Historical grammar of the ancient Persian language

by

Edwin Lee Johnson

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THE VANDERBILT ORIENTAL SERIES
EDITED BY
HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN AND JAMES HENRY STEVENSON

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF THE
ANCIENT PERSIAN LANGUAGE

BY
EDWIN LEE JOHNSON, PH.D.
AUTHOR OF INDEX VERBORUM TO THE
OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS

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By
Edwin Lee Johnson
PREFACE.

The work done in Ancient Persian during the past twenty years by such scholars as King and Thompson, Bartholomae, Weissbach, Jackson, and Tolman has rendered the earlier grammars of the language of little value for present day study. To a careful reexamination of the inscriptions, with a consequent revision of readings, there has been added a determination of forms and of interpretation through comparative study of the languages of the Iranian group. This volume is accordingly designed to serve a twofold purpose: to present in systematic arrangement the results of the most recent as well as the earlier investigation in this field, and to show by comparative examples the development of the Ancient Persian from the parent speech and its relation to the other languages of the family, particularly the Sanskrit and the Avestan.

While this work was in preparation Prof. A. Meillet published his Grammaire du Vieux Perse, an excellent presentation of both the inflectional forms and the syntax of the language. But I believe there may still be a place for a grammar the distinctive feature of which is the historical treatment of the subject.

Chapter II. serves in a measure as a bibliography. In addition to the books mentioned there, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Thumb’s Handbuch des Sanskrit, Reichelt’s Avestisches Elementarbuch,
Preface.

Wright's *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, and most of all to the work of Brugmann.

In the chapters on syntax where examples have been quoted the text of Professor Tolman, in his *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, has generally been followed.

I am under obligations also to other publications of Professor Tolman. But, far more than this, I must express to him personally my deepest gratitude, since I feel that without his careful supervision this work would have been impossible.

Edwin Lee Johnson.

Vanderbilt University, February 20, 1917.
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ABBREVIATIONS.

Aeol., Aeolic.
Afgy., Afgyan, Afghan.
AJP., American Journal of Philology.
Ar., Aryan.
Arm., Armenian.
Art., Artaxerxes (Inscription).
A. S., Anglo-Saxon.
Att., Attic.
Av., Avesta.
Aw. ELEM., Awestisches Elementarbuch (Reichelt).
Bab., Babylonian.
Balt., Baltic.
Balto-Slav., Balto-Slavonic.
Bh., Behistun (Inscription).
Boeot., Boeotian.
Bthl., Bartholomae.
Bulg., Bulgarian.
Class., Classical.
Cun. Sup., Cuneiform Supplement (Tolman).
Cypr., Cyprian.
Dar., Darius (Inscription).
Dor., Doric.
Elam., Elamite.
Eliv., Elvend (Inscription).
Eng., English.
Epir., Epirote.
GAv., Gathâ-Avesta.
Germ., German.
Goth., Gothic.
Grk., Greek.
Hom., Homeric.
I. E., Indo-European.
Ind. Verb., Index Verborum (Johnson).

(xiii)
ABBREVIATIONS.

Ir., Irish.
Iran., Iranian.
JA, Journal Asiatique.
Kelt., Celtic.
Ker., Kerman (Inscription).
Kurd., Kurdish.
KVG, Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (Brugmann).
KZ, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lat., Latin.
Lesb., Lesbian.
Lex., Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts (Tolman).
Lith., Lithuanian.
Mid., Middle.
NR., Naqsh-Rustam (Inscription).
O., Old.
O. H. G., Old High German.
Osc., Oscan.
Oss., Ossetish.
Prim., Primitive.
PSBA, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Phl., Pahlavi.
Präkt., Praekrit.
RA, Revue Asiatique.
Skt., Sanskrit.
Slav., Slavonic.
Sus., Susa (Inscription).
Ved., Veda, Vedic.
Xerx., Xerxes (Inscription).
YAv., Younger Avesta.
ZA, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZDMG, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZKM, Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
CHAPTER I.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

1. Forty miles northeast of Shiraz, in South Central Persia, is a range of limestone hills before which in a semicircular hollow, and yet above the plain, is a level area extending fifteen hundred feet in one direction and eight hundred in another. This terrace, leveled off and held in front by a retaining wall, forms a part of the ancient city of Persepolis, and here the AcheMenidan kings built their royal structures. The passing centuries have left extensive ruins of these great buildings, and columns and doorposts, portions of walls and staircases, with sculptured figures and bas-reliefs, still suggest to the traveler something of the magnificence of the Palace of Darius or the Palace and the Column Hall of Xerxes.

2. In 1320 a Franciscan friar named Odoric passed through Persia on a journey to Cathay, and his brief reference to what he believed had been "an huge and mightie city in olde time" (antiquitatis civitas magna fuit), was the first intimation Europe had of the existence of such ruins. A hundred and fifty years elapsed before another message came, this time from Josophat Barbaro, envoy from Venice to the court of Uzun Cassan—a message that added but little to that of Odoric and in its turn was forgotten for a hundred years or more.

3. When in 1586 Shah Abbas had begun to receive European ambassadors, Philip III. of Spain and Portugal sent to him Antonio de Gouvea, who wrote a
most interesting account of his visit to Persepolis. With his comments on the arrangement of doorways, pavements, stairs, and columns, he says: "The inscriptions—which relate to the foundation of the edifice and no doubt also declare the author of it—although they remain in many parts very distinct, yet there is none that can read them, for they are not in Persian nor Arabic nor Armenian nor Hebrew, which are the languages current in those parts; and thus all helps to blot out the memory of that which the ambitious king hoped to make eternal."

4. De Gouvea was followed by Don García de Sylva y Figueroa, who also visited the ruins and from whose letter to the Marquess de Bedmar in 1619 we read as to the inscriptions (according to an English translation of 1625): "The Letters themselves are neither Chaldean, nor Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Arabic, nor of any other nation which was ever found of old, or at this day to be extant. They are all three-cornered, but somewhat long, or such a little Obelisk as I have set in the margin (Δ); so that in nothing do they differ from one another but in their placing and situation, yet so conformed that they are wondrous plaine, distinct, and perspicuous."

5. About the same time Pietro della Valle was traveling in Persia, and in a letter to a friend at Naples he not only described the Persepolis inscriptions, but—what none before him had done—copied a few of the characters as a specimen and reasoned from the direction of the stroke of the wedges that the language must have been read from left to right.

6. Between 1630 and 1680 Thomas Herbert, an English traveler, published several editions of an account
of his travels and described the inscriptions much as others had done, commenting on their unlikeness to any known language and expressing his belief that they were to be read from left to right. With this account he furnished a copy of three lines of cuneiform characters, two lines from one inscription and one from another.

7. Another Englishman, S. Flower, Persian agent of the East India Company, had made copies of characters found at Persepolis and at Naḵš-i-Rustam (43) near Persepolis. These again, unfortunately, did not form a complete inscription, but were taken at random from three languages, the Persian, the Elamite, and the Babylonian. This account, published after Flower’s death, was criticized by Thomas Hyde, professor of Hebrew at Oxford, in his *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum*, published in 1700. He expressed his regret that so much attention had been given to signs which were no language at all; in his own words, "*Me autem judice non sunt Literae nec pro Literis intendebantur; sed fuerunt solius Ornatus causa."

8. So the discussion had gone on from time to time with no real progress in the study of the strange writing. Such study may be said to have begun with the publication of a work at Amsterdam in 1711, *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*, in which the author gave the first copy of a complete inscription, one from the window cornice of the Palace of Darius, now known as Dar. Pers. c (40).

9. Engelrecht Kaempfer, a German physician and oriental traveler, followed with a copy of the same
short inscription which Chardin had copied and added a longer one entire, but this in Elamite-Babylonian, not in Persian, and, raising the question as to whether the signs were alphabetic, syllabic, or ideographic, he concluded that they were ideographic.

10. A Dutch traveler, Cornelis de Bruin, published in 1714 two complete inscriptions (Xerx. Pers. c and Dar. Pers. a) in three languages, believing them to be six inscriptions; also two others (Dar. Pers. b and Xerx. Pers. b) in Ancient Persian only. The translation of his work from Dutch to French (Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Muscovie en Perse et aux Indes Orientales) four years later gave it wide circulation. Still years passed, and practically nothing was accomplished toward decipherment. Even the discovery in 1762 of a vase (56) with certain cuneiform characters alongside hieroglyphics counted for nothing, since the Rosetta stone had not yet revealed the Egyptian writing to the world.

11. A forward step was taken with the publication at Copenhagen of Carsten Niebuhr’s Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern (1774–1837, 3 vols.), for it was Niebuhr who discovered that there were three systems of writing, though he did not recognize in them three distinct languages. He accordingly divided the characters into the three classes and expressed his belief that they were alphabetic signs, there being forty-two in the first and simplest class.

12. It remained for Olav Gerhard Tychsen, professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Rostock, Germany, to discover that the inscriptions copied by Niebuhr were really trilingual and to observe that
the oblique wedge occurring at intervals was a word-divider. He assigned the inscriptions to the period of the Parthian dynasty (B.C. 246-A.D. 227), a mistake corrected by Friedrich Münter, of Copenhagen, who also had independently recognized the word-divider and had observed a frequently recurring combination of characters which he thought must be the word for *king*.

13. In 1762 Anquetil-Duperron, of Paris, returned from a seven-year sojourn in India, where he had made a thorough study of Modern Persian and of Sanskrit and Avestan. He brought with him numerous oriental manuscripts and in 1771 published, for the first time in Europe, the Avesta. In this, there was every reason to believe, would be found a vocabulary and a grammar that would throw much light on the decipherment of Ancient Persian. Much of the value of the linguistic material gathered by Anquetil-Duperron was due to the arrangement and presentation of it by Eugène Burnouf (20).

14. Furthermore, the great Arabic scholar Silvestre de Sacy some years later succeeded in translating certain inscriptions in Pahlavi writing belonging to the Sassanian period (227-641 A.D.). Their regular formula, "——, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Iran and Aniran, son of ——, the great king," etc., was at least suggestive of what one might expect to find in the older inscriptions.

15. Such was the progress made in the study of the cuneiform writing when in 1802 this work attracted the attention and enlisted the service of Georg Friedrich Grotefend, of the Frankfort Gymnasium. From the material furnished by travelers mentioned above
he chose two inscriptions of what he believed to be
Ancient Persian, since he was convinced of the tri-
lingual character of the writing. Of these two—now
known as Darius Persepolis a and Xerxes Persepolis
ca (= eb)—he had the copies that Niebuhr had made.
(These inscriptions are given on the opposite page.)
Each of them appeared on door-posts and above the
sculptured figure of a king, and Grooteveld believed,
as had Tychsen and Münter, that here should be
found titles or names of Achaemenian rulers. In
the two inscriptions he found this frequently recurring
combination of signs <<II <<III I<|I I<|I I<-
sometimes repeated with several additional signs,
thus: <<II <<III I<|I I<|I I<|I <<III <<III -III. The
most natural meaning for such a word was king, and
for the combination of shorter and longer form king
of kings. This word, moreover, was followed by an-
other group of characters, -[E J-[I EI ]-, the same
in both inscriptions; and from De Sacy’s translation
of the Sassanian inscriptions it was easily inferred
that this meant great. And from this same compari-
son Grooteveld decided that the group of signs before
the word for king must be the king’s name. This
name, if it should be such, occurred again in the second
inscription in a longer form, which might be a geni-
tive, and followed by a word ΕΕ ΕΕ ΕΕ which, in that
event, ought to mean son. This word occurred again
in the fifth line of the first inscription following what
might be a name, but without the word taken to mean
king. The problem then was to select three different
names of rulers, the grandfather not having the title
of “king” which was borne by the son and the grand-

On the door-posts of the palace of Darius above the sculptured figure of the king.

Xerx. Pers. e.

Repeated on the north and east door-posts of the palace of Xerxes above the sculptured figure of the king.
son. Grotesfend suspected that the names were Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. Partly from the Hebrew pronunciation of the name of Darius as Daryavesh, he concluded that the seven signs of the first name in the first of the two inscriptions might be D-A-R-H-E-U-SH. Relying again on the Hebrew and also on the Avestan and observing the signs common to the two names, he read the name at the beginning of the second inscription as CH-SH-H-A-R-SH-A. Similarly, with some help from the Avestan, he read the third name as G-O-SH-T-A-S-P. And thus he offered the partial translation:

\[ \text{Darius, the mighty king, king of kings, . . . } \]
\[ \text{son of Hystaspes. . . . } \]
\[ \text{Xerxes, the mighty king, king of kings, . . . } \]
\[ \text{son of Darius the king. . . . } \]

16. Other scholars were still going on with their work. In 1812 J. P. Morier gave some account of the inscriptions in his \textit{Journey through Persia} and was the first to publish the Murghab Inscription (52).

17. A valuable work was published in 1822 by Sir Robert Ker Porter entitled \textit{Travels in Georgia, Persia, Ancient Babylonia, \\&c., \\&c.} In his account of the sculptures on the Behistian rock, described below (39), he ventured the unique suggestion that here was a representation of the conquest of Israel by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria and the Medes, the ten figures before the king being leaders of the ten tribes, the one with the high cap a Levite, and the inscription on the garment of the third standing figure representing the phylacteries of the Jews. "What these signs may mean," he says, "we have no means
of explaining till the diligent researches of the learned
may be able to decipher the arrow-headed character."

18. Champollion was now engaged in deciphering
the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and when he and the
Abbé Saint-Martin, who had carefully examined Grotefend's work, had studied together the writing on the
vase mentioned above (10), their transliteration of the
name of Xerxes as CH-SH-A-R-SH-A, with the same
name occurring in the Egyptian, clearly indicated
that Grotefend's work was not far from correct.
Saint-Martin later (1839) published in the Mémoires
de l'Institut Royal de France his Nouvelles Observa-
tions sur les Inscriptions de Persepolis.

19. Here too is to be mentioned the work of the
Norwegian scholar, R. Rask, who was able to separate
the genitive plural ending of the word meaning of
kings, by comparison with another word which, ac-
cording to the Sassanian phrase, should be of lands.
He had also determined correctly the characters m and
n (i.e., mⁿ and nⁿ as they were later shown to be).

20. Eugène Burnouf, the Avestan grammarian, found
in one of Niebuhr's Nakš-i-Rustam inscriptions what
seemed to be a list of countries, and from a study of
this he made out almost a complete Ancient Persian
alphabet. In 1836 he published in the Mémoire sur
deux Inscriptions cuneiformes trouvées près d'Hama-
dan the Elwend Inscription of Darius (49), after a
copy made by Fr. E. Schultz.

21. Christian Lassen published at about the same
time the list of geographical names from the Nakš-i-
Rustam inscription, and they proved to be almost iden-
tical with Burnouf's list, insomuch that his independ-
ence has been questioned. Of greater importance was
Lassen's conclusion as to the value of the Ancient Persian characters. From finding what seemed impossible combinations of consonants he reasoned that this language must be, in part at least, syllabic; that the sound of a, e, g., inhered in the consonant sign and was written only when initial or when otherwise separate from a consonant sound. His work was supplemented by that of Jacquet, of Paris, who determined the characters c* and ð*. Both Jacquet and Beer reached the conclusion that i was not distinguished from i, nor ù from u, by separate signs.

22. Claudius James Rich, an Englishman who had long lived in Bagdad, had copied in 1811 the texts at Persepolis, including those which Niebuhr and others had failed to furnish or had given incomplete. These were found among Rich's papers after his death and were published in 1839 in the Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811, and much new material was thus placed in the hands of Lassen.

23. Then followed the Danish traveler, N. L. Westergaard, who visited the tombs of the Persian kings at Nakš-i-Rustam (43) and brought back copies of the great upper inscriptions of the tomb of Darius and some of the lower—a number of inscriptions not heretofore published. He not only furnished the results of his investigation to Lassen, but this work called forth other treatises, among them that of Holtzmann, who correctly determined the sign for j* and saw that iy and uv were not always to be read iya and uva.

work entitled *Description de l'Armenie, la Perse, et la Mesopotamie*.

25. But the work of decipherers was not yet received with the utmost faith. There was needed, further, such work as was now being done by Major (afterward, Sir) Henry C. Rawlinson, of Oxford, England, who as a boy had gone to India in the service of the East India Company and there had learned Modern Persian along with several dialects of India. In 1833 he went to Persia to assist in the reorganization of the Persian army, and there his attention was attracted by the cuneiform inscriptions on the mountain of Elwend (49), near Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana). He set to work on these independently (Schultz had made copies of them, and Burnouf had published one, 49), although his method was much the same as that of Grotefend. He recognized at once the trilingual writing, copied the two inscriptions, found the characters much the same in both, except in certain groups which he inferred must be proper names. He observed but three of these distinct groups, and their position suggested that they might be names of a genealogical succession. He tried the names Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes, and found them satisfactory.

26. In 1835 Rawlinson was sent to Kermanshah, and on the way passed the Behistan mountain, sixty-five miles west of Hamadan. This was the beginning of his study of the great inscription of Darius high on the perpendicular face of the rock (39). At the risk of his life he began to copy this longest of the inscriptions, and two years later he had made copies of about half the columns of the Persian text. He then
sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of London his translation of the first two paragraphs. It was in 1836, at Teheran, that he first became acquainted with the results of the work of Grotefend and Saint-Martin and found that he had gone even farther than they in the determination of the alphabet. In 1838 he obtained Burnouf's work on Avestan and the material which Niebuhr and Le Brun had brought from Persepolis. Settling in Bagdad, he began his study of Sanskrit, and just as he was about to publish the results of his Persian research he was transferred to Afghanistan, and not till 1846 was the publication made. By this time he had obtained Westergaard's new copies of inscriptions at Persepolis and had himself made another examination of those at Behistan. Of the latter he was able to give a nearly complete translation in his account which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

27. In the Dublin University Magazine of January, 1847, was an anonymous article with the title, *Some Passages of the Life of King Darius*. The author ventured some criticisms of Rawlinson’s readings and translations and displayed a most remarkable acquaintance with the subject of the cuneiform writing. The unknown writer proved to be the Rev. Edward Hincks, of Killyleagh, Ireland, and he had done much independent work on the translation of the Persepolitan inscriptions.

28. In the same year Theodor Benfey published at Leipzig *Die persischen Keilinschriften mit Uebersetzung und Glossar*, giving a transliteration of the Behistan inscription and comments along with his translation. Furthermore, of the other inscriptions
previously published he gave both his own translation and that of Lassen.

29. In 1851–52 Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste did valuable work in the publication of the inscriptions—some for the first time, as Xerx. Pers. db, Art. Pers. b—in their *Voyage en Perse*.

A few years later William Kennet Loftus, the first to give the text of Art. Sus. a and b, published his *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*.

30. By this time the work of decipherment was practically complete; with the reading of the rare 1st by F. Oppert in 1851, the entire syllabary had been determined. The following summary will show the length of time over which the work extended and the number of scholars who contributed to its success:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Determined by</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Grotefend</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>Saint-Martin</td>
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<td>u</td>
<td>Grotefend</td>
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<td>k²</td>
<td>Hincks, Rawlinson</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>Lassen</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kh Grotefend, 1802; k Burnouf)</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Lassen</td>
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<tr>
<td>g²</td>
<td>Hincks, Rawlinson</td>
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<td>c</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>hⁿ</td>
<td>Beer, Jacquet</td>
<td>1837–8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Of the ideograms, ḪŠ for Ḫšāyāḏiyā belongs to Grotefend, 1802, DAH (1 and 2) and BUMI to Lassen, 1844; while the one remaining, AURAMAZDA, was determined in 1890 by B. T. Everitts.

During the period from 1860 till the present time the critical study of the text of the inscriptions has gone on, with reëxamination of the writing through the help of photography, with consequent modifications of translation, with the compilation of glossaries and indexes and the preparation of grammars.
A number of the works that have been published during this time are given in the following paragraphs.


32. With the text a transliteration and translation and a brief grammar were included in a *Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, published by H. C. Tolman in 1893. In the same year Weissbach and Bang published their *Die Altpersischen Keilschriften*.

In 1894 appeared Bartholomae's *Avestasprache und Altpersische in Grundrisse der Iranischen Philologie*, in 1904 his *Altitranisches Wörterbuch*, followed in 1906 by Zum *Altitranischen Wörterbuch*.

33. In 1903 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, made a reexamination of the Persian text at Behistan, and a summary of his collations of doubtful passages in the lower portions of the first four columns is given in JAOS, Vol. xxiv., pp. 77ff, and in his *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 186ff. (New York, 1906.)

34. In 1904 Mr. L. W. King was conducting excavations at Kuyunjik for the trustees of the British Museum. He was instructed by the trustees to make, with the help of Mr. R. C. Thompson, a complete
collation of the Behistan inscriptions. They were able, by climbing up a ravine around the end of the mountain, to reach a ledge two hundred feet above the inscriptions; from this they suspended ropes to the lower ledge, and, climbing then from the base of the mountain to the lower ledge, they attached cradles which could be drawn up along the face of the rock. They thus made accurate measurements and succeeded in clearing up many doubtful readings, filling several lacunae, and also found that certain signs that were plain in Rawlinson's time had since disappeared. Their work was done for the Elamite and Babylonian texts, as well as for the Persian, and the results of it were published in 1907 in The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia.

These readings were discussed the following year by Professor Tolman in a work entitled The Behistan Inscription of King Darius and by Arthur Hoffmann-Kutschke in two monographs, Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajavausch des Ersten am Berge Bagistān and Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajavausch des Ersten bei Behistun.

35. In 1908 Professor Tolman published an Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts, giving, with the transliterated text, a translation and a complete glossary, making use of the later readings as furnished by Jackson, by King and Thompson, and by Stolze's photographs of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and other recent studies. This work was followed in 1910 by the Cuneiform Supplement by the same author, in which he gave a new autograph copy of the cunei-
form texts in accordance with the later material mentioned above. With the Cuneiform Supplement is included a Brief Historical Synopsis of the Ancient Persian language. To this work also is appended an Index Verborum of the Old Persian Inscriptions by the author of the present work. The Index gives also the newer readings and the proposed emendations of various scholars.

36. The Aramaic Papyrus Fragment containing portions of the Behistan inscription, was published by Sachau in 1911 (Aramaische Papyrus und Ostraka) and was discussed by Tolman with reference to the crucet of the inscriptions in PAPA xlii. 50ff.

37. It was during the same year that Weissbach published his Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, which furnishes a collation of the Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian texts, arranged synoptically, with introduction and critical notes. From photographs and copies Weissbach has corrected certain readings in Dar. NRa (see 43) and has furnished numerous lines in NRb and several inscriptions above the national types supporting the throne of Darius on his grave relief. This later material was published by him in Abhandlungen der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Vol. xxix.

38. In 1915 Professor A. Meillet, of the Collège de France, published in Paris his Grammaire du Vieux Perse, giving in full the inflectional forms of the language and a discussion of their uses.
CHAPTER II.

THE LOCATION AND PUBLICATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

In the following notes on the location and publication of the various inscriptions reference to the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs is made, for the most part, by the name of the author only, as: Le Brun (de Bruin) (10), Burnouf (21), Flandin and Coste (29), Jackson (33), King and Thompson (34), Kossowicz (31), Lassen (21), Loftus (29), Morier (16), Niebuhr (11), Porter (17), Rawlinson (26), Rich (22), Saint-Martin (18), Spiegel (31), Texier (24).

39. The Behistun Inscription. On the main caravan route between Bagdad and Teheran, the last peak of the mountain range bounding the plain of Kerman-shah, is the Behistan Mount. Its earliest known name is that given by Diodorus Siculus, *τὸ βασιλέα ὁ σάς;* it is now called Bisittân. The great rock rises more than fifteen hundred feet from the plain below, the lower part presenting a vertical surface on which, at a height of about three hundred feet, is a sculptured panel. A relief on this shows the figure of the king going forth, attended by his bowman and his lance carrier, his right hand raised to his god Ahura Mazda, his left resting his bow upon an enemy who lies before him, lifting his hands as a suppliant. Standing in a line, and all bound, are nine captives, leaders of rebellions against the king. The figure of Ahura Mazda above holds a wreath in the left hand and beckons to the king with the right. Below these fig-
ures are five columns of cuneiform writing in the Ancient Persian, giving a record of the suppression of the revolts. On the left of the Persian are three columns of the Elamite text, a translation of the first four Persian columns, as is also the single column in Babylonian above the Elamite. Four other columns of cuneiform characters at the right of the sculptured panel are now so weathered as to be for the most part illegible, only a few Elamite words appearing.

The Persian of the minor Behistan inscriptions (a–k) appears above the carved figures, except b, which is under the figure of the fallen rebel, and e, which is on the lower part of the dress of the third standing captive. These inscriptions are also trilingual, with the exception of a and k where the Babylonian is wanting.

The Behistan inscriptions were first published by Rawlinson JRAS, Vols. ix., xi. Copies will be found also in Kossowicz 11-48, Spiegel 2-46, King and Thompson 1-91, Tolman Lex. 2-35, Tolman Cun. Sup. 1-47, Weissbach 8-79, Hoffmann-Kutschke 8-39.

40. Darius Persepolis a consists of six lines over the figure of the king and his attendants, on the doorposts of an inner room of the tacara at Persepolis. These lines were first published by Le Brun cxxxii. They are found also in Niebuhr, pl. 24 B, Saint-Martin JA, Vol. ii., pl. 2, and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions 12, 2, 137, Kossowicz 64, 65, Spiegel 50 (B), Tolman Lex. 36, Tolman Cun. Sup. 47, Weissbach 80.

Darius Persepolis b, consisting of one line in Ancient Persian only, carved on the dress of the king
in the relief just mentioned, is now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It was first published by Le Brun cxxxiii. It is found in Tolman Lex. 36, Tolman Cun. Sup. 47, Weissbach 80.

_Darius Persepolis c_ consists of one long line occurring eighteen times on the window cornices of the same room. It was first published by Chardin, later by Kämpfer, Le Brun, Ouseley, Lassen, and Flandin and Coste. Copies are given in Kossowicz 119, Spiegel 50 (L), Tolman Lex. 36, Tolman Cun. Sup. 47, Weissbach 80.

_Darius Persepolis d._ Of this there are twenty-four lines in Ancient Persian only on the south wall of the platform. The corresponding Elamite and Babylonian are not translations of the Persian. It was first published by Niebuhr, later by Porter, Texier, Flandin and Coste, and in Stolze's Photographs. It occurs in Kossowicz 62, 63, Spiegel 46–48 (H), Tolman Lex. 36–38, Tolman Cun. Sup. 47–49, Weissbach 80–82.

_Darius Persepolis e_, to the right of Dar. Pers. d, was also first published by Niebuhr, then by Porter, Texier, Flandin and Coste, and in Stolze's Photographs. It is given in Kossowicz 63, 64, Spiegel 48–50 (I), Tolman Lex. 38, Tolman Cun. Sup. 49, 50, Weissbach 82.

_41. Xerxes Persepolis a._ The twenty lines of this inscription, four times repeated, appear over the winged bulls at the doorway of the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis and were first published by Rich. Later they were published by Lassen, after Westergaard's copy, Rawlinson, Flandin and Coste, and in
Stolze's Photographs. Copies are given in Kosso-
wicz 93–96, Spiegel 58 (D), Tolman *Lex.* 38–40, Tol-

Xerxes Persepolis b. These thirty lines in Ancient-
Persian only are on the walls of the staircase at the
north side of the Column Hall. They were published
first by Le Brun cxxvi., then by Niebuhr, Porter,
Lassen, Grotefend, Texier, Flandin and Coste, and
in Stolze's Photographs. Copies will be found in
Kossowicz 101–103, Spiegel 62 (A), Tolman *Lex.* 40,

Xerxes Persepolis ca was also first published by Le
Brun cxxxii., later by Lassen, Rich, Flandin and
Coste, and in Stolze's Photographs. It consists of
fifteen lines on the door-posts at the southwest corner
of the palace of Darius. In the form cb it consists of
twenty-five lines on the south wall of the terrace
and was first published by Rich, later by Flandin and
Coste, and in Stolze's Photographs. The inscription
may be found in Kossowicz 99–100, Spiegel 62–64 (Ca
and Cb), Tolman *Lex.* 40–42, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 52–
58, Weissbach 110–112.

Xerxes Persepolis da, first published by Rich (then
by Flandin and Coste and in Stolze's Photographs)
consists of nineteen lines on pillars on the north side
of the palace of Xerxes. In the form db it appears
in twenty-eight lines on the outer side of the stairway
at the north of the palace and was first published by
Flandin and Coste, also in Stolze's Photographs.
Copies are given in Kossowicz 97–98, Spiegel 60–62
(Ea and Eb), Tolman *Lex.* 42, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 53–
54, Weissbach 112–114.

Xerxes Persepolis ea and eb. These four lines, first
published by Niebuhr, are found over the carved figure of the king, with his attendants holding the sunshade and the flysias, on the door-posts of the palace of Xerxes, ea on the north side, eb on the east side of the palace. They were published also by Saint-Martin and Rich. They are given in Kossowicz 96, Spiegel 60 (G), Tolman Lex. 42, Tolman Cun. Sup. 54–55, Weissbach 114.

42. Artaxerxes Persepolis a, three times repeated (aa, ac, ad), appears on the north terrace wall of the palace of Artaxerxes III. It consists of twenty-six lines and was first published by Rich, pl. xxiii. In the form of Art. Pers. b, in thirty-five lines, it is found beside the steps on the west side of the palace of Darius and was first published by Flandin and Coste, Vol. iii., pl. cxxv. Copies are given in Kossowicz 132–133, Spiegel 68–70 (P), Tolman Lex. 42–44, Tolman Cun. Sup. 55–56, Weissbach 128.

43. Nine or ten miles northwest of Persepolis, at Nakš-i-Rustam ("Picture of Rustam," a mythical hero), on the precipitous south side of the mountain, are hewn out the tombs of four Achaemenid kings. These tombs have the same form, each with four pillars, with the entrance at the middle. Over this are two rows of figures upholding a platform on which the king stands before an altar, and above is the divine symbol. On one of these tombs the following inscriptions are found:

NRa, at the left of the figure of the king, consists of sixty lines and was first published by Lassen, after Westergaard's copy, given also in Stolze's Photographs.

NRb appears underneath the rows of figures be-
tween the pillars at the left of the entrance and consists of sixty lines. The first nine of these were first published by Lassen, after Westergaard's copy; while the first fifteen were published by Rawlinson, also after Westergaard, only in transliteration (later also by Flandin and Coste). Additional readings have been furnished by the work of Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius*.

**NRc**, consisting of two lines over the figure of the spear-bearer at the left of the king; **NRd**, of two lines under the figure of the spear-bearer and over that of the bowman; and **NRe**, one line, over one of the figures carrying the throne, were first copied by Tasker and published by Rawlinson.

Over the heads of several other throne-bearers are inscriptions which have more recently been made out from copies by Babin and Houssay and are translated by Weissbach in *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius*, referred to by him as NR I., II., III., IV., XV., XVI., XVII., XXIX. (=NRe).


44. The Persian kings had their winter home at Susa, on the eastern bank of the Choaspes, in the province of Susiana. An area of several square miles is now covered by the ruins of the ancient city. From the excavations carried on here we have several inscriptions.

**Darius Susa a** and **b**, the one of five lines, the other of eleven, both mutilated, are on two clay tablets now
in the Louvre. They were first published by Dieulafoy, and copies are given in Tolman Lex. 48, Tolman Cun. Sup. 61–62, Weissbach 98.

45. Xerxes Susa, in two lines of three languages around a column base now in the Louvre, was photographed and published by J. de Morgan, Délégation en Perse i. 90. The photograph is copied with transliteration and translation in Tolman Lex. 1. The cuneiform copy is given in Tolman Cun. Sup. 62.

46. Artaxerxes Susa a, of five lines, is on the pedestals of four columns of a hall similar to the Column Hall at Persepolis. The inscription was first published by Loftus, as was also Art. Sus. b, one line on a pedestal taken from another part of the ruins and brought to the Louvre by Dieulafoy. Art. Sus. c, of seven lines and in Ancient Persian only, is on a stone plate now in the Louvre and was first published by Dieulafoy.


47. The Inscriptions of Suez, commemorating the completion of the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, are on a pillar found near Shaltfet-Terrabeh, in Egypt. On one of the two flat surfaces is a winged disc above, while the figures of two men below hold between them a tablet with an inscription of the single word “Darius” in Ancient Persian only (Suez a). Suez b, of seven lines, occurs in Persian at the right of the figures mentioned, in Elamite and Babylonian at the left. The whole lower part is occupied by Suez c, twelve lines, in Ancient Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, though the last is now wholly obliterated.
The hieroglyphics on the back side of the pillar are not a translation of the Persian text.

These three inscriptions were first published by Oppert in *L'Académie des Inscriptions*. Copies are found in Kossowicz 52–53, Spiegel 50–52 (Sz. b and Sz. c designated as SZ a and SZ b, respectively; Sz. a wanting), J. Ménant (1887), *Rec. de Travaux* 9, 131, G. Daressy ib. 11, 160ff, Tolman *Lex.* 50–52, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 64–65, Weissbach 102–104.

48. Darius Kerman. On three sides of a quadrangular pyramid of black stone from the shrine of Nimat-ullah at Maghan, a village near the city of Kerman, is found this inscription of nine lines. It was first published by J. A. Gobineau, *Traité de l'Écriture Cunéiforme* i. 323ff. It is also given by Jackson, *JAOS* 27, 193ff, Tolman *Lex.* 52, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 65–66, Weissbach 104.

49. South of Hamadan, on the steep side of the mountain of Elvend, are two niches with inscriptions. In the left niche, which is somewhat higher than the other, is the inscription Darius Elvend, consisting of twenty lines, published first by Fr. E. Schulz, then by Burnouf, by Flandin and Coste i., pl. 26, Spiegel 46 (O), De Morgan *Mission Scientifique* (2), pl. lvi., Jackson *Persia*, 170ff, Kossowicz 49, Tolman *Lex.* 52, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 66, Weissbach 100.

In the niche on the right is the inscription Xerxes Elvend, of twenty lines, first published by Burnouf after Schulz's copy (*Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions*, pl. 4, and *JA* 8, 9, pl. vi.), later in Texier 159, Flandin and Coste i., pl. 27, Spiegel 64–66 (F), Kossowicz 105, Tolman *Lex.* 52–53, Tolman *Cun. Sup.* 67, Weissbach 116.
50. Xerxes Van. In a rectangular niche sixty feet high, on the perpendicular rock of the citadel of Van, is found this inscription of Xerxes, consisting of twenty-seven lines. It was first published after Schulz's copy in JA iii. 9, pl. 2, and later in Texier 139, Spiegel 66 (K), Kossowicz 109–110, Lehman Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Academie d. Wiss., (1900), pl. ii., Tolman Lex. 54, Tolman Cun. Sup. 67–69, Weissbach 116–118.

51. Artaxerxes Hamadan. This inscription of seven lines on fragments of two pedestals found in Hamadan and now in the British Museum was first published in 1890 by B. T. Evetts in ZA 5, 413ff. It was described by Pinches (1885) PSBA 7, 132ff, and by Tolman in the Reexamination of the Inscription of Artaxerxes II., PAPA 36, 32. It may be found in Tolman Lex. 54, Tolman Cun. Sup. 69, Weissbach 126.

52. Murghab. In the ruins of a palace at Murghab, twenty-eight miles northeast of Persepolis, is a monolith on which, above the relief of a winged figure, was formerly an inscription of two lines: "I (am) Cyrus the king, the Achaemenid." It is repeated on three other pillars and was formerly on one high column, from which, however, it has now vanished. Since the name of the father is not given, some doubt has arisen whether it is to be assigned to Cyrus the Elder, son of Cambyses, or Cyrus the Younger, son of Darius Nothus. But the elder Cyrus had hitherto left only Babylonian inscriptions, and it has been thought improbable that he would have adopted a new language for a single two-line inscription. And Darius seems to say (Bh. L) that he was the first to write an inscription in the Aryan language.
This inscription was first published by Morier pl. 29. Later it is given in Ouseley Travels 2, pl. 49, Porter 1, pl. 13, Saint-Martin JA 2, Rich pl. 12, Texier 2, pl. 84, Flandin and Coste 4, pl. 199 A–E, Spiegel 2 (M), Dieulafoy L'Art Antique de la Perse 1, pls. 13 and 14, Curzon Persia, 270ff, Jackson Persia, 279ff, Tolman Lex. 56, Tolman Cun. Sup. 69, Weissbach 126.

53. Darius Seal. On one side of a small cylinder now in the British Museum is this inscription of a single line, which was first published by Grotefend in Neue Beitr. 5, Fig. ii. It has been frequently copied and may be found in Kossowicz 57, Spiegel 50 (Na), Tolman Lex. 56, Tolman Cun. Sup. 70, Weissbach 106.

54. Other Seal Inscriptions are the following:
   a. This inscription, now in the British Museum, consists of eight lines, and was first published by Grotefend in 1850, ZKM 7, pl. 5. It is also given by Layard Discoveries 2, 607, Spiegel 70 (R), Kossowicz 136, Ménant Les Achéménides (1872), King Handbook of Engraved Gems 203, pl. v., Tolman Lex. 56, Tolman Cun. Sup. 70, Weissbach 130.
   b. This consists of three mutilated lines on a seal formerly in the possession of A. Raifé in Paris. It was first published by Lenormant in his Catalogue de la Collection A. Raifé 69, later by Ménant 153, also Tolman Lex. 56, Tolman Cun. Sup. 70, Weissbach 130.
   c and d. These two inscriptions of a single word each were first published by De Gobineau in 1874 in RA. (Nouv. ser.) 27, 383. They are given in Tolman Lex. 56, Tolman Cun. Sup. 70, Weissbach 130.