Trends in Iranian Studies

By H. W. Bailey

The technical term Iranian or Iranic is now widely known. But I should indicate here how I shall use it. In origin the word Iranian is derived from the ancient Persian word arya- which, in the Old Persian inscriptions, Dareios (in 521 B.C.) used of his people. From arya- the genitive plural was aryanam xša*θ*ra- 'the dominion of the Aryas' of their own kingdom. This in turn later became (Parthian) aryān šahr and (Persian) ērān šahr whence modern Persian, the Fārsī language, made Īrān šahr, and selected Īrān for the name of their own land without the word šahr. A second word was the adjective aryana-, occurring in the oldest Zoroastrian text, the *Avesta,* and used of their original homeland airyanəm vaējō 'Aryana expanse' in the first chapter of their book Vidēvdāt or Vendidād. From Iran the technical term Iranian or Iranic has been created by comparative grammarians to refer to all the languages and traditions connected with the Arya people of Persia (Iran). A derivative adjective ārya- was used also in ancient Indian books, so that it has been usual at times to use Aryan for the (originally one) language of ancient Persia and ancient India. In our oldest texts a large part of their vocabulary is either identical, as āp 'water', mātar 'mother', dā- 'to give', or only phonetically divergent, as svasar-, hvahar- 'sister', dhā-, dā- 'to put', soma-, hauma- 'sacred juice'.

For this unitary Aryan period we use generally the more technical term Indo-Iranian.

There was another branch, Nūristānī, of this people whose language has been recorded only last century and this century in the land previously called Kāfiristān and later Nūristān. Here four languages have been described this century under the names Aškun, Waigali, Prasun and Kati. In phonetic development the words are nearer to Iranian than to Indian, but the vocabulary tends to be more Indian. I shall not be concerned with them here, they are a little-studied people of the mountains of north Afghanistan.

In the land of Mitanni of the ancient Ḫurri people of ancient Mesopotamia many words and names are found identical with words in our oldest Persian and Indian texts. The name of the god Mitra occurs about 1400 B.C. with other divine names in a treaty. The word myazda- occurs about 1200 B.C. in a proper name where we have the same word as in the Iranian myazda- 'solid offering' of the *Avesta,* but more archaic with its

-azd- group of sounds than the corresponding oldest Indian miyedha-, where -edh- has replaced older -azdh-.

These words in Hurrian and others in the Hittite language of the Hittite empire, dominant from 1800–1200 B.C., attest the Iranian language 3,400 years ago. From that time we find ever increasing traces of Iranian till in the Avestan books and the Old Persian inscriptions we have two distinct dialects of Iranian.

It is particularly interesting that in Persia (Iran) there is a greater interest now in their own history before Islam. There is in Iran a small group of scholars intent upon the study of the older traditions. Miss Gharib in Shiraz was able to publish the first study of a newly discovered Old Persian inscription found in Persepolis. Later Sasanian books are being worked at in an Institute in Teheran called the Bonyād i Irān i bāstān.

The Iranian vocabulary has preserved many bases in verbal use of which only an isolated word has been kept in Old Indian, and often no trace is found. For the wider study of the Indo-European vocabulary Iranian has therefore an important contribution to make.

Of these Iranian bases I will mention here a selection. Thus we have au- 'to wear clothes', aθ- 'be violent, ar- 'to grind', kan- 'to cover', kap- 'to enclose', kas- 'to diminish', kyā- 'to be quiet', gaip- 'to twist', tau- 'to ferment', taus- 'to empty', gau- 'to move', gaud- 'to cover', tap- 'to make carpets', tarp- 'to steal', θang- 'to stretch', dam- 'to make', dā- 'to cut', draig- 'to be wretched', drag- 'to hold', nay- 'to churn butter', naiz- 'to be ill', nar- 'to be able', pas- 'to fasten', fan- 'to descend', bar- 'to cut', baz- 'to extend', barg- 'to honour', mad- 'to treat medically', yāh- 'to put on a belt', vad- 'to lead', van- 'to throw', varz- 'to work', raz- 'to leave', san- 'to rise', sauk- 'to call', sar 'to satisfy', skar- 'to hunt', stau- 'to thicken', star- 'to go on an expedition', san- 'to shake', har- 'to protect', hvah- 'to strike', zand- 'to sing,' zār- 'to sing', zar- 'to pity', zgad- 'to move', zgar- 'to run', and others.

Nominal bases also occur in Iranian which are not known in Old Indian. Thus I can cite uš- 'intelligence', kīśśana- 'abundant', buza- 'goat', yav- 'eternity', raugna- 'oil', sav- 'morning', stara- 'the starling bird', karasta- 'skin, bark', sčan- 'goat', iza- 'skin', and others.

The depletion of the Old Indian vocabulary can be observed within the Indian tradition itself. Many verbs used in the older texts cease to be current after the Vedic period. Many isolated words are found in Vedic texts.

The oldest Iranian texts are preserved in the Achaemenian inscriptions of ancient Persia (from Kuros, Cyrus 558 B.C. to Dareios III 335–330), and in the books called *Avesta* preserved by the followers of the ancient Iranian prophet Zoroaster (Zaraθuštra-, in Sanskrit Jaraśastra-) in Iran and India. The Greeks recorded a few words of the Median language.

Our extant *Avesta* survives as a fragment from a much larger collection

of books, lost after the Arabs came to Iran.

The amount of this old material is impressive, but the vocabulary is still scanty. Many words of the later Iranian texts are not found in the extant *Avesta*, still less in Old Persian, such as such a word as āma- 'raw, uncooked'. The base braz- 'to compose verse for the religious cult' is found in Old Persian brazmaniya-, but is absent from the *Avesta*. We must often go to the later dialects for traces of the oldest Iranian vocabulary. If a word occurs in Persian, Parthian, Sogdian and Saka we can accept the word as being old.

At the end of last century and the first decades of this century there were spectacular discoveries of lost Iranian books in Central Asia (Eastern Turkestan). The pre-Turkish civilization of the Tarim Basin from Kashghar to Lou-lan began to be known from local documents.

But before these discoveries the Iranian field was represented after the Old Persian inscriptions and the *Avesta* by inscriptions in northern and southern dialects of Persia which were called Parthian and Persian, by books from the Sasanian period before the Arabs came in the 7th century, and by a copious mass of loan-words in adjacent languages. These loan-words were particularly valuable for the early Parthian and Sasanian periods. The Greeks and Romans took over many Parthian and Persian words, some fully assimilated, others cited as foreign words. Armenian had a royal Parthian dynasty of Arsacid origin, and the earliest Armenian written literature abounds in Iranian words in spelling which corresponds to about 300 B.C., when the final syllables of Iranian ending in -a-, -ai-, and -u-, were still intact. From Armenian about a thousand Iranian words could then be recovered. There are other Iranian loan-words in Georgian. In Syrian writers also used many Iranian words. When the Arab writers began to write Persian history they brought an abundance of Persian words into Arabic, to add to the numerous Persian words familiar to pre-Islamic Arab poets. Iranian words had also been found in ancient Indian inscriptions of Asoka down to Toramana (500 A.D.). Words from the Iranian language of the Arsia, Aas or Ossetes are known in the 9th century Hungarian language.

In Persia the standard language had been developed and although in the Islamic period it was flooded with Arabic words, the Persian basis was maintained. It was invaluable for Iranian studies, but was written in Arabic script according to the contemporary pronunciation of the writers.

Modern Iranian dialects of Persia, Afghanistan and the Ossetic of the Caucasus were also investigated to see what help they could give to the understanding of the ancient books. In Persia the Balōči language of the south-eastern Balōčistān was particularly archaic in its system of sounds. There were also many dialects distinct from the standard Persian called Fārsī, that is, from Fārs in the south-west of Persia. In the Pamir mountains of Afghanistan three groups are known of Munjān, Shughnān and Wakhān.

The ancient Greek historian Ktēsias (about 400 B.C.), resident in Persia, wrote of the royal residence of the Saka kings in Roxanakē, modern Roshnān.

The language of ancient Samarkand survives to-day only in one valley of the Zarafshān mountains, the valley Yaghnāb. That is the modern Sogdian dialect.

With all this material collected however a peculiar problem persisted. The Sasanian Zoroastrians had inherited a type of writing which we may call heterogrammatic. Parallels can be cited. In England it was customary to write for the expression of money L.s.d., that is, the Latin librae, solidi, and denarii, but the English read this as Pounds, shillings and pence. Just such a use developed in Persia. The Aramaic scribes of the Achaemenian period, who carried on the administration of the Persian empire, wrote in Aramaic, but read out their documents to their superior officers in Persian. Gradually more and more Persian words were written till only some words, particularly the pronouns, the adverbs and the verbs were written in Aramaic. Later, vocabularies of these Aramaic words were made. The writers stated that they wrote, for example, Aramaic lahmā for 'bread', but read it as their own word nān. Added to this difficulty was the further confusion of signs of the writing which reduced 22 signs to 14. This system was called uzvārišn 'translation', and the doubtful signs made the study of these texts almost desperate. Yet it was necessary to understand the commentary on the *Avesta* written in this script.

But the new discoveries in Chinese Turkestan in the Tarim Basin and the Chinese region of Tun-huang transformed the study of Iranian.

From sand-buried cities of the Tarim region and from a room in a temple of Tun-huang at a place called Ts'ien-fu-tung in Sha-chou, a large number of manuscripts were brought to light. Here were manuscripts from pre-Muslim Persian and Parthian, from Sogdian, the speech of the merchants on the Silk Route, and from the kingdoms of the Sakas, the Sak of the Chinese records, the Saga of the Romans. Many texts in the language of the north-western Prakrit of Gandhāra, the modern Peshawar region, were found in Lou-lan, the ancient Kroraina, and many manuscripts of the two languages of the kingdoms of Kuci, modern Kuchā, and Argi, modern Karashahr, in an Indo-European language, usually now called Tokharian, a branch independent of other Indo-European languages, but possibly related to the languages once spoken north of the Black Sea, the ancient Pontic region. Much Turkish material also was found in Turfan.

These manuscripts are now scattered in many libraries and museums throughout the world. They are in Peking, here in Japan, in the United States of America, in Delhi, in Europe in various places, London, Paris, Berlin, Stockholm and Leningrad.

The discovery interested the various studies of history, language and

journey along the river Vitastā (Jhelum). Half a century later the Chorasmian scholar Al-Bairuni writing his book on India in the Arabic language gave the same name of the capital city and was drawn to make the same observation about the city's extent. The report was written during the reign of king Abhimanyugupta who reigned for 14 years from 958 to 972 A.D.

The social system of Khotan is shown by the presence of the rrund- 'king', rrīṇā- 'queen', the rrispūra- 'princes' and the rriysdutar- 'princesses'. The title bisīvrai, translating Sanskrit kulaputra 'son of the family', meant 'son of the House' and belongs to the type of society called oikarkhia in Greek, that is, 'the rule by the House'. This is the system of the 'Great House' rule with director and directrix, with their so-called 'sons' as functionaries ruling over a people. Originally it will have been a term for a tribe which had reached a patriarchal stage where the master of the Great House dominated. In Parthian times it had evolved in Iran into a system of seven Great Houses, called katak, beside the Royal House. In the Achaemenian period Dareios was head of his Viθ 'House'. In the *Avesta* there is the vīsō-puθra- 'son of the House'. In the Ossetic epic of the Caucasus the same term ustur xädzārä 'great house' is the background to the tales. From this word a title indicating high rank or nobility was derived. The term is translated in ancient Babylonian by mār bīti 'son of the house', and the phrase survived in many parts of the Iranian world, as Parthian vispuhr, Sogdian wišpuš, Persian adjective vāspuhrakān, loan-word in Dardic Ṣiṇā gušpūr, and Ossetic guppur. Used to translate kulaputra the Khotanese bisīvrai was adapted to Buddhism. They used bisīviraa- also to translate Sanskrit uccaiḥ-kulīna- 'of high family'.

Among the many Buddhist texts are the Maitreya story in a poetic version of the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*, a summary of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* in 60 lines of verse, a large part of the *Suvarṇa-bhāsa-sūtra*, and part of the *Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra*. There is a poem to Amitāyus, a dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara, the whole of the *Vajracchedikā*, a long text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* on 30 folios, a summary of a text containing ssa-byūrya, that is, one hundred ten thousand units of length, and a full text of the *Sumukha-sūtra*. There are deśanā confession texts, expressing devotion to the Buddha and desire to attain bodhi enlightenment by the career (caryā) of a bodhisatva.

From Central Asia we have also Sanskrit texts either alone or in bilingual manuscripts. In these manuscripts the Sanskrit text is followed piece by piece with an indigenous translation in various languages. We find this in Khotanese, or Tokharian or Turkish.

The earliest studies of these Saka texts were made by Hoernle, Ernst Leumann (and later by his son Manu), and the Norwegian scholar Sten Konow, who is otherwise particularly known for his work in editing the Indian inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhi script, the script derived from the Aramaic

script of the Persian Empire and possibly meaning in the name xša*θ*ra-pištra- 'imperial script'. It was in 1934 that I planned to publish the mass of still unpublished Saka collections in London and Paris. At first I had the ambitious plan to edit these texts in eleven years with translation and dictionary. But the plan could not be carried out. I have published seven volumes, six called *Khotanese Texts* and one *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*. Of these texts some have been translated. Two of my pupils have published the *Jātaka-stava* and *Bhadracaryā-deśanā*, Mark J. Dresden in Pennsylvania and Jes P. Asmussen in Denmark. I have translated some of the official letters in periodicals, the *Asia Major* and the *BSOAS*, and have made a translation of the *Story of Rāma and Sītā*. Now a new recruit to the work is R.E. Emmerick in London, an Australian by birth. He is keen on grammar and lexical work. The linguistic material is being put upon a computer in Cambridge to simplify the writing of a grammar and a dictionary. I myself am preparing an *Etymological Vocabulary of the Iranian part of the Saka texts*.

In Leningrad another young scholar is preparing the publication of Khotanese Saka texts, L. Gertsenberg. He has at least 40 pieces unpublished. So far he has published a short grammar, *Xotansakskij Yazyk*.

A few pieces of Khotanese Saka were found recently in boxes in London, in the India Office Library together with about 800 very small pieces in the language of Kuci and 800 pieces of Buddhist Sanskrit. More material exists in Berlin.

The Saka language of Tumshuq, near modern Maralbashi, earlier Barchuq, is now known in one archaic piece in Paris, eight pieces published by Sten Konow from Berlin, four pieces published in my *Saka documents*, facsimiles and text, and some other pieces from Berlin, not yet printed. This Iranian dialect is less evolved than that of Khotan, but cannot yet be fully understood. How different Tumshuq Saka is from Khotan Saka can be seen in the replacement of frabṛta- 'brought forward', used to express 'given', by Tumshuq rorda- and Khotan hūḍa-, which arises from the different replacement of fra- by ra-, and ha-, and of -rt- by -rd- and by -ḍ-. The basic similarity can however be seen in many words, as in Tumshuq gesa-, Khotan gīsa- 'grass', hawya-, Khotan hīvya- 'one's own', handara- 'other' in both dialects, paṃtsi, Khotan paṃjsa 'five', ccha-, -tsya-, Khotan tsva- 'to go', xšera-, Khotan kṣīra- 'country'.

To write Tumshuq Saka we find twelve new signs added to the Brahmi Indian syllabary to express sounds such as z, ź, xš, ḏ, for Iranian sounds not present in Indian speech. The inflected forms of both languages are largely similar. Both used the -ta- participle to express a preterite tense.

Of Yarkand, anciently named Saka or the like, the Chinese recorded that the language was like that of Khotan. For Kashghar the Chinese gave no information on the language, but we know of a language spoken in the

surrounding villages which the Turkish writer Al-Kashghari writing in Arabic in the 11th century called Kančakī. This is a form of the name for Kashghar which in Tibetan is called Ga-ḥjag.

The Saka-rāja of a Central Asian Sanskrit text is not certainly located, but might be the ruler of Yarkand.

Two words in the Khotan Saka texts plunge one right into the controversy on the original plant intended by the name Iranian hauma-, Avestan haoma-, later hōm, equivalent to the Old Indian soma- of the Vedas. These words in Khotan are first the adjective durauśa̯- applied to a drink in a lyrical poem. This is a derivative in -ya- from the older *durauša- familiar in Avestan dūraoša- epithet of haoma-, and in the Vedic duroṣa-. The original meaning is disputed, but I think it is paraphrased by Avestan in the verse dūraošəm saočayaṯ avō 'he made the plant pungent so that it was durauša-'. Here sauk- 'to burn, make pungent' renders dur- and avah- 'plant' is the base of the derivative *auš-a-. The second word is Khotan Saka huma- in the phrase humo ttone 'spongy and fat' used in reference to hands, as the reverse of desiccated. In huma- I now see older *huma- or *humba- 'spongy, soft', the Iranian cognate of Germanic swam-: sum- used, with suffixes, of 'sponge', 'fungus' and of 'soft, marshy ground'. The Pashto of Afghanistan has preserved xōmba 'fungus' from the same base *hvampā-. An initial change has replaced *sumpa- in Old Indian Rigvedic kṣúmpa- 'fungus'. I have been inclined to conjecture that this svam-: sum- may be traced to the same base as hauma-, soma-, as derived from both so-ma- and som-a-. This would then coincide with the plausible opinion of Gordon Wasson that the soma- was originally a 'fungus' called fly-agaric-. At least we know that svam-: sum- co-existed with saum- in the Indo-Iranian period.

A further contribution to this debate is provided by the Avestan word nmaŋ̯-aŋ̯suš, epithet of haoma-. This word contains nami-, the first-component form of namra- 'soft'. This meaning is also in later Parthian namra- and Persian narma-. It is the meaning also of Khotan Saka nauna- from *namna-. I would connect this word namra- with the base nam- 'to beat' as in Ossetic nämun, nād, not with the base nam- 'to bend', from which Bartholomae took his rendering 'flexible'. The word naŋ̯my-aŋ̯suš then means 'soft-stalked'. The soft stalk would well suit a fungus.

Sogdian, originally of Maracanda, Samarkand, was carried eastwards beyond the Jade Gate, China's frontier to the west. Large collections of Sogdian texts have been found, in three different religious communities, but the oldest is in some private letters in an archaic linguistic form dated 312 A.D. The three religions are Buddhist, the most archaic Sogdian, the Manichaean of the prophet Manikhaios, and the Nestorian Christian. We are now fairly well instructed on Sogdian. A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian has been published by I. Gershevitch, Reader (the rank next to the Profes-

religion. A small group of scholars have devoted themselves during the past 80 years to the investigation of Central Asia. First I will speak of Saka, a field I have worked in myself.

Some manuscripts in the Saka language of Khotan, Ü-t'ien, Uten, Go-stana, reached India about 1890. They came into the hands of A.F.R. Hoernle, then in the service of the Indian Government. Shortly after the German scholar, Indologist, Ernst Leumann, who had earlier published a text from Kuci before all the signs of the script were interpreted, turned to Saka texts and spent many years elucidating them. In the texts the language is called hvatanau, that is, 'of Khotan', but Leumann did not himself publish this fact. The kingdom of Khotan was the source of a large number of manuscripts found by excavation in the ruined cities of the Tarim basin, and in the temple at Tun-huang. The name Saka has not been found in Khotanese manuscripts, but a Saka-rāja is named in a Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript, and it is known that the ancient name of Yarkand, whose language was near to that of Khotan was some such name as Saka.

The Persians in the old inscriptions named four divisions of the Sakas. There was the Saka paradraya 'the Saka beyond the Sea', the Saka tigrax-auda 'the Saka with pointed caps', well known on the monuments, the Saka haumavarga 'the Saka who venerated the sacred hauma plant' and the Saka para Sugdam 'the Saka beyond Sogdiana', that is, the Saka on the Iaxartes river, the modern Syr-daryā. It is nomads of these Saka peoples who established sedentary kingdoms in Kashghar, Tumshuq, Yarkand and Khotan. Eventually by 1000 A.D. the Turks from the north, on the Orkhon river had occupied the cities of the Tarim Basin. The land could now for the first time be properly called Turkestan. But down to the middle of the 10th century Khotanese envoys were writing reports to the Court at Khotan about Sha-chou and Kan-chou on the movements of the Hvehura, the Uighur Turks and the Turka, Tanguts, Tatars and the Tauḍägara.

The amount of manuscript material in the Saka language of Khotan is copious. They are largely concerned with Boddhist matter, devotional texts, philosophical discussions, popular tales of the Buddha, the Bodhisatva doctrine and the Vajrayāna. But there are many administrative documents ranging from brief military orders written on wood to judicial and private letters on paper, and to long reports from envoys on the political situation affecting Si-chou, Sha-chou and Kan-chou. There is one report of a journey from Khotan, called the land of Vi, over the mountains southwards to the capital of Kashmir called Adhiṣṭhāna, the settlement, now Srinagar. The writer of the report mentions the cities of Gilgit and Chiltas, the earliest references. He observes monkeys, he names trees, he numbers the monasteries and markets. He reaches the broad river where men cross on inflated skins. The size of the Adhiṣṭhāna surprised him and he noted that it stretched for a day's

sor in Cambridge) in Iranian Studies at Cambridge, in which there is constant quotation from the more archaic Buddhist texts and the more evolved Christian Sogdian. After earlier publication of Christian texts by F.W.K. Müller, together with some Buddhist texts, H. Reichelt published the Sogdian manuscripts of the British Museum (mostly Buddhist). R. Gauthiot published some pieces in Paris and a sketch of Sogdian grammar by him was published after his early death by E. Benveniste. Benveniste in turn completed the publication of Paris Sogdian texts. Manichaean Sogdian was first published by C. Salemann in St. Petersburg. Christian Sogdian texts were published later from Berlin texts by O. Hansen. The work is now proceeding in the hands of a young scholar Martin Schwartz in Berkeley, California. Considerable material lies still unpublished.

From a different source in a castle on Mt Mug near Samarkand, a collection of official Sogdian documents of the early 8th century, all have been published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Livshitz in Leningrad.

Two other collections have proved extremely valuable for West Iranian studies. These are pre-Muslim Persian and Parthian texts, in form missionary books of the Manichaeans, which had in Central Asia to be translated into Sogdian. Here from about 300 A.D. we have Persian and Parthian in very clear Syrian script using only a few diacritic marks, as to distinguish d and r, k and x, p and f. They revealed the Sasanian double vocabulary and thus began to make the interpretation of Zoroastrian texts possible. The Aramaic heterograms were absent.

In Parthia at Nisa many ostraca, pottery with writing, were discovered; over 2000 in number are reported. They show many names of places and persons. The edition has been in the hands of M. Diakonov and V. Livshitz. A selection with facsimiles has been published.

A specimen of the heterogrammatic style was found in a fragmentary text containing a translation of the *Psalms* into Persian from Syriac. Here there exist many Aramaic words as heterograms, beside a few Syriac loanwords. The orthography of the Persian text is archaic.

Part of a Glossary, which was called frahang, gives a list of Aramaic verbs used in the heterogrammatic writing.

The absence of one type of text is striking. No fragment of a text of the *Avesta* has been found, although it is known that temples dedicated to Hien, the god of fire as the Chinese expressed it, were known to have existed in China, as at Qomul, modern Hami.

Two recent developments in Iranian studies have been the discovery of Chorasmian and Bactrian. The ancient Chorasmia, called Khvārazm in Persian and Khvārizm in Arabic, was east of the Caspian Sea, where now is the Turkish-speaking region of Khiva. But in manuscripts of Islamic origin, words, sentences and a glossary of khvārizmīya language have been

found. A facsimile of one Chorasmian manuscript has been published in Istanbul by Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan. From this J. Benzing has recently made a book of transliteration of both the basic Arabic text and the Chorasmian glosses. Further study of the book is in preparation by D. Mackenzie in London. Earlier there were a book by A. Freiman in Leningrad called *Xorezmijskij Yazyk* 'Chorasmian language' and various articles by Freiman and W.B. Henning, particularly Henning's article in the *Togan Armağan* or Festschrift. The writer Al-Bairuni was Chorasmian, but he wrote in Arabic. He quoted some Chorasmian words. The language is close to Sogdian, but with many phonetic differences.

The second new discovery is the Bactrian. In Afghanistan the northern part was anciently Bactria with capital city Bactra, Old Persian bāxtris, modern Persian Balkh. Inscriptions in Greek writing of the first century of our era have recently been found in this region in the local language. At Surkh Kotal, anciently Bagalāna, a long inscription and some shorter ones have been found by excavation. From Central Asia several pieces of paper written in Greek writing have been found in the same language. One further piece in West Asian Syrian script as used by the Manichaeans was found in Central Asia. A photograph which I have seen is in the hands of I. Gershevitch in Cambridge. It is hoped that he will publish it. It has been known for many years to a few scholars. Meantime great discussion is concentrated on these rather scanty Bactrian fragments and inscriptions. Coins of Bactria have long been important here.

Hüan Tsang reported of Toxārastān in the first half of the 7th century that there they used a script of 25 signs, which is fairly certainly the Greek script. Toxārastān was ancient Bactria.

Last year in a Kabul periodical there was a report that at a height of 11,000 feet an inscription had been found on the Dasht i Nawar, northwest of Kabul, in three scripts, Greek, a script hitherto only known from an inscription at Surkh Kotal, and the familiar Indian Kharoṣṭhī. It is hoped that a publication will appear this year in Paris.

Iranian books written by Jewish writers in the Persian world have long been known. There are some of the books in the British Museum. Recently the study of this Judaeo-Persian has been taken up afresh by Jes P. Asmussen in Denmark and by Herbert Paper in Michigan at Ann Arbor. It has an interest in its archaic vocabulary, apart from its Jewish literary quality.

Iranian contribution to Indo-Iranian studies is naturally very large. There is also the contribution to the study of the oldest Vedic vocabulary. Here Khotan Saka has already proved valuable. Thus Saka pāysa- 'surface', as when a humble person falls to the ground before a superior he lies on his pāysa-, here the breast. The same word is pāz in Sogdian. This explains the Avestan use of pāzahvant- of dogs, evidently meaning 'broad-chested'. But the corresponding word in the Rigveda is pājas- and pājasya-

used of some part of the body. More remotely Latin pāgus 'open space' is from the same source as is also Ossetic fāzä 'side' and fäzä 'plain'. The Khotan Saka huma- 'spongy' was mentioned earlier as likely to be connected with Rigvedic kṣúmpa-. Iranian vazd 'fat' is in Avestan vazdah- 'fattening', then less specifically 'promoting the good of', as in the proper name Artavazd. The corresponding Old Indian is the isolated word vedhás- in the Rigveda, an epithet of the promoter of ṛtá-. The derivative uäzdän, a dialect word in Ossetic, came to mean 'promoter' as a social superior leader, or a noble.

Recently a fresh investigation of the famous Avestan religious term fraša- has provided also a better understanding of Vedic prakṣ-: pṛkṣ. The Iranian fraša- was rendered in Akkadian by bunu 'magnificent', and so suggested to me the corresponding later Iranian sahīk 'conspicuous, distinguished, outstanding'. This sahīk is the adjective to the verb sahastan 'to appear, be conspicuous'. This connection also agrees with the Zoroastrian Persian gloss of fraša- by ẓāhir- 'apparent, conspicuous'. Then at once it was clear that fraš- was an enlargement, older preḱs- in Indo-European form, of per- 'to appear', in Greek peparein 'to show', Latin pāreo 'to appear', just as we have Indo-European der- 'to regard' in Old Indian ādara- 'respect', Avestan ā-dar- 'to regard', and Indo-European derḱ- in Old Indian dadarśa 'he saw', and dreḱs- in Old Indian ī-dṛkṣa- 'such'.

An examination of the word prakṣ-: pṛkṣ- in all Vedic passages showed that this meaning illuminated all passages where previously neither old Indian commentators nor modern interpreters could give any plausible meaning.

But Iranian studies also have a modern side. Dialect study of Iranian has been actively pursued. A linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan is almost completed under the editorship of G. Redard in Bern, Switzerland and G. Morgenstierne in Norway. A similar project is planned for Persia (Iran). In the Caucasus the Ossetic language derived from various Saka tribes, who lived north of the Caucasus mountains in antiquity and who had a powerful kingdom called Alania by the Byzantine writers down to the coming of the Mongols in the 13th century, is now intensively studied by the Ossetes themselves in the Republic of Ossetia in north Caucasus. Apart from the Zelenchuk inscription of the 12th century the Ossetic language is recorded only from the end of the 18th century, but is now well studied. A comprehensive dictionary is in preparation, and volumes of folklore (much still to be printed), and many translations have been published.

The Pamir languages are also archaic Saka dialects for which something has been done this century, particularly G. Morgenstierne and Soviet writers as Zarubin, Pakhalina and others. Much can still be done for these Pamir dialects. No complete glossaries have yet been produced. A comparative study of the Shughnī group of dialects is in preparation by Morgenstierne. The Wakhī of Wakān is particularly interesting for its relation to Khotan

Saka.

Yaghnābī, the modern Sogdian, mentioned already, is spoken in one valley. Here several Soviet scholars have been active, Klimchitsky, Andreev and Peshchereva. It is the sole survivor from ancient Sogdian and valuable for its development to the present.

It will now finally be seen how vast this Iranian field of study has become. In political influence the Achaemenian Empire reached from India to Egypt. It is likely that Iranian beliefs were spread to the west of Asia. Certainly a powerful religion, the worship of Mithra, was carried throughout the Roman world by soldiers in the Roman legions.

Here is scope for much future investigation.

Here are now two speculations that I have had in mind for some time, but without reaching so far a definite conclusion.

(1) There is an Iranian word gara- meaning 'mountain men', an adjective to gari- 'mountain'. The Khotan Saka word was garaja 'living in the mountains', formed by the further suffix -ja- from older -ča-. The New Persian word is ghalčah, and gharčah 'mountain men' and gharča- in the geographical name Gharčistān 'mountain region'. This word I think to see in 夏 hia from older gha and g'å, but which is written in Khotan Saka hara, ha, and in Tibetan kha'a (with medial glottal stop), hence indicating an older pronunciation gar. This is the hia, older gar, in the name 大夏 Ta-hia in the mountainous Oxus region, with possibly a capital at Khulm, near modern Tashkurgan. It has been proposed to see in the üan of 大宛 Ta-üan an older syllable gar. This has been indentified with the city Nakhshab, modern Qarshi, on the mountains south of Samarkand (as urged by E. Pulleyblank). In both these names one may see the Iranian- gara- 'mountain men'.

In the east this gara- is, I think, preserved in the place name Tho-gara, probably meaning Great Gara, which Ptolemy reported as the name of Kanchou in the 2nd century. This was according to Tibetan sources of the 7th century the home of the people called by them ḥGar, mGar, sGar and probably also Gar. This name is then found in Khotan Saka official documents as Gara in the region of Shachou. Here I propose to see the same Iranian name gara- 'mountain men'. These men of Tho-gara are later, I think, reported in the 2nd century by the Greeks to have invaded Bactria under the name Tokharoi. They gave their name to the land of the older people Ta-hia, that is, the Great Gara. So Bactria became Tokharastan.

(2) The second speculation is this. The name Hyaona- occurs as the name of a people with king Arəjaṯ.aspa-, an Iranian name, in the ancient book the Zoroastrian *Avesta*. They are hostile to Vishtāspa, patron of the prophet Zoroaster. The word hyaona- is, I think, as I have explained in an article written in 1967, but only now being printed, cognate with Old

Indian Rigvedic syoná- 'satisfying', and hyaona- meant probaly 'enjoying rule, ruler', just as in Indian bhojá- 'enjoying goods' became a royal title 'ruler'. This name was that of a tribe probably near the Oxus in the time of the *Avesta*.

Later the same name, I think, was expressed in Chinese of the second century by 匈奴 Hiung-nu-. In Khotan Saka these were called huna- and in Sogdian khun (xwn). The name hyaona- in the form hyōn continued in use in the west and was applied to two groups Karmīr Hyōn and Spēt Hyōn, the Red Hyōn and the White Hyōn. The Greeks called them Khionitai. When they invaded India in the 5th century the Sanskrit writers called them Hūṇa-. One chieftain was called Mihiragula-, that is, probably an older *Mithrakṛta-, a name formed like *Yazatakṛta-, later Yazdgird.

Another name for the Hyōn was Heftal. Here an observation of V. Livshitz in Leningrad is useful. He quoted a word haitāl explained by Arabic 'strong' and proposed to see here the cognate of Khotan Saka hīta-latsaa- which means 'powerful' or 'heroic' or the like.

The two speculations thus see two groups of nomadic Saka people moving before 500 B.C. from the Oxus eastwards and being driven back some 300 years later westwards to the Oxus.

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Parthian and Persian texts from Turfan are partly published in the *Mitteliranische Manichaica* I–III, and a volume IV is in preparation. Parthian documents from Nisa have been published by V. Livshitz.

The discovery of inscriptions in Greek script but local language in Afghanistan has led to a keen interest in this Bactrian field. This can be seen in E. Benveniste, *Journal asiatique* 1961, 113–153 *Inscriptions de Bactriane*; A. Maricq, *Journal asiatique* 1958, 345–440 *'La grande inscription de Kaniṣka*; W.B. Henning, *BSOAS* 23, 1960, 47–55, *The Bactrian inscription*; *ZDMG* 115, 1965, 75–87, *Surkh-Kotal und Kaniṣka*; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler* I 1966, II 1967.

Chorasmian in Muslim manuscripts is now receiving attention. Zeki Velidi Togan published a facsimile volume, *Khorezmian Glossary of the*

Muqaddimat al-Adab, Istanbul 1951; studies in J. Benzing, *Das chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der "Muqaddimat al-Adab" von Zamaxšarī*, 1968; D.N. MacKenzie, *BSOAS* 33, 1970, 540–559; 34, 1971, 74–90.

Abdul-Hayy Habibi has published, in the *Historical Society of Afghanistan*, Kabul, 1969, an article, *Seven ancient inscriptions at Rozgan, Jaghatu and Tuchi*; one from the Dašt i Nāwar in three scripts.

Two scholars Jes P. Asmussen in Copenhagen, Denmark and Herbert P. Paper in Ann Arbor, Michigan are active in a revived study of the Persian writings of medieval Jews in an archaic form of Persian language: Asmussen, *Jewish-Persian texts* 1968, and Paper, *Acta Orientalia* 29, 1966, 253–310 *The Vatican Judeo-Persian Pentateuch*; 31, 1968, 55–113 *The Vatican Judeo-Persian Deuteronomy*.

Of the many problems still being hotly debated, I may mention here the Hauma-plant of the Indo-Iranian sacrifice. A Seminar was held at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra, January 1971. Statements were made by G. Wasson, Dr Dandekar, Prof. Bhattacharji, F.B.J. Kuiper, and L. Alsdorf. I was requested to put the Iranian evidence. The Seminar ended with no general agreement. Reviews of G. Wasson's book, *Soma the divine mushroom of immortality*, continue to be printed with divergent claims for and against. It is curious if the ancient poets celebrated a real plant but gave it no name. The word soma- interpreted as so-ma- 'the pressure, pressed thing' is a poor kind of way to designate a sacrificial plant of great potency.

For the name of the Saka haumavarga my own interpretation is to see in varg- a base meaning 'to make an authoritative statement, command' or 'to make a solemn statement in a ritual context, to celebrate, honour'. This word I see in the ritual word of the *Avesta* varaxəδra- applied to a non-Zoroastrian rite, from older *varxθra- by the usual late Avestan changes, and meaning 'ritual utterance'; and also in the Ossetic Saka name Uärxtänäg of the epic of the Caucasus. This, in the context of the Ustur Xädzärä 'Great House', clearly means, as title of the Head of the House, the 'man in authority, commanding or directing'.

All three cases therefore demand the same base varg- 'to treat solemnly'.

In the book *Kara Tepa* vol. II, 1969, 67, footnote 103, V. Livshitz pointed to the Bukhara dialect Iranian word haitāl 'strong man', and proposed to join this haitāl with the word hītala- in the Khotanese Saka compound hītala-tsaa- 'heroic, or the like'. This could be the origin of the Heftal name, and would support the view that the basis of the Heftal people was Iranian-speaking. The Heftal were called also Hyaona-, Hyōn, in which I have in an article to appear in the *Sommerfelt Memorial Volume* (written in 1967, but not yet published) pointed out that hyaona- may have meant 'ruler, owner' from 'satisfying oneself', cognate therefore with Old

Indian Vedic syoná- 'giving satisfaction', hence an old Iranian word.

If the Hyaona- of the time of Zarathushtra became known in China the name Hyaona- may lie behind the Chinese Hiung-nu (as the nearest Chinese way of approximating to the foreign Hyaona-). The ancient city of Qamul was a Hiung-nu city and as I hope to make likely elsewhere has probably an Iranian name. As the Hiung-nu in the second century B.C. moved westwards they became known to the Sogdians as xwn, that is, Huna-, Hūna- or with initial fricative x-. In Khotanese Saka they are called Huna-, and in Sanskrit Hūṇa-.

I hope to elaborate the problem of the Gara- people in a full discussion of the Tokhara name in an article in preparation.