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Early New Persian in Syriac script: Two texts from Turfan

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Abstract
The German Turfan collection includes fragments of two Early New Persian manuscripts in Syriac script, a bilingual (Syriac and New Persian) Psalter and a pharmacological handbook containing prescriptions similar to those in the Syriac Book of Medicines published by E. A. W. Budge. Both texts make use of certain non-Syriac characters, some of which were also used for writing Sogdian while others may have been created especially for writing Persian in Syriac script. The Syriac text of the Psalter fragments is that of the Peshitta; the translation is particularly valuable for the vocalization of the Persian words. In addition to many unusual and interesting words, the pharmacological fragments attest the rare Syriac numeral symbols derived from those of ancient Aramaic. The present article contains a transliteration and translation of all these texts together with a glossary and full philological discussion.
Keywords: Early New Persian language, Syriac script, German Turfan collection, Syriac Psalter, Syriac pharmacology, Syriac numeral symbols

1. Two folios from a bilingual Psalter[1]

The existence in the German Turfan collection of a bilingual Psalter in Syriac and New Persian was first made known in 1915 by F. W. K. Müller, who identified and published the fragment T II B 57, the upper part of a double folio. This fragment is now preserved in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (formerly Museum für Indische Kunst) in Berlin, where it bears the shelf-mark MIK III/112. Many years later, a further fragment of the same double folio, T II B 64 [No. 4] (shelf-mark SyrHT 153), was discovered by Werner Sundermann in the Staatsbibliothek in what was then West Berlin. The addition of this fragment almost completes the second folio, which now lacks only the bottom inner corner. In his 1974 article Sundermann therefore re-edited this folio, revising Müller's text and combining it with the newly-discovered fragment. Unfortunately, he made only a few remarks on Müller's text of the first folio,

1 See Plates 1–3. I am grateful to the authorities of the relevant institutions in Berlin for permission to publish photographs of MIK III/112 (Asian Art Museum – South, Southeast and Central Asian Art Collections, National Museums in Berlin) and SyrHT 153 (Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung) and to my wife Ursula for kindly making the montages.

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although a revised edition would certainly have been worthwhile, not only because T II B 64 includes a tiny piece of the inner margin of this folio, with parts of a few letters from the beginning of R10 and the ends of V9–11, but also because Müller's mixed system of transcription and transliteration is extremely idiosyncratic and awkward to interpret. It is even more unfortunate that Sundermann's otherwise excellent edition of the second folio is disfigured by numerous misprints. In view of the uniqueness of this text and its high importance for the history of the Persian language, the history of the Syriac script, and the history of the Christian church in Central Asia, I make no further excuse for presenting a new edition and translation of the complete text.

The double folio contains Psalms 131.18–132.1, 133.1–3, and 146.5–147.7 (according to the numbering of the Peshitta), including the numbers and headings to Psalms 132, 133, and 147,[2] parts of which are written in red ink, but not the "Canons" of Mar Aba. Marginal rubrics indicate the number of half-verses (*petgāme*) in each Psalm and the beginning of a new *marmitā* (a subdivision of the Psalter) with Psalm 147.[3] These annotations agree precisely with those found in the Psalter used today in the "Church of the East".[4]

The Persian text is written in Syriac script, making use of some non-Syriac letters and conventions.[5] Some of these letters and conventions are identical to those commonly found in Sogdian texts in Syriac script, in particular the use of *ṣadhe* <c>[6] to represent [č] and [ǰ] and the new characters <f> (a modified *pe*) and <x> (a modified *kaph*) to represent [f] and [x] respectively; the absence of the Sogdian character <ž> (a modified *zain*) may be a matter of chance, since the sound [ž] is rare in Persian and no word in which it would be expected happens to occur in this text. On the other hand, the letters *qoph* <q>, *ṭeth* <ṭ>, and '*e* <'> are only used in Syriac words and are not used (as in Sogdian) for the sounds [k], [t], and [γ]. Instead, [k] is written by means of *kaph* <k>, [t] by means of *tau* ṭ, and [γ] by means of a modified *gamal*, here transliterated <ǧ>. As already noted by W. B. Henning, this modified *gamal* is also attested in the only other known New Persian Turfan text in Syriac script, the fragmentary pharmacological manuscript published in the second part of this article;[7] apparently it was also used in at least one Sogdian text, but the latter is now lost and known only from a transliteration by Olaf Hansen.[8] As for the other voiced fricatives, [δ] is (facultatively) represented in Syriac fashion by a *dalath* with an extra subscript dot (*rukkākā*),[9] here transliterated <δ>, e.g. *sδ* beside *sd* [saδ] "hundred", while [v] is (also facultatively) represented by a modified *beth*, here transliterated <β>. The existence of such a letter, as distinct from the simple

2 Cf. Bloemendaal 1960: 85–6, 91.
3 See Sundermann 1974: 448.
4 Cf. the Psalter printed at the end of each volume of the Trichur edition of the *Ḥudrā* (Darmo 1960–62).
5 For the following cf. Sundermann 1974: 448–52.
6 The letters *ṣadhe* and *ḥeth* are transliterated as <c> and <ḫ> respectively (rather than <ṣ> and <ḥ>) in order to avoid confusion with the letters *semkath* and *he* with subscript points.
7 See Henning 1958: 79 and Sundermann 1974: 451 with n. 57.
8 See Sims-Williams 1995: 62–3.
9 Already noted by Müller 1915: 216.

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<b>, has not previously been noticed: it occurs here only in the Persian spelling of the name of Babylon, *b^{ā}'β^{e}l* and *b'βl* (beside *b'bl*), all of which, like Syriac *bbl* (the spelling used in the Syriac part of the bilingual), were no doubt pronounced [bāvēl] or [bāvĕl].

As Sundermann has already noted, the letter *ḥeth* <ḫ> is used in the Persian part of the bilingual for the equivalent Arabic letter *ḥā* (only attested in *ḫ^{a}d* [ḥad (d)] "border"). One might expect the letter *qoph* <q> to be used for Arabo-Persian [q], but the only word in which this sound should have occurred, *sāq* "shank", is spelt with <g>, *s'gh^{ā}* [sāg-hā] "shanks", perhaps indicating voicing or neutralization in final position.[10]

A notable feature of this manuscript is the rather full vocalization by means of *matres lectionis* (the letters *alaph*, *yodh* and *waw*) and diacritic points: [ā] is represented by the letter *alaph* ('), usually accompanied by the points known as *zqāpā* (^{ā}' or '^{ā}), while [ă] can be represented by *ptāḥā* (^{a}), which in initial position is accompanied by *alaph* ('^{a}); [ē/ĕ] is represented by *zlāmā qašyā* (^{e}), with or (rarely) without an accompanying *yodh* (^{e}y or y^{e}) or *alaph* (^{e}' or '^{e}), [ī/ĭ] by *ḥbāṣā* (y^{i}), in initial position optionally preceded by *alaph* ('y^{i}), [ō/ŏ] by *rwāḥā* (w^{o}), [ū/ŭ] by *alāṣā* (w^{u}).[11] In all cases the points are optional while the *matres lectionis* appear to be compulsory, at least for the long vowels.[12] Finally, we may note the use of a point above a final *-h* in *hm^{a}ḥ* [hamah] "all", presumably to indicate that it retains its consonantal value,[13] and over *yodh* to indicate a consonantal [y] in *mẏ'n* [mayān] "middle" (a usage also attested in some Sogdian texts in Syriac script).

Text[14]

folio I, recto (Plate 1a)

1 bhtt'. wmr dw^{u}šmn^{ā}'n^{a}š r^{ā}' '^{a}ndr
2 pwš^{ā}'n^{a}m š^{a}rm ⁖ w'lwhy n'p.. ' qwdšy.
3 wbr y^{a}k dw^{u} bw^{a}δ p'ky^{i}m ⁖ {*red*} dm'' wtltyn wtrtyn
4 {*black*} sδ wsy^{i} wdw^{u}w^{u}m {*red*} mbdq 'l pwnyh d'm'
5 dbbbl ⁖ {*black*} nm'y^{a}δ br b'zg^{a}št^{a}n y^{i} r^{a}m k[15] '^{a}z
6 b^{ā}'β^{e}l ⁖ 'kḫd' 'tydyn hw^{u}w lm'mr
7 dbyt ysryl wyhwd' {*red*} py^{a}kc^{ā}'y pyr^{ā}'st bw^{u}δnd

10 Sundermann 1974: 450–51. For the voicing in *sāg(hā)* < *sāq* Sundermann compares the Manichaean script spelling *xlg* for Arabo-Persian *xalq* "creature".

11 Possibly *zlāmā qašyā* without *yodh* (only in *b^{ā}'β^{e}l* "Babylon") is intended to stand for short [ĕ] and initial <y^{i}> without preceding *alaph* (only the ezafe *y^{i}* [-i] and forms of *istāδan* "to stand") for short [ĭ], but the examples are few and hence uncertain. – *zlāmā pšiqā* (..) and *syāme* (¨) occur only in the Syriac text.

12 An exceptional case is *t^{a}rs^{ā}'^{ā}n* [tarsā'ān] (IIr19), where the single *alaph* perhaps stands for two.

13 Cf. Segal 1953: 26.

14 Note the following editorial conventions: [xyz] = letters wholly restored; (xyz) = letters not unambiguously legible; (*xyz*) = traces consistent with the reading proposed; <xyz> = letters added secondarily by the scribe; ••• = unidentified letters.

15 Throughout the manuscript, this word is written as a separate but non-final *k*.

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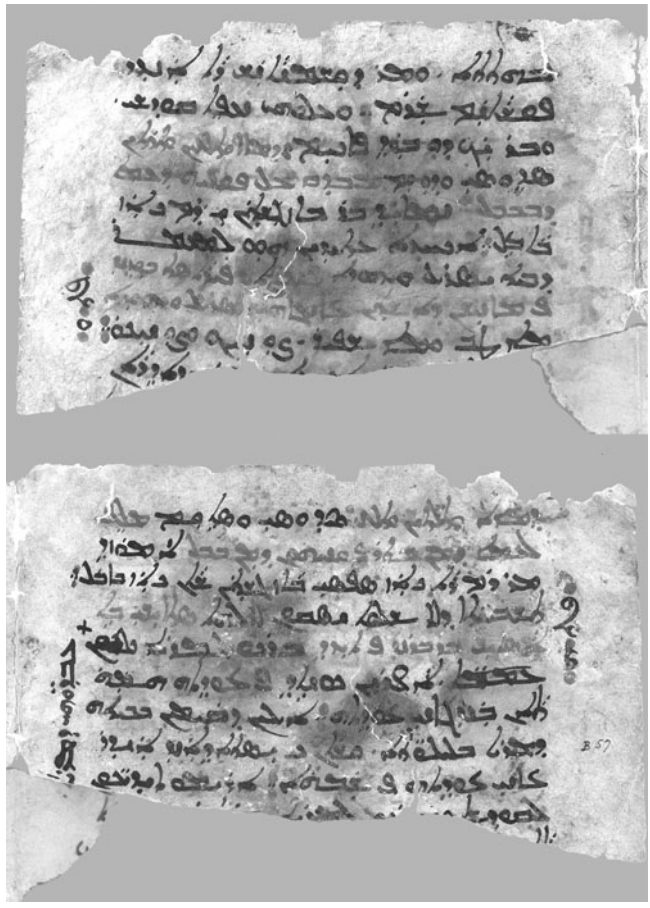


Plate 1a–b. Syriac–New Persian bilingual Psalter (T II B 57 = MIK III/112 + T II B 64 [No. 4] = SyrHT 153), folio I, recto and verso

8 p m'ny^{i}šn d'št^{a}n x'ng'hy^{i} [y]sryl wyhwd'[16]
9 {*black*} m' ṭb wm' špyr. cw^{u} ny^{e}k wcw^{u} ny^{i}kw^{o} ⁘
10 (l)['ẖ̈' m](')[d'm](r̈)[yn]'(*k*)[ẖ](*d*)'[⁘](*mr*)[ ](*br*)'δr^{ā}'n[17]
11 [r^{ā}'](')

folio I, verso (Plate 1b)
1 [18]{*red*} dm'' wtltyn wtlt ⁘ {*black*} sd wsy^{i} ws'^{e}w^{u}m {*red*} m..lp
2 l'm' dṃn btr pwnyhwn dṃn bbl {*black*} '^{ā}mw^{o}zδ
3 mr rm r^{ā}' k '^{a}z spsy^{i} b^{ā}'z gšt^{a}n š^{ā}'n k '^{a}z b'βl ⁘
4 tšbẖ̈t' dl' šlw' nsqwn l'lh' {*red*} st'y^{i}šy^{i} b^{e}'

16 In the outer margin: o *pt* o *w* o "6 *petgāme*".
17 Written without the expected point above the first *r*.
18 Possible traces of a verso-mark in red ink in the outer margin.

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5 ’ā s’y^i š br brnd p ’y^izδ[19] {*black*} brkw lmry’ klkwn <‘bdẅhy dmry’ >[20]
6 ’ā fry^in kw^un’^eδ p xwδ’h hm^aḥ
7 t^ā’n b^andg^ā’ny^i xwδ’h ⋄ ’ylyn dq̈ymyn bbyth
8 dmry’ blylẅt’. wš^ā’n k y^ist’δ[21] ’^and[22] ’^andr
9 x’ny^i xwδ’h p š^abh^ā’ ⋄ ’rymw ’ydÿkwn
10 lqwdš(’ w*brkw*)l(mr)y’[⋄ b](r)[ ](’)[w](r)[’^eδ dst](h)’
11 (t^ā’)[n nbrk](k)

folio II, recto (Plate 2)

1 wp’δy^ā’w^andst zw^ohrš ⋄ wl(y)t sk’ lswklh.
2 wny^est cwmlgy^i mr šn^ā’s^ā’y^iš r^ā’ ⋄ mrym
3 mry’ lmsk¨n’. bzw^urg kw^un^aδ xwδ’h[23] mr
4 drwy^eš^ā’n r^ā’ ⋄ wmmk¨k l‘ẅ^ā l’[24] ‘dm’ l’r‘’.
5 wp^ast kw^un^aδ mr b^eyd’δy^i gr^ā’n t^ā’ zmy^i ⋄
6 <šbḫw>[25] lmry’ bšwbḫ’. st’y^iš th’^eδ mr
7 xwδ’h[26] r^ā’ p st’y^iš ⋄ zmrw lmry’ bknr¨’.
8 sr^ā w’^eδ mr xwδ’h r^ā’ p ky^en^ā’rh^ā’ ⋄ dmks¨’
9 šmy’ b‘n¨n’. k pw^oš^ā’n^aδ ’^ās m^ā’n r^ā’ p
10 ’^ab(r)[h](^ā)’ ⋄ ẏhb mṭr’[27] ‘l ’r‘’.
11 th^aδ b’r^ā’n br zmy^i ⋄ mw‘¨’ ‘myr’ ‘l
12 ṭwr¨’. rw^oy^ā’n^aδ gy^ā’ br kw^oh^ā’ ⋄ ẏhb
13 lb‘yr’ m’kwlt’. th^aδ mr stw^or r^ā’ xw^ordny^i ⋄
14 wlbn¨y n‘b’ m’kwlt’. wmr gw^ur^ā’ğ [b]cg^ā’n[28]
15 [r](’)[k](*x*)[w](’)n^and ⋄ l’ ċb’ mry’ bḫylh
16 [dswsy’ ⋄ n]xw^ā’h^aδ xwd’h p ny^irw^o y^i ’^asp ⋄
17 [’pl’ bšqw]hy dgnbr’ ċb’. n^any^iz p s’gh^ā’y^i
18 [k’]m^aδ ⋄ ’l’ ċb’ mry’ bdḫ¨lwhy.
19 [xwd](’)h p t^ars^ā’^ān^aš[29] ⋄ wb’ylyn
20 [dmskyn lṭyb](w)th {*red*} dm’’ w’rb‘yn wšb‘ {*black*} sd
21 [wcyhyl whftw](*m*) {*red*} ‘l ’pÿ ’ylyn d’st‘r lwt
22 [‘m’ dpnw mn bb](*l*) {*black*} (*b*)r ’^ān cy^izh^ā’ k krdh bw^uδnd

19 In the outer margin: o *pt* o *h* o “5 *petgāme*”.
20 Added in the inner margin in the place of *‘mm¨’* (deleted at the beginning of line 6).
21 Not written with *zqāpā* (-t^ā’-) as implied by Müller’s transcription *-tâ-*.
22 Probably to be read as a separate word, since it is only in initial position that *ă* is written with *alaph*.
23 The supposed point under the *x* (Sundermann 1974: 443 n. 10) seems to be imaginary.
24 There are only three points over the *w*, arranged in the form of a triangle (Δ), but clearly *syāme* + *zqāpā* is intended.
25 Added above deleted *zmrw*.
26 The point between the upper and lower parts of *x*- is presumably accidental.
27 Added after deleted *lḫ(m)’* “bread” (a mistake due to the occurrence of the phrase *ẏhb lḫm’* “gives bread” in the preceding psalm).
28 This part of the manuscript has benefitted from restoration since it was read by Sundermann. It is now clear that there is not room for his reading *(cwz)g^ā’n* “chicks”.
29 [Sic.], with *zqāpā* over both *s* and *’*.

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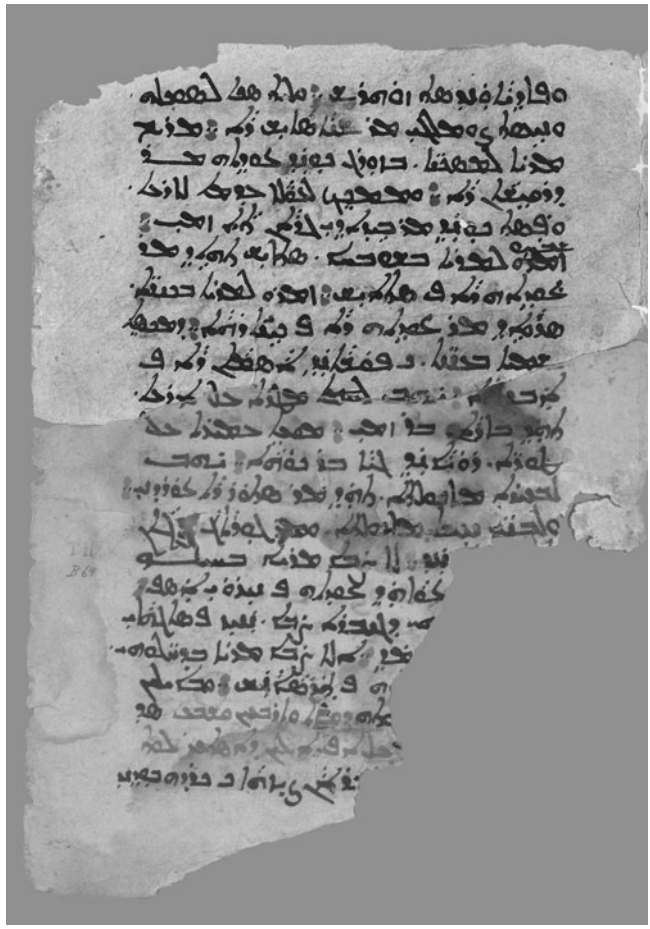


Plate 2. Syriac–New Persian bilingual Psalter (T II B 57 = MIK III/112 + T II B 64 [No. 4] = SyrHT 153), folio II, recto

folio II, verso (Plate 3)

1 [30]ny[i]zdy[i] rm k b'zgšt[a]nd[31] '[a]z b'byl ⁘ wmwd'
2 ṃn prcwphwn l'lh' 'ḫyd kl.[32] xwstwy[i33]
3 {*red*} th[a]δ '[a]z rw[o]y[i] '[e]š[ā]'n mr 'y[i]zδ r[ā]' d[ā]'rndh hm[a]h
4 {*black*} šbḫy 'wršlm lmry'. st[ā]'y[i]š d[e]'
5 'wršlm p xwδ'h ⁘ wšbḫy l'lhky
6 chywn. wst'y[i]š d[e]' p 'y[i]zδt chywn ⁘ mṭl
7 d''š̤n mwk̤'l' dtr̤''yky. '[e]r[ā]' k pny[i]rw[o]

30 A cross in the outer margin marks the beginning of the first line of the verso (a characteristic feature of the Christian manuscripts from Turfan). Below this stands the abbreviation o *mrm* o indicating that the next Psalm is the first of a new *marmitā*.
31 Apparently altered from *p-* (thus Müller).
32 Added in the inner margin: o *pt* o *yḫ* o "18 *petgāme*".
33 It was no doubt by mistake that this word was written in black ink.

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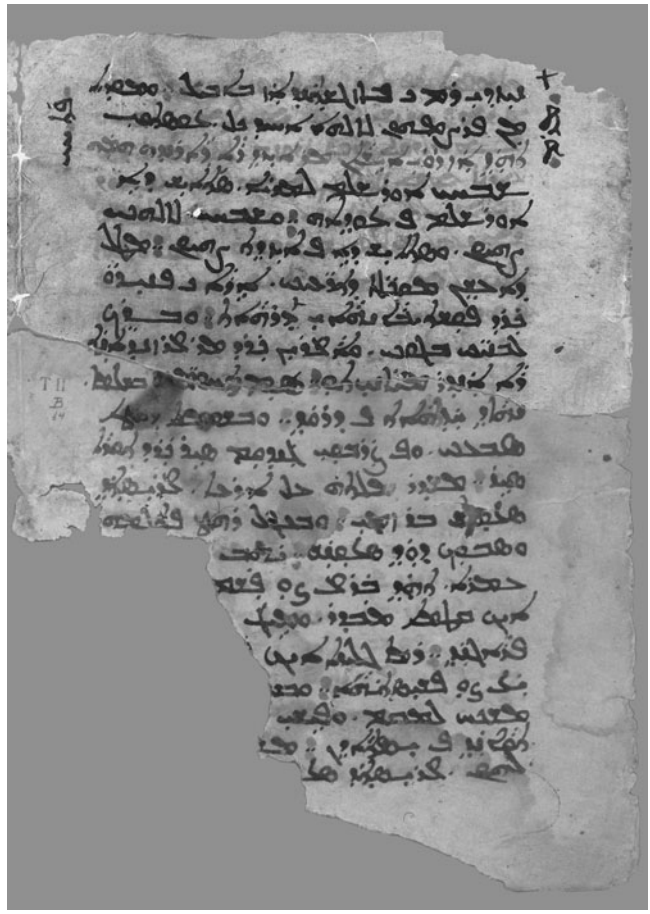


Plate 3. Syriac–New Persian bilingual Psalter (T II B 57 = MIK III/112 + T II B 64 [No. 4] = SyrHT 153), folio II, verso.

8 k^{a}rd pw^{u}štyb^{ā}’nh^{ā}’y^{i} drh^{ā}’t[34] ⁘ wbr k̈
9 lbnÿky bgwky. w’^{ā}fry^{i}n k^{a}rd mr frznd’n^{a}t
10 r^{ā}, ’^{a}ndr mẏ’ny^{i} tw^{u} ⁘ s^{ā}m̤ tḫwm̈ (*yky*) bšlm’.
11 nh^{ā}’δ ḫ^{a}dh^{ā}’t[35] p drw^{o}δ ⁘ wbšwmn’ d(ḫ)ṭ’
12 sb‘ky. wp c^{a}rbw^{u}y^{i} g^{a}ndw^{u}m sy^{e}r k^{a}rd twr^{ā}’
13 sy^{e}r ⁘ mšdr mlth ‘l ’r‘’. fry^{i}st^{a}δ
14 sxw^{u}[n^{a}](š)[36] br zmy^{i} ⁘ wb‘gl rht̤ pt(g)mh[.]
15 wsbw^{u}k dw^{a}δ sxw^{u}n^{a}š ⁘ ẏhb [tlg’ ’yk]
16 ‘mr’. th^{a}δ b^{a}rf cw^{u} pšm [⁘ w‘rpl’]
17 ’yk qṭm’ mbdr. wmy^{e}ğ [ ]

34 A mark of unclear significance above *d*-.
35 Apparently altered from *ḫdt*.
36 Altered from *-t*.

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18 pr$^{\bar{a}}$’gn^{a}δ ⁘ rm’ gly(d)’[37] ’yk (*p*̈)[t’ ⁘]
19 y^{a}x cw^{u} pšy^{i}st^{a}h$^{\bar{a}}$’ ⁘ wq(*d*)[m ‘ryh mnw]
20 mškḫ lmqm. wpy^{e}šy^{i} [ ]
21 tw$^{\bar{a}}$’n^{a}δ p y^{i}st$^{\bar{a}}$’δn ⁘ m(š)[dr mlth wmpšr]
22 lhwn. fry^{i}st^{a}d sx[w^{u}n^{a}š]

Translation

folio I, recto

(Psalm 131, v. 18) . . . *shame* – And His enemies I shall clothe with shame – *and upon Him my holiness shall flourish* – and my purity shall be doubled.[38]
(Psalm 132). *One hundred and thirty-second*. One hundred and thirty-second. *He reveals the return of the people which (was) in Babylon.* He reveals the return of the people from Babylon. *Those of the house of Israel and Judah were ready to dwell together*. (Those of) the house of Israel and Judah were prepared to have (their) habitation together. (v. 1) *How good and how excellent (it is)* – How good and how *excellent* (it is) – *for [brothers, when they dwell] together* – for brothers . . .”

folio I, verso

(Psalm 133). *One hundred and thirty-third*. One hundred and thirty-third. *He teaches the people after their return from Babylon.* He teaches the people after their return from Babylon. *Praises without ceasing they raise to God*. Praise without ceasing they offer to God. (v. 1) *Bless the Lord, all you servants of the Lord* – Bless the Lord, all you servants of the Lord – *those who stand in the house of the Lord in the nights* – those who have stood in the house of the Lord in the nights. (v. 2) *Lift up your hands to holiness and bless the Lord* – [Lift up] your hands [to holiness and bless the Lord]. (v. 3) *[May the Lord bless] you* . . .

folio II, recto

(Psalm 146, v. 5) . . . and mighty is His power – *and there is no limit to His understanding* – and there is no summation to His knowledge. (v. 6) *The Lord raises up the poor* – The Lord makes great the poor – *and He casts down the wicked unto the ground* – and He casts down those who perform iniquity unto the ground. (v. 7) *Praise the Lord with praise* – Give praise to the Lord with praise – *sing to the Lord with harps* – sing to the Lord with harps! (v. 8) *Who covers the sky with clouds* – Who clothes the sky with clouds – *gives rain upon the earth* – gives rain upon the earth – *makes the grass grow on the mountains* – makes the grass grow on the mountains. (v. 9) *He gives food to cattle* – He gives food to cattle – *and to the children of the raven food*[39] – and to the children of the raven [which] cry out. (v. 10) *The Lord*

37 The point below *d* is very faint.
38 A mistranslation due to the ambiguity of the underlying Syriac root *‘p’* (cf. Sundermann 1974: 447–8).
39 As pointed out by Sundermann 1974: 445 n. 35, 446 n. 37, the word *m’kwlt’* “food” from the previous line is repeated here by mistake, but the translation *[k](x)[w](’)n^{a}nd* “which cry out” corresponds to the correct Syriac text *d-qr*̈*yn*.

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does not take pleasure in the strength [of a horse] – The Lord does [not] take pleasure in the strength of a horse – *[nor] does He take pleasure in the shanks of a hero* – nor does He [take pleasure] in the shanks of [a hero]. (v. 11) *But the Lord takes pleasure in those who fear Him* – [But the Lord takes pleasure] in those who fear Him – and in those [who await] His [loving-kind]ness.[40]
(Psalm 147). *One hundred and forty-seventh*. One hundred [and forty-seventh]. *On those (things) which happened to [the people who returned from Babylon]*. On those things which were done

folio II, verso
with regard to the people who returned from Babylon. *And he praises God, the holder of all, in their presence*. He confesses[41] to God, the holder of all, in their presence. (v. 1) *Praise the Lord, Jerusalem* – Give praise to the Lord, Jerusalem – *and praise your God, Zion* – and give praise to your God, Zion. (v. 2) *Because He has strengthened the bars of your gates* – Because He has strengthened the bars of your gates – *and has blessed your children in your midst* – and has blessed your children in your midst. (v. 3) *He has established your borders in peace* – He has established your borders in peace – *and has satisfied you with the fat of the wheat* – and has satisfied[42] you with the fat of the wheat. (v. 4) *He sends His word upon the earth* – He sends His word upon the earth – *and His word runs swiftly* – and His word runs swiftly. (v. 5) *He gives [snow like] wool* – He gives snow like wool – *[and] scatters [fog] like ashes* – and scatters fog[43] [like ashes]. (v. 6) *He scatters ice like [scraps]* – [He scatters] ice like scraps – *and [who] can stand before [His frost]?* – and [who] can stand before [His frost]? (v. 7) *He [sends His word and melts] them* – He sends [His] word …

2. Two folios from a pharmacological text[44]

M 7340 (T II Toyoq) is a squarish fragment from one of the bottom corners of a folio, with symmetrical creases and tears which indicate that it was formerly folded both horizontally and vertically. No single line is complete; to judge

40 The translation of the last phrase is omitted by mistake.
41 As pointed out by Sundermann 1974: 446 n. 39, the translator has adopted the wrong sense of the Syriac root *yd'*.
42 The reason for the repetition of *sy^{e}r* "satisfied" is not clear (cf. Sundermann 1974: 446 n. 40).
43 The Persian translation indicates that *'rpl'* "fog", a typically East Syrian reading, must be restored in the Syriac text of line 16 rather than *glyd'* "ice" as in the West Syrian text (see Sundermann 1974: 447 n. 41).
44 Both fragments are preserved in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Colour photographs can be found by searching under the numbers M 7340 and n 175 on its website:
http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/m/dta_m_0076.html
http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/n/dta_n0005.html
I take this opportunity to acknowledge the fact that I read these pharmacological fragments many years ago in the company of Werner Sundermann and that he was the first to discover many of the interpretations presented here. Unfortunately my notes do not indicate precisely which are his and which are mine.

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from those lines which can be at least partially reconstructed, not more than two-thirds of the width of the original page survives at any point. Most of the text is written in red ink. Although the signature M 7340 suggests a Manichaean manuscript, Mary Boyce's catalogue of the Turfan texts in Manichaean script rightly identifies it as "New Pers[ian] in Syriac script", citing W. B. Henning's identification of the fragment as containing a pharmacological text concerning kinds of oils.[45]

Since recto and verso cannot be determined with complete certainty, the two sides of this fragment will be referred to here as A and B. Side B is somewhat faded and in parts obscured by ink impressions from another folio. The first two lines of this side are inscribed in black ink and may contain a section title. The rest of the text contains recipes for three kinds of medicinal oil (*rōγan*), whose names may mean "brassiness oil", "watermelon oil" and "camel-blanket oil". Each of these names is written on a separate line, centred on the page (A6, A14, B3), and repeated in black ink in the side margins. Each recipe begins with a paragraph (A7, A15–16, B4–7) listing the medical conditions for which it is effective: the formula *šāyaδ* … *-rā* "it is appropriate for …" is best preserved in B4–7. It continues on a new line (as is clear from the fact that the last part of line A7 is left blank) with a list of ingredients and amounts, the latter expressed in *zwz* "drams", with an occasional instruction as to the preparation of the ingredients: *[…] ǰudābī-tar* "[make it] drier" (B10). Although the text is poorly preserved, its formulaic structure and regular layout make it relatively easy to determine the general sense, for instance, which words are names of diseases and which those of ingredients.

Another folio of this manuscript is constituted by a group of three small fragments (T II B 69, T II B 69, T II B 14[b]) which are now joined together into a single fragment of irregular shape bearing the shelf-mark n 175. The shape of the fragment, especially the positions of the tears, makes it likely that it was at some time folded together with M 7340, despite the signatures implying that one was found in Toyoq and the other at Bulayïq. Once again, the order of the two sides is unclear: here they will be referred to as C and D. In this case the text is written entirely in black ink, except for a few punctuation marks in red. Unfortunately only a word or two is preserved in each line, but the general structure of the text seems to be similar to that of M 7340, as is indicated in particular by the centred heading in D11, probably naming a particular kind of pill (*gōlī*), and the immediately following formula with *šāyaδ* … "it is appropriate (for) …" in D12. A similar recipe probably began in C15, where the blank space at the end of the line suggests the former presence of a centred heading. As in M 7340, most of the surviving text consists of lists of ingredients and amounts. Once the amount is given in *stēr* "staters" (D5) instead of *zwz* "drams". A few verbal forms, e.g. *bar āmēz* "mix" (D8), are attested as part of the instructions for preparing the medicine.

This manuscript displays a considerable linguistic variety. The text as a whole is clearly in Persian, and the greater part of its vocabulary consists of Persian words (including those of Arabic origin). Words of foreign origin are of course

45 Boyce 1960, 130; thus already Henning 1958: 79.

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used for some of the plants and other ingredients, but sometimes Syriac words are used rather than their Persian counterparts for no discernible reason. Examples are *ḥmr'* "wine" (D10) and *knšmy'* "dropsy" (B1*, B4), as well as the numbers to be mentioned below. Sogdian influence may also be seen in *gāw-rōγan* (A4) or *γāw-rōγan* (A8) "butter" as opposed to Persian *rōγan-i gāw*,[46] while the verbal form *buwā* "let it be" (D2, D9) seems to be of Parthian origin.

The present text is similar in many points to the prescriptions or recipes in the first part of the Syriac "Book of Medicines" published by Budge (1913). These typically begin with a statement of the illness or illnesses for which the medicine is efficacious (*ḥšḥ* "is suitable") followed by a list of ingredients and amounts, commonly measured in drams (*zwz'*, *zwz*, pl. *zwz̈'*, *zwz̈*) but also in ounces (*'wn*), staters (*'styr̈'*) etc., and instructions for preparing the medicine. Many of the ingredients, such as aniseed, ginger, liquorice, pepper and spikenard, are also the same as those attested in our text.

A remarkable feature of Budge's manuscript is its systematic use of the ancient Aramaic numeral symbols.[47] In our text the numbers are generally written in words, either Syriac (*'sr'* "10" or *'sryn* "20",[48] *ḥmšt'sr* "15", *št'sr* "16", *'rb'm''* "400") or Persian (*čahār* "4", *hašt* "8", *sēzdah* "13", *bīst* "20", *sī*(?) "30", *hazār* "1000"), but, as Sebastian Brock has kindly pointed out to me, the numeral symbols are attested at least once, in line C11: *3 .. 3 ..* (written *zyz .. zyz ..*, exactly as *apud* Budge) "three (drams) each". Just above this, at the end of line C9, is a complex character which seems most likely to represent the numeral symbol for "100". In this connection it is worth mentioning that the symbol for "5", which resembles the letter *'e*, may occur in T II B 17 No. 4 (shelf-mark SyrHT 1), a Syriac pharmacological fragment from Bulayïq published by Miklós Maróth in 1984. In line 9 of this text, a recipe for preventing the growth of unwanted hair begins with the words *ṣwr '. prḥdẅd' b'wrq't' dktn'*, which I understand as: "tie up five bats in a piece of linen cloth".[49]

The orthography of these pharmacological fragments resembles that of the bilingual Psalter in many respects. In particular we may observe the use of *ṣadhe* <c> to represent [č] and [ǰ] and the occurrence of the non-Syriac letters <f>, <x>, <ğ> and <β> (this last only in C6, in an incomplete word). On the other hand, [δ] is always represented by the simple <d>, not by <δ>. The letters *ḥeth* <ḫ> and *'e* <'> are attested only in Syriac words, but *qoph* <q> is used, as expected, for Arabo-Persian [q] in words such as *qwlnc* [qaulanǰ] "colic".[50]

This text is much less fully vocalized than the Psalter, though the system seems to be the same in general. However, a word-internal [ā] is not always represented by *alaph* but is sometimes indicated by *zqāpā* ($^{\bar{a}}$) alone as in $g^{\bar{a}}w$ [gāw] "cow", or left unmarked as in the final syllables of $k^{\bar{a}}$*'hš-grftgn* [kāhiš-griftagān]

46 The form with initial *γ-* is purely Sogdian, while that with *g-* is partially Persianized.
47 For tables of these numeral signs see Budge 1913, I: 446 (headed *'ẅt' dsymwn* "The characters of Simon"; ibid., II: 525; Brock and Taylor 2001: 59.
48 Only in B12, where either restoration of *'(s)[* is equally possible.
49 Differently Maróth 1984: 119–20. For the use of bats' blood to prevent the hair from growing see Budge 1913, II: 691.
50 Or [qūlinǰ]? This example was already mentioned by Sundermann (1974: 451).

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"those affected by consumption" and *spndn* [spandān] "mustard". As in the Psalter, [ē] can be represented by the combination of *zlāmā qašyā* with *alaph* (ᵉ') as in *sᵉ'zdᵃh* [sēzdah] "13", but here too it may be that the points could be omitted and that *alaph* alone could represent [ē], in which case *rwy'ny* (B3 and margin) may be read [rōyēnī] "redness, brassiness".[51]

Finally, we may note that *k-* [ke] "who" is written together with the following word and that the ezafe *-y* [-i] is always attached to the preceding word, unlike the Psalter, where *k* is always and *yⁱ* is usually written separately.

Text

Side A[52]

1 *traces only*
2 [ ].. wqdr[53] .. wpylpl (..) spndny •••[ ]
3 [ ]•'m'rg .. wswn'q .. wsyr ..
4 [ ]ry gāw .. ch'r .. ch'r .. zwz .. gwrwğn ..
5 [⁘].
6[54] [.⁘](*r*)wğny xᵃrbwz ⁘.
7 [š'yd —](*r' w*)tbhr' ⁘.
8 [ ](')rb'm'' zwz ⁘. ğāwrwğn[55] ..
9 [ ]ṁn[56] ⁘. qndy xwzy
10 [ ](r) .. wqyrfh .. ws'dy
11 [ ](') .. hšt .. hšt .. (z)wz(..)
12 [.](.) wzncbyl (..) št'sr ..
13 [št'sr .. z]wz ⁘.
14[57] [ ](r)wğny cmlfr'š ⁘.
15 [š'yd —r']⁘. wdrdy phlwhār' ⁘. wkā'hš grft-
16 -gnr' (..)

Side B[58]

1 (knšmy'r'. —)cr'.[59] myᵉlycr'.[60] drd(y ny*m*)[sr?]
2 (r' w——)[r](').[ ]
3[61] .⁘ rwğny rwy'ny ⁘.[ ]
4 š'yd ⁘. knšm(y)'r' ⁘. wqwl(nc)r'[⁘.]

51 This form may be attested as MMP *rwynyy* in a glossary fragment published by Henning (1940: 46–7, fragment *o*, line 5). The Sogd. equivalent is *rwδnyy*, probably an adj. "made of brass or copper".
52 The whole page in red ink apart from the marginalia and some punctuation points.
53 The *d* of *wqdr* and the *r* of the word below share a single point.
54 In the margin in two lines: .. *rwğny* .. | .. *xrbwz* ..
55 [Sic.], with initial *ğ-*.
56 Possibly to be restored as *]mᵃn*, the lower point being lost where the paper is torn away.
57 In the margin in two lines: .. *rwğny* .. | .. *cmlfr'š.*
58 Lines 1–2 and the marginalia in black ink, lines 3–12 entirely in red ink apart from some punctuation points.
59 Probably to be restored *wqwlncr'* as in line 4.
60 Or *mᵉlycr'*.
61 In the margin in two lines: .. *rwğny* | .. *rwy'ny* ..

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5 (*wd*rd)y[62] pywn(d)hr’ ⁘. w(*d*r)[dy —r’ ⁘]
6 w’(y)š’nr’ ⁘. k(š)km g[rfth(?) ⁘ w’yš’nr’]
7 (kbw*d*) ⁘. (•b•)gm ⁘.[
8 twrp(l) .. t(r)ywš(n) .. (’)[
9 k’(m)y wsgbyn .. h(z’*r* .)[.
10 cd’by tr .. ••’(y’)y (.). sws .. [ ]
11 (*ḫ*)m(š)t(‘)s(r .. ——)[ ]
12 (—n)k .. d(st)h .. ’lb• .. ‘(s)[r’[63] ⁘]

Side C

1](x)wš .. b’[
2]y .. šwsth[
3](y) .. gwly .. frz[
4] w’ny trym’n [
5]dr’ws .. ss’l’w[s
6 z](*w*z) .. twxmy ’[a]β[ ](g)[ ](c)[
7]swmbl .. wg[
8 tw]xmy b[a]stwl’k ..
9](y) .. slyxh .. 100(?) ..
10] w’nyswn ..
11]• .. 3 (..) 3 .. zwz ..
12]•[ ](b)wdy bls’n ..
13]sy zwz ..
14 zw]z ..
15 [.⁘ gwly(?) . . . . . ⁘.]
16 [š’yd](r’) ⁘

Side D

1 z]wz .. wnym .. [
2]wzy bw’ .. [
3]dry .. tryn g[
4] nyk .. byst •[
5](*d*) .. s[e]’zd[a]h st[e]yr[
6]• .. wbw[e][y](d)[[64]
7 (w•’n)ydr’ b[a](d’)[
8 wbr ’myz b(ā)’ [
9 fndq .. wbw[ā](’)[
10 wḫmr’ .. ’spy[d
11 .⁘ gw(*l*)[y
12 š[ā]’yd x(r’)[ch[ā]r’?
13 wsw[
14 plpl[

62 The point expected under the first *d* is misplaced and appears under the *r* (which also has the correct point above).
63 Or *‘(s)[ryn* “20”.
64 The missing letter cannot be an *alaph*, a large part of which would have been visible.

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15 xwlng['n
16 [](šwq)[[65]

Translation

Side A

(Ingredients:) . . . and *qadar*, and pepper, mustard of . . ., . . . and *swn'q*, and garlic, [and] cow's . . .: four drams each; butter . . .

Watermelon oil.

(Efficacy:) [It is useful] for . . . and for fever(s).

(Ingredients:) . . .: 400 drams; butter, . . ., Khuzi candy, . . . and cinnamon, and spikenard(?) of . . .: eight drams each; . . . and ginger: 16 drams [each].

Camel-blanket(?) oil.

(Efficacy:) [It is useful for . . .], and for pain in the sides, and for those suffering from consumption.

Side B

. . . for dropsy, for [colic](?), for *my^{e}lyc*, for migraine(?), and for . . .

Brassiness(?) oil.

(Efficacy:) It is useful for dropsy, and for colic, and for pain in the joints, and [for] pain(?) [in . . .], and for those who [are] constipated, [and for those] who have . . .[66]

(Ingredients:) Turpeth, *trywšn*, . . . *k'my*, and sagapenum: 1,000 [drams each]; . . . [make it] drier . . . liquorice, . . .: 15 [drams]; . . .: a handful; . . ., ten(?) [drams] . . .

Side C

(Ingredients:) . . . washed . . . flower of . . .[67] and that of[68] ficus heterophylla, . . ., seseli . . .: . . . drams; seeds of . . ., spikenard, and . . ., seeds(?) of *b^{a}stwl'k*, . . ., benzoin: 100(?) [drams]; . . . and aniseed, . . .: 3 drams each; . . . of balsam, . . .: 30(?) drams; . . .: . . . drams(?).

[. . . pill(?).]

(Efficacy:) [It is useful for . . . and] for . . .

Side D

(Ingredients:) . . . dram(s) and a half . . . let it be . . . moist . . . good . . .: 20 [drams]; . . .: 13 staters . . . and you should(?) be . . ., and(?) . . ., and mix (it) with . . ., hazelnuts, and let it be . . . and wine, white(?) . . .

. . . pill.

65 There is probably no letter missing at the beginning of the line.

66 Literally "[for those] (to) whom (*ke-*) there is (*buwaδ*) . . .". In theory *kbwd* could of course stand for *kabūδ* "blue".

67 Since *gōlī* "pill" (as in D11) does not seem to fit the context, I take *gwly* here as *gul-i* "flower of . . ." (as suggested to me by Shaul Shaked). The presence of a punctuation mark after the *ezafe* is somewhat surprising, but there are further possible examples in C2 and D3.

68 On the construction *ān-i* "that of" see Shaked 2003: 208.

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(Efficacy:) It is useful [for] pimples(?) …
(Ingredients:) … and … pepper … galangale …

3. Glossary

The pages of the Psalter are cited as Ir, Iv, IIr, IIv, those of the pharmacological fragments as A, B, C, D. The glossary does not include words occurring in the Syriac part of the Psalter. No transcription is given for words and names which are taken over in their Syriac spelling.

’^{a}brh^{ā}’ [abr-hā] “clouds” IIr10*
’^{a}β•g[(a plant?) C6*
’^{ā}fry^{i}n [āfrīn] “blessing” Iv6, IIv9
’lb• (an ingredient?) B12*
’^{ā}mw^{o}zδ [āmōzaδ] “teaches” Iv2
’myz: see br ’myz
’^{ā}n, ’n [ān] “that” IIr22, C4
’^{a}nd: see y^{i}st’δ ’^{a}nd
’^{a}ndr [andar] “in” Iv8, IIv10. See also the next.
’^{a}ndr pwš^{ā}’n^{a}m [andar pōšānam] “I clothe” Ir1–2
’nyswn [anīsūn] “aniseed” C10
’^{e}r^{ā}’ [ē-rā] “for this reason” IIv7
’rb‘m’’ “400” A8. Syriac.
’^{ā}s’y^{i}š [āsāyiš] “ceasing” Iv5
’^{ā}sm^{ā}’n [āsmān] “sky” IIr9
’^{a}sp [asp] “horse” IIr16
’spyd [ispēδ] “white” D10*(?). If correctly restored, perhaps to be understood as part of the name of “white mustard” (Sinapis alba), cf. Arabic *’spyδ ’sfnd* etc. (Henning 1965: 37), or “white lead”, cf. Syriac *’spydk’* etc. (Ciancaglini 2008: 111).
’^{e}š^{ā}’n, ’yš’n [ēšān] “those” IIv3, B6. Cf. wš^{ā}’n.
’wr’^{e}δ: see br ’wr’^{e}δ
’wršlm “Jerusalem” IIv5. Syriac form.
’yš’n: see ’^{e}š^{ā}’n
’y^{i}zδ [īzaδ] “God” Iv5, IIv3, IIv6
’^{a}z [az] “from” Ir5, Iv3, IIv1, IIv3. See also the next.
’^{a}z sps-y^{i} [az spas-i] “after” Iv3. See Sundermann 1974: 448.
’[B8*
‘sr’ “ten” (or ‘sryn “twenty”) B12*. Syriac.
b^{ā}’ [bā] “with” D8
b^{e}’ [bē] “without” Iv4
b^{ā}’β^{e}l, b’βl, b’byl [bāvel] “Babylon” Ir6, Iv3, IIv1. Cf. Sundermann 1974: 449.
b’r^{ā}’n [bārān] “rain” IIr11
b’zg^{a}št^{a}n, b^{ā}’z gšt^{a}n [bāz-gaštan] “return” Ir5, Iv3
b’zgšt^{a}nd [bāz-gašt-and] “they returned” IIv1
b’[C1
bcg^{ā}’n [baččagān] “children” IIr14*

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bls'n [balsān] "balsam, balm of Gilead" C12. The history of this form has recently been discussed by Maggi 2003: 120–22.
b^{a}ndg^{ā}'n [bandagān] "servants" Iv7
br [bar] "upon" Ir3, Ir5, Iv5, IIr11, IIr12, IIr22*, IIv14. See also br 'myz, br 'wr'^{e}δ, br brnd.
br'δr^{ā}'n [brāδarān] "brothers" Ir10*
br 'myz [bar āmēz] "mix" (2 sg. impv.) D8
br 'wr'^{e}δ [bar āwarēδ] "raise" (2 pl. impv.) Iv10*
br brnd [bar barand] "they offer" Iv5
b^{a}rf [barf] "snow" IIv16
brnd: see br brnd
b^{a}stwl'k (a plant?) C8
bw', bw^{ā}' [buwā] "let it be" D2, D9. Apparently a 3 sg. subj. *à la parthe*. It is noteworthy that this form is attributed to Firdausi by his lexicographer ʿAbd al-Qādir, see Salemann 1895: 24 (no. 230); Wolff 1935: 155.
bw^{a}δ, bwd(?) [buwaδ] "becomes, is" Ir3, B7*
bw^{u}δnd [būδ-and] "they were" Ir7, IIr22
bw^{e}yd [buwēδ] "be" D6*(?). Apparently a 2 pl. form (indic. or impv.), despite the clear 2 sg. impv. *bar āmēz* which follows in D8.
b^{a}d'[D7*
b^{e}yd'δy^{i} gr^{ā}'n [bēdāδī-garān] "doers of iniquity" IIr5
byst [bīst] "20" D4
bzw^{u}rg [buzurg] "great" IIr3
c^{ā}'y [ǰāy] "place" Ir7
cd'by-tr [ǰudābī-tar] "drier" B10. This interpretation was suggested to me by Werner Sundermann. Cf. the Pahlavi compound adjectives with *ǰud-* as privative prefix.
ch'r [čahār] "four" A4 (x2)
chywn "Zion" IIv6. Syriac form.
cmlfr'š [ǰamal-firāš] "camel-blanket"(?) A14, A14m
c^{a}rbw^{u} [čarbū] "fatness" IIv12
cw^{u} [ču] "how, like" Ir9 (x2), IIv16, IIv19
cwmlgy^{i} [ǰumlagī] "summation" IIr2. See Benveniste 1938: 461–2; Sundermann 1974: 445 n. 33.
cy^{i}zh^{ā}' [čīz-hā] "things" IIr22
d^{e}' [dē] "give" (2 sg. impv.) IIv4, IIv6. Cf. th'^{e}δ, th^{a}δ.
d^{ā}'rndh [dārandah] "holding" IIv3
d'št^{a}n [dāštan] "to have" Ir8
drd [dard] "pain" A15, B1, B5* (x2)
drh^{ā}' [dar-hā] "gates" IIv8
drwy^{e}š^{ā}'n [darwēšān] "the poor" IIr4
drw^{o}δ [drōδ] "peace" IIv11
dsth [dastah] "handful" B12*
dsth' [dast-hā] "hands" Iv10*
dw^{u} [du] "two" Ir3
dw^{a}δ [dawaδ] "runs" IIv15
dw^{u}šmn^{ā}'n [dušmanān] "enemies" Ir1
dw^{u}w^{u}m [duwum] "second" Ir4

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fndq [funduq] “hazelnut” D9
fry^{i}st^{a}δ, fry^{i}st^{a}d [fristaδ] “sends” IIv13, IIv22
frznd’n [farzandān] “children” IIv9
frz[(a plant?) C3
g^{a}ndw^{u}m [gandum] “wheat” IIv12
grfth, grftgn: see škm-grfth, k^{ā}’hšgrftgn
g^{ā}w [gāw] “cow, ox” A4. See also gwrwğn, ğ^{ā}wrwğn.
gwl [gul] “flower” C3(?)
gwly [gōlī] “ball, pill” D11*
gw^{u}r^{ā}’ğ [gurāγ] “crow, raven” IIr14. See Sundermann 1974: 445 n. 36.
gwrwğn, ğ^{ā}wrwğn [gāw-rōγan, γāw-rōγan] “butter, ghee” A4, A8. Cf. g^{ā}w and rwğn.
gy^{ā}’ [giyā] “grass” IIr12
g[D3, C7
hftwm [haftum] “seventh” IIr21*
hm^{a}h, hm^{a}h [hamah] “all” Iv6, IIv3
hšt [hašt] “eight” A11 (x2)
hz’r [hazār] “1000” B9*
ḫ^{a}dh^{ā}’ [ḥad(d)-hā] “borders” IIv11
ḫmr’ “wine” D10. Syriac.
ḫmšt‘sr “15” B11. Syriac.
k, k- [ke] “who, which, that” Ir5, Iv3 (x2), Iv8, IIr9, IIr15, IIr22, IIv1, IIv7, B6, B7*. Translates Syriac *d-*, see Benveniste 1938: 459.
k^{ā}’hš-grftgn [kāhiš-griftagān] “those affected by wasting disease, consumptive” A15–16
k’m^{a}δ [kāmaδ] “desires, takes pleasure” IIr18*
k’my [kāmī?] (an ingredient?) B9
knšmy’ “dropsy” B1*, B4. Syriac *knāš-mayye*, lit. “gathering of waters”.
k^{a}rd [kard] “he made” IIv8, IIv9, IIv12
krdh [kardah] “done” IIr22
kw^{o}h^{ā}’ [kō(h)-hā] “mountains” IIr12
kw^{u}n’^{e}δ [kunēδ] “make” (2 pl. impv.) Iv6
kw^{u}n^{a}δ [kunaδ] “makes” IIr3, IIr5
ky^{e}n^{ā}’rh^{ā}’ [kēnār-hā] “harps” IIr8
-m [-m] (1 sg. encl. pron.) Ir3
m’ny^{i}šn [māniš(n)] “dwelling” Ir8. The final *-n* may be historical, since the suffix is otherwise written *-y^{i}š* in this manuscript, cf. Benveniste 1938: 459.
mr [mar] (object marker) IIr5. See also the next. Misunderstood by Müller as Syriac *mār* “Lord”, first correctly identified by Schaeder 1935: 570 n. 2. Cf. also Benveniste 1938: 459–61.
mr … r^{ā}’ [mar … rā] (object marker) Ir1, Ir10–11*, Iv3, IIr2, IIr3–4, IIr6–7, IIr8, IIr13, IIr14–15*, IIv3, IIv9–10
mẏ’n [mayān] “middle” IIv10
my^{e}ğ [mēγ] “fog” IIv17
my^{e}lyc (a disease?) B1*
n^{a}- [na-] “not” IIr17
nh^{ā}’δ [nihāδ] “he established” IIv11
nm’y^{a}δ [nimāyaδ] “reveals” Ir5

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ny^{e}k, nyk [nēk] “good” Ir9, D4
ny^{i}kw^{o} [nīkō] “excellent” Ir9
nym [nīm] “half” D1. See also the next.
nym-sr [nīm-sar] “migraine” B1*(?)
ny^{i}rw^{o} [nīrō] “strength” IIr16, IIv7
ny^{e}st [nēst] “is not” IIr2
ny^{i}z [nīz] “also” IIr17
ny^{i}zd-y^{i} [nizd-i] “with regard to” IIv1. This form, which puzzled Müller, must represent a variant of *nazd-i* “near to, in the opinion of, etc.”.
p, p- [pe] “in, to, with” Ir7, Ir8, Iv5, Iv6, Iv9, IIr7, IIr8, IIr9, IIr16, IIr17, IIr19, IIv5, IIv6, IIv7, IIv11, IIv12, IIv21
p’δy^{ā}’w^{a}nd [pāδyāwand] “mighty” IIr1. Cf. Pahlavi *p’tyd’wnd*, JP *p’dywnd* (MacKenzie 1968: 251).
p’ky^{i} [pākī] “purity” Ir3
phlwh^{ā}- [pahlū-hā] “sides” A15
plpl: see pylpl
pr^{ā}’gn^{a}δ [parāganaδ] “scatters” IIv18
p^{a}st [past] “cast down” IIr5
pšm [pašm] “wool” IIv16
pšy^{i}st^{a}h^{ā}’ [pašista(h)-hā] “scraps, morsels” IIv19. On the etymology of this word see Sims-Williams 1985: 59.
pw^{o}š^{ā}’n^{a}δ [pōšānaδ] “he clothes” IIr9
pwš^{ā}’n^{a}m: see ’^{a}ndr pwš^{ā}’n^{a}m
pw^{u}štyb^{ā}’nh^{ā}’ [puštebān-hā] “bars (of a gate)” IIv8. The *-y-* presumably represents an anaptyctic vowel.
pylpl, plpl [pilpil] “pepper” A2, D14
pyr^{ā}’st [payrāst] “prepared” Ir7
py^{e}š-y^{i} [pēš-i] “before” IIv20
pywndh- [paywand-hā] “joints” B5
qdr [qadar?] (an ingredient) A2
qnd [qand] “sugar, candy” A9
qwlnc [qaulanǰ] “colic” B4
qyrfh [qirfa] “bark, peel, sort of cinnamon” A10
r^{ā}’, -r^{ā}’, -r’ [rā] “to, for” (also object marker) IIr9, IIv12, A7*, A7, A15, A16, B1*, B1 (x2), B2* (x2), B4 (x2), B5, B6, C16*. See also ’^{e}r^{ā}’, mr … r^{ā}’.
r^{a}m, rm [ram] “people” Ir5, Iv3, IIv1
rw^{o} [rō] “face, presence” IIv3
rwğn [rōγan] “oil” A6, A6m, A14, A14m, B3, B3m. Cf. also gwrwğn, ğ^{ā}wrwğn.
rw^{o}y^{ā}’n^{a}δ [rōyānaδ] “causes to grow” IIr12
rwy’ny [rōyēnī] “redness, brassiness” B3, B3m
s’d [sād] (an ingredient?) A10. Perhaps a variant of *sādah*, *sādaǰ* “Indian spikenard”?
s’gh^{ā}’ [sāg-hā] “shanks” IIr17
s’^{e}w^{u}m [sewum] “third” Iv1
s^{e}’zd^{a}h [sēzdah] “13” D5
sbw^{u}k [sabuk] “quickly” IIv15
sδ, sd [saδ] “hundred” Ir4, Iv1, IIr20
sgbyn [sagbīn] “sagapenum” B9

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slyxh [salīxah] “benzoin” C9
spndn [spandān] “mustard” A2
sps-y^{i} see ’^{a}z sps-y^{i}
sr^{ā}w’^{e}δ [srāwēδ] “sing” (2 pl. impv.) IIr8
ss’l’ws “seseli” C5*. Syriac form. Cf. also Persian *sasāliyūs*.
-st [ast] “is” IIr1. See also ny^{e}st.
st’y^{i}š, st^{ā}’y^{i}š [stāyiš] “praise” Iv4, IIr6, IIr7, IIv4, IIv6
stw^{o}r [stōr] “cattle” IIr13
st^{e}yr [stēr] “stater” D5
swmbl [sumbul] “spikenard” C7
swn’q (an ingredient) A3
sws [sūs] “liquorice” B10
sw[D13
sxw^{u}n [saxun] “word” IIv14*, IIv15, IIv22*
sy^{i}, sy [sī] “thirty” Ir4, Iv1, C13(?)
syr [sīr] “garlic” A3
sy^{e}r [sēr] “satisfied” IIv12, IIv13
-š, -^{a}š [-š, -aš] (3 sg. encl. pron.) Ir1, IIr1, IIr2, IIr19, IIv14*, IIv15
š^{ā}’n [-šān] (3 pl. encl. pron.) Iv3
š^{ā}’yd, š’yd [šāyaδ] “it is appropriate” B4, D12
š^{a}bh^{ā}’ [šab-hā] “nights” Iv9
škm-grfth [šikam-griftah] “constipated” B6*(?)
šn^{ā}’s^{ā}’y^{i} [šnāsāyī] “knowledge” IIr2
š^{a}rm [šarm] “shame” Ir2
št‘sr “16” A12. Syriac.
šwq[D16*
šwsth [šustah] “washed” (or “handkerchief, towel”) C2
-t, -^{a}t [-t, -at] (2 sg. encl. pron.) IIv6, IIv8, IIv9, IIv11
t^{ā}’ [tā] “unto” IIr5
t^{ā}’n [-tān] (2 pl. encl. pron.) Iv7, Iv11*
tbh [tabah] “fever” or tbh- [tabhā] “fevers” A7
th’^{e}δ [thēδ] “give” (2 pl. impv.) IIr6. Cf. d^{e}’ and the next. On the devoicing of initial *d-* before *-h-* see Sundermann 1974: 445 n. 34.
th^{a}δ [thaδ] “gives” IIr11, IIr13, IIv3, IIv16
t^{a}rs^{ā}’^{ā}n [tarsā’ān] “those who fear” IIr19. For similar ENP and JP examples of hiatus between the *ā* of the stem and that of the suffix (including ENP *tarsā’ān* “Christians”) see Lazard 1963: 173.
trym’n [trēmān?] “ficus heterophylla” C4. Identified by Dieter Maue, who kindly refers me to Skt. *trāyamāṇa/ā-* “id.” and Uygur *trym’n* in a list of drugs in Rachmati 1932: 30 (= 428), text 3, line 177.
tryn [tarīn] “moist, fresh” D3
trywšn (an ingredient) B8*
tw^{u}, tw [tu] “you” (sg.) IIv10, IIv12
tw^{ā}’n^{a}δ [tuwānaδ] “he can” IIv21
twrpl [turpil] “turpeth” B8. The final *-l* agrees not with the usual NP form *turbid* but with forms from further east, cf. Khot. *ttrolä*, Sogd. *ṭrypl*(?), Skt. *tripuṭā-* etc. (see Maue and Sims-Williams 1991: 491).
twxm [tuxm] “seed” C6, C8*

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w- [u] “and” Ir1, Ir3, Ir4 (x2), Ir8, Ir9, Iv1 (x2), IIr1, IIr2, IIr5, IIr14, IIv6, IIv9, IIv12, IIv15, IIv17, IIv20, A3 (x2), A7*, A10 (x2), A12, A15 (x2), B2*, B4, B5*, B5, B6, B9, A2 (x2), D1, D6, D7*, D8, D9, D10, D13, C4, C7, C10

wš^{ā}’n [wašān?] “those” Iv8. Cf. ’^{e}š^{ā}’n. Unclear form, presumably etymologically identical to MMP ’*wyš’n*. In favour of the reading *wa-*, P. O. Skjærvø draws my attention to *va-* in ENP *va-rā* (cf. Lazard 1963: 225). It does not seem that the initial *w-* is the conjunction “and”.

x’n [xān] “house” Iv9

x’ng’h [xāngāh] “house” Ir8

xr’c(?) [xurāǰ] “pimple”(?) D12*

x^{a}rbwz, xrbwz [xarbūz] “water-melon” A6, A6m

xw^{ā}’h^{a}δ [xwāhaδ] “desires, takes pleasure” IIr16

xw’n^{a}nd [xwānand] “they cry” IIr15*

xwδ’h, xwd’h [xuδāh] “Lord” Iv6, Iv7, Iv9, IIr3, IIr7, IIr8, IIr16, IIr19*, IIv5

xwlng’n [xūlangān] “galangale” D15*

xw^{o}rdny^{i} [xordanī] “food” IIr13

xwstwy^{i} [xustūwī] “confession” IIv2

xwzy [xūzī] “of Khuzistan” A9

yhwd’ “Judah” Ir8. Syriac form.

-y^{i}, -y, y^{i} [-i] (ezafe) Ir5, Ir8, Iv3, Iv4, Iv7, Iv9, IIr16, IIr17, IIv3, IIv8, IIv10, IIv12, A2, A4, A6, A6m, A9, A10, A14, A14m, A15, B1*, B3, B3m, B5, D3(?), C2(?), C3(?), C4, C6, C8, C12. See also ’^{a}z sps-y^{i}, ny^{i}zd-y^{i}, py^{e}š-y^{i}.

y^{a}k [yak] “one” Ir3, Ir7

ysryl “Israel” Ir8. Syriac form.

y^{i}st^{ā}’δn [istāδan] “to stand” IIv21

y^{i}st’δ ’^{a}nd [istāδ-and] “they stood” Iv8

y^{a}x [yax] “ice” IIv19

zmy^{i} [zamī] “ground, earth” IIr5, IIr11, IIv14

zncbyl [zanǰabīl] “ginger” A12

zw^{o}hr [zōhr] “power” IIr1. The spelling with unetymological *h*, which is also found in Pahlavi and JP, is probably a hypercorrection resulting from the loss of etymological *h* in *zōr* from older *zōhr* “libation”. See Sundermann 1974: 444 n. 32; Nyberg 1974: 232; Shaked 2003: 217.

zwz “drams” A4, A8, A11, A13*, D1*, C6*, C11, C13, C14*. Syriac abbreviation.

Numerals

3 – C11 (x2)

100(?) – C9

Ends of incomplete words (in reverse-index order)

]’nydr’ D7*

]’ A11*

]c B1

]bwd C12

]d D5*

]’m’rg A3

]nk B12*

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]b•gm B7*
]ṁn A9
]dr D3
]r A4, A10*
]dr'ws C5
]xwš C1*
]'y'y B10*
]wzy D2
]y C3*, C9*

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