, A²Sd *Dārayawauš XŠāhyā puça*, A²Hb *Dārayawauš XŠ puçā*; and 'son of Ariaramnes the King', in AsH *Ariyāramna xšāyabiyahyā puça*. But A³Pa has a full lineage from Artaxerxes III back to Arsames, and uses the nominative for all royal names except for Hystaspes, also replacing the genitive of 'king' by nom. *xšāyabiya*, like XŠ in A²Hb. Apparently OP had by this time become virtually a dead language employed only in writing ceremonial official records, its spoken form having suffered a wearing down of the endings (seen very clearly in Pahlavi). With the loss of the genitive ending it was natural to employ the nominative as a general case, as it had already been thus used in appositions. The gen. *V²šāspahyā* probably persisted because in the earlier inscriptions available to the scribes of Artaxerxes I and later the name of Hystaspes occurred much more frequently in the genitive than in the nominative, and the scribes therefore used the familiar form in the inscriptions which they composed.

Another use of the nominative as genitive is seen in A²Sa 4 [*vašnā* : *AM* : *Anah²ta* [: *u*]ā : *M²θra*] 'by the favor of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras' (so also in A²Ha, restored), where the occurrence of the same forms as nominatives in lines 4f sets a model; though the position of the gaps makes it possible to restore the genitive endings in A²Sa, their insertion would make the line unduly long.

§314. ANACOLUTHON is the use of a grammatical element in a form which does not find its justifi-

cation in the remainder of the sentence. This occurs in OP in connection with *nāma*-phrases (§312) with genealogies (§313), with relative clauses, and occasionally elsewhere.

(a) A relative clause may have a preceding general antecedent in the nominative,¹ and a following resumptive pronoun in the logical case: DB 1.21f *martiya hya agraia āha awam ubartam abaram*, where the nom. *martiya* is resumed and set in proper syntactical relation by the acc. *awam*; DNa 48-50 *aita tya kartam awa visam vašnā Auramazdāha akunawam*, where acc. *awa* repeats the presumably nom. *aita*;² DNb 16f *martiya hya hataxataiy anu-dim* [*ha*] *kartahyā awabā-dim paribārāmiy*, where nom. *martiya* is resumed by acc. *-dim* (expressed twice).

(b) In AmH the misuse of cases seems to rest upon *iyam dahyāuš Pārsā* (for *Pārsa*, §53) 'this country Persia' in line 5, after which the resumptive *awam* is lacking in 6 as object of *frābara* in 7. From *iyam dahyāuš Pārsā* comes the nominative for locative in line 2, *xšāyabiya Pārsā* 'king in Persia', and in lines 8f *xšāyabiya iyam dahyāuš* 'king in this country'.

(c) A relative and its antecedent are both omitted in XPh 30-2 *astiy atar aitā dahyāva tya iy upariy nipištā ayauā* 'there is (= 'was', §285) among these provinces which (are) inscribed above (one which) was in turmoil'.

§315. FEATURES OF OP STYLE. While OP had no developed literary style, and probably many of its fashions of expression are taken over direct from Aramaic, lingua franca of the ancient Orient, still there are some peculiarities which may be listed as stylistic: the use of the naming phrases (§312), anacoluthon and its phenomena of resumptive pronouns and adverbs (§314), asyndeton between main clauses and between coordinate parts of subordinate clauses (§290, §291), certain types of omissions (§§275-6), chiasmus (§317), riming phrases (§318), the use of the neuter singular as predicate to a masculine (§259), the repetition of *mā* with successive subjects in a pro-

¹ More commonly without the preceding antecedent, as in DB 4.50f *tyaiy parwā xšāyabiya yātā āha awaišām awā* (= *awabā*, §52.VI) *naiy astiy kartam* 'who (were) the former kings, as long as they were, by them thus has not been done . . .'. ² But in XPh 43-5 *aita tya adam akunawam visam vašnā Auramazdāha akunawam* I take *aita* as acc., since a resumptive *awa* is lacking.

² Cf. J. R. Ware, TAPA 55.56-7; a different view on the syntax of these genealogies is expressed by E. H. Sturtevant, JAOS 48.66-73.

hibition (§292.b), abnormal position of adjectives (§306), variation in order of predicate noun and the copula (§307).

§316. STYLISTIC OMISSIONS occur in OP, especially of the copula when there is a predicate adjective or phrase; cf. §275, §276. Examples: DB 1.5f *Cišpāiš pitā* (sc. *āha*) *Haxāmaniš*; 1.9 VIII *manā taumāyā* (sc. *āha**) *tyaiy* . . .; 1.10 *adam* (sc. *amiy*) *navama*; 1.13 *imā* (sc. *ha^rtiy*) *dahyāva tyaiy* . . .; 1.15 *tyaiy drayahyā* (sc. *ha^rtiy*); or possibly *dāraya^rtiy*, cf. XPh 23f); 1.27 *ima* (sc. *astiy*) *tya manā kartam* (sc. *astiy*).

The pronoun 'that' is omitted before an immediately following relative, as in DB 1.27 *ima tya manā kartam* 'this (is that) which (was) done by me'.

Another type of stylistic omission is found when a clause is repeated, and one or more words of the prior clause are not repeated in the second, but are to be understood from the prior clause. Thus DNb 35-7 *yaciy vaināmiy hamičiyam yaciy naiy vaināmiy* (sc. *hamičiyam*) 'whatever I see (to be) rebellious, whatever I see (to be) not (rebellious)'; and similarly in DNb 38-40.

§317. CHIASMUS, or change of order in corresponding pairs so as to give the sequence a-b—b-a, suits the shift in emphasis which attends the repetition; it occurs several times in the OP texts. DSf 12f *hya manā pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma hya manā* [n]yāka 'my father Hystaspes and Arsames

my grandfather'. DSf 36f *tya ida akariya* comes at the end of its sentence, 38 *hya idā karta* comes immediately after the subject, 40 *hya idā karta* comes at the end of its sentence. XPh 47f *šiyāta ahaniy jiva utā marta artāvā ahaniy* 'happy may I be while living, and when dead blessed may I be'; but there is no such variation in the order when the ideas are repeated in 54-6. On DNb 34, 41-4, see §307.

§318. RIMING PHRASES are sometimes used in OP for the expression of semantic coordinates, even though the coordinate words are of different grammatical forms; but we must not assume that the OP vowels gave as precise rimes in pronunciation as they do in writing. The following examples may be cited:

DB 1.20 *xšapa-vā rauca-pati-vā* 'by either night or day', in which *xšapa-* is gen. and *rauca-* is acc.

DPe 13f *tyaiy uškahyā utā tyaiy drayahyā* 'those which are of the mainland and those which are beside the sea', where a gen. in **ahyā* is paired with a loc. in **ahi* + *-ā*.

DB 4.56 (and 4.75) *utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam jivā* 'and may family be unto thee in abundance, and do thou live long', where opt. *biyā* rimes with inv. **jivā*.

DNa 44f *parāgmatā*, nom. sg. fem. of the past participle, and 47 *patiyaqatā*, 3d sg. inf. ind. mid., occur at the ends of successive corresponding sentences.

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 25: 304a
 28f: 250.n1; 306.I
 29f: 290
 30: 261.III
 32: 304a
 32-4: 251D
 33: 254
 36: 304a
 38: 250B; 276.I; 288
 XPg 10: 269
 XPh 16: 271
 17: 274b
 23f: 316
 29: 299; 304a; 311
 30: 285; 310.I
 30f: 258.IV
 30-2: 314c
 31: 267.VI
 35f: 296; 305b; 311
 38f: 302d
 39: 279.Ia; 296 bis; 305b
 43: 266; 267.I
 43-5: 314.n2
 45f: 304f
 47: 276.II; 278.Ic; 278.IIIa; 302d
 47f: 308; 317
 48: 276.II; 278.Ic; 283
 49: 264
 50: 279.Ia
 50f: 252.I
 51f: 264
 51-6: 285; 301b
 53f: 252.I

- 54-6: 317
 55: 276.III
 55f: 276.II
 XSc 3: 304b; 310.VII
 4: 266
 XV 22: 296; 305b
 23f: 282a
 A¹I: 313.I
 D³Sa 1: 251C; 255
 A²Sa: 312; 313.I, II
 1-3: 313.I
 3: 311.I
 4: 269; 311.I; 313.II
 4f: 291.I; 313.II
 5: 278.Ib
 A³Sb: 313.II bis
 A³Sc: 313.I
- A²Sd: 313.II bis
 3: 311.III
 A²Ha: 313.I, II
 5f: 291.I
 7: 278.Ib
 A²Hb: 251C; 255; 313.II ter
 A²Hc: 313.I
 14f: 312.n1
 A³Pa: 313.II ter
 5f: 247E
 19f: 312.I
 22f: 250B
 23: 269
 26: 250B
 Wa 1: 252D
 Wc 1: 251C
 Sa: 312.I

PART II. THE TEXTS

This part contains first a summary description of the inscriptions, with their special bibliography; certain inscriptions extant in Elamite or in Akkadian or in both, but not in OP, are listed in

the bibliography, but only to explain a gap in the alphabetic labeling of the OP inscriptions.

Then follow the OP texts, each attended by notes of critical and exegetical nature, if needed, and by translation.

DESCRIPTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Bibliographical items of 1906 and earlier are given only for special reasons, but may be traced in Wb. KIA and elsewhere.

AmH = **ARIARAMNES, HAMADAN**: A slightly incomplete OP text in 10 lines, on a gold tablet; there is no evidence that the lost part of the tablet held Elam. and Akk. versions. Hz. AMI 2.117-27 (1930), 4.132-9 (1932), 8.17-35 (1938), ApI 1-2 No. 1 (1938); Hz. Die Goldtafel des Ariyaramna, in Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 52.3.52-5, with plate (1931); HHSchaeder, SbPAW 1931.635-45, 1935.494-8; WBrandenstein, WZKM 39.13-9 (1932); Bv. Gr. §3 (1931); RGKent, JAOS 56.215 (1936); Sen, OPI 176-7 (1941); Sidney Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV 122-3 (1944); RGKent, JAOS 66.206-12 (1946). See also §18, with note 2.

AsH = **ARSAMES, HAMADAN**: OP only, 14 lines, on a gold tablet in three pieces, complete except for lower right corner; about 9 x 13 cm.; found at Hamadan; see §18, with note 2. Sidney Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV 122 (1944); RGKent, JAOS 66.209-12 (1946); AUPope, The Illustrated London News, July 17 1948, pp. 58-9. On exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi (Paris), in the summer of 1948, where it was No. 54 of the Catalogue Illustré (no date).

CMA = **CYRUS, MURGHAB A**: 5 or more copies of a trilingual inscription, OP two lines, Elam. and Akk. one line each, on columns and pillars of the palace. Wb. ZDMG 48.653-65 (1894), KIA xxviii-xxix, lxvii-lxix, 126-7 (1911); Hz. Klio 8.60 (1906); Jn. Persia Past and Present 281-2 (1908); Trn. Lex. 55-6 (1908); Sen, OPI 1 (1941); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

CMB = **CYRUS, MURGHAB B**: A number of

small fragments of a trilingual inscription, OP at least 6 lines, Elam. and Akk. 4 lines each, which stood above the royal figure in the doorways of the palace. Hz. ApI 2-4 No. 3 and Plate 2 (1938); Sen, OPI 239 (1941); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

CMc = **CYRUS, MURGHAB C**: A trilingual inscription, each version in one line, on the folds of the king's garments in three doorways of the palace; the OP text now entirely destroyed. Hz. AMI 1.14-6 (1929); ApI 2 No. 2 and Plate 1 fig. 2 (1938); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

DB = **DARIUS, BEHISTAN**: The inscription of Behistan, trilingual, is inscribed on the face of a gorge in the cliff rising on the left-hand side of the main caravan route from Baghdad to Teheran, about 65 miles before reaching Hamadan. Here, at the height of about 225 feet (obliquely 322 feet) above the road, the last 100 feet being steep and difficult rock-climbing—the final portion being in part cut smooth by Darius's orders, to prevent access by vandals—sculptures and accompanying inscriptions are engraved in the natural rock. The panel of the sculptures contains at the left the standing figure of Darius, with two attendants behind him; his right foot is firmly planted on the prostrate figure of Gaumata. Beyond Gaumata stand in line the captive rebels, 9 in number, with hands tied behind their backs and a rope around their necks linking them together. Above, there is a figure of the God Ahuramazda. The inscriptions in OP, Elam., and Akk. occupy the free parts of the panel and its lower margin, as well as the spaces below, to right, to left, and diagonally below to the left. These have suffered both from erosion by water torrents and by limestone incrustations deposited by water in and over the engraved characters. Further damage was suffered