Title	Iranian and Indian Languages in Contact
Author(s)	Rezai Baghbidi, Hassan
Citation	大阪大学世界言語研究センター論集. 2009, 1, p. 35-48
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://hdl.handle.net/11094/4376
rights	
Note	

Iranian and Indian Languages in Contact

Hassan REZAI BAGHBIDI

要　旨

イラン語派とインド語派の言語接触

　イラン語派とインド語派は、紀元前 2000 年期において分化が始まって以降、それぞれの発展の初期段階にかけて相互に緊密に接触してきた。イラン語派とインド語派の接触はアケメネス朝ペルシア（紀元前 550〜紀元前 330）のキュロス大王の軍隊がバクトリアとヒンドゥークシュ山脈を通って北西インドへ入った頃にさらに増加した。両語派の言語接触は紀元前 330 年のアケメネス朝の崩壊以降も継続した。その後の中世イラン期、特に紀元後 6 世紀の間には、北西インドはイラン系のインド・パルティア、サカ、クシャーナに侵略され、そして最後にはエフタルのうちイラン語を話す種族によって侵略された。それが結果としてイラン語派とインド語派の間で相互に多くの借用語を生むことになった。紀元 651 年のアラブ征服民によるササン朝の滅亡に続く、インド亜大陸におけるペルシア語を話すイスラム伝道者と神秘主義者たちによる緩やかなイスラムの拡大にしたがって、多くの近世ペルシア語単語がインド語派に浸透していった。その一方、インド亜大陸におけるペルシア文学、特に韻文学の興隆と発展は、ヒンディー語単語およびウルドゥー単語がペルシア語に浸透する道筋を付けた。本稿では、このようなイラン語派とインド語派が分化してから今日に至るまでの言語接触について簡潔に紹介する。

1. Introduction

　　The Aryan-speaking peoples of the steppes of Central Asia, who were of Indo-European origin, were divided into two main groups of Indo-Aryans and Iranians shortly after about 1900 BC [Parpola 2002b: 241]. The first appearance of Indo-Aryans in history is about the middle of the 2nd millennium BC in the Hurrian empire of Mittani in northern Mesopotamia. However, the bulk of the Indo-Aryans penetrated

into northwest India across the passes of the Hindu Kush mountains during the period between 1700 and 1200 BC［Masica 1993: 37］, from where they spread further into the eastern and southern parts of the Indian subcontinent. The group now identified as Iranians, or Irano-Aryans, remained in Central Asia and expanded toward the west and the east. However, some of them moved onto the Iranian plateau, where they first established rulerships, and ultimately world empires.

The proto-Aryan language was first divided into two main branches: proto-Nuristāni and proto-Indo-Iranian. Proto-Nuristāni is the mother of all Nuristāni languages which are now spoken in Nuristān, formerly called Kāfiristān before the conversion of its inhabitants to Islam in 1896 AD, in the mountaineous regions of northeastern Afghanistan. Some of the most important Nuristāni languages are: Ashkun, Kati, Prasun, Tregami, Waigali, Wamai and Zemiaki［Edel'man 1996: 27］.

Proto-Indo-Iranian is the mother of all Dardic, Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. The most important Dardic languages are: Kashmiri, Kohestani languages and dialects, Phallura, Sawi, Shina（of the eastern group）, and Gawar, Glangali, Kalasha, Katarkalai, Khowar, Pashai, Shumashti, Tirahi（of the central group）［Edel'man 1996: 27; cf. Harmatta 1992: 357; Lyovin 1997: 51］.

2．Old Iranian Period

Iranian and Indian languages have been in close contact with each other from the very beginning of their separation and the early stages of their development. Some lexical items and proper names in R̥gvedic hymns suggest the presence of Old Iranian speakers in northwestern India in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC［Parpola 2002a: 69］. On the other hand, one of the oldest Indian loanwords in the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, is the proper name *Gaotəma-* used to refer to an evil teacher in *Yašt* 13.16. The Indian equivalent of this name appears in the *R̥gveda* in the form of *Gotama-*. He was one of the seven great *R̥ṣis* of ancient India and the composer of the hymns 74−93 of the first *maṇḍala* of the *R̥gveda*［Monier-Williams 1899: 364］. The famous Buddha was also from the family of a certain *Gotama-*, hence called *Gautama-*. The *Gaotəma-* of the *Avesta* may have been the Buddha, since Buddhism was practised in eastern Iranian provinces from ancient times and was one of the strongest rivals of Zoroastrianism.

The Indian influence in Old Iranian can also be observed in the Avestan *hapta həndu-*'(Land of the) Seven Rivers'（cf. Sanskrit *sapta sindhu-*; e.g. in: *R̥gveda* 1.32） which, according to *Widēwdād* 1.18, was the 15th land created by Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord［cf. Baghbidi 2002: 65−66; Sarkārāti 1999: 303−304］.

Contact between Iranian and Indian languages increased when the troops of Cyrus

the Great（rule: 559−529 BC）, the founder of the Achaemenian Empire（in 550 BC）, passed through Bactria and the Hindu Kush mountains and penetrated into northwest India. During the reign of Cyrus the Great, *Ga^{n}dāra-*（Sanskrit *Gandhāra-*）and *θatagu-* （Greek *Σατταγυδία*）, as they have been called in Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, formed the easternmost conquests of the Achaemenians, and, from the time of Darius the Great（rule: 521−486 BC）, they were organized as independent satrapies. Darius the Great extended the eastern frontiers of the Achaemenian Empire. Western India was subdued and formed into a new satrapy called *Hi^{n}du-* in Old Persian（cf. Avestan *hindu-*, Sanskrit *sindhu-*）. Trade by sea was opened up and, as a result, a number of Old Iranian words found their way into Sanskrit. In some cases, however, loan translation occurred. The Sanskrit words borrowed from Iranian at this time often show Old Persian features and have mainly to do with military affairs and equipment, which is in accordance with the military superiority of the Achaemenians［Baghbidi 2006: 143−144］, e.g.

aśvavāra- 'groom; horseman', from Old Persian *asa.bāra-* 'borne by a horse, horseman';

Note: It should be mentioned that riding was introduced into India from Iran.

kŭrpāsa- 'bodice, cuirass, jacket', from Old Persian **kr̥p.pāça-* 'body-protection';

mudrā- 'seal; signet-ring; stamp; token', from Old Persian **mudrā-* 'seal';

pāraśava- 'iron; made of iron', possibly from **par(a)śava-*, from Old Persian *parθava-* 'Parthia; Parthian', thus literally 'imported from Parthia'.

３．Middle Iranian Period

Linguistic contacts between Iranian and Indian languages continued even after the collapse of the Achaemenian Empire in 330 BC. During the Middle Iranian period which followed, especially during most of the first six centuries of the Christian era, the northwestern part of India was the scene of a series of invasions by other Iranian tribes, especially *Pahlavas, Śakas*（2nd century AD）, *Kuṣānas* and finally the Iranian-speaking tribes among the *Hūṇas*（5th and 6th centuries AD）. This also resulted in the adoption of a large number of Middle Iranian words and names, especially from Eastern Middle Iranian languages（e.g. Bactrian, Khotanese, Khwarezmian and Sogdian）, first into Prakrit, and eventually into Sanskrit. A number of such Middle Iranian elements are attested in Gāndhārī（a northwestern Prakrit）documents［see: Bailey 1943a］, including the two famous rock edicts of Aśoka（rule: c. 269−232 BC）written in *Kharoṣṭhī* script at Śāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā［see: Baghbidi 2002: 67−68; Emmerick 1983: 950; Fussman 1987: 780; Sims-Williams 1989b: 166］. Such elements are also abundant in the inscriptions in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī* scripts of the *Śaka* and *Kuṣāna*

periods［see: Bailey 1958: 135－136; Salomon 2002: 119－134; Schmitt 1989: 103］．Most of the Iranian words borrowed during this time belong to the spheres of administration, equitation, government and, of course, military equipment, e.g.

Sanskrit *gola-* 'ball', Hindi *gol*(*a*), cf. Khotanese *gūla-* 'ball', from Old Iranian **gauda-*;

Sanskrit *lipĭ-* 'alphabet, writing', Pali *lipi-* 'alphabet', Aśokan *dipi-*, *lipĭ-* 'decree, edict; record, writing', Hindi *lip*(*i*) 'document, manuscript, writing', from Old Persian *dipĭ-* 'inscription, script, tablet, writing', originally from Elamite *h.tup-pi*, *tup-pi*, from Babylonian *ṭuppu*, from Sumerian *dup*, *dub*;

Note: *lipĭ-* probably through association with *lip-* 'to smear', or contaminated by *likh-* 'to write', or perhaps an Eastern Iranian loanword with /l/ from Old Persian */*d*/, cf. Bactrian loanword λιβο 'copy, document'. This word was borrowed at the time when the Aramaic script was transmitted beyond Iran to India, where the Indians developed their own *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī* scripts from it.

In addition, in Aśokan inscriptions sometimes the Iranian form *nipiš-* 'to write'（from Old Persian *ni-paiθ-* 'to engrave, to inscribe'）［Kent 1953: 194］is used instead of the Indian root *likh-*［Emmerick 1983: 950; Fussman 1987: 780］.

Iranian loanwords can also be found in Kroraina inscriptions of the 3rd century AD in *Kharoṣṭhī* script, e.g.

aśpista- 'clover, lucerne', cf. Middle Persian *aspast*［MacKenzie 1971: 12］, New Persian *aspast*, from Old Iranian **aspa-* 'horse' + **asti-* 'food', from **ad-* 'to eat';

nacīra- 'game, quarry, chase', cf. Manichaean Parthian and Zoroastrian Middle Persian *naxčīr*［MacKenzie 1971: 58］, Manichaean Middle Persian *nahčihr*, Sogdian *nyšyr*, New Persian *naxčir*, probably from Old Iranian **naxu.scr̥ya-* 'first hunt, supreme hunt';

pirova- 'fort, post', cf. Khotanese *prūva-*［see also: Bailey 1958: 135; 1979: 256］.

On the other hand, Indian words, too, penetrated into Iranian languages chiefly after the spread of Buddhism in eastern Iranian territories. One of the most influential figures in the spread of Buddhism among the Iranians was Kanishka, the Kushan emperor（rule: c. 78－100 AD）, under whose rule Buddhism spread throughout Afghanistan and penetrated into Sogdiana. Some of the oldest Indian loanwords in Greco-Bactrian script in the legends of the coins of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka, are Buddhist proper names, e.g.

βοδδο, βοδο, βουδο, from Sanskrit *Buddha-*;

μαασηνο, from Sanskrit *Mahāsena-*;

σακαμανο, from Sanskrit *Śākyamuni-*.

The following Indian words have also been identified in late Bactrian documents in

Manichaean and Greco-Bactrian scripts found in Central Asia:

In Manichaean script: *mwwl* 'root', from Sanskrit *mūla-*;

nrẖ 'hell', from Prakrit *naraha-*, from Sanskrit *naraka-*;

pwwn 'meritorious act', from Sanskrit *puṇya-*.

In Greco-Bactrian script: ρακραζανο, from Sanskrit *rākṣasa-*, *rakṣas-* 'an evil or malignant demon' [see also: Sims-Williams 1989a: 345, 348] .

Sogdian-speaking Iranians, not only because of their inclination towards Buddhism, but also because a large number of them were engaged in commerce and traveled to eastern countries, borrowed a large number of words from Indian languages. In the most ancient Sogdian documents from the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 4th century AD [Gharib 1995: xv] known as Sogdian ancient letters found in the ruins of one of the towers of the Great Wall of China, Sogdian merchants and immigrants living in Chinese frontier cities have used some Indian commercial words, e.g.

δykh 'letter', from Sanskrit *lekhya-*;

mwδy 'price; value', from Sanskrit *mūlya-*;

s'rth 'caravan', from Sanskrit *sārtha-* [Sims-Williams 1987: 8].

Some other Indian loanwords in Sogdian texts are:

''k'c 'atmosphere, space', from Sanskrit *ākāśa-*;

bwt/pwt 'Buddha', from Sanskrit *Buddha-*;

βrγ'r/frγ'r 'Buddhist temple', from Sanskrit *vihāra-*;

δwk' 'world', from Sanskrit *loka-*;

kpwr 'camphor', from Sanskrit *karpūra-*;

n'k 'dragon', from Sanskrit *nāga-*;

rtn 'jewel', from Sanskrit *ratna-*;

smwtr/smwdr 'sea, ocean', from Sanskrit *samudra-*;

škkry 'sugar', from Sanskrit *śarkarā-*;

šmn 'Buddhist monk', cf. Gāndhārī *ṣamaṇa-*, from Sanskrit *śramaṇa-*;

wyn' 'lute', from Sanskrit *vīṇā-*.

In addition, in the only known bilingual Sanskrit-Sogdian fragment written in *Brāhmī* script, the loanword *añcāṃ* is given as the Sogdian equivalent of Sanskrit *añjana-* 'antimony; collyrium' [Maue and Sims-Williams 1991: 493−494].

The kingdom of Khotan was another Iranian territory which had a decisive role in the expansion of Buddhism between c. 700−1000 AD. Most of the extant Khotanese manuscripts are translations of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts from Sanskrit or other Indian languages. Khotanese exhibits Indian influences not only in its lexicon, but also in its phonemic structure, where it displays aspirated and retroflex phonemes. Indian loanwords in Khotanese are often of Prakrit origin and represent the phonetic features

of Gāndhārī [Emmerick 1989: 228], e.g.

> *āgāśa-/ātāśa-* 'atmosphere, space', from Sanskrit *ākāśa-*;
>
> *bīna-* 'lute', from Sanskrit *vīṇā-*;
>
> *chada-* 'sound, noise', cf. Gāndhārī *chada-*, from Sanskrit *śabda-*;
>
> *dukhev-* 'to make sad', cf. Pāli *dukkhāpeti* 'he/she makes sad', from *dukkha-* 'sadness, sorrow' [Elizarenkova and Toporov 1976: 163], from Sanskrit *duḥkha-*;
>
> *iśvarī-* 'lordship', from Sanskrit *aiśvarya-*;
>
> *jāna-* 'meditation', from Sanskrit *dhyāna-*;
>
> *rakṣ-* 'to protect', from Sanskrit *rakṣ-*;
>
> *puña-* 'meritorious act', from Sanskrit *puṇya-*;
>
> *saṃtsāra-* 'reincarnation', cf. Gāndhārī *satsara-*, from Sanskrit *saṃsāra-*;
>
> *ṣṣamana-* 'Buddhist monk', cf. Gāndhārī *ṣamaṇa-*, from Sanskrit *śramaṇa-* [see also: Bailey 1958: 135; Emmerick 1968: 164−165; 1989: 228].

Even Khwarezmian, the less attested eastern Iranian language, has not remained intact of Indian influence. We know at least that the Khwarezmian word *mrk* 'monkey' goes back to Sanskrit *marka-* [Baghbidi 2002: 71].

Cultural and scientific relations between Iran and India expanded in the Sassanian period (224−651 AD). According to 'Ibn al-Nadīm [p. 333], under the command of Ardašīr, the founder of the Sassanian Empire (rule: 224−240 AD), Šābuhr I (rule: 240−270 AD) and Xusraw I (rule: 531−579 AD), books from India, China and the Byzantine Empire were brought into Iran and translated into Middle Persian. According to the Zoroastrian Middle Persian book *Dēnkard* IV [Madan 1911: vol. 1, p. 412, lines 17−22]:

> 'Šābuhr, the king of kings, son of Ardašīr, further collected the non-religious writings on medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, accident, becoming, decay, transformation, logic and other crafts and skills which were dispersed throughout India, Rome (i.e. the Byzantine Empire) and other lands, and collated them with the *Avesta*' [Shaki 1981: 119].

The most important Indian work translated into Middle Persian by the famous physician Burzōy, son of Ādur-Mihr, under Xusraw I was the *Pañcatantra-* [see: De Blois 1990]. Burzōy's Middle Persian translation of the *Pañcatantra-* was soon translated into Syriac in 570 AD [see: Schulthess 1911] and then into Arabic by 'Abdullāh 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' in 757 AD ['Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 172]. The study of the proper names in the extant Syriac and Arabic translations show that Burzōy had translated it not directly from Sanskrit, but from a northwestern Prakrit [Moǰtabā'i 1984: 34].

In addition, from among the books translated from Sanskrit into Middle Persian during the Sassanian period, reference can be made to a book on medicine named *Sīrak*

(also misspelt as *Ǧarak, Sarak* and *Šarak*) ［Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 421; Tafazzoli 1997: 320］, which must have been the translation of a book by Caraka, the famous physician of ancient India. The story of *Bilawhar and Būδāsf*, one of the important Indian stories on the life of the Buddha, was also translated into Middle Persian during the Sassanian period. *Būδāsf* is the Iranicized form of Sanskrit *Bodhisattva-*. The *Śukasaptati-*, too, seems to have been translated into Middle Persian during the Sassanian period. Four New Persian versions of this book are known today: *Ǧawāhir al-'Asmār, Tuti-Nāma* (two books with this title) and *Čehel Tuti* ［see: Tafazzoli 1997: 304］. Another book probably translated into Middle Persian from an Indian original was *Sandbād-Nāma* ［Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 423; Mas'ūdī, vol. 1, p. 90; Tafazzoli 1997: 299］. In the Middle Persian book *Nāmagīhā ī Manūčihr* ［see: Dhabhar 1912: 63］ reference has been made to a book called *Zīg ī Hindūg* 'Indian Astronomical Tables' which seems to have been translated from Sanskrit into Middle Persian.

Some of the Indian loanwords in the extant Middle Persian texts which prove the existence of extensive cultural, scientific and commercial relations between Iran and India during the Sassanian period, are:

abyākaran 'grammar', from Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa-*;

anārgēl 'coconut', from Sanskrit *nārikela-*;

balādur 'marking nut', from Sanskrit *bhallātaka-*;

bīš 'aconite', from Sanskrit *viṣa-*;

čatrang 'chess', from Sanskrit *caturaṅga-*, originally 'having four limbs, having four members';

halīlag 'myrobalan', from Sanskrit *harītaka-*;

kāpūr 'camphor', from Sanskrit *karpūra-*;

košā 'Name of a conjunction of planets; Name of the second astrological mansion', from Sanskrit *kośa-*;

mōz 'banana', from Sanskrit *moca-*;

nīlōpal 'lotus, water-lily', from Sanskrit *nīlotpala-*;

tark 'logic', from Sanskrit *tarka-*;

win 'lute', from Sanskrit *vīṇā-* ［see also: Baghbidi 1998: 147; 2002: 72; Bailey 1943b: 81-82; Moǰtabā'i 2004 : 57－58］.

The emergence of Manichaeism in the 3rd century AD and its gradual expansion in Central Asia and other eastern regions caused the western Middle Iranian languages of Parthian and Middle Persian, now among the cult languages of the Manichaeans, in close contact with Indian languages. As a result many Indian words, especially Buddhist terms, entered the Manichaean texts written in Parthian and Middle Persian. These words are more abundant in Parthian Manichaean texts. Some such words in

Parthian are:

> *āhār* 'food', from Sanskrit *āhāra-*;
>
> *bixš-* 'to beg', from Sanskrit *bhikṣ-*;
>
> *But* 'Buddha', from Sanskrit *Buddha-*;
>
> *kumār* 'son; prince', from Sanskrit *kumāra-*;
>
> *lōg* 'world', from Sanskrit *loka-*;
>
> *maran* 'death', from Sanskrit *maraṇa-*;
>
> *mōxš* 'salvation', from Sanskrit *mokṣa-*;
>
> *narah* 'hell', cf. Prakrit *naraha-*, from Sanskrit *naraka-*;
>
> *niβrān* 'Nirvāṇa', from Sanskrit *nirvāṇa-*;
>
> *zambūdīg* 'world', from Sanskrit *jambudvīpa-* 'name of the central territory among the seven territories around Mount Meru' [see also: Sarkārāti 1999: 307-311; Sims-Williams 1983: 132 − 141].

4．Modern Iranian Period

Following the fall of the Sassanian Empire by the Arab conquerors in 651 AD and after the gradual expansion of Islam in the Iranian-speaking territories, a group of the Iranian Zoroastrians migrated to India, mainly to Gujarat, in the 10th century AD [Jamaspasa 2003: 391]. The story of this migration is narrated in the *Qessa-ye Sanǰān* 'The Story of Sanǰān', written in 1600 AD. These new-comers, now known as the Parsis of India, soon produced translations of their religious texts from Middle Persian into Sanskrit and thence into Gujarati. The main figure in translating Middle Persian religious texts into Sanskrit was the celebrated Zoroastrian high-priest Nēryōsang, son of Dhaval, who flourished in the 12th [Tavadia 1956: 14; Degener 1991: 49; cf. Boyce 1979: 168] or in the first half of the 14th century AD [Jâmâsp-Âsânâ and West 1887: xix]. Nēryōsang's Sanskrit is a sort of non-classical mediaeval Sanskrit, which can be best called Parsi Sanskrit [cf. Boyce 1968: 47; Degener 1991: 49]. Parsi Sanskrit translations were evidently not meant to be read for themselves, rather they functioned as a key for understanding the Middle Persian original. Hence Parsi Sanskrit is a type of Iranicised Sanskrit which, in some cases, cannot be fully understood without a basic knowledge of Middle Persian. One of the characteristics of Parsi Sanskrit is its avoidance of using the word *devá-* to refer to god, in place of which the word *iajada-* is often used (e.g. in: *Škend Gumānīg Wizār* 13.3) [see: Jâmâsp-Âsânâ and West 1887: 126] which is a Zoroastrian term derived from Middle Persian *yazad* 'god' (from Avestan *yazata-* 'worthy of worship, adorable; god'; cf. Sanskrit *yajata-* 'worthy of worship, adorable').

As a result of the translation movement in the Islamic world which began in the

middle of the 8th century AD and continued to the end of the 10th century AD, especially during the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (rule: 814−833 AD), a large number of Indian books were translated into Arabic and from Arabic into other languages, including Persian. One of the translators of this period was the Indian Manaka [ʾIbn al-Nadīm, p. 342], who had also translated a book on toxicology attributed to Cānakya (Arabic Šānāq) into Middle Persian for the use of Yaḥyā ʾIbn al-Xālid al-Barmakī, but since he did not know the Pahlavi (i.e. Middle Persian) script, he entrusted the task of writing it to ʾAbū Ḥātam al-Balxī. This book was then translated into Arabic under al-Maʾmūn [ʾIbn ʾAbī ʾUṣaybiʿa, vol. 1, p. 33].

The migrations of Persian-speaking communities to northern India, as invaders, traders, religious teachers, and mystics, around the 10th century AD, paved the way for the emergence of Urdu as a distinct Indo-Aryan language [cf. Dil 1992: 211]. Urdu first rose as a lingua franca based upon an amalgam of Persian elements with an Indian linguistic base which was a mixture of the local dialects of the Lahore-Delhi region. Urdu poetry employs the prosodic structures and poetic genres of classical Persian [as to the influences of Persian in Urdu see: Mojtabāʾi 1998: 546−547].

The rise and development of Persian literature, especially Persian poetry, in the Indian subcontinent caused some Indian words enter Persian poetical works and in some cases into the Persian language. ʾAmīr Xusraw Dihlavī (1253−1325 AD) was the gratest Persian-writing poet of India, whose contribution to the development of the *ghazal* in India is particularly significant. All his Persian works bear traces of Indian influence, especially in vocabulary.

Some of the Hindi/Urdu words used in Persian poetical works are:

dād 'ringworm', from Hindi/Urdu *dād*;

languta 'a waist-cloth, a cloth worn between the legs', from Hindi/Urdu *laṅgoṭ*, *laṅgoṭā*, *laṅgoṭī*;

mandal 'circle, ring', from Hindi/Urdu *maṇḍal*;

p̌āni 'water', from Hindi/Urdu *p̌ānī*;

sāl 'the plane-tree', from Hindi/Urdu *sāl*;

tāl 'a pair of cymbals', from Hindi/Urdu *tāl*;

tāl 'the palmyra-tree', from Hindi/Urdu *tāl*;

tanbul 'the betel leaf', from Hindi/Urdu *tambol* [see: Baghbidi 1996].

On the other hand, the spread of Islam in the Indian subcontinent by Persian-speaking missionaries and mystics, and the use of Persian as the official language of the court and the major language of administration and literature during Muslim rule, first in the Ghaznavid kingdom of Lahore and then over much of northern and central India, paved the way for the penetration of New Persian words into late Sanskrit texts and

many other Indian languages and dialects. Persian elements are abundant in the Sanskrit books written in Kashmir, as one of the important centres for Sanskrit, especially during the time of Sulṭān Zayn al-'Ābidīn（rule: 1420－1467 AD）of the Muslim family of Šāhmīr［see: Naqavi 1974: 106－107; Sarma 2002: 76－77］, e.g.

> añjīra- 'ficus oppositifolia, fig-tree', Hindi anǰir, from New Persian anǰir;
>
> bādāma- 'almond-tree', Hindi badām, bādām, from New Persian bādām 'almond';
>
> cobacīnī-, copacīnī- 'the root of Smilax pseudochina', Hindi cob-cīnī, from New Persian ǰub-e ǰini 'China root';
>
> kharbūja- 'melon, water-melon', Hindi kharbuza, kharbūza, kharpuza, kharbujā, from New Persian xarboz[a], xarbuza;
>
> tarambuja- 'water-melon', Hindi tarbuj, tarbūj, tarbuz[a], tarbūz[a], cf. New Persian tarboz[a], torboza, Pašto tarbuja［see also: Baghbidi 2002: 73; Laufer 1967: 444; Mayrhofer 1956: I, 481］.

During the Muslim rule of India some Arabic and Turkish elements, too, entered Sanskrit and other Indian languages through Persian. Some such Sanskrit words are:

> ka[ṃ]vūla- 'name of the eighth Yoga in astronomy', from Arabic qabūl;
>
> khāna- 'khan, Mongul emperor', from Turkish xān, from Mongolian qā'ān;
>
> majamudāra- 'document-holder, record-keeper', from Persian maǰmu'dār, from maǰmu' 'collected; collection', from Arabic majmū'; and Persian -dār 'holder';
>
> malika- 'king', from Arabic malik;
>
> mausula- 'a Muslim', from Arabic muslim;
>
> mūsariḥpha-, mūsarīpha- 'name of the fourth Yoga in astronomy', from Arabic muṣrif;
>
> muśallaha- 'reconciliation (a term in astronomy)', from Arabic muṣāliḥa;
>
> muthaṣila- 'name of the third Yoga in astronomy', from Arabic muttaṣil;
>
> taravī- 'quadrature (a term in astronomy)', from Arabic tarbī'［Baghbidi 2006: 146－147］.

The Muslim kings of India, notable among them Fīrūz Šāh Tuɣluq（rule: 1351－1388 AD）and Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar（rule: 1556－1605 AD）, showed much interest in the translation of important works from Sanskrit into Persian and vice versa. According to the chronicle Sīrat-i Fīrūz Šāhī, Fīrūz Šāh Tuɣluq got translated into Persian six Sanskrit works dealing with astrology, from among which only Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhita- and Dalā'il-i Fīrūz-Šāhī appear to be extant［Sarma 1998: 70; 2002: 74］. Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar had established a scientific circle known as the Maktabkhānā or the Bureau of Translation［see especially: Rizvi 1975: 203－222］, in which translation from Sanskrit into Persian was performed in three stages:

'First Hindu or Jaina scholars prepared a paraphrase in Hindi of the Sanskrit text

to be translated. In the second stage, this Hindi paraphrase was translated into Persian by one of the several Muslim courtiers. Finally, the Persian translation was polished and put into elegant prose and verse by one of the more accomplished scholars, often Akbar himself supplying the appropriate phrase' [Sarma 2002: 76].

Eleven Sanskrit books were translated into Persian under Akbar, the most important of which were *Mahābhārata-, Rāmāyaṇa-* and *Atharvaveda-* [see: Modi 1925]. In addition, under Akbar, Ulūγ Beg's astronomical tables were translated from Persian into Sanskrit.

After Akbar, Muḥammad Dārāšukūh, son of Šāh J̌ahān (rule: 1628 – 1658 AD), supervised the translation of fifty of the most important *Upaniṣads* from Sanskrit into Persian, known as *Sirr-i Akbar* [see: Emāmi and Šams 2005]. The Europeans first came to know Indian philosophy through this Persian translation and thus Indology was founded.

The last phase of translation from Persian into Sanskrit took place under Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur (1688 – 1743 AD), when for example Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's Persian manual on the astrolabe, *Risāla-i Bīst Bāb dar Ma'rifat-i Usturlāb*, was translated into Sanskrit. The procedure adopted at Jai Singh's court was similar to that at Akbar's *Maktabkhānā*. The majority of works translated from Sanskrit into Persian are scientific texts, dealing with astronomy, astrology, mathematics, music, medicine, veterinary medicine, etc. Compared to this wide range of texts, those translated from Persian into Sanskrit deal mainly with astronomy or astrology. From among literary Persian works translated into Sanskrit one can refer to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's Persian classic *Yūsuf-u Zulayxā* by Śrīvara in 1505 AD under the title of *Kathākautuka-* [Sarma 2002: 78 – 81, 83].

Persian lexicography in India started in the 13th century AD. The first Persian lexicon prepared in India was the *Farhang-i Qavvās* by Faxr al-Dīn Mubārak-Šāh Qavvās Qaznavī (probably in 1291 AD) which was used as a source for all the other Persian lexicons written in India, the last of which being the *Farhang-i Nizām* (1927 – 1938 AD). On the other hand, the interest of the Mughal court in Persian was so that manuals appeared for teaching Persian through the medium of Sanskrit, of which fifteen are known written during the four hundred years between 1364 and 1764 AD [see: Sarma 1996: 1 – 12], the most important of which is Bihāri Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra's *Pārasīkaprakāśa-* 'The Light of Persian' dedicated to Akbar [Sarma 1996: 5 – 6; 1998: 75; 2002: 85].

The vocabulary of Modern Indo-Aryan languages is often said to consist of three groups of words: learned Sanskrit words (*tatsama-*), inherited Indo-Aryan words (*tadbhava-*), and local (*deśya-*) words. To these, a forth group should be added: Persian words. Persian has been the principal vehicle for the transmission of Arabic vocabulary

throughout the Islamic culture area. Persian elements are more prominent in the northwestern part of the vast Indo-Aryan area, such as Sindhi and Panjabi, but their number decreases as one moves towards the east (Bengali), or towards the south (Marathi). A large number of Perso-Arabic words have also entered all the Dardic languages of Pakistan through Urdu. Among the Dardic languages of northwestern Pakistan, Khowar shows the greatest influence of Iranian languages at various times [see: Morgenstierne 1936].

The last important point to be mentioned is that the only Indo-Aryan language now spoken in Iran is Zargari or Romāno, which belongs to the Romani branch of central Indo-Aryan languages. It is mainly spoken in the small village of Zargar in the Ābyek district in the Qazvin Province of northwest Iran. Zargari is the only genuine Gypsy language in Iran which, in spite of being under the heavy influence of Āzari Turkish and Persian, has still preserved its Indo-Aryan nature. A large number of Persian words have found their way into Zargari mostly through Āzari Turkish, e.g. *āsemān* 'sky'; *diz* 'town' (Persian *dez/dež* 'fortress, fortified town'); *res-* 'to arrive'; *xoš* 'good, pleasant' [see: Baghbidi 2003].

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