

6. *Al-Qusṭanṭīniya* (Constantinople):

'The Byzantines mention that it is a work by Apollonios the Sage. There is a talisman consisting of three copper images of horses on the gate of the royal palace. It was made by Apollonios to prevent horses from breaking the peace and neighing at the gate of the palace.'⁹³

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⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 407, v. 22-25.

TOMASZ GACEK

A MORE PRECISE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF THE MIDDLE PERSIAN BOOK SCRIPT NEEDED

The traditional transliteration system

The Ambiguity of the Middle Persian book script¹ is proverbial. But while we cannot exert any influence on the habits of Sasanian and post-Sasanian Zoroastrian scribes, we are, nevertheless, obliged to avoid ambiguity and strive for precision in our modern analysis of the MPB script.

Unfortunately, the traditional method of transliterating the MPB texts is not free from significant drawbacks. To see them, we have to compare that method with the definition of transliteration. It is understood as reflecting the text written in one script with another one. It is carried through on the basis of some predefined correspondence rules between the characters of the scripts in question, which makes the whole process mechanical and possible without any knowledge of the language of the transliterated text. The correspondence rules mentioned are of the one-to-one type, and this guarantees the unequivocal nature of translit-

¹ Afterwards: MPB script; Other names for this writing system are frequently used, e.g. Book Pahlavi.

eration (as opposed to transcription).²

Alas, the only condition of the above definition which is fulfilled by the traditional MPB script transliteration system is that it is re-writing of a text using a different script. However, it is certainly not an automatic process as it deserves some knowledge of the language, interpretation and probably even intuition. Moreover, the correspondence between the MPB script signs and the Latin characters used to represent them only sometimes approaches the ideal (i.e. the correspondence 1:1). That means that the so called transliteration is a hybrid of transcription and true transliteration.

Now, being imperfect from the theoretical point of view, maybe the traditional transliteration system of the MPB script is useful enough, to be implemented anyway? Indeed, D. N. MacKenzie, in the introduction to his Concise Pahlavi Dictionary declares that 'Since the ambiguities of the script make a mechanical transliteration of one letter by one Roman symbol of no practical value, a certain amount of interpretation is essential.'³

Inconsistency of the traditional transliteration system.

But let us consider an example, to see whether the commonly used method of transliterating of MPB texts really has a lot of practical value itself.

The graphic form  is used regularly to put down several different words: **dūr** 'far, distant', **gōr** 'onager', **gul** 'flower, rose'⁴ and possibly even - **dōl**

²See *Encyklopedia Językoznawstwa Ogólnego*, ed. Kazimierz Polański, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1995, p. 565; H. H. Wellisch, *The Conversion of Scripts - its nature, history and utilization*, New York 1997, p. 3-12 as cited by E. Cornell, *Transliteration schemes used by European Libraries and Name Authority Issues*, http://alcyone.cc.uch.gr/~kosmas/Helen/helen_schemes.html, 1995.

³D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971, p. x.

⁴D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., respectively pp. 28, 37, 38. See also op. cit., p. 200.

'bucket; astr. Aquarius'⁵. The first word of this group is traditionally transliterated in a different way than the second and the third: <dw> as opposed to <gw>. The last one should be transliterated as the first, unless it is written with a special  letter form (see below), when it is transliterated <dw> (better <L> with a horizontal stroke).⁶

Sometimes diacritical marks were used together with ambiguous letters to make the text clear. Thus, in case of the letter , we have  for **gōr**,  for **dūr** and finally  for **dōl**. The letter , in its turn may correspond either to [r] or to [l] and in some cases special forms are used to clear up the situation (, , ,  are used always for [l], while bare  may stand for both⁷). The use of diacritical marks is, however, by no means obligatory, and, as it has been stated before, the form  itself may be used for all the cited words.

Now let us analyse the inconsistencies of the transliterated forms of these words. In case of the letter , the situation seems to be quite good. There is no false distinction between <r> and <L>, when there is no basis for this in the original form. Only use of the special letter forms (, , , ) is reflected in transliteration (<L> as opposed to <L>). On the other hand,  is transliterated according to the supposed Middle Persian pronunciation, even when there are no diacritical marks in the original form. As a consequence, appearance of the diacritical marks does not change the transliterated form.

Is there any harm in such inconsistencies? To answer this question let us consider this example on the level of statistics:

⁵D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 26.

⁶D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 26, 200. See also R. Abramjan, *Pehlevijsko-persidsko-armjanorussko-anglijsskij slovar*, Erevan 1965, p. 105.

⁷Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, Wiesbaden 1974, part I, p. 131.

The possible traditional transliteration variants of the letters د , ل and ژ are given in the columns of the table below:⁸

g	w	l
d	r	r
y	n	
	,	
	(l)	

TABLE 1.

It is quite easy to count the number of possible readings of the form now: $2 \times 5 \times 3 = 30$. (Neglecting for a moment a possibility of existing <l> in this position⁹ we get $2 \times 4 \times 3 = 24$).

Now, we have to remember that the letter ژ , apart from the values given in the TABLE 1, may also be interpreted in certain cases as a variant form of the letters گ , و , or ز , traditionally transliterated as <k>, , <z>.¹⁰

g	w	l
d	r	r
y	n	
<u>b</u>	,	
<u>k</u>	(l)	
<u>z</u>		

TABLE 2.

⁸Transliteration in the form of a table, as visible below, has been introduced in Vvedenije v iranskuju filologiju, I. M. Oranskij, Moskva 1960, pp. 178-181 (=p. 183 in the edition of 1988)

⁹Apart from compounds, the so called final stroke may appear only in the final position.

¹⁰H. S. Nyberg, op. cit., part I, pp. 134-135; D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. xiii.

This, however, makes the numbers grow: $2 \times 4 \times 6 = 48$. Moreover, the ligature ځ as a whole may stand for ځ <č> (This is Avestan, or rather Pazand influence)¹¹. This gives us two possible readings more: <čl> and <čr> (we have now all in all $[2 \times 4 \times 6] + 2 = 50$ variants). The raise in numbers is not significant, the theoretical impact, however, is important. Our diagram gets more complicated as we are forced to introduce subdivisions:

g	w	l
d	n	r
y	r	
<u>b</u>	,	
<u>k</u>	(l)	
<u>z</u>		
	č	

TABLE 3.

Of course, only a limited number of all readings generated with a table like this may be identified with the corpus of known Middle Persian vocabulary (even taking into consideration variant and anomalous spellings). Still, the semi-consonantic type of the system gives much wider a range of possibilities than it is seen in any phonetical alphabetical script, as every form created on the basis of the tables above gives origin, by adding vowels, to several forms on the phonetic level. Were the MPB script a phonetical one, the forms like <čl> would have been impossible. In case of semi-consonantical script, it is not so.

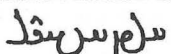
What the tables above do is just presenting in numbers the drawbacks of

¹¹H. S. Nyberg, op. cit., part I, p. 131.

the traditional transliteration system. One original graphic form should possess, in a true transliteration system, one counterpart (1:1). Here it has got, roughly speaking, fifty (1:50). Thus, the transliteration system used is closer in its ambiguity to the original MPB script than to the ideal (automatic and consistent) transliteration system.

So, instead of having a clear representation of the foreign script in Latin characters, we have an artificial intermediate level between the original forms and the reconstructed pronunciation. Such an intermediate level may at first facilitate the analysis of the text, but, on the other hand, it limits our imagination and creates artificial barriers while looking for the suitable reading. Moreover, transliteration, originally a preliminary level of the text analysis, becomes the final one. We have to know the pronunciation of a given word, we should often interpret the semantical context and finally find out the meaning of the very analysed form. And only after all that we are able to produce a transliterated form. But what is the use of transliteration at this stage?

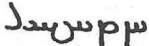
In a given example, we should never forget about possible readings (although much less probable than the ones cited before) of the form  like *zōr* 'power'¹², *zūr* 'false, deceitful'¹³ or *bōr* 'reddish-brown'¹⁴. They would have been anomalous but cannot be excluded a priori, especially that there is a great deal of cases of abnormal or secondary spelling. Let us consider the following examples:

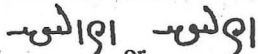
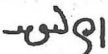
a) The proper name Ardaxšīr is normally written  (or with a diacritical mark ) and this is traditionally transliterated as

¹²D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 99.

¹³D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁴D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 19.

<'lthšdl>¹⁵. From time to time, however, we encounter the form  and this should be transliterated, in the traditional manner, as <'rthšdl>¹⁶.

b) *wuzurgīh* is written either  or  transliterated respectively as <wclgyh> and <wclgyh>.¹⁷ We do find, however, in the *Kārnāmāg-i Ardaxšīr-i Pābagān* the form ¹⁸, too. And this ought to be transliterated <wzlgyh>.

Now let us give an example of a piece of original MP text where identification of one letter has decisive impact on its translation. In the *Kārnāmāg-i Ardaxšīr-i Pābagān*, in a fragment about the retreat of Ardaxšīr from the foot of the stronghold of the Worm we read: *Ēdōn gōwēnd kū xwarrah-i kayān pad X bē bād*. Where X is written  and is read by some as *gōr* and by others as *dūr*. Thus, the translation is either 'So they say that the royal glory was away [from Ardaxšīr]' or 'So they say that the royal glory appeared (lit. became) in [the form of] onager (in front of Ardaxšīr)'.¹⁹ Of course, at some moment we have to make a decision, what we believe the X to be. But this should take place on the level of translation and interpretation of the text and not at the preliminary stage of transliteration. Otherwise, we have an absurd situation, where we strive to translate a word in order to reveal its true transliteration.

Still, the author of the present article would not consider the form  to

¹⁵vide H. S. Nyberg, op. cit., part II, p. 30.

¹⁶This situation is well illustrated by the Noshervān's edition of the Book of the Deeds of Ardaxšīr son of Pābag. The forms with <l> are predominant in the whole text, while those with <r> are rare (see K. A. Dastūr Noshervān, *Kārnāmāg-i Artakhsīr-i Pāpakān*..., Bombay 1896, pp. 14 v. 64, 15 vv. 72 & 73, etc.

¹⁷D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 93, 184.

¹⁸K. A. Dastūr Noshervān, op. cit., p. 8 v. 35.

¹⁹This two possibilities are considered by Čunakova in her Russian translation of the *Kārnāmāg* (See Čunakova, *Kniga Dejanij Ardašira Syna Papaka*, Moskva 1987, p. 96.

be very ambiguous. Let us compare it with the form 𐤓 (only three letters, as well).

g	w	g
d	r	d
y	n	y
<u>b</u>	'	<u>b</u>
<u>k</u>	l	<u>k</u>
<u>z</u>		<u>z</u>
č		<u>ZY</u> (ezâfe)
		-1 [-ê(w)]

TABLE 4.

We have two new possibilities here: 𐤓 in the final position may turn out to be an izafet or it may be the indefinite article [-ê] (the latter is normally somewhat bigger than the 𐤓 , in some texts, however, these characters are confused²⁰). All in all, we have: $[6 \times 4^{21} \times 8] + [6 \times 1 \times 2] + [1 \times 6]^{22} = 210$. (NB. The numbers in upper index are just footnotes. Nothing is raised to a power!)

²⁰Nosherwân writes 𐤓 instead of 𐤓 quite regularly, cf. 𐤓𐤓 for 𐤓𐤓 roz-ê, 𐤓𐤓 for

𐤓𐤓 tigr-ê (Nosherwân, op. cit., p. 5 v. 23).

²¹The final stroke is excluded when we take the whole range of possibilities in the last column. Thus 4 instead of 5. The variants with < > are calculated in the next formula.

²²A word consisting only of <č> is improbable, so the next sign in such a case cannot be the ezâfe or the undefined article. Thus 6 instead of 8 in the last column.

Possible modification of the existing system

The simplest way out is such a modification of the existing system, that would make it comply with the definition of transliteration, that would eliminate the factor of interpretation. One should refrain from deciding whether 𐤓 is <d> or <g>, etc. Instead we should write always, e.g. <Γ>²³. So the word 𐤓𐤓 would be transliterated <ΓNΛ>, and nobody cares at this phase whether it is *dûr*, *gul*, or even anomalous *zôr*. If any diacritical mark appears, this should be reflected in our transliterated form. Thus 𐤓𐤓 would be <gNΛ>, 𐤓𐤓 - <ΓN>, and so on.

𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓𐤓	𐤓𐤓	𐤓𐤓
Γ	N	Λ	ΓNΛ	gNΛ	ΓN1

TABLE 5

The existence of the forms accompanied by the diacritical mark is a prove that there is, after all, some reality behind the transliteration signs like , <d>, <g>, etc. On the other hand, the provenience of certain letters and their counterparts in the related scripts (like the Inscriptional MP script) may not constitute such a prove, similarly as we normally do not consider the Latin characters u and v to be in fact one letter, although in the beginning such was the situation. Similarly, it has no importance, while reading a given MPB text, that the letter 𐤓 corresponds to four different Imperial Aramaic letters or to three characters of

²³As the Latin capitals are traditionally reserved for MPB script logograms (heterograms or 'ideograms'). Although the author of the present work would not follow this practice, we have to use some other script to avoid ambiguity.

the MP inscriptions.²⁴

Nevertheless, the existence of the letters with diacritical marks and the need of comfort in comparison between MP and related languages (written with a similar script) makes us preserve something of the traditional system.

A possible way to join the consistency of the true transliteration and the maximum of diachronic information of the traditional MPB script transliteration is adoption of the idea of archgrapheme. That would be defined as a class of possible values, e.g.:

$\Gamma = \langle d, g, y, b, k, z, ZY, 1 \rangle$, while $N = \langle w, n, r, 'l \rangle$, etc.

The archgraphemes are multilevel. A good example would be Γ : $E = (MN, e)$, where $M = (m, q)$, so we may also say that $E = ((m, q)N, e)$.

Another problem is the need to introduce position variants of the archgraphemes. As Γ is hardly expected to stand for $\langle 1 \rangle$ [-ê] in the middle of a word (or at the beginning) we may try to define a number of subclasses in the following manner:

$\Gamma = (g, d, y, b, k, z, ezâfe, -1)$, being the main class, containing all the possible values;

$\Gamma_{IM} = \Gamma - (ezâfe, -1)$, where IM stands for initial [or] middle i.e. non-final;²⁵

$\Gamma_F = \Gamma$, as in the final position all the possible readings are acceptable;

²⁴See D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. xi.

²⁵To make the notation clearer from the theoretical point of view we should create subclasses Γ_I , Γ_M , and Γ_F . Then Γ_{IM} could be interpreted as the sum of Γ_I and Γ_M . As in this case the initial and middle subclasses seem to contain the same elements, $\Gamma_{IM} = \Gamma_I = \Gamma_M$. In case of some other letters the I form may, however, differ from the M one.

One may ask what is the use of introducing such a complicated system? Should not we break entirely with the traditional transliteration, instead of building some new structure based on it? Should not we simply say that e.g. 'د' is to be always transliterated as <d>, 'و' as <w>, etc.?'?

There are some good arguments in favour of the method presented above:

i. **Multilevel character.** Certain graphic forms of the Book Pahlavi script are multilevel themselves (like Γ and Γ' both being either a simple form or a ligature) and a precise transliteration system should reflect this, as the presented one does.

ii. **Hybrid character.** The suggested system operating both on the introduced archgraphemes and on the symbols of traditional system, allows to transliterate easily special (archaic) non-ambiguous letter forms, as well as those with diacritical marks. E.g. 'د' is Γ but 'ذ' is simply <d>. Thus, 'ذ' would be < $\Gamma_{IM}Nmd$ >.

د	ذ	ذ
Γ	d	ΓNd

TABLE 6

iii. **Compatibility.** The formulas of the presented system generate as their own output forms compatible and comparable with the traditional transliteration. The possibility of comparison of the forms with those of other related scripts, especially those used to write other Middle Iranian languages is maintained, too.

Another proposal of transliteration system for the MPB script

There is, however, a possibility of introducing another system of MPB script transliteration. It breaks with the traditional one totally. The author of the present article hardly believes, it could ever replace the traditional transliteration system, it may, however, be used in some particular situations. Moreover, I think it is very interesting and worthy consideration from the theoretical point of view.

As the author has written in the article on diacritics in the MPB script²⁶, there is a need for good methodology in script analysis. 'Good' means coherent and systematic, such as the methodology of description of phonological systems.

Let us try to define a letter (or a character) at the very beginning. We shall understand it as an elementary graphic element fulfilling both distinctive and constitutive role, more or less analogically to phoneme in phonology.

This would lead to significant changes in our vision of the MPB script:

1. Some letters (in the traditional sense) retain their status, e.g. .
2. Other suffer from segmentation, like , which is not considered anymore to be one character. Now it consists of two identical elements (characters in the sense of our definition):  + . The same letter is to be found in what is traditionally interpreted as the ligature <dc> or <dp>²⁷: . Now, the latter is perceived as  + . , on its turn, together with another element - , forms what is known in the traditional system as <p>: . Now,  appears often together with  forming what is known as <s>. Et cetera, et cetera...

3. Ligatures become fully analysable, while traditionally they had to be perceived as separate, distinct characters - at least those of them, in which it is diffi-

²⁶T. Gacek, *Diacritics in the Analysis of the Middle Persian Book Script*, in *Folia Orientalia*, vol. XXXV, 1999, pp. 35-40.

²⁷Or <yč>, <yp>, <gč>, etc.

cult to mark divisions between their components, like the ligature:  which is understood as composed of the given letters (from right to left, of course):  +  +  +  + . It could be analysed as being composed of the following characters:  +  +  +  +  + .

Now, as our goal is establishing a new transliteration system, we have to find symbols suitable for encoding our new letters. As we have already broken with tradition, our letters are not directly connected to any phonetical facts, and for the sake of the usage of our system (see afterwards) we shall choose wholly arbitrary signs. Our letters could be encoded by the letters of the Roman script in the alphabetical order.  becomes {a},  becomes {b},  becomes {c} and  is transliterated with {d}. Thus our ligature should be transliterated in the new system {abacdc}.²⁸

4. Now, however, one has to answer the question if there really is any use in adopting some new, non-intuitive, tradition-breaking, complicated system of transliteration like the one described above? Well, for every-day use probably the modification of the existing system as described above is much more suitable. It does not totally break with tradition and on the other hand it corrects the formal drawbacks of the system currently in use.

But there are spheres where the second of the systems proposed fulfills much better its role. The author of the present article has been delighted to see the MPB computer fonts (probably the first ones of this kind ever created) developed in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies at the University of Minnesota.²⁹ To the author's great satisfaction, their creators used independently

²⁸This is of course only an example. In practice ascription of transliteration signs to the characters of the original script should be based on analysis and classification of the latter.

²⁹William W. Malandra, Emily B. West, Minnesota Iranian Font Family at [http://cnes.cla.umn.edu/CNESpages/Iranian Pages/minnesota_iranian_font_family.htm](http://cnes.cla.umn.edu/CNESpages/Iranian%20Pages/minnesota_iranian_font_family.htm).

some of the ideas described above. First of all, only a part of the MPBS letters (in the traditional sense of the word) are present in the fonts as an entity. Many others are divided into elements like *ϝ*, *ϙ*, *Ϡ*, etc. In fact, this must have made the task of creating the fonts much easier, as the authors did not have to describe every character and every ligature separately (in such a case, the number of the characters would have raised to an unacceptable level).

Similarly, the second system of transliteration proposed, could be used in computer analysis of the MPB script, as computers do not care for tradition and intuitiveness, while they do care for consistency and correctness on the formal level.

ANNA GRACZYK

**SOME REMARKS ON ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις
IN THE BIBLE. A LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY
TO THE MOST INTERESTING PASSAGES.***

The lexemes: ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις occur only in the Bible and in the Greek patristic literature¹. The nouns: τὸ ἀγαλλίαμα and ἡ ἀγαλλίασις are derivatives from the verb ἀγαλλιόμαι that is "un substitut hellénistique de ἀγάλλομαι"². The three lexemes express great and spiritual joy.

In the Septuagint where ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις appear for the first time they are equivalents of some Hebrew lexemes that come from the following roots: נָאֵד, לָלַח, לָלַח, נָאֵד, נָאֵד, עָלַח, לָלַח, נָאֵד, שִׁשׁ, חָמַח. The roots: לָלַח, עָלַח, נָאֵד, שִׁשׁ, חָמַח express great, cultic joy. They are synonyms and it would be very difficult to find any significant difference between them³. In some cases also the lexemes derived from the roots: נָאֵד, נָאֵד, נָאֵד are translated by ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις.

In the protocanonical books of the Septuagint ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις occur quite often⁴. They are found first of all in the poetical

* This article is based on my MA thesis entitled "O semantyce leksemów: ἀγαλλιόμαι, ἀγαλλίαμα, ἀγαλλίασις w tekstach biblijnych", which was written in 2000 at the Jagiellonian University under supervision of Prof. Romuald Turasiewicz (Institute of Classical Philology) and Prof. Andrzej Zaborski (Institute of Oriental Philology). The subject was proposed by Prof. Takamitsu Muraoka (Rijks Universiteit Leiden) who was my irreplaceable consultant.

¹ Lampe, G.W.H.(ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1991, p. 6.

² Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, Paris 1968-80, vol. I, p. 7.

³ Cf. Botterweck, J., K. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Stuttgart 1970-98, vol. I, p. 1013.

⁴ Cf. Hatch, E., H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, Graz 1954, vol. I, pp. 4-5.