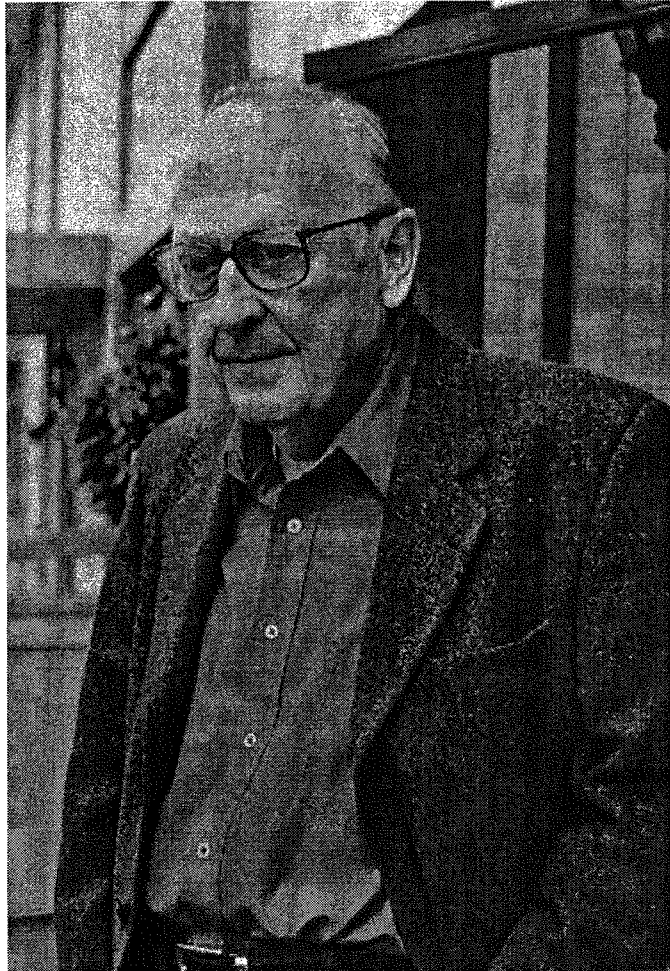


PAITIMĀNA



Hanns-Peter Schmidt

PAITIMĀNA

Essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian
Studies in Honor of

HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT

Volumes I & II

Edited by

Siamak Adhami

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PREFACE

In many parts of the world it was, and still is, a custom to offer certain gifts in the hope of pleasing their recipients. Ferdowsi and Macchiavelli speak of presenting gifts such as horses, arms, cloth of gold, gems, and such-like ornaments worthy of the grandeur of their princes. But thankfully in our profession, we often have little use for war horses, arms, or golden objects; nor am I certain that the person whose achievements we are celebrating here would have much appreciated a stubborn animal—although dealing with stubborn students should have provided him with ample experience and patience. Thus, as wordsmiths the only suitable gifts that we can hammer out would be essays whose topics have, in one way or another, been shaped or influenced by his own writings or teachings.

Those who know H.- P. Schmidt are equally aware of his desire for tranquility and avoidance of the limelight. So, it was with some trepidation that this project was undertaken; of course, as is well known, good pupils do not always follow instruction. My eventual call for articles was graciously answered by authors from many corners of the globe; in fact there were many more scholars who would have shared their thoughts with us had it not been for my neglect or their previous engagements, as indicated from the Tabula.

As for the title of the volumes: I have to admit that many wonderful titles were kindly suggested to me. Particularly active and helpful in this regard were M. Schwartz and P.O. Skjærvø; but for a variety of reasons, technical or otherwise, I had to regretfully abandon their suggestions. The final title of the Volumes **Paitimāna* (Pah. *paymān*), with its multiple connotations, I believe, best describes the person to whom we offer this Green Leaf. Throughout his academic life he has followed, to quote Aristotle, that path which is "the intermediate between excess and deficiency", wisely staying away from the fashionable theories and approaches which often try to afflict our field of study as they have done with other hapless fields.

On the structure of the two volumes: for a number of reasons, I have decided on dividing the essays into three sections; the first and second sections, found in Volume One, deal with the Indo-European and Indian topics. The Second Volume is concerned exclusively with Iranian subject matters. I have also attempted, as much as possible, to use a chronological and general-specific approach throughout the two Volumes; whenever this approach was not possible, I used the field of study as the criterion for grouping the essays together.

The essays in the volumes are preceded by a Tabula indicating the names of those scholars who graciously acknowledged this dedication and expressed their best wishes. A Bibliography of H.-P. Schmidt, including most of his published works, is also provided which I hope will facilitate the research effort of the interested parties not fully familiar with the extent of his publications.

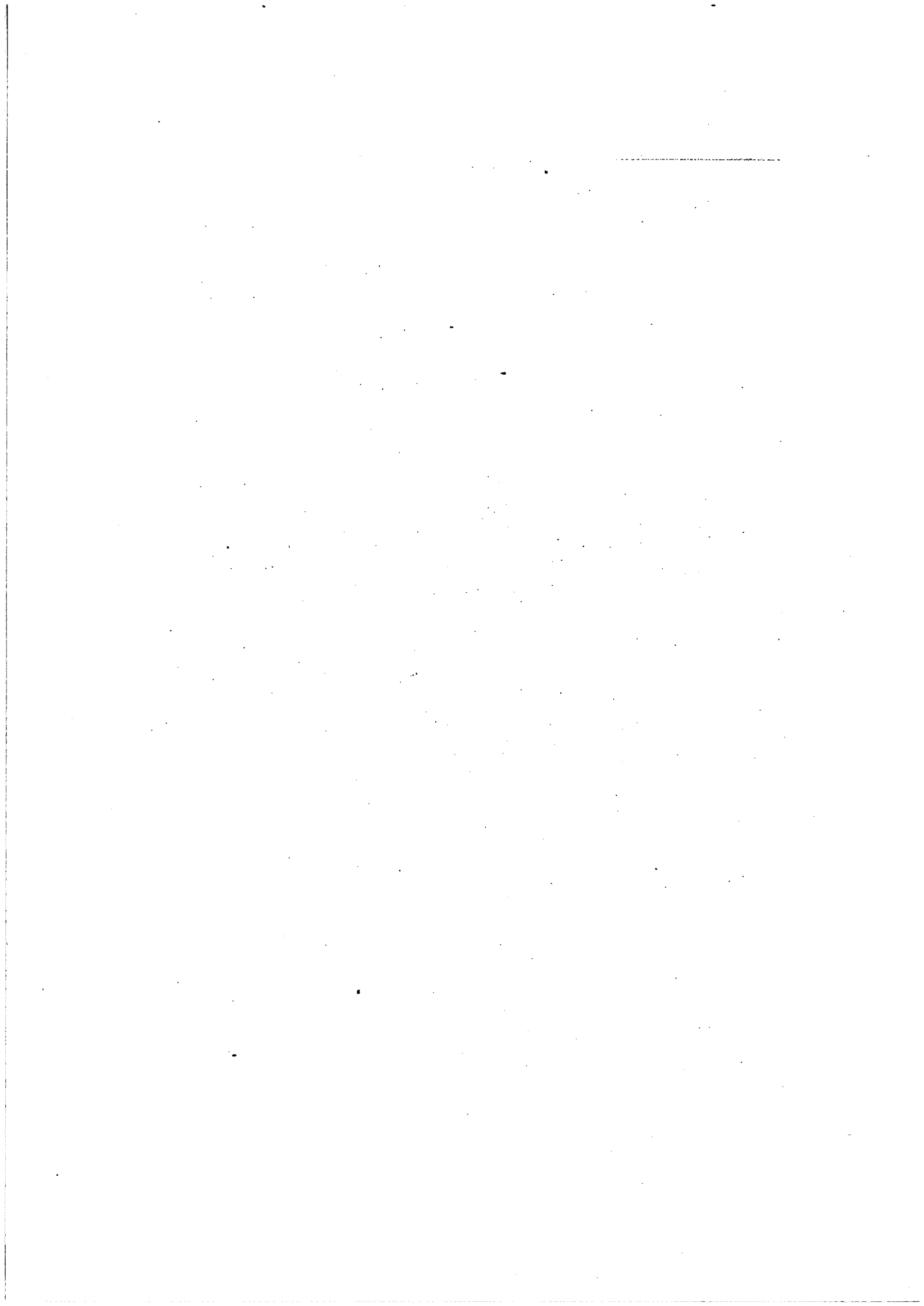
In the first essay of the first volume G. K. Giannakis highlights the etymological connection of several terms from Greek and Sanskrit as well as their usage to portray a common inheritance of imagery of death and the next world; H. Waltz, then, presents her observations on the variations in the syntax of verbs of emotion and sensation in older Indo-European dialects; next, B. Schlerath presents a new German translation of RV 10, 94 as well as a commentary on some of the more demanding parts of the hymn; S. Jamison searches the Rig Veda for the possible traces of the institution known as the *svayaṃvara*; J. Heesterman offers his latest thoughts on *ahimsā* or non-injury, a major principle in the post-Vedic religions of India; A. Wezler, in his search for the origins of Hindu law, examines the relation between the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* and the Rig Veda; M. Witzel presents a thorough examination of the Indic sources on *Yājñavalkya*, one of the most interesting figures of ancient India; and in the last essay our dear friend and colleague J. Duchesne-Guillemin examines the stylistic intricacies of the *Bhagavadgītā* which, by most accounts, is the central piece of the great Indian epic *Mahābhārata*.

Chapters 9 and 10 of Volume II are devoted to the *Gāthās*: in the first essay Skjærvø proposes that Zarathustra, rather than being an historical character, should be considered as a mythical poet-sacrificer; in contrast, Schwartz argues in favor of the historicity of the Prophet. In Ch. 11 Malandra further examines the substance of the sky in Avestan cosmology, while Cantera (Ch.

12) discusses the Avestan term *aša-*. In Ch. 13 R. Schmitt discusses Iranian proper nouns as found in the works of Aristotle; Cereti investigates the continuity and change in MP onomastics in Chapter 14; then Panaino offers his additional observations on MP **māzdēsñ*. In Chapter 16 Sundermann discusses the demon *Āz* in the Zoroastrian and Manichaean traditions. Next Daryae (Ch. 17) discusses *Gayōmart* in Zoroastrian tradition. In the first of the three essays on Iranian history (Chs. 18-20), Frye presents his observations on "the missing Achaemnids"; Shahbazi investigates the role of *Mithra* as dispenser of justice on a Sasanian king who has broken his covenant with his subjects; next Shayegan proposes an important outline for the study of Sasanian history. In the last essay (Ch. 21) Adhami offers some suggestions on deciphering two Sasanian sphragistic monograms.

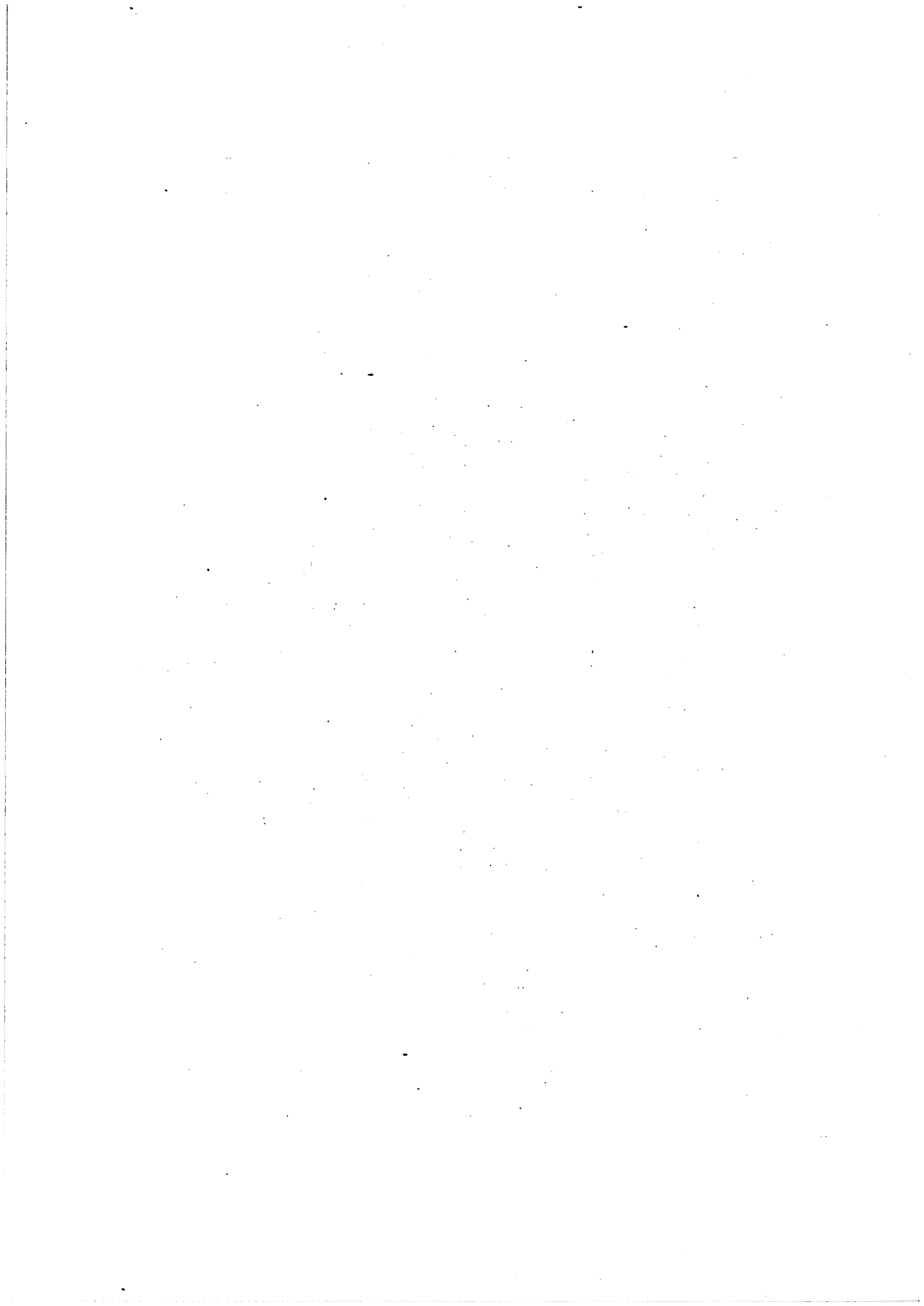
Again, I would like to thank the contributors for their assistance in this project and I hope they will be able to recognize their works, in spite of my editorship; I also hope that my errors have remained at an acceptable level.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank Dr. Ahmad K. Jabbari, President of Mazda Publishers, Inc., whose indefatigable support of this project was of paramount importance. Mazda Publishers, Inc. has in the past twenty-two years played a significant role in presenting highly valuable works, particularly on the various aspects of the Iranian civilization, to the scholarly community. We wish him even greater success.



Tabula gratulatoria

- Professor Boyce, Mary. University of London, England.
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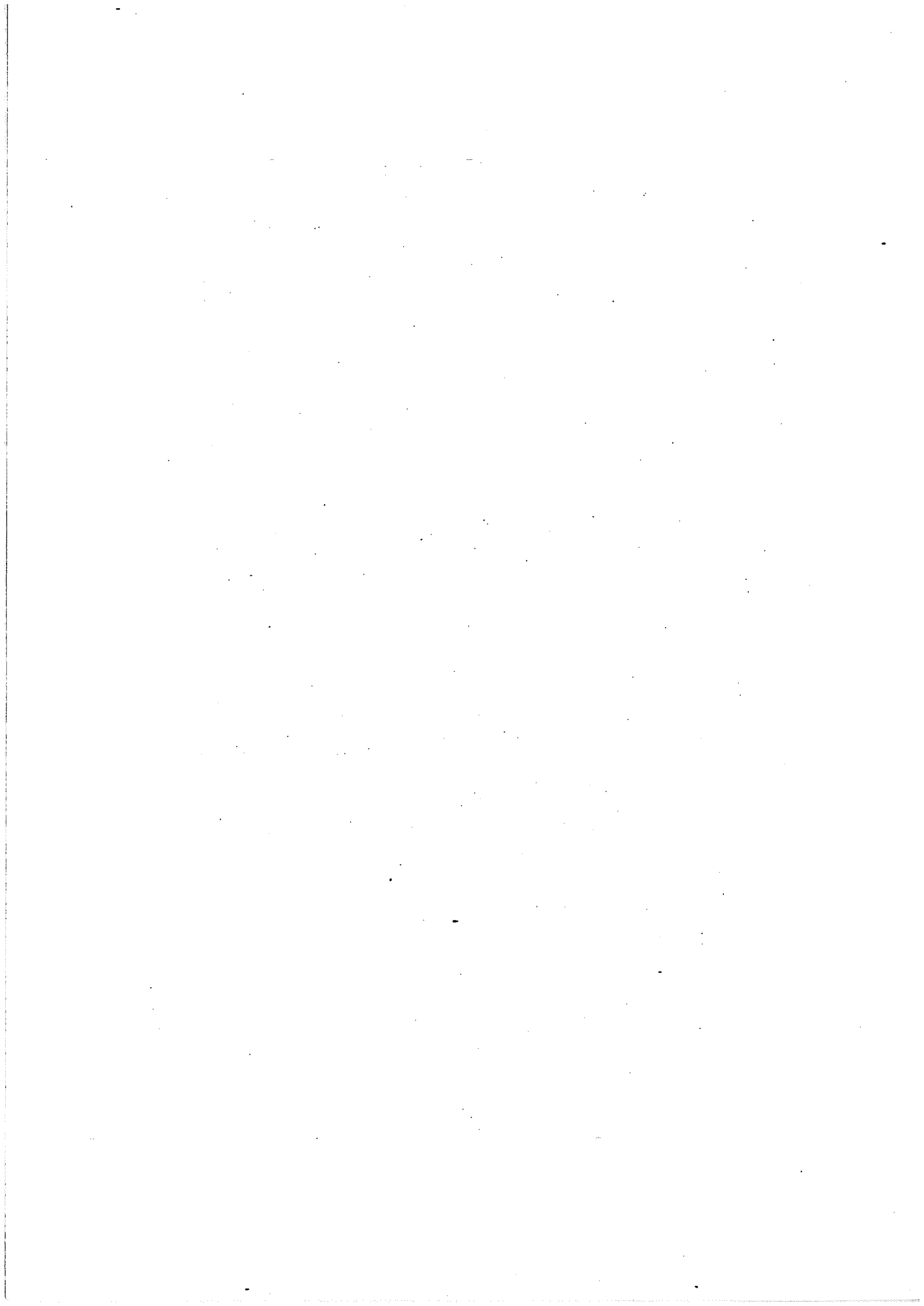
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Volume I

Indo-European and Indian Studies



CHAPTER 1

Greek πείραρ, Sanskrit párvata-, and related terms

Georgios K. Giannakis

In her 1975 study of the etymology and usage of πείραρ in early Greek poetry, Bergren concludes that the meaning of this word in Greek is generally “that which limits the outward extension of anything”, and on the concrete level “boundary line, bond” (p. 163). In Homer, where the word is used only in the plural πείρατα, (and elsewhere) there are some contexts clearly pointing to the meaning “bonds”, perhaps in a generic way, not to any specific type of bonds. This is the case in *Od.* 12.49 ff., where Odysseus is to be tied to the mast by the πείρατα, a meaning supported by the main word for bond(s) in Greek, δεσμός, used in line 54, but also by the verb ἐφήπται, indicating that these πείρατα are fastened. Circe instructs Odysseus what to do and how to overcome the threat of the Sirens:

..... ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούμεν αἱ κ' ἐθέλησθα,
δησάντων σ' ἐν νηὶ θοῇ χεῖράς τε πόδας τε
ὄρθον ἐν ἱστοπέδῃ, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ πείρατ' ἀνήφθω,
ᾧφρα κε τερπόμενος ὄπ' ἀκούης Σειρήνοϊν.
εἰ δέ κε λίσσῃαι ἐτάρους λύσαι τε κελεύης,
οἱ δέ σ' ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι τότε δεσμοῖσι διδέντων

..... but if you yourself are wanting to hear them, then
have them tie you hand and foot on the fast ship,
standing upright against the mast with ropes' ends
lashed around it, so that you can have joy in hearing
the song of the Sirens; but if you supplicate your men

and implore them to set you free, then they must tie you fast with even more lashings (Lattimore).

It seems though that the meaning "bonds" of the word here is a derived meaning; its basic meaning must be something closer to "crossing or getting to the other side", as will become evident from the following discussion. In the meaning "limit, boundary", we find an interesting collocation of *πεῖραρ*, with the word for "destruction": *ὀλέθρου πείρατα*, (e.g., *Il.* 6.143, 7.402, etc.), in what I believe to be a periphrasis for "destruction, death" (see also Heubeck 1972: 140). In fact, Pindar, contaminating this with the Homeric formula *τέλος θανάτοιο*, built *πεῖραρ θανάτου*, (e.g., *Ol.* 1.31). In early Greek poetry, the phrases *πέρατα γαίης* and *πέρατα Ὀκεανοῖο* constitute variant formulas referring to the idea of the most distant limits of the earth or the sea, i.e., the lines that define and delimit the world, but also with reference to the line dividing the world of the living from the world of the dead. In *Od.* 4.563-4, *ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης/ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν* "the immortals send you to the Elysian Field and to the limits of the earth", said by Proteus to Menelaos, is asserted that the place where the blest dead go is located at the edges of the world. Odysseus had to sail to the ends of the Ocean in order to reach the entrance of Hades in *Od.* 11.13-14, *ἣ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἴκανε βαθυρροῦ Ὀκεανοῖο/ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε πόλις τε* "and she came to the end of the deep-flowing Okeanos where is the land and the city of the Kimmerians", whereas in *Il.* 8.478ff. the *πέρατα* are of *γαίης καὶ πόντοιο*, i.e., of the earth and of the sea. In the Hymn to Aphr. 226-27, Tithonos is said to have sailed *παρ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοῆς ὅπῃ πείρατα γαίης* "to the flow of Okeanos at the limits of the earth", a composite picture for the end of the world with cosmic Ocean encircling the universe, a picture repeated in *Il.* 14.200-01 (=14.301-02) where Hera says: *εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,/ Ὀκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τιθύν* "For I come to see the ends of all-nurturing earth, and Okeanos from whom the gods sprung, and mother Tethys".

In Greek, we also have the cognate verbs *πείρω* "to cross (e.g., the sea)", as in *Od.* 2.434, and elsewhere, or with the meaning "to pierce through, to cross"; *περάω* "to traverse, to

penetrate”, and *πέρνημι*, “to sell”, deriving from the idea of transporting merchandise across the sea to a foreign land or market. All three verbs are old and well attested in Homer.

The meaning “pass through” (i.e., the original meaning) is also seen in the next two contexts of the usage of *πείρω*: *Il.* 16.404-05, ὁ δ’ ἔγχεϊ κύξε ... γναθμὸν ... διὰ δ’ αὐτοῦ πείρεν ὀδόντων “and he (viz. Patroklos) stabbed him with a spear by the jaw ... and drove it through the teeth”, and *Il.* 24.8, ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμουσ ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων “(he suffered) wars of men and hard crossings of waters”. The last example also shows how from the basic meaning the secondary meaning derives, as well as the meaning “pass over (= overcome) a danger”, which is common in combat scenes.¹

Bergren (1975: 96ff.) discusses the material from Vedic Sanskrit and Iranian, where for the root **perā-* she finds consistently the meaning “to cross, to go to the other side”. For our purposes one usage of a derivative of this root in Avestan is of special interest, namely the collocation *cinvatō pərətu-*, which refers to the bridge that leads to the other world, e.g., *Y.* 46.19 *frō tāiš vispāiš # cinuatō [fra]frā pərətūm* “with all those, I shall cross over the account-keeper’s bridge” (Humbach et al.; Insler ad loc. translates “the Bridge of the Judge”; see further *Y.* 71.6, *Y.* 19.6, etc.). Such passage-way (or ways) is also mentioned in other Indo-European texts, attesting to the belief of the Indo-Europeans in the concept of soul’s journey from the world of the living to the world of the dead: the gates of Hades in Greece and Rome, the “*cinvatō*-bridge” in Iran, the two ways in Scandinavia; *godvegr* “god’s way” and *helvegr* “Hell’s way”, which remind us of Pindar’s Διὸς ὀδόν or the Neopythagorean ὀδὸς μακάρων and ὀδὸς θεῶν; the two paths in India, the “up-going” and the “down-going”. In a Hieroglyphic Luvian inscription there is reference to a “divine stone earth road” (= cuneiform ^DKASKAL.-KUR), which may reflect the same idea (see Watkins, 1995: 393; Giannakis *in press*).

¹ We should mark here the semantic similarity between the roots **perā-* and **terā-*. Like **perā-*, the root **terā-* refers to the crossing over or through, and has applications parallel to those of **perā-*. One such usage is in the sense of “to overcome a danger or an obstacle”, something that occupies central position in Watkins’ analysis of the “basic” thematic Indo-European formula HERO SLAY SERPENT (see Watkins 1995).

Etymological dictionaries list several cognates of *πείραρ* from different Indo-European languages: in addition to the verbs *πείρω*, *περάω*, *πέρνημι* mentioned earlier, Gk. *πόρις* and *πόρτις*, "calf", Welsh *erthyl* "Frühgeburt", OHG *far*, OE *fearr* "Stier", Lith. *periu* "brüte", OCS *zaprūtŭkŭ* "Windei" (Pokorny 1959: 818), and Chantraine (DELG s.v. *πόρις*,) also adds Arm. *ort'* "calf", which seems to be the match of Gk. *πόρτις*. To the above also Skt. *pr̥thukah* "young animal" has been connected, but Mayrhofer (KEWA s.v.) doubts the viability of this connection.

To the same family also belong the Greek words *πόρος*, *πορεῖν*, *πεπρωμένη*, and others (see Güntert 1919: 246, Pokorny 1959: 818, Frisk GEW s.v.). Thus, Gk. *πείραρ* derives from a protoform **περῶρ-*, a heteroclitic noun related to Skt. *pár-van-* "knot, joint", and *párvata-* "mountain", as well as *páruṣ-* (also the stem *paru-* occurs), on which see Hoffmann 1974: 24; furthermore note Wackernagel AiGr. II/2, 903 who remarks: "*párvaṇ-* (im Sing. auch *páruṣ-*) "Gelenk, Abschnitt": gr. *πείραρ* *πείρατος* *πέρας* (Stamm **περῶρ-*) "Ende." The forms in both languages point to a derivational extension **-ur-* and **-uon/-uḥ-*, common with heteroclitic formations.

Other cognates include Skt. *parā* or *parā*, Av. *para-* "shore (of a river or sea), boundary, end", Gk. *παρά*, *πέριν/πέριον*, perhaps an old fem. accusative (see Mayrhofer EWAia s.v. *para-*), Go. *fair*, Arm. *ar'* "near", etc.; then Skt. *pára-h* "distant", and superlative *paramá-h* "farthest", and also the noun *parā-vát-* "distance", which is perhaps like *πείραρ* (i.e., **per-ur-/per-unt-*);² Gmc. **faran* "fahren", **forjan* "führen", Lat. *portāre*, iterative of **porere* (like Gmc. **forjan*), cf. Gk. *πείρω*, Russ. *naperiti* "piquer, ficher", Alb. *pruva*, *prura* "brachte, führte", etc. (see Pokorny 1959: 816-17 s.v. *per-*, *perā-*).³

² Building on an older explanation by Oldenberg, Thieme (1985: 534) suggests that *parā-vát-* is a compound of *parā-* and *vát-*, a root noun from the root *van-* "strive after" with a *-t-* enlargement of the type *krt-*, *dhrt-*, etc., thus it is **parāvñt* "Hinweg-richtung".

³ Compare also Benveniste (1955: 36-41) in the context of his discussion of the homophonous roots **per-* "cross" and **per-* "fly or travel in space".

Bader (1989: 88ff. and esp. 90ff.) explores the possibility of associating IE **per-* with *per-k'* and of an etymological connection of terms like Skt. *párvata-*, *páruṣ-/párvan-*, Hitt. *peru-na* "rock", *pirwa-*

In this connection we have in Sanskrit the interesting (and suggestive) collocation *parāvátam paramām* “the farthest distance”, for instance, in RV 10.95.14. This hymn is the famous Urvasi-Pururavas hymn, and in this stanza the reference is to the love who will “fly forth with no return”, “go to the farthest distance” and go to the “bosom of destruction” and “be the food of the rapacious wolves”: all these poetic metaphors are clear and powerful allusions to death:

sudevó adyá prapáted ánāvṛt
parāvátam paramām gántavá u
ádhā śayīta níṛīter upáste
ádhainam vṛkā rabhasāso adyúḥ

Liefe heute dein Abgott davon auf Nimmerwiederkehr, um in die fernste Ferne zu gehen, und ruhte er im Schloße des Todes und fräßen ihm dann die reißenden Wölfe (Geldner).

We have here the synonymous expressions “fly forth” (*prapated*) and “with no return” (*anāvṛt*), meaning of course that once one reaches the “farthest distance” (*parāvátam paramām*) the return to the world of the living is impossible. It is also worth noting the use of the verb *pat* “fall” in this context, just like its Greek cognate *πετ-* in the derivative noun *πότης*, another interesting metaphor of death and destruction of Indo-European ancestry, as I show elsewhere (Giannakis 1998: 589). In the above passage we have an elaborate chiasmus effected first by the lexical pair *adyá* : *adyúḥ* and then by the phonetic play between *ánāvṚt* : *VṚkā*. This chiastic arrangement is filled with the figure of etymological lexical play and alliterative trio of PRA-páted : PARĀvátam : PARAMām, an arrangement that has a definite phonaesthetic effect.

AV 6.75.2, an incantation for keeping away a rival, offers a

“stone”, *peru-/paru-* “house”, *Parnassa-* “a rocky mountain”, cf. Gk. Παρνασσός, *πειρα*, and with a **k*“-suffix, Lith. *Perkūnas*, Latv. *Pēr-kūns*, etc. In order for such a connection to sound plausible she says that the original meaning of **per-* may have been “strike” and not “cross”.

similar picture and the expression *paramāṃ parāvataṃ* "the remotest distance" occurs again, and again a style of some special order seems to add emphasis to the meaning of the passage: *PARAMĀṃ PARĀVATAM nudatu = na punar āyati*, i.e., "drive to the remotest distance" = "shall not again return":

paramāṃ tāṃ parāvataṃ indro nudatu vṛtrahā
yato na punar āyati śasvatībhyaḥ sāmabhyaḥ

Indra, the slayer of Vritra, shall drive him to the remotest distance, from which in all successive years he shall not again return! (Bloomfield).

In st. 3 of the same incantation the phraseology emphasizes even more strongly the element of distance with expressions like "to the three distances", "beyond the five peoples", "beyond the three ethers", and "with no return", again suggesting death, the ultimate limit of human existence. It seems that this stanza is an epexegetis of the meaning of the preceding one, and that all the distance-expressions in a way explain the meaning of *paramāṃ parāvataṃ*. Furthermore, *tisrāḥ parāvata* adds a qualification to *paramāṃ parāvataṃ*, by specifying, with the addition of a feature from ancient Indic cosmology, the place where all wicked and evil creatures should go. Here, *tisrāḥ parāvata* = *paramāṃ parāvataṃ*, it is simply another way of saying the same thing, perhaps making some symbolic allusion to number "three";⁴ on the other hand, the expression *na punar āyati* seems to be a periphrasis of the same idea expressed by *ānāvṛt* or *paramāṃ parāvataṃ nudatu* in the previous examples. Furthermore, the expression *yāvat sūryo āsat divi* emphasizes a fact that constitutes a natural order and as such is not subject to change, like the succession of years which is also an unchanged fact. All these expressions form a climax that is intended to secure the "no return" from the world beyond. The passage runs:

étu tisrāḥ parāvata etu pañca janāṃ āti
étu tisró 'ti rocanā yato na punar āyati
śasvatībhyaḥ sāmābhyo yāvat sūryo āsat divi

⁴ The use of numbers in emphatic constructions is a common device in the Indo-European languages, as for instance in Gk. τρισ-όλβιος "thrice-fortunate", τρισ-άθλιος "thrice-unhappy", τρισ-δύστυνος, "thrice-unfortunate", etc.

He shall go to the three distances, he shall
go beyond five peoples;
he shall go beyond the three ethers, whence
he shall not again in all successive
years return, while the sun is upon the hea-
vens! (Bloomfield).

It is clear that the expression *paramāṃ parāvataṃ* (and also its synonym *tisrāḥ parāvata*, along with all other distance-expressions above) is used in a similar way with Gk. *πείρατα*, especially in expressions like *πείρατα γαίης* or *πείρατα Ὠκεανοῖο*, and cf. also expressions with the cognate with *πείραρ* words *πέραν* or *πέρην* with genitive *γαίης*, *θαλάσσης*, *ὠκεανοῦ*, etc. Similar syntagmas are seen with Skt. *parás* + Instr. (e.g., *divā* or *divébbhis*), and with Abl. (see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch* s.v.). *πείρατα γαίης* finds a good semantic match in Skt. *paramasyāṃ pṛthivyām* "at the farthest end of the earth" (of VS I 25).

The hymn of AV 8.1 is a prayer for long life and ways for avoiding the dangers of death. In st. 8 the word *parāvataṃ*, formally an acc. sg. neut., functions as an adverb and refers to the distant point or place where the dead dwell, i.e., to the place that forms the "boundary" between this world and the world beyond (cf. *πείραρ* in this sense). In this text the symbolic opposition light vs. darkness (= life vs. death) is also suggestive for the general context of the hymn:

mā gatānām ā didhīhā yé náyanti parāvátam
ā roha támaso jyotir chy ā te hástau rabhāmahe.

Do not long after the departed, who conduct
(men) afar! Ascend from the darkness, come to
the light! We lay hold of thy hands.
(Bloomfield).

These images of light/darkness in conjunction with that of distance (*parā*) are also employed in the next stanza: *mā 'tra tiṣṭhaḥ pārvānmanāḥ* "do not remain here with averted mind (lit., with mind turned to a distance)". Given the context of this text, the passage can be easily understood as an exhortation to the dead to not hesitate to follow the right and "up-going" path, i.e., the one leading to heavenly light, bliss and happiness, not the one lead-

ing downward to darkness and destruction. The word *pārānmanāh* then can be interpreted as the double-mindedness or momentary undecidedness of the dead who may be confused and choose the path leading off-track and to the “farthest distance”, as in the previous examples. This moment is the liminal stage of the deceased who belongs to neither word; it is a period of confusion, undecidedness, and danger for both dead and living.

What we see in these texts is a virtual identification of “the end/distance” with the “abyss” of the Otherworld. This is the picture of RV 1.121.13, where the word *karta-* “pit, abyss” is used with reference to the place where the evil should be cast:

tuvāṃ sūro harīto rāmayo nṛṇ
bhārac cakrām étaśo nāyām indra
prāśya pārāṃ navatīṃ nāvīyānām
āpi kartāṃ avartayo āyajyūn

Du Indra hieltest die Falbinnen des Sonnengottes an, den Männern (beistehend). Etaśa selbst (?) trug das Rad davon, o Indra. Bis ans andere Ufer der neunzig Ströme (es) schleudernd rolltest du die Opferlosen kopfüber in den Abgrund. (Geldner)

In other words, “to send or cast to the pit” is the same as “to send to the farthest end of the earth”, that is to say “to kill or destroy”, i.e., make someone disappear from sight.⁵

In AV 8.2.9 *pārāyāmi tvā rājasa út tvā mṛtyór apīparam* “I take you through the darkness and I passed you through from death”, the verb *pr-* is used twice alongside words denoting death, in a figurative (*rājasa*) and a literal sense (*mṛtyór*). This hymn refers to the prolongation of life and avoidance of death.

In Vedic Sanskrit the cognate adjective *pārā* means “leading or conveying over to the other side”, and the substantivized neuter means “the opposite shore of the sea or of the river, the boundary opposite, the farthest end of a road or path, the end of a labor, the farthest boundary” (Bergren 1975: 99). We also find the adjective used in the compound phrase in the locative *dūrē pārē* “at the farthest ends”, e.g., RV 2.11.8, or 10.49.6 where the

⁵ In fact, in the latter meaning we find in Hittite the verb *me-ir-ta* “disappeared” (cf. Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995: 396), from the root **mer-* “die” (Skt. *mṛiyāte*, Lat. *moriōr*, Gk. βροτός, etc.), in a similar context with that of the Sanskrit cases just discussed.

phrase qualifies *rājaso*, i.e., “at the farthest ends of the space” (cf. also 1.33.7, 1.51.12, 10.143.5, 10.187.5, etc.). We saw earlier the use of *πειραρ* in conjunction with the words for sea and earth as an expression for the farthest distance or the limits of the world and the beginning of the other world. Vedic *pāré* exhibits similar usages with words of distance emphasizing precisely the outward limits of the world. Thus we have: RV 1.167.2 *ádha yád eṣāṃ niyútaḥ paramāḥ samudrāsya cid dhanáyanta pāré* “now when their most distant teams (of horses) speed even at the limits of the sea” (interestingly enough, also the word *paramāḥ* is used here!); 1.116.4 *samudrāsya dhánvan ādrāsya pāré* “on the sea’s strand, the shore of the ocean”; 10.155.3 *sínđhoḥ pāré* “on the river’s end”, and perhaps a few more such combinations, all intended to underline the great distance where something takes place, in many instances with clear otherworldly allusions.

In another hymn (RV 1.164.34ff.), where, in a question-and-answer style, a cosmological speculation is made, the expression “the extremest limit of the earth” is used along with other points of cosmological orientation and interest. Griffith comments on this that “the altar, as the place nearest to heaven, the place where gods visit men”, and Geldner (ad. loc.) says: “Das Opfer als ein Sinnbild der Welt”. The phrases used in 34a and 35a are *pāram ántam pṛthivyāḥ* and *pāro ántaḥ pṛthivyāḥ*, respectively (cf. *πειραρα γαίης* and the rest discussed earlier).⁶

In RV 10.17.4a-b and 6a-b Āyu and Pūṣan are invoked to lead the dead to the otherworld:

4a-b āyur viśvāyuh pári pāsati tvā
pūṣā tvā pātu prāpathe purástāt

May Āyu, giver of all life, protect you,
may Pūṣan protect you on the distant pathway.

6a-b prāpathe pathám ajaniṣṭa pūṣā
prāpathe diváh prāpathe pṛthivyāḥ

Pūṣan was born in the distant pathways,
on the path far from earth and far from heaven.

A repetitive pattern of sounds and of entire items is to be noted

⁶ A similar question-and-answer motif and phraseology is also employed in AV 10.10.13-14; cf. also ŚB. 13.5.2.21 and VS. 23.61ff.

in 4a-b: *āyur* : (viśv)āyuh, *pāsati tvā* : pūṣātvā, even *pāri pāsati* : *prāpathe*, and all is capped by *purāstāt* in a significant manner, as the verse runs sinuously, intertwining with the sense and creating a tension and resilience. A similar elaborate arrangement of alliterative items is observed in 6a-b: *praPATHe PATHām pra-PATHe praPATHe* and at the end *prTH-* (of *prthivyāḥ*) as if encapsulating, in a haplological manner, the pattern of *praPATHe*, giving the feeling of a horizontal weaving back and forth or vertically up and down in the structure of the text.

Similarly in 10.18.1a *pāram mṛtyo ānu pārehi pānthām yās te svāḥ* "Forth, O death, go along the path which is your own", where *par-* is used twice and where we see the emphatic alliterative use of /p/: A look at the entire hymn shows that this hymn is replete with such alliterative patterns of P-R and T-R, consonant combinations that form two roots, IE **perə-* and **terə-*, which are bases for vocabulary relating to death, dying, and the move of the dead to the otherworld. We can assume that such sound combinations are not accidental but have a highly poetic function and are based on anagrammatic patterns that hint at specific thoughts of the composer(s) of the hymns. The effect of such sound repetitions is that they join entire phrases into a single word, creating a special emphasis of high poetic style, e.g., Skt. *āhann āhim* "killed the snake", *āśūm āśvam* "fast horse" (cf. Gk. ὠκέες ἵπποι), Av. *āsu.aspam*, Skt. *āśvāsya-* "having fast horses". As pointed out by Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995: 736, "Alliterative repetition has the function of singling out a syllable or phoneme group of some key word that carries the major semantic load within the relevant poetic segment". See further Raster 1992 with some interesting facts and statistical counts on this matter.

What all this suggests is, I think, self-evident: the contextual reading of the semantically contiguous terms supports also the etymological connection of all these terms from Greek and Sanskrit. In addition, the thematic similarity between Greek and Sanskrit with respect to certain uses of several items discussed in this paper may point to common inheritance of the imagery of death and the other world as located at the end of the earth and of the ocean, or at a great distance outside the boundaries of the familiar world of the living.

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CHAPTER 2

Syntactic Variation as *Reliefgebung*

Heidi Waltz

Introduction

The syntax of verbs of emotion and physical sensation shows variation even in the older Indo-European dialects. The present paper aims to establish a common stylistic denominator underlying the choice of one variant over another. Many of the data scrutinized here were collected during my years of Sanskrit studies at UCLA under the tutelage of Professor Hanns-Peter Schmidt.

I will investigate the various constructions under the premise that the ancient Indo-European poet must have been aware of the linguistic devices available to achieve specific literary effects. The composer(s) of the Rig Veda or *Iliad* and *Odyssey* probably manipulated words in much the same way Hemingway did when he used passive constructions in order to depict indecisive and unrealistic characters (Morenberg, 1997: 245). In the Rig Veda, for instance, “the allegro forms kur-, kar-, are used in colloquial speech or by the wives of the gods” (Witzel, 1991:5). For Homer, Diver (1969) relates perfective verbs to the introduction of new events and dynamic changes in the narrative whereas imperfective verbs seem to relate to more descriptive, less dynamic affairs. Along similar lines, Plautus’s plays are notorious for mixing educated Roman speech, which shows concord, with colloquialisms and vulgarisms, which lack concord (Lindsey 1907). Since they seem a good source of “everyday classical speech”, these early Latin plays will serve to complement the investigation of the more formal style seen in the Rig Vedic hymns and Homeric epics.

Syntax

In his *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Delbrück treats verbs of emotion and physical sensation as one major semantic class associated with subjectless sentences (1900: 29-35). He notes, however, that many of these verbs are attested in more than one syntactic pattern. The Sanskrit verb *tam-*, for instance, may take an experiencer object in *ná mā taman...* (RV II.30.7) "nicht ergreife mich Müdigkeit..." but an experiencer subject in the form *tāmyati* "ohnmächtig, müde werden" (ibid.). Similarly, Lat. *pudeo* varies with *me pudet*, *miseror* with *me miseret*, etc. The solutions suggested to explain the origin and function of the variants all seem tentative. Delbrück eventually assumes that the subject experiencer construction is the earlier one and the object experiencer variant came about secondarily in order to emphasize "dass das Subjekt nicht handelnd ist, sondern von einer übermächtigen Empfindung (Scham, Müdigkeit) betroffen und bewältigt wird" (1900: 30). He adds for good measure that the movement of the experiencer into object position was no issue since speakers do not associate agents with verbs of emotion and physical sensation. This seems to be a contradiction in terms: if an agentive reading were ruled out by inherent semantic constraints, why would there be a need to create this function via syntactic innovation. Another venue he chose was to explain the accusative pronoun as part of a causative derivation. But that might create formal problems with regard to Lat. *paenitet*, *piget*, and *miseret*. Thus Delbrück opts for a denominative solution and concludes that the verbs must have had neutral meaning from the very beginning: "Also heißt *pudeo* ursprünglich 'ich bin voll Scham'...Durch Umdrehung ward aus *pudeo*... *pudet me*" (1900: 31). Note that the reading of "I am full of shame" is by no means agentive, as pointed out above.

The Greek verbs are not discussed by Delbrück but receive ample attention elsewhere. In Schwyzer-Debrunner, the following description can be found: "Bei den grundsätzlich medialen Verben...treten die verba affectuum als besondere produktive Gruppe hervor;...alle haben vorwiegend lebende Sujekte, in deren Bereich der Verbalinhalt bleibt; selten ist transitiver Gebrauch...andererseits sind in geschichtlicher Zeit zu alten Media neue Aktiva getreten, teils als Transitiva, bes. auch Kausativa" (1950: 228). As examples are given: classical *μαίνομαι*, classical *ἠδω* "erfreue" to Homeric

ἡδομαι "freue mich". Even though the handbook only mentions later classical variants, some variants are already attested in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as will be seen below. Interestingly, the inherently stative, non-agentive, intransitive qualities associated with verbs of emotion and physical sensation found their most explicit marking in Greek where they surface mainly as *media tantum*.

In summary, the handbooks seem in consensus that the variant with the subject experiencer was the earlier form, even if it might be scantily attested. The variant with object experiencer, on the other hand, appears to be a secondary development. It is not accurate, however, to assume that the secondary variant only developed during the respective classical period. These variants co-existed from early on (as will be seen below) and thus there must have been a functional differentiation in place. It has already been shown that Delbrück's tentative explanation is not very plausible. Moreover, it is given without a more detailed investigation of the context in which these forms occur simply for reasons of space. The following section aims to fill this gap in the treatment of verbs of emotion and physical sensation.

Functional-stylistic considerations

Delbrück had decided not to follow up on the causative reading of the secondary variant due to formal criteria. There are, however, some indications that this might not be that implausible. In Vedic, for instance we have a causative (or possibly factitive) suffix pointing in that direction: *hārṣate* next to *hārṣáyanti*, *réjate* next to *rejáyati*. These overtly marked *-áya-* formations are found even in the early hymns and seem to co-exist with variant patterns simply based on syntax, without additional morphological marker on the verb (see below). According to Jamison's study of the form and function of *-áya-* formations, these were initially only derived from intransitive verbs. She explicitly states: "there are no causatives to transitives in early Vedic [my emphasis] though it would seem likely that a true 'causative' would function as causative to all major verb types of a language" (1983: 186). Consequently, Jamison favors Thieme's (1929) stipulation that the suffix initially functioned as transitivizer and assumes that causativity was a later outgrowth of its original function. Lubotsky (1989), on the other hand, has suggested a factitive reading to account for the semantic difference

in the case marking of the variants. Either analysis will be consistent with the context-specific constraints outlined below. It is fairly safe to assume that the initial functional differentiation must have been striking and desirable enough to maintain it into the classical period. Furthermore, it is plausible to stipulate that our ancient poet would feel the desire to emphasize inherently stative, intransitive verbs by transitivization. The emphatic character of transitivity vs. intransitivity has received ample discussion in the literature. According to Wallace (1982), transitive verbs are more discourse-salient than intransitive stative verbs. They are associated with the narrative foreground whereas the latter ones relate to backgrounded events. Thus the syntactic variants could have been effective tools in the hands of the poet who utilized their contrasting functions in order to add shape or relief to his narrative in the sense of Weinrich (1964).¹ The author would use the secondary variant whenever important events or crucial steps in the narrative were to be highlighted. On the other hand, he would prefer the stative intransitive (subject experiencer) variant for enumerative descriptions, elaborations, digressions, or secondary points. The validity of this assumption can only be asserted within a context-specific investigation. If the respective variants occur in specific situational contexts, their co-existence may well be stylistically motivated. The following comparison of the respective variants reveals contextual parallels which are too striking to be innovations in the individual dialects. None of the verbs of emotion examined are cognates; an effort was made, however, to compare variant sets with middle (or deponent) endings for the personal variant and active endings for the transitive variant whenever possible. In passages (1) and (2) from the Rig Veda, the poet chooses the variant with subject experiencer²:

(1) ádrībhīh sutāh pavate gābhastyor vṛṣāyāte ná-
 bhasā vépate matí
 sá modate násate sādgate girā nenikté apsú yájate
 párimāṇi (RV IX.71.3)

¹ See especially his chapter on *Reliefgebubg in der Erzählung*.

² All translations follow Geldner unless noted otherwise.

“er läutert sich, zwischen den Händen mit Steinen ausgepreßt, durch die Regenwolke wird er wie ein Bulle, durch die Dichtung wird er beredt ... Er frohlockt über die Lobrede, stimmt in sie ein, gerät gut durch sie; er wird im Wasser rein gewaschen, voll verehrt”

(2) yábhiḥ sómo módate hársate ca kalyāñbhir yu-
vatibhir ná máryaḥ
tá adhvaryo apó áchā párehi yád āsiñeā́ óṣadibhiḥ
punītāt (RV X.30.5)

“Mit denen Soma sich vergnügt und sich aufregt wie der Junggeselle an schönen jungen Frauen, zu den Gewässern geh, Adhvaryu, hin! Wenn du sie einfüllen wirst, so sollst du sie mit Pflanzen läutern.”

Neither context requires emphasis; rather, the poet enumerates the various feelings ascribed to Soma: having fun and getting excited (with the waters) like a bachelor with young women or being happy about the praise song, joining it, improving because of it, he is cleansed in the water and is fully honored. The verbs of emotion *módate* and *hársate* both show middle endings with the personal experiencer variant.

The following Homeric passage also illustrates backgrounded descriptive narration. After Odysseus offers the strong wine to the Cyclops, he takes it, drinks it, and becomes happy:

(3) ὣς ἐφάμην ὁ δ' ἔδεκτο καὶ ἐκπιεν
ἦσατο δ' αἰνῶς
ἦδὺ ποτὸν πίνων καὶ μ' ἦτεε δεύτερον
αὐτίς· (ι 353-354)

“So I spoke, and he took the cup and drained it, and was terribly pleased with the wine he drank and questioned me again, saying:”

The Greek verb *ἦσατο* shows middle marking like Skr. *hársate*. Both verbs are attested, if scarcely, with transitive variants. Only the Vedic verb is morphologically marked by suffixing the -áya-form to the root; Homer shares the other two transitivity features, e.g. different case marking and a change from middle to active inflection.

In RV V.27, thanks are given to a number of entities including Aśvamedha who has been enticed by many praise songs to give abundantly: one hundred steers—a gift so great it is compared to soma mixed three times! This size of the gift is emphasized as the source of pleasure in a transitive/causative variant:

(4) yāsya mā paruṣāḥ śatām uddharsāyanty ukṣāṇaḥ
 āśvamedhasya dānāḥ sōmā iva tryāśīraḥ (RV
 V.27.5)

“Dessen hundert gefleckte Stiere, des Asvamedha
 Geschenke mich entzücken wie dreifach gemisch-
 ter Soma.”

In the *Iliad*, the carefully advising words of Poulydamas have a profound impact on Hektor. He is so pleased that he changes his course of action. By jumping off the chariots, the Trojans now manage to drive the Achaians back and Hektor smashes the gate in the wall and leads the attack until the Achaians are fighting to save their ships from destruction:

(5) ἵππους μὲν θεράποντες ἐρυκόντων ἐπὶ
 τάφρῳ,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες
 Ἔκτορι πάντες ἐπώμεθ' ἀολλέες· αὐτὰρ
 Ἀχαιοὶ
 οὐ μνέουσ', εἰ δὴ σφιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ'
 ἐφῆπται.
 Ὡς φάτο Πολυδάμας, ἅδε δ' Ἔκτορι μῦθος
 ἀπήμων,
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο
 χαμάζε.
 οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλοι Τρῶες ἐφ' ἵππων
 ἠγερέθοντο,
 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντες ὄρουσαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον
 Ἔκτορα δῖον· (M76-83)

“let our henchmen check our horses by the ditch,
 then let ourselves, all of us dismounted and armed
 in our war gear,
 follow Hektor in mass formation. As for the
 Achaians,
 they will not hold, if the bonds of death are fas-
 tened upon them.”

So spoke Poulydamas and this counsel of safety
 pleased Hektor.
 And at once in all his armor, he leapt to the ground
 from his chariot,
 And the rest of the Trojans assembled, not mounted
 behind their horses,
 But all sprang to the ground, when they saw bril-
 liant Hektor had done it.”

In passages (6) and (7), the syntax of verbs expressing anger is compared. Both verbs, Gk. *χολώσατο* “becomes angry” and Skr. *jihīle* show middle endings. RV X.34 is a later hymn about the confessions of a gambler who blames himself for the unhappiness he has caused others with his addiction. He enumerates the good virtues of his wife and then gets to the true cause of his sorrow. He tells his audience that his wife never complained, she was never angry, she was always friendly to his companions and himself. Yet for the sake of a lucky throw he pushed his loyal wife away from him:

(6) ná mā mimetha ná jihīla eṣā śivá sákhībhya utá
 máhyam āsīt
 akṣásyahám ekaparásya hetór ánuvratām ápa
 jāyám arodham (RV X.34.2)

“Sie hat mich nie gescholten, nie war sie ärgerlich,
 sie war freundlich gegen die Kameraden und gegen
 mich. Um des Wurfes willen, der um Eins zu hoch
 war, habe ich die treue Ehefrau von mir gestoßen.”

Homer’s description of the scene following Odysseus’s provocation of the Cyclops lists a typical sequence of events repeated in lines 536-542, when Poseidon is angered as well. Due to someone’s anger, a rock is hurled which barely misses the ship; then the subsequent tidal wave pushes it back towards the land. In both Rig Veda and *Odyssey*, the feeling is part of the backgrounded setting against which the more important points of the narrative, e.g. a vice or provocation, are highlighted:

(7) ὡς ἐφάμην ὁ δ’ ἔπειτα χολώσατο κηρόθι
 μάλλον
 ἦκε δ’ ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος
 μεγάλοιο,
 κὰδ δ’ ἔβαλε προπάροιθε νεὸς κυανο-

πρόροιο
 τυτθόν ἐδεύησεν δ' οἴηιον ἄκρον ἰκεσθαι
 ἐκλύσθη θάλασσα κατερχομένης ὑπὸ
 πέτρης. (ι 480-484)

“So I spoke, and still more the heart in him was an-
 gered
 and he broke off the peak of a high mountain
 and hurled it at us, and it fell a little in front of
 the dark-prowed ship
 and barely missed the end of the steering oar,
 and the sea surged beneath the stone as it fell.”

Interestingly, the lively speech of Plautus's comedies shows the same type of backgrounded enumeration. In *Casina* (see (8)) we find the only attestation of a personal variant *pudeo*:

(8) Olympio:

Ita nunc pudeo atque ita nunc paveo
 atque ita in ridiculo sumus ambo
 sed ego insipiens nova nunc facio; pudet
 quem prius non puditus est (Cas. 875-878)

“The shame of it! [literally: I feel shame] And
 the fright I am in
 and the way folks will laugh at the pair of us
 (pauses) but this is something new for me
 as that I am—I am ashamed and I was never
 ashamed before...”

The slave Olympio first describes his feelings in general (“I feel shame and fear”), and the ridiculous situation he is in; then he goes on to emphasize how truly ashamed he is by switching to the causative variant (the experiencer has to be gleaned from the context) *pudet [me]*. The cause of his shame is inside the building he just left. He had entered it believing that a wench would await him in bed but by some twist in the plot the wench turned out someone with bristling whiskers!

In *Vidularia*, the deponent *miserantur* describes a generally accepted truth voiced by the young gentleman Nicodemus who was shipwrecked and does not remember his parents: good men will always mourn a dead person but bad men will mock the beggar. Thus he feels it is better those dear to him be dead than poor:

- (9) Nicodemus:
malim moriri meos quam mendicari:
boni miserantur illum, hunc inrident mali
(Vid. 110-111)

“Better those dear to me be dead than brought
to beggary
A dead man’s mourned by good men, a beggar
is mocked by bad ones.”

In passages (10-13), the transitivity variant emphasizes important events (10,13) or turning points in the narrative (11,12). For example, in RV X.83, Manyu seems to have deserted someone who had to leave battle without booty. By admitting and emphasizing that he (unintentionally!) was the cause of anger (*tva... jihīṣa aham*), the one losing in battle hopes to entice Manyu into returning, especially after offering soma:

- (10) *abhāgāḥ sānn āpa pāreto asmi tāva krātvā ta
viśāsya pracetaḥ
tām tvā manyo akratūr jihīṣāhām svā tanūr
baladēyāya méhi (RV X.83.5)*

“Ohne (Beute)anteil bin ich abgezogen, nach
deinem, des Starken, Ratschluß, du Weiser.
Dich Manyu, habe ich ohne Absicht erzürnt.
In eigener Person komme zu mir, um mir
Kraft zu leihen”

After finding out about the death of Patrokles, Achilles bitterly complains to his mother Thetis about the weakness among gods and mortals to engage in strife. He brings up the anger caused in his heart by Agamemnon, a feeling so powerful that he had left the Achaians to fight their battle alone. Now, as a result, Patrokles is dead and Achilles finally decides to put the quarrel behind himself. This major turning point in the narrative is highlighted by using the transitivity variant:

- (11) Achilles to Thetis:
ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων
ἀπόλοιτο
καὶ χόλος, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ
χαλεπῆναι,
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλει-

βομένοιο
 ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσι ἀέξεται ἤϊτε καπνός·
 ὡς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν
 Ἄγαμέμνων. (Σ 107-111)

“Why, I wish that strife would vanish away
 from among gods and mortals,
 and gall, which makes a man grow angry for
 all his great mind,
 that gall of anger that swarms like smoke in-
 side of a man’s heart
 and becomes a thing sweeter to him by far
 than the dripping of honey.
 So it was here that the Lord of men Aga-
 memnon angered me.”

The scene of Patrokles’s death is described in Book 16 of the *Iliad*; again, the transitive variant serves to emphasize the great sorrow his death caused the Achaian people:

(12) Ἐκτωρ δ’ ὡς εἶδεν Πατροκλῆα μεγάθυμον
 ἄψ ἀνακαζόμενον, βεβλημένον ὄξει
 χαλκῷ,
 ἀρχιολόν ῥά οἱ ἦλθε κατὰ στίχας, οὔτα δὲ
 δουρὶ
 νεΐατον ἐς κενεῶνα διαπρὸ δὲ χαλκὸν
 ἔλασσε·
 δούπησεν δὲ πεσῶν, μέγα δ’ ἤκαχε λαὸν
 Ἀχαιῶν· (Π 818-822)

“But Hektor, when he saw high-hearted Pa-
 troklos trying
 to get away, saw how he was wounded with
 the sharp javelin,
 came close against him across the ranks, and
 with the
 spear stabbed him in the depth of the belly
 and drove the bronze clean through.
 He fell, thunderously, to the horror of all the
 Achaian people.”
 (... and [this] sorely grieved/angered the
 Achaian people [in Murray’s translation])

In the following passage from Plautus, Dinia is concerned about Nicodemus who told him about his trials when shipwrecked.

Since Nicodemus is without means in the city, he wants to go to work as laborer for Dinia who has severe reservations. Dinia is especially moved by Nicodemus's white hands and the fact that he will not even request meals. The strength of his pity is again emphasized by the variant with experiencer object.

(13) Dinia:

Ne tu edepol hodie miserias multas tuas
 Mihi narravisti, eoque ab opere maxime
 Te abire iussi, quia me miserebat tui (Vid.
 69-71)

“(deeply moved)Heavens, lad! The sea of troubles you have been through and tell me of! And I have been especially insistent on your quitting work of this sort because I felt troubled, too, about you.”

Concluding, I hope to have presented some convincing contextual patterns to illustrate the functional differentiation between syntactic variants linked by *Umdrehung* (to use Delbrück's term). Verbs of emotion are inherently stative and intransitive. This trait was especially evident in Greek where many of them surface as *media tantum*. In this function they served to illustrate the narrative background by enumerating secondary descriptions. Whenever the story line required a highlighted emotion in order to mark a turning point in the narrative or to stress the importance/consequences associated with a given feeling, the variant with experiencer object was preferred. Note that the latter-mentioned variant has also been called “impersonal” in the literature (see especially (13)). The impersonals in Latin often show a genitive case but nominative case is attested as well. I did not distinguish the variants with different case for the source (genitive vs. nominative) because, in my opinion, they fulfill the same stylistic function. In this context, I would like to return to Lubotsky's analysis at the end. He relates the Vedic *-áya-* transitives as factitives which have been linked to the so-called “passive aorist” in *-i* (1989: 110). This aorist is only used in the 3rd. sg. and shows the same vocalism as the Vedic causative suffix. At least one scholar described its function as impersonal, rather than passive (Lubotsky, 1989: 110-11). This would provide a further link between causatives and traditional impersonals.

Furthermore, if the aorist was associated with punctual aspect, as has been claimed in the literature, its emphatic character survived in many of the later dialects³ with the transitivizing variant and was effectively used by ancient poets for the sake of *Reliefgebung*.

³ Old English and Old High German show very similar contextual parallels (Waltz 2000).

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CHAPTER 3

Rigveda 10, 94

Bernfried Schlerath

1. *praité vadantu prá vayám vadāma
grāvabhyo vācam vاداتā vādabhyaḥ
yād adrayaḥ parvatāḥ sākām āśavaḥ
ślókam ghóṣam bhárathéndrāya sominaḥ*

„Diese sollen beginnen zu reden, wir beginnen zu reden. Redet eine Rede für die redenden Preßsteine, wenn ihr Steine, ihr Felsen(gebirge), ihr schnell (schlagenden) dem Indra gemeinsam ein Getön, ein Geräusch bringt, die ihr von Soma befeuchtet seid“.

Viele Hymnen beginnen mit dem Namen des angerufenen Gottes. Häufig steht davor noch eine Präposition entweder mit oder ohne nachfolgendes Verbum. Verhältnismäßig häufig beginnen Lieder mit dem Pronomen der 2. Person im Dativ: „Dir,....o“. Bisweilen steht am Anfang, so wie auch hier, ein Demonstrativum, das auf den nachfolgenden Namen des Gottes hinweist. Die Spannung wird so erhöht, und sie wird zugleich mit der Nennung der Preßsteine erneuert, denn es ist ungewöhnlich, daß die Preßsteine einen ganzen Hymnus hindurch angeredet werden. Nur die Lieder RV 10,76 und 10,175 sind noch an die Preßsteine gerichtet. Diese Lieder weisen keinerlei Beziehungen untereinander auf. Im Ritual aber werden sie zusammen ĀśvSS 5,12 vom Grāvastut rezitiert. Einzelheiten hierzu Schlerath 1989, 189.—Auffällig ist der lautmalende Einsatz des *va* in diesem Vers, das in a bis c insgesamt neunmal wiederholt wird. Diese Verwendung von *va* ist durch dreimal im Rigveda belegtes *grāvan-* *vadant-* vorgeprägt: 5,31,12 (der redende

Preßstein soll auf die Vēdi gesetzt werden), 8,34,2 (*ā tvā grāvā vādann ihā somī ghōṣeṇa yacchatu* „Der redende Preßstein, der von Soma befeuchtete, soll dich [Indra] mit Geräusch hierherlenken“, wo genau wie in unserem Vers noch *somīn-* und *ghōṣa-* steht), 10,36,4 (der redende Preßstein soll die Unholde abwehren). Man kann sich natürlich fragen, ob man in diesem Zusammenhang nicht *vad-* besser mit „tönend“ o.ä. übersetzen sollte, aber ich glaube, daß man diesen metonymischen Gebrauch des Verbums nicht verschleiern darf.—Wenn in c die Preßsteine zu Felsen (oder Bergen) überhöht werden, müssen sie natürlich mit dem allgemeineren *ādri-* bezeichnet werden.

2. *eté vadanti śatāvāt saḥśravād
abhi krandanti hāritebhir āsābhiḥ
viṣtvī grāvāṇaḥ sukṛtaḥ sukṛtyāyā
hótuś cit pūrve havirádyam āśata*

„Diese (die Preßsteine) reden hundertfach, tausendfach, sie brüllen mit ihren (vom Somasaft) rötlichen Mäulern. Nachdem die Preßsteine gearbeitet hatten, gut handelnd mit guter Handlung, gelangten sie als erste (noch) vor dem Hotar zur Opfer Speise“.

Bemerkenswert ist hier *sukṛtyāyā*. *sukṛtyā* wird an fünf der insgesamt zehn Belegstellen von der Kunstfertigkeit der Rbhus gebraucht, was sich vor allem auf die Herstellung der Becher bezieht. Am nächsten kommt unserer Stelle 3,60,3 *rbhāvah ... viṣtvī śāmībhiḥ sukṛtaḥ sukṛtyāyā*. Im Zusammenhang mit Soma erscheint das Wort nur zweimal. Beide Male ist nicht vom Pressen des Soma als einer guten, kunstfertigen Handlung die Rede, sondern von einer wunderbaren Transformierung oder Verwertung des Soma. 9.47,1 wächst Soma durch die gute Handlung wie ein Bulle an und vollbringt im weiteren Verlauf des Liedes Taten des Indra. 9.48,1 nahen die Sänger dem Soma mit guter Handlung, worauf sich die Herabholung des Soma vom Himmel wiederholt.—Das, was die Steine mit ihrer guten, kunstfertigen Handlung hervorbringen, wird mit dem Hapax *havirádyā* bezeichnet. Das ist ein allgemeiner Ausdruck, der nicht spezifisch auf Soma zielt. Das Verbum *ad-* (46 Belegstellen) hat niemals Soma als Objekt. Über das Hapax *somād-* 10,94,9 s.u. Das Substantiv *āna-* (mit *ānavant-* 49 Belege) bezieht sich nur an

sieben Stellen auf Soma: 1,61,7; 3,37,8; 3,50,1; 6,41,3; 7,98,2; 10,29,3; 10,112,4. An allen diesen Stellen bedeutet es zunächst ganz allgemein Speise und wird erst durch den Kontext als Soma näher bestimmt. An unserer Stelle wird also ganz eindeutig offengelassen, welcher Art die Opferspeise ist, die die Steine hervorbringen.

3. *eté vadanty ávidann anā mádhu*
ny ūñkhayante ádhi pakvá āmiṣi
vṛkṣásya śākhām aruṇásya bāpsatas
té sūbharvā vṛṣabhāḥ prēm arāviṣuḥ

„Diese reden, sie haben dadurch das Süße gefunden. Sie schmatzen über dem gebratenen rohen Fleisch. Den Zweig des rötlichen Baumes kauend brüllen diese gutkauenden Stiere“.

In dieser Strophe wird nun das Wunder genannt, das die Steine vollbringen. Sie haben, während sie auf die Somapflanze einschlugen, in Wahrheit den Stier Soma getötet. Die Somapflanze ist in diesem Augenblick das rohe Fleisch des Stieres, das aber—wie *bāpsataḥ* zeigt—von den Steinen gekaut wird, also fertig zubereitet (*pakvá-*) sein muß. Diesem Paradoxon wird ein zweites angefügt: die Steine kauen, indem sie das Fleisch (*āmih-*) schmatzen, auch den Zweig des Baumes (*vṛkṣásya śākhām*), eine ganz ungewöhnliche Bezeichnung des Soma. Möglicherweise verbirgt sich dahinter mehr. Im Sanskrit wird ein Baum oder Zweig, der mit reifen Früchten behangen ist, *pakvo vṛkṣa-*, *pakvā śākhā-* genannt. Es ist also denkbar, daß hier das vorausstehende *pakvá-* sinngemäß noch auf den Zweig bezogen werden kann. Zu diesem Gedanken ermutigt mich RV 1,8,8, wo von der *sūñtā* des Indra gesagt wird, daß sie sei: *gómātī ... pakvā śākhā na dāsūṣe* „reich an Rindern wie ein reifer (mit reifen Früchten behängter) Zweig für den Spendenden“. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der reife Zweig verhüllender Ausdruck für den Bratenspieß ist, auf dem die Fleischstücke aufgesteckt sind. Möglicherweise in der Volkssprache ein gängiger Doppelsinn, der naheliegt und deshalb hier auch leicht verstanden werden konnte.—Ein weiteres Paradoxon ist, daß die Steine in *vṛṣabhāḥ* genannt werden. Sie brüllen wie der Stier Soma (*vṛṣabhā-* wird er 2,16,6; 9,70,7; 9,56,5; 9,80,5; 9,85,9; 9,86,38; 9,96,7; 9,108,11 genannt). Soma ist nicht nur gleichsam ein Stier wegen seines Brüllens auf der Seihe, sondern er ist auch

tatsächlich ein Stier. Die Steine als Stiere kauen also das gebratene rohe Fleisch des Stieres Soma. Der unglaubliche Widersinn enthält verborgene Wahrheiten.—In einem im Druck befindlichen Aufsatz (Festschrift Stanley Insler) habe ich gezeigt, daß in RV 1,25,17 *mádhu-*, das zunächst natürlich den Soma bezeichnet, an dieser Stelle ein Tabuwort für das menschliche Opfer, bzw. das dafür substituierte Tieropfer ist. Auch hier wird dieselbe Verhüllung vorliegen. Darauf deutet *aná aviśan*. Die Steine haben in dem Soma, den sie zerschlagen, den Stier Soma dadurch „gefunden“, entdeckt. Zur Tötung des Soma vgl. Schlerath, 2000, 603-610; OLZ 95, 531 f. und den oben erwähnten im Druck befindlichen Aufsatz, vor allem aber Lommel 1944/49 a und b.

4. *brhád vadanti madiréṇa mandínéndraṃ
króśanto`vidann aná mádhu
saṃrābhyā dhūrāḥ svásrbhir anartiṣur
āghośayantaḥ pṛthivīm upabdhībhiḥ*

„Sie reden laut durch den berausenden, erfreuenden (Soma angetrieben), den Indra anschreiend haben sie dadurch das Süße gefunden. Einsichtsvoll haben sie, nachdem sie sich umfaßt hatten, mit den Schwestern getanzt, die Erde mit ihren Fußritten ertönen machend“.

Will man die Stollen a und b ganz genau fassen, so ergibt sich ein Widerspruch. Die Steine sind schon von Soma berauscht und finden dann erst das „Süße“. Das ist im hymnischen Stil an und für sich nicht anstößig, zumal die Steine schon von der Feuchtigkeit des Soma, mit dem sie während der Pressung in Berührung kommen, berauscht sein können. Nimmt man aber an, daß, wie ich vorschlage, *mádhu-* hier den erschlagenen Soma/Stier meint, dann sind das Somatrinken und das Verzehren des Fleisches zwei Handlungen, und die Aussagen sind wohlüberlegt getrennt.—c: die Schwestern sind, wie auch sonst oft, die Finger der Priester, die die Preßsteine umfaßt halten.

5. *suparṇā vácam akratópa dyávy
ākharé kṛṣṇā iśirā anartiṣuḥ
nyāñ ní yanty úparasya niśkrítām
purū réto dadhire sūryaśvítāḥ*

„Die Adler (die mit den schönen Schwingen) haben ihre Rede bis zum Himmel gehend gemacht. In ihrer Höhle haben die schwarzen, kräftigen (Steine) getanzt. Hinunter gehen sie zum Steldichein mit dem unteren. Sie schaffen viel Samen dessen, der wie die Sonne leuchtet“.

Ganz unzweifelhaft ist in der Strophe nur von den Preßsteinen die Rede. Zunächst sind sie die Adler, die ihre Rede selbst emportragen. Dann sind sie im Gegensatz dazu ganz unten in einer Höhle, weshalb sie auch „schwarz“ genannt werden. Deshalb ist Geldners „Weideplatz“ abzulehnen, das nur gewählt wurde, um einen glatten Sinn zu gewinnen. Geldner folgt nach eigener Angabe Sāyaṇa, der aber das Wort mit *mṛgānām vrajaḥ* erklärt. *vrajaḥ* ist aber nicht der Weideplatz, sondern der Viehstall. Ebenso ist es nicht sicher, daß mit den „schwarzen“ Antilopen gemeint seien. Unsere Stelle ist die einzige, an der laut Grassmann *kṣṇa-* „Gazelle“ bedeuten soll.—Die Höhle sind die den Stein um-fassenden Hände. Die Steine sind schwarz, weil sie durch die Hände vom Tageslicht abgeschnitten sind. Sollten die rigvedischen Preßsteine wie die in *ĀpŚS* 12,2,15 beschriebenen ausgesehen haben, so bedeckten die Hände beim Schlagen (Pressen) den ganzen Stiel, wenn man diesen, eine Hand oberhalb der anderen haltend, umfaßte: *prādeśamātrān ūrdhvasānūnāhananaprakārān aśmanah* „Dies sind Steine, die eine Spanne lang, oben schmaler, und zum Draufschlagen geeignet sind“ (Caland). Sāyaṇas Glosse „Viehstall“, also „Einhegung“ ist also ganz korrekt.—*niṣkṛtā-* ist wie 9,86,32; 9,93,2; 10,40,5 verhüllender Ausdruck für die geschlechtliche Vereinigung; so schon Geldner: „erotischer Vergleich“. Das Erschlagen des Soma wird auch 9,68,4 und 9,82,3 als ein Sich-Vermählen bezeichnet, darüber Schlerath 2000, 418.—*ūpara-*: wird im Rigveda sonst nicht auf den unteren Preßstein bezogen. Grassmanns Annahme, daß auch *RV* 1,79,3 dieser Gebrauch vorliege, ist sicher irrig. Der *Upara* („unterer Preßstein“) kommt nach Caland „nur bei den jüngeren Taittirīyakas und im *MānŚS* vor“ (zur angeführten Stelle). Der Soma lag bei der Pressung auf dem Rindsleder, das über die Preßbretter gebreitet war. Der zusätzliche *Upara* wurde auf das Rindsleder gelegt. Ich nehme an, daß es ihn im Rigveda noch nicht gab. Wir haben also die Wahl, ob hier der Soma oder die Rindsleder (das „Rind“ *gav-* in Strophe 9) gemeint ist. Wahrscheinlich ist es falsch, eine Entscheidung treffen zu wollen, weil der

Dichter das absichtlich offengelassen hat.—*rétah*: dieses Wort, das den Soma als flüssigen Samen, sonst aber das semen virile oder animale bezeichnet, bestätigt meine Auffassung von *niṣkṛtá*-. Natürlich gibt es auch metaphorischen Gebrauch von *rétah*—vor allem für den Regen. Hier aber ist es mehr als eine Metapher.—„Der wie die Sonne leuchtet“ ist Soma. Es ist auffällig, daß der Dichter den Namen des Gottes vermeidet. Der Name (bzw. Ableitungen) kommt nur in den Strophen 1, 8, 9 und 13 vor. Es wird damit signalisiert, daß immer zugleich die Pflanze und ihre andere Erscheinungsform gemeint ist.

6. *ugrā iva praváhantaḥ samāyamuḥ*
sākāṃ yuktā vṛṣaṇo bibhrato dhúrah
yác chvasáto jagrasāná árvāṣuḥ
śṛṇvá eṣām prothátho árvatām iva

„Wie starke (Stiere) vorwärtsfahrend haben sie (die Stränge) angezogen, zusammen angeschirrte Stiere, die die Joche (an der Auflagestelle) tragen, wenn sie schnaufend, nachdem sie gefressen haben, gebrüllt haben, so hört man ihr Schnauben wie das von Rennpferden“.

Zu *dhúr*- vergleiche man Mayrhofer, EWAia s.v.—Zur Vorzeitigkeit von *jagrasāná* vergleiche man die Beispiele bei Delbrück 1888, 379.

7. *dásāvanibhyo dásakaksyebhyo*
dásayoktrebhyo dásayojanebhyah
dásābhīsubhyo arcatājārebhyo
dása dhūro dása yuktā váhadbhyah

„Rezitiert (den Preßsteinen), die zehn Bahnen (Zugseile?) haben, die zehn Leibgurte haben, die zehn Bänder (die zur Verknüpfung verschiedener Teile des Geschirrs dienen?), zehn Anschirrungen, zehn Zügel haben, (rezitiert) denen, die nicht altern, denen, die zehn Joch(auflagestellen), zehn-angeschirrte (Finger) ziehen“.

Jeder der Preßsteine ist von den zehn Fingern eines Priesters umfaßt. Die zehn Finger werden mit dem Schirrwerk von Zügeln verglichen. Vorausgesetzt der Dichter bleibt im Bild, sollte man erwarten, daß von Rindern (Stieren) die Rede ist. Dann handelt es sich nicht um einen *rátha*- sondern um ein *ánas*-. Man

sollte auch denken, daß die verschiedenen Teile des Zaumzeugs in sinnvoller Reihung genannt werden. Aber mir sind die Einzelheiten unklar. Leider hat Sparreboom 1985 die Anschirrung überhaupt nicht behandelt. Er hätte versuchen können, die einzelnen Termini auf den schönen Reliefs, die er abgebildet hat, zu identifizieren. Ich weiß auch nicht, ob die Anschirrung von Rindern an Lastwagen in älterer Zeit je bildlich dargestellt wurde. So ist man immer noch auf Zimmer 1879, 248 ff. angewiesen, was aber für unsere Strophe nichts ergibt. Es ist enttäuschend, daß niemand in der Diskussion über *avāni*- „Flußbett, Strom“ auf *dāsāvani*- eingeht. Ich habe versuchsweise „Bahnen, Zugseile“ geraten.—Für *kakṣyā*- erläutere ich die communis opinio so: *kākṣa*- bedeutet die Achselgrube des Menschen und auch die entsprechende Stelle bei den Vorderbeinen der Tiere. *kakṣyā*- bezeichnet zunächst nur den Leibgurt der Zugtiere, der auf fast allen Tafeln bei Sparreboom deutlich zu sehen ist und stets vom Hals der Tiere unter dem Bauch hindurch genau an der der Achselgrube beim Menschen entsprechenden Stelle verläuft. Wenn man den Gürtel eines Menschen benennen will, der natürlich nicht an der Achsel verläuft, verwendet man den bei der Anschirrung geläufigen Terminus.—*yóktra*- fasse ich als „Anschirrungsmittel“, der Funktion des Suffixes *-tra*- gemäß. Es könnte sich um Befestigungsschlingen handeln. Darauf bringt mich RV 3,33,13, wo sie gelöst werden sollen (*muñcata*, die Wasser sind angesprochen). Davor wird gesagt, daß die Welle (*ūrmī*-) die Jochzapfen nach oben herausschlagen soll (*úd hantu*). Geldner übersetzt die Stelle so: „Eure Welle soll die Jochzapfen anheben, ihr Gewässer, gebet die Stränge frei!“ Das ist recht unbefriedigend. Ich glaube, daß das Gespann bei einer Flußüberquerung verunglückt ist, und man nun darum bittet, daß die Zugtiere freikommen, und den Wagen verloren gibt: „Eure Welle soll die Jochzapfen nach oben herausschlagen, ihr Gewässer, löst die Schlinge auf!“ Sicher ist natürlich nichts, vielleicht habe ich besser geraten.—*d*: die nie direkt genannten Finger handeln nicht selbst, sondern sie werden von den Steinen gezogen, die also die Verantwortung für das Geschehen tragen.

8. *té ádrāyo dāsayantrāsa āśavas*
téṣām ādhānam páry eti haryatám
tá ū sutásya somyáśyāndhaso
añśóḥ pīyúṣam prathamásya bhejire

„Diese Steine sind schnelle (Pferde) mit zehn Zügeln, ihr Schirrwerk liegt in erwünschter Weise an. Sie haben von dem gepreßten somischen Schößling (als Speise) die erste Biestmilch des Stengels empfangen“.

pīyūṣa- ist die erste Milch, die die Kuh nach der Geburt des Kalbes gibt. Dies wird durch *prathamāsya* unterstrichen, genau wie in RV 2,13,1 und 9,110,8. Es wird damit der auch in Strophe 2 angesprochene Ersttrunk der Steine betont. *prathamāsya* ist Hypallage für *anśóḥ pīyūṣam prathamám* (Oldenberg 1912 zur Stelle).

9. *té somādo hárī indrasya nīnsate*
anśúm duhánto ádhy āsate gávi
tébhīr dugdhám papivān somyám mádhu
indro vardhate práthate vṛṣāyáte

„Diese Soma essenden (Steine) berühren die beiden Falben des Indra mit dem Mund. Indem sie den Stengel ausmelken, sitzen sie auf dem Rind (der Rindshaut). Wenn Indra die von diesen ausgemolkene, Soma enthaltende Süße getrunken hat, wächst er an, geht in die Breite, wird zum Bullen“.

somādaḥ wird nicht vom Trinken des Soma, sondern von dem Fressen der Stengel gesagt, denn die Pferde des Indra trinken nicht, sondern fressen die ausgepreßten Somastengel (vgl. RV 1,28,7). „Diese fressen also Mund an Mund mit den Steinen“ (Geldner zur Stelle). Der Soma, den sie verzehren, ist in Wahrheit das getötete Rind. Sie sitzen dabei auf diesem Rind, das durch die über den Preßbrettern liegende Rindshaut vertreten ist.—*somyam mádhu* ist der ausgepreßte Soma und das gebratene Fleisch. Indra, für den man preßt und brät (vgl. RV 4,24,7; 5,34,1; 7,32,8 u.ö.), wächst durch ihren Genuß zu voller Größe.—Trotz Gotō 1987, 200 f., der für *nīns-* die Bedeutung „aufsuchen“ vorschlägt, bleibe ich bei der vom Dhātupāṭha angegebenen Bedeutung *cumbane* „küssen“ (d.h. mit dem Mund berühren), die hier ein farbiges, der Kunst des Dichters entsprechendes Bild ergibt.

10. *vṛṣā vo anśúr ná kilā ṛṣāthana*
ilāvantaḥ sádám ít sthanāśītāḥ
raivatyéva máhasā cārava sthana

yāsya grāvāno ájuṣadhvam adhvarám

„Euer Stengel ist (in Wahrheit) ein Bulle, nicht kommt ihr fürwahr zu Schaden. Mit Labung versehen seid ihr immer gesättigt. Wie die Tochter eines Reichen (?) durch eure Größe seid ihr angenehm, ihr Preßsteine, ihr habt euch an dem Opfer von jemanden gelabt“.

Die Steine haben den Bullen getötet. Dieser Tabubruch schadet ihnen aber nicht, denn das Tieropfer ist durch den Soma-stengel substituiert.—*raivatyā* ist schwierig. Das *iva* verlangt ein einleuchtenderes Vergleichsobjekt als „Reichtum“. Ich folge Geldner. Sein Lösungsversuch „*raivatyéva* für *raivatyā(h) iva* mit doppeltem Sandhi (‘wie die Tochter eines Reichen’) oder mit Attraktion an *máhasā*“ ist sehr ansprechend, aber für eine solche Vrddhibildung zu *revánt-* „reich“ fehlt m. W. eine genaue Parallele. Für diesen Vorschlag spricht semantisch das nachfolgende *cāravah*.—Mit *yāsya* statt einem Ausdruck für „unser (Opfer)“ distanziert sich der Dichter von dem Tabubruch.

11. *ṛḍilā áṛḍilāso ádrayo*
ásramaṇā áśṛthitā ámrtyavaḥ
anāturā ajārā sthāmaviṣṇavaḥ
supivāso áṛṣitā áṛṣṇajaḥ

„Bohrend, nicht bohrend sind die Steine, unermüdlich, nicht nachlassend, unsterblich, nicht krank, nicht alternd seid ihr, keinen Druck ausübend, gut fett, nicht (nach Getränk) gierig, nicht durstend“.

Die Steine erbohren den Soma, sie bringen ihn durch Bohren als Saft zutage. Man vergleiche 6,17,1: *piba sómam abhí yám ugra tárda ūrvám gávyam* „Trink den Soma, starker (Indra), welches Rinderbehältnis du erbohrst“. Da *ūrvá-* häufig und wahrscheinlich in der Hauptbedeutung einen Wasserbehälter bezeichnet, wird auch bei *ṛd-* eine Wassererbohrung assoziiert sein. Das Bohren in unserem Vers ist, wie oft beim Verbum *ṛd-*, metaphorischer Ausdruck, deshalb bohren sie eigentlich nicht und haben somit keine Schuld an der Tötung. Die Formulierung ist ähnlich paradox wie das gebratene rohe Fleisch in Strophe 3. - *á-mav-iṣṇu:* zur Wurzel *mīv-*. Oldenberg 1912 schlägt fragend „keinen Druck ausübend“ vor, dem ich mich

anschließe. Venkaṭa glossiert das Wort mit *ahimsakāḥ*. Geldner gibt die richtige Analyse, -übersetzt aber „unentwegt“. - *átrṣṇaj-*: nach Specht 1944, 193 stehen die Ableitungen auf idg. -g- im Sinne eines Ptz. Pr. Das -n- stammt nach ihm aus dem Substantiv *tṛṣṇā-*. Dort ist auch eine reiche Beispielsammlung zu diesem Suffix gegeben.

12. *dhruvā evá vaḥ pitáro yugé-yuge*
kṣémakāmāsaḥ sádaso ná yuñjate
ajuryáso hariṣáco harídruva
ā dyāṃ ráveṇa prthivīm aśúśravaḥ

„Feststehend sind eure Väter Generation für Generation, ihren Wohnsitz liebend, sie werden von ihrem Sitz weg nicht angeschirrt. Die Getreuen des Gelben, die mit dem gelben Holz (dem Haridru-Baum), durch ihr Gebrüll ließen sie Himmel (und) Erde aufhorchen“.

Die Väter der Preßsteine sind die Felsengebirge. Das im Rigveda (und auch im klassischen Sanskrit) häufig angesprochene Charakteristikum der Berge ist, daß sie unverrückbar feststehen. Hier wird das in Pāda b deutlich zu verstehen gegeben. „Generation für Generation“ stehen sie fest, also auch die von ihnen abstammenden Preßsteine. Diese „reden“ zwar, d.h. sie lassen die Schlaggeräusche hören, sie tanzen (Str. 4 und 5), d.h. sie schlagen auf die Somapflanze, aber in Wirklichkeit stehen sie fest, wie es auch ihre Väter, die Berge tun. Ihre wahre Tätigkeit, das (Er)schlagen des Gottes Soma, wird sorgfältig und konsequent verhüllt.—Bemerkenswert ist, daß der Dichter bei *yugé-yuge* offenbar auch an die Anschirrung gedacht hat, wie das folgende *yuñjate* zeigt. Eine solche Assoziation findet sich sonst bei diesem Ausdruck nicht. Andererseits sichert *yuñjate* einen Doppelsinn für *hariṣācaḥ* „den gelben (Rossen des Indra) als Getreue folgend“ und „dem gelben (Soma) folgend“. Auch *harídru-* ist doppelt zu verstehen: es ist der Baum, der auf dem Felsengebirge wächst (das auch die Heimat des Soma ist), von dem hier in erster Linie die Rede ist (vgl. *párvata-* in Strophe 1) und es ist der gelbe Soma, mit dem die Preßsteine in Berührung kommen.

13. *tád íd vadanty ádrayo vimócane*
yāmann añjaspā iva ghéd upabdībhiḥ

*vápanto bījam iva dhānyākṛtaḥ
prñicānti sómaṃ ná minanti bāpsataḥ*

„Dies freilich reden die Steine beim Ausspannen wie auf der Fahrt mit ihren Fußritten unmittelbar schützend. Wie Leute, die (eigentlich) Getreidekörner bearbeiten, werfen sie den Samen aus. Sie füllen den Soma auf, wenn sie ihn kauen, lassen sie seine Lebenskraft nicht hinschwinden (mindern sie sie nicht)“.

añjaspāḥ: ich schließe mich Oldenberg 1912 zu RV 10,92,2 an. Die Steine verletzen mit ihren Fußritten den Soma nicht. Sie erschlagen den Soma nicht, während sie ihn erschlagen. Geldners „die gleichsam unmittelbar trinken“ paßt nicht in den Zusammenhang. Es könnte aber auch ein Śleṣa- vorliegen.—Ich nehme mit Geldner an, daß das erste *iva* eigentlich nach *yāmann* stehen müßte und den folgenden beiden Partikeln attrahiert wurde. —Die Preßsteine versichern, während sie den Soma pressen bzw. das Rind erschlagen, daß sie, wie es im vorigen Vers ausgesprochen wird, in Wahrheit wie ihre Väter feststehend und damit nicht an dem Tötungsritual beteiligt sind. Die „Unschuldskomödie“ (Meuli) setzt sich in den nächsten Pādas fort. Die Steine vergleichen sich mit Getreidebauern, die ihre Felder bestellen, aber *dhānāḥ kṛ-* sagt man auch für die Zubereitung der Getreidekörner für das Opfer (RV 3,35,7; 3,52,7). Sie bringen also gleichsam ein ganz anderes Opfer dar. -d über- setze ich nach Thieme 1971, 21. Auch hier ein Paradox: die Steine, denen die Priester den Totschlag zuschieben, verzehren den Soma/Stier und gleichzeitig füllen sie ihn wieder auf—Venkaṭa: *na minanti na hiṃsanti*.

14. *suté adhvaré ádhi vācam akratā
krīlāyo ná mātāraṃ tudāntaḥ
vi śū muñcā suṣuvūṣo manīṣāṃ
vi vartantām ádrayaś cāyamānāḥ*

„Bei dem ausgepreßten Opfer haben sie (die Steine) ihre Stimme erhoben, wie spielende (Kinder) ihre Mutter stoßend. Löse nun die Beschwörung dessen, der (in Wahrheit) gepreßt hat. Sie sollen abtreten, sich (wieder) als Steine fühlend“.

Die Steine haben wie spielende Kinder ihrer Mutter dem Soma kein Leid zugefügt. Nun, da immer wieder in dem Lied

durch metrisch einwandfrei geformte, Wahrheit konstituierende Worte ausgedrückt wurde, daß die Preßsteine zwar den Soma/Stier erschlagen haben, erschlagen mußten, wenn ein Opfer zustande kommen sollte, aber auch nicht erschlagen haben, kann der Dichter die Substitution aufheben und das Opfer mit seinem daraus folgenden Gewinn für sich selbst und den Yajamāna in Anspruch nehmen.

Meine Übersetzung lehnt sich an Geldner an. *-manīṣā-* nach Thieme 1971, 244. Man muß sich vorstellen, daß die Beschwörung das Resultat einer aufwühlenden Erregung ist.

Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß das Verbum *su-* „pressen“ (eigentlich bedeutet es „schlagen“) nur in dieser Strophe, und zwar gleich zweimal vorkommt. Meiner Überzeugung nach steht es an vielen Stellen für *han-*. Erst TS 6,4,4,4; 6,4,8,1 f.; ŚB 4,1,4,8 u.ö. gebraucht man *han-* für das Erschlagen (= Pressen) des Gottes. Der Dichter wollte in 1-13 nicht einmal so weit gehen, daß er sagt, die Steine hätten den Soma ausgepreßt. Erst als die Priester gerechtfertigt waren, konnten sie zugeben, daß sie selbst die Pressung vorgenommen haben. So erklärt sich auch das merkwürdige *suté adhvaré*, das heißen soll „während der Pressung beim Opfer“. Auch hier wird der Name des erschlagenen Gottes ausgespart.—In Strophe 11 hätte es nahegelegen, die Steine als *sunvāḥ*, *asunvāḥ* „pressend, nicht pressend“ zu bezeichnen. Der Dichter aber wählt mit Bedacht die ausgefallene Ableitung von der Wurzel *trd-* „bohren“. Zu *cāyamānāḥ* vgl. auch Oldenberg 1912 z. St.

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CHAPTER 4

Vedic vr̄ā: evidence for the svayaṃvara in the Rig Veda?

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In his important 1987 treatment of the svayaṃvara, Hanns-Peter Schmidt stated that “[i]n the Veda proper we have no explicit and certain reference to any of the three forms of svayaṃvara” (1987: 76).¹ Unfortunately I must begin by admitting that this statement still remains essentially true today, despite my best efforts. In this brief treatment, I will examine a single, poorly attested, and enigmatic RVic word, which may yet give some evidence for the presence of the institution of the svayaṃvara in that text. My focus is a word appearing just six times, primarily as nom. pl. vr̄āḥ (once acc. sg. vr̄ām, possibly once as acc. pl. vr̄āḥ), whose meaning, etymology, and even gender are still disputed²—an uncertainty amply justified by the textual evidence we will examine shortly.

The oldest interpretation of this word available to us takes it as meaning “troop, band” and as identical to or derived from the phonologically similar vr̄āta- (m.) of that same meaning, or from its derivative vr̄ātya, originally “belonging to a troop”. Yāska

¹ I would hasten to add that it is not that Prof. Schmidt denies the existence of the institution at the time—in fact he believes it to be an Indo-Iranian inheritance (p. 77)—but that it simply does not make it into the selective textual record of the Vedic period. Moreover, he recently (3/12/2000) told me that he now feels that the marriage of Saranyū (RV X.17.1) is a clear svayaṃvara.

² Cf. the latest published statement on the word of which I am aware: “vr̄ā- f. ist völlig unklar”: Scarlata 1999, p. 105 (though at least he is certain of the gender).

glosses vrāḥ- at RV VIII.2.6 with vrātyāḥ (Nir. V.3), while Sāyaṇa's favorite (though not his only³) derivation (I.124.8, I.126.5) is from vrāta, with the loss of the *t* ascribed to the eccentricities of Vedic language (cf. his comment ad I.124.8: vrāta ity atra takāralopaś chāndasaḥ).

The Petersburg Dictionary retained this meaning [“(begleitender oder sich zusammenschliessender) Haufe, Schaar”] and listed the word as masculine vrā-,⁴ derived from the root vr “cover”. But doubts were raised, particularly because of the apparent feminine reference of the word in several passages, not to mention the clear fem. acc. sg. (vrām lx), and Pischel (1897, pp. 121ff.) suggested that the word instead means “Hetäre, Weib, Weibchen”. Many translators and commentators since have followed Pischel in rendering the word as some sort of female. In the views of Bergaigne and Geldner, the vrā is a woman of easy or questionable virtue (so, for example, in Geldner's picturesque German, “Lockweibchen”). Geldner argued strongly for this meaning in his note to I.121.2. The major dissenting voice was Oldenberg (a voice I am always reluctant to ignore), who (*Noten*, ad VIII.2.6) rejects Pischel's interpretation and upholds the “troop” meaning, as do some other scholars to this day.⁵ However, a comparative examination of the occurrences of vrā-

³ In I.121.2, he derives it from vṛṇoti ‘cover’. In IV.1.16 he identifies it simply as a name for dawn. At VIII.2.6 he glosses it with varitārah, and he makes no comment on the word at X.123.2 (though the AV “Sāyaṇa” glosses it as āvṛtātmānaḥ prajāḥ in the repetition at AV II.1.1).

⁴ The clear fem. acc. sg. vrām in I.121.2 is not included in the lemma, and I have not been able to find what, if anything, they did with this occurrence. The word appears in Monier Williams as *feminine* vrā, though still as meaning “a heap, host, or multitude”.

⁵ A complete survey of all treatments and translations of this word is beyond the scope of this paper, but we should register the opinion of Renou, who fairly consistently translates “femelle(s)” [I.121.2 (*EVP* 17, 1969), I.124.8 (*EVP* 3, 1957), I.123.2 (*EVP* 16, 1967)], but once (in his usual inclusive way) “troupes féminines” with an unhappy blend of the two suggested meanings. In his early commentary on the Uṣas hymns (*EVP* 3, 1957, ad I.124.8) he firmly rejects Oldenberg's “troop”, but by *EVP* 16 (1967, ad I.126.5) he states that “troop” cannot be entirely set aside, though he still thinks the word is the equivalent of yóṣā.

Unfortunately, the late J. Schindler also upheld the “troop” sense and the connection with vrāta- (1972, pp. 45f.), without discussion, though I surmise that it was because his trust in Oldenberg resembled my own.

and vr̥āta- in the RV shows no textual, formulaic, or lexical connection between them, and the contexts of vr̥ā generally favor interpreting it as referring to female creatures. Therefore, it seems best to start from Pischel's reevaluation of the word.

Though Pischel and his followers seem for the most part to have prevailed with their semantics, they quite cannily avoided a crucial problem for this interpretation. If vr̥ā means "woman" (of whatever quality), what is its etymology?⁶ This issue was addressed much more recently by Ickler (1976, pp. 109f.), who suggested that vr̥ā- is a (metrically induced) shortening [better, "syncope"?] of a feminine *varā-, corresponding to m. varā "suitor", in other words a "female chooser" (to vr̥ "choose"). Rather surprisingly, Ickler made no attempt to justify this interpretation in context, though it is on the surface an appealing solution to the etymological problem for the "female" interpretation of this word.

I will now follow Ickler's suggestion into the text of the RV and hope to show that the implied semantics of her etymology fit the contexts at least as well as previous suggestions. My assumption here, not articulated in Ickler, is that vr̥ā is not simply a feminized varā-, but that it is a technical term (at least originally) referring specifically to the female protagonist of a svayamvara, "the woman with the choice". If this semantic specialization is correct, it may help account for the phonologically aberrant form of the word, as it might have been borrowed from a different dialect or speech level.

The six occurrences of vr̥ā in the RV are not evenly or randomly distributed through the text: half of them occur within six hymns of each other (I.121.1, I.124.8, I.126.5) in the oeuvre of the skilled and sly Kakṣivant, one of the most stylistically distinctive poets in the RV;⁷ the other three are found in Maṇḍalas IV, VIII, and X (IV.1.16, VIII.2.6, X.123.2). In five of its six occurrences it has the same morphological shape: vr̥āḥ; in five of its six occurrences it also occurs in fixed, pāda-final position.

⁶ Of course Pischel's avoidance of the etymological question is in keeping with his opposition in principle to such approaches to RV interpretation. See e.g., the polemic introduction to *Vedische Studien II*.

For the few etymological suggestions that have been advanced, see Mayrhofer, KEWA and EWA s.v.

⁷ On a rhetorical device of Kakṣivant, see Jamison 1998.

This lack of metrical and morphological variety are signs of a moribund word, and indeed vr̥ā disappears after the RV.⁸

Clearly the first passages to examine are those clustered in Kakṣivant's work, and in fact these give us our richest contexts, as well as the only morphological variant. It is also worth remembering that Kakṣivant's poetry has a number of striking images of women, and so it would not be surprising that another, very particular female role would find its RVic home here. Moreover, the mythological wedding of the daughter of the Sun, Sūryā, which is clearly of svayaṃvara type⁹, is treated most fully in Kakṣivant's poetry. This said, I must sadly remark that concomitant with Kakṣivant's skill is his obscurity, so that none of these passages provides unambiguous evidence for my proposal.

Perhaps the clearest passage is I.124.8 in an Uṣas hymn, on the relations of the sisters Night and Dawn. In the last pāda Dawn, decorated and anointed, is compared to vr̥ā's going to assemblies.

I.124.08 svāsā svāsre jyāyasyai yónim āraig āpaity
asyāḥ praticākṣyeva
vyuchántī raśmibhiḥ sūryasyāñjy āñkte *samanagā iva*
vr̥āḥ

The (one) sister has left the natal place to her older sister. She (=Dawn) goes away from her (=Night), like one to be gazed upon. Dawning forth with the rays of the sun, she smears unguent on herself, *like (maidens) with a choice going to assemblies.*

Now, though a sámana- "gathering" can refer to a hostile encounter (e.g. II.16.7, VI.75.5, IX.96.9, X.69.11), it more often refers to something that girls or women attend,¹⁰ several times in

⁸ Except in repetitions: the pāda containing vr̥ā in RV X.123.2 is repeated (with variant opening) in AV II.1.1 = AVP II.16.1; RVKh. IV.10.1. In addition AV XI.7.3 contains an utterly incomprehensible vr̥āḥ (vr̥ās ca dr̥ás cāpi sr̥ír máyi, with the correspondent in AVP XVI.82.3 the very divergent p̥r̥scidr̥scāv̥r̥sc̥ír mayi), which, even if it should turn out to be philologically real (a dubious proposition), seems unconnected to our word.

⁹ I have treated the formulaic evidence for the svayaṃvara motif in Sūryā's marriage, including that found in the Kakṣivant hymns, elsewhere (Jamison, forthcoming).

¹⁰ Discussed vigorously by Pischel (1897, pp. 314-15).

the formulaic simile: *sámaneva yóṣā(h)* “like a maiden [maidens] to assemblies” (IV.58.8, VI.75.4, X.168.2; cf. also VI.75.3, X.86.10). Especially striking are the passages in which an “unmarried woman” or “spinster” (*agrú́*) attends the assembly.

VII.2.5 *sám agrúvo ná sámaneshv añjan*

They anoint (them) like unmarried women at assemblies.

And even more telling, the AV sequence in a hymn entitled by Whitney “For winning a spouse”:

AV VI.60.1cd *asyá ichánn agrúvai pátim, utá jāyám
ajānaye*
2. *ásramad iyám aryamann, anyásām
sámanam yatí aṅgó nv aryaman asyá,
anyāḥ sámanam āyati* [sic]

... (Aryaman) seeking a husband for this spinster and a wife for a wifeless one.

This woman has tired of going to other (women’s) assembly;

Now, Aryaman, other women will come to her assembly.

Note that the *sámāna-* here is not only associated with a successful betrothal of an unmarried (and slightly desperate sounding) maiden, but that it also seems to be the *property* of a particular female—*her* assembly. This suggests that the *sámāna* is not just a festival¹¹ or a party where girls congregate to have fun, much less the setting for sirens to work their wiles (as in Geldner’s translation of I.124.8, the *vŕ̥* passage: “wie Lockmädchen, die zum Feste gehen”). Rather it sounds very similar to the gatherings familiar to us all from classical *svayamvaras*, where suitors

¹¹ Pischel (1897, p. 315) suggests that it was a large Volkfest, open to all, where not only young pretty girls, but old ones could find men, and courtesans could do good business. In Schmidt’s view (1987, p. 77) the *sámāna-* was a “periodic fair, [which] also served as a marriage market”, but that would not explain why a *sámāna-* belongs to one woman or another.

assemble from all over in anticipation of the maiden's choice.¹² As I have argued elsewhere, the adornment of the maiden is an important part of the ceremony at the classical svayaṃvara,¹³ and the añjy āñkte in I.124.8 (cf. also añjan VII.2.5) also fit this scenario.¹⁴

I think there is another echo of the svayaṃvara in this passage as well, the *praticākṣyeva* of pāda b. Though there is much disagreement both about the morphological identity of this form (gerund or gerundive?) and its exact meaning, as well as about the referent of the female subject (Night or Dawn?), I would suggest that Dawn is the subject, *praticākṣyā* is a gerundive, and the phrase means "she goes like one to be gazed upon".¹⁵ This would refer to what I have elsewhere called "the display motif" of the classical svayaṃvara (Jamison 1999, pp. 248-9): the girl to be married is ritually displayed to the suitors before the choice is made. So in our passage the maiden *to be displayed* (pāda b), *adorns herself* (cd), and *goes to the marriage assembly* as a *vṛā* (d).

This, I regret to say, is the clearest direct evidence for my hypothesis. Let us now pass on to the two other Kakṣivant pas-

¹² One apparent difference between this scenario and the classical svayaṃvara is the allusion to other unmarried girls in attendance, besides the lucky bride-to-be. The epic svayaṃvaras seem to be all-male affairs. However, given the general festival atmosphere described for Draupadī's svayaṃvara and the crowds that gather at it (MBh I.175-6), it might be the case that other women attended as well, without being mentioned. Otherwise one could ascribe the difference to what is generally perceived as the greater relative freedom of women in Vedic times.

¹³ On the sequence of events in the classical svayaṃvara narratives, see Jamison 1999, pp. 243-53, esp. 248-9.

¹⁴ The same phrase is used specifically of a girl getting married in IV.58.9 *kanyā iva vahatūm étavā, u añjy añjānāḥ* ... "Like maidens smearing unguents on themselves, to go to their wedding." This verse follows directly on one containing *sāmaneva yōā* (vs. 8).

¹⁵ I will not discuss other interpretations of this pāda at length, but will note that most translators think the subject is Night, and that she is *praticākṣyā* "to be seen again". But *prāti+cakṣ* does not have this sense elsewhere, and nearby I.113.11c *asmābhir ū nū praticākṣyābhūt* "She (Dawn) has come now to be gazed upon by us", also in a Dawn hymn, suggests that my identification both of the subject and the sense of the verbal lexeme is correct. That hymn is attributed to Kutsa, not Kakṣivant, but there are many verbal resonances between these two poets.

sages, whose testimony for the hypothesis requires somewhat more special pleading.

I.121.2cd ánu svajám mahiṣás cakṣata vŕ̥m ménām
ásvasya pári mātáram góḥ

There is no generally agreed upon interpretation of this devilish verse in an Indra hymn, and I will not add another dubious one to the heap, though I supply a literal translation of pāda c (“The buffalo visually pursued/gazed after the self-born vŕ̥”), which does little to penetrate the mysteries. What I want to point out here are several lexical facts, which indirectly support my interpretation of vŕ̥.

First, note the sequence of female figures: vŕ̥, ménā, mātár. “Mother” is of course obvious; ménā somewhat less so. Since K. Hoffmann’s treatment of this word (Hoffmann, 1960), his view has held general sway: that ménā-, lit. “Exchange”, refers to a Kebse, mistress or concubine, a translation superseding Grassmann’s “Weib”. But Hoffmann’s arguments against “wife” seem dubious to me, and the notion of “wife” as “exchange token” is, in my view, deeply embedded in ancient Indian culture¹⁶ (and a commonplace of modern anthropological theory). And Hoffmann’s interpretation requires some strained renderings of the word, e.g.

V.31.2 amenāṃś cij jánivataś cakartha

The most straightforward interpretation of this act of Indra’s is that, e.g., of Geldner: “...auch die Unbeweibten hast du beweibt gemacht”, an unexceptional good deed of the sort usually ascribed to the Ásvins (e.g. I.112.19).¹⁷ But Hoffmann must force the interpretation “You have provided those who cannot even afford concubines with wives”¹⁸ onto this passage.

My own view of ménā is that she is the wife at the time of, or the short time after, the exchange itself, the marriage negotiations and the marriage itself, before she has become embedded in

¹⁶ For discussion, see Jamison 1996a, pp. 207-50 (and passim) and 1996b, pp. 197-9.

¹⁷ Cf. for the sentiment AV VI.60.1 ... ichán ... jáyám ajánaye cited above.

¹⁸ “Du hast diejenigen, die sich nicht einmal eine Konkubine leisten, mit Ehefrauen versehen.”

the new family as ritual partner and mother of the line of descent. In our passage, then, we would see a temporal sequence of female roles in marriage: vrā- “chooser”, ménā “exchange token”, mātār “mother”.¹⁹

The second lexical fact to note is the verb of pāda c, ānu ... cakṣata “visually pursued”, which, like praticākṣyā in I.124.8, may express the “display” motif of the svayaṃvara. The third is the partner of the vrā in this pāda, the mahiṣā- “male buffalo”. This reminds us of the term máhiṣī- for “chief wife”.²⁰ One of the three occurrences of this feminine stem in the RV is found in a marriage passage, in fact in one that sounds very like a svayaṃvara (and has been used for evidence for it: see e.g., Oberlies, 1998, p. 319 n. 862):

V.37.3 vadhūr iyám pátim ichánty eti yá īm váhāte
·máhiṣīm iṣírām

This bride here goes seeking a husband, who will marry (lit. convey) her as “vital”²¹ (chief) wife.

If the bride in a svayaṃvara seeks to become a máhiṣī, it may not be farfetched to see a punning reference to the potential husband of a vrā (“chooser at a svayaṃvara”) as mahiṣā- in I.121.2.

The last lexical fact is the adjective svajā-, an almost exact rhyme with svayám and with identical etymology and semantics. In other words I am suggesting that the sequence svajám ... vrám is a deliberate verbal echo of the lexeme svayám+vr “choose (for) oneself”/svayaṃvara²² and is meant to evoke that phrase

¹⁹ Alternatively vrā and ména could refer to two different ways for women to enter marriage, as an active chooser or as a passive exchange token.

I tentatively suggest that we find a similar sequence, disguised, in an Aśvin passage (II.39.2), where the “choice” (vára-), the ménā, and the dámpatī “married couple” appear in similes in successive pādas.

²⁰ Whether or not máhiṣī is derivationally separate from mahiṣā (on which see Mayrhofer, EWA, s.v. mahiṣā-), the synchronic connection, at least on the level of word play, cannot be denied.

²¹ The adj. iṣirá- is of course reminiscent of its Greek cognate in the phrase ἱερὸς γάμος “ritual marriage”.

²² The compound svayaṃvara-, either as bahuvrīhi adjective (fem.) “(maiden) having her own choice” or as noun “the marital self-choice”, is not found until Manu and the MBh, as far as I can determine. MDS VIII.92 contains the adjective, interestingly enough not applied to a girl

here. The compound svajā- is in fact found only once elsewhere in the RV: its rarity and its lack of apparent semantic motivation here suggest that verbal play, rather than literal sense, is at issue here.²³

Putting these lexical facts together, we arrive at an interpretation of the pāda in which each element covertly refers to the svayamvara: “the ‘buffalo’ (mahīṣá = husband to be) gazes after the (displayed) self(-born) choosing maiden (= máhiṣī-to-be).”

Let us now turn to the last of the Kakṣivant passages, a verse whose difficulties have elicited that combination of incoherence and exuberant over-inventiveness from translators and commentators (myself included) that baffling RVic passages seem to in-

engaged in a ritual svayamvara, but to one who, because of her father’s failure to find her a husband, is required to go out and find one herself (vss. 90-91). In vs. 92 this svayamvarā is forbidden to take with her the ornaments given by her family—what one might call the anti-display motif. (For further discussion of the this type of “self-choice”, see Jamison 1996a, pp. 237-47.)

The comparatively late attestation of the *compound* says nothing against an early existence of the *verb phrase* svayám vṛṇīte “she chooses (for) herself”, with the svayám referring to the subject, as is normal in Vedic. The word svayám appears only sparingly in compounds in Vedic, and then usually with past participles (type svayamkr̥tá) or root nouns (type svayambhū). Much more common in Vedic compounds is, of course, the stem sva-. See Wackernagel, *AIḠ* III.480-82, and for further on the syntax of svayám, Delbrück, *AIḠ*, p. 208. I am assuming the existence of the formulaic VP svayám vṛṇīte in RVic times, and have attempted to show elsewhere that the text verbally plays off this formula (Jamison, forthcoming).

The legal provisions concerning the girl who must find her own husband in fact contain such svayám verb phrases, with several different lexical verbs. So MDŚ VIII.91 adīyamānā bhartāram *adhigacched yadi svayam* “If (a girl) ungiven (in marriage) should herself ‘go to’ a husband...”; GDS XVIII.20 *svayam yujyeta* “she should herself unite (with a husband)”.

²³ The other occurrence of svajā- may add evidence for this view, though of an elusive sort. The adjective modifies a word for “sure” or the like, with close phonological similarity to our word: I.168.2 *vavŕ̥so ná yé svajā́ḥ svátavaṣaḥ*. As the word vŕ̥- began to be semantically opaque to Vedic speakers, on its way to disappearing entirely, I think it likely that it became available for phonetic play, especially given its rather marked phonetic shape.

It is also possible, if farfetched, to see in I.168.2 a play on female anatomy implicitly referring vŕ̥.

vite. It is in the last of the Kakṣivant hymns, the famous Dānastuti, whose last two anuṣṭubh verses flirt with pornography. [Griffith primly relegates them to an Appendix, where he translates them into Latin.] Our verse is the last one before those and the last of the triṣṭubhs, and Oldenberg suggests that the hymn was originally two: vss. 1-5 and 6-7 [*Noten*, intro. to I.125], so that our verse was probably the final verse of the original hymn.

I.126.5 pūrvām ānu prāyatim ā dade vas trīn yuktām
 aṣṭāv arīdhāyaso gāḥ
 subāndhavo yé viśyā iva vrā ānavantaḥ śrāva aṣanta
 pajrāḥ

The first half-verse is a fairly conventional praise of the gift, acknowledging the receipt of various amounts of livestock, in addition to the gifts previously mentioned in the hymn. The second half consists of a relative clause with a tenuous connection to what precedes, but a very clear subject: the Pajras carefully stationed at the very end of the verse and indeed of (this part of) the hymn. Kakṣivant himself is a Pajra, several times calling himself Kakṣivant-Pajriyā (I.116.7, 117.6, 120.5), and he is thus highlighting the gains of his kin.²⁴

Our word vrā obviously forms part of a simile, but there is disagreement about who or what is being compared to them, and on the basis of what similarity. I will not parade the various interpretations (that of Thieme [1938, p. 24f.] being especially inventive and unconvincing), but allow Geldner's to stand for the range: "für die lieben Verwandten, die auf Karren wie die Clandirnen fahrend den Ruhm für sich begehrten, die Pajras." For Geldner, viśāḥ...vrāḥ are "Clandirnen" who travel in wagons, the point of comparison. I am not exactly sure what he has in mind (and am not sure I want to), but clan prostitutes equipped with vehicles sound a bit like camp-followers, a category of women I do not recall meeting elsewhere in Vedic texts. Other interpreters do not reach this level of specificity, but all seem to agree that the phrase is a nominative plural, parallel to/compared with the masculine plurals in the rest of the half-verse.

²⁴ As pajrā- is also an adjective meaning "stout, strong" (see EWA, s.v), this sense can of course also be present in this passage.

My understanding of the versē starts again with a lexical fact, the adjective *ánasvant-* “possessing wagons”. We might expect the glorious Pajras to have chariots instead, the ubiquitous prestige vehicle of the RV; *ánas-* is both a much rarer word and a less coveted object than *rátha-*. But *ánas-* has its own specialized sense: first of all, it is the characteristic vehicle of females. It is an *ánas* with which Mudgalānī wins the famous race in X.102 (cf. vs. 6); it is Dawn’s *ánas-* that Indra crushes (II.15.6; IV.30.10, 11; X.73.6, X.138.5). But most particularly, it is an *ánas-* that serves as the vehicle to convey the bride home at a wedding.²⁵ In the wedding hymn (X.85) the bride’s vehicle is the focus of much of the first half of the hymn, esp. vss. 10-20, and it is called an *ánas-* (vss. 10, 12), its draught-animals *anaḍvāh-* (vs. 10).²⁶ Similar is the *ánas* of Uśīnarāṇī in X.59.10, a passage clearly referring to a wedding journey:

X.59.10 sám indreraya gām anaḍvāham yá āvahaḍ
uśīnarāṇyā ānaḥ

Indra, rouse the cart-drawing ox, which drew the cart
of the wife of Uśīnara.

There are almost no occurrences of *ánas-* or its derivatives in the RV without fairly clear connection to women or to marriage.²⁷

If we take the word *ánasvant-* seriously in our passage, we should (or at least can) seek an interpretation involving women and marriage, and with *vr̥ā* we have one near at hand. In fact I would suggest that the presence of two other words in this half-verse, *subāndhu-* “of good lineage/kin” (which goes nicely into English as “well-connected”) and *viśyā-* “belonging to/ appropriate to the *viś*”²⁸ sketch a picture of a highly respectable and

²⁵ On the importance of the wedding journey, and especially of the vehicle, in ancient Indian marriage, see discussion in Jamison 1994, *passim*; 1996a, pp. 222-26.

²⁶ Though later in vs. 26 *rátha-* “chariot” is used.

²⁷ However, the other occurrence of the possessive adj. *ánasvant-* is also in a *dānastuti* (like I.126.5), V.27.1, with no overt marriage reference.

²⁸ It might be possible to interpret this adjective as built directly to the root *viś* “enter”, rather than the root noun. Forms of this root, especially the gerundive *veśyā*, are applied to prostitutes/courtesans in later Sanskrit, by an obvious semantic development. However, the only other occurrence of *viśyā-* in the RV (X.91.2) is clearly applied to the fire

orthodox svayaṃvara. Although *viśyā-* occurs only once otherwise in the RV and not in marriage context, it is worth noting that two words of similar structure and derivational base, *jánya-* (lit. "belonging to the people") and the less clear *jénya-* ("of worthy birth"?) can be used in specifically marriage context. In particular, in RV IV.38.6 and AV XI.8.1-2 *jánya-* seems to refer to some kind of "groomsman, attendant to the groom".²⁹

AV XI.8.1 yán manyúr jāyāṃ ávahat ...
ká āsaṃ jányāḥ ké varāḥ ...

When Rage conveyed his wife in
marriage ...
Who were the groomsman, who the wooers?

We need to make only one last interpretive adjustment in I.126.5, to allow a satisfying and consistent rendering of the half-verse: the phrase *viāyā iva vrāḥ*, universally taken as nominative plural, can just as well be accusative plural, hence parallel to the object *śrávas*, rather than to the subject, the Pajras:

I.126.5 cd subándhavo yé viśyā iva vrā ánasvantaḥ
śráva aiśanta pajrāḥ

The Pajras, who hastened towards/sought fame, like those of good lineage provided with (wedding-) carts (hastening towards/seeking) maidens with a choice appropriate to the(ir) clan.³⁰

belonging to the *viś-* "clan", and *viśyā-* has the wrong accent for a gerundive in any case.

An identification of *viśyāḥ* here with later *veśyā* was made by Pischel (1897, p.121), but he was later forced to disavow any direct etymological connection between them (1897, pp. 319-20).

²⁹ For *jénya-*, applied to a bride, see RV I.119.5 and discussion in Jamison forthcoming, n. 6.

³⁰ Of course, the various attributes can be differently distributed between simile and frame, e.g., "The Pajras of good lineage, provided with carts, who..." The point is that all of the attributes are applicable both to the simile and to the frame.

Another fairly minor problem is the identity of the verb *aśanta*. Grassmann assigns it to *iṣ* "impel, send, set in motion", but it could belong rather to *iṣ* "seek, desire", or to the stem *iṣa-* "hasten" (probably originally the desiderative of *vi* "go"). If there is a close connection

The Pajra's drive towards fame is compared to the purposeful journey of prospective suitors with good credentials (subándhu-) to the svayamvaras of girls of the proper kinds (viśyà).

In fact, even the phrase śráva aiśanta "they sought fame" may make allusion to the wedding theme. A similar phrase, śráva ichámānaḥ, is found in VI.58.3, which concerns (darkly) Pūṣan's wooing of Sūryā, the maiden whose mythical svayamvara I have treated elsewhere (Jamison, forthcoming). In Pischel's interpretation of this myth (1889, p. 28), śrávas here refers to the acquisition of the bride—i.e. the fame he seeks is that of winning Sūryā.³¹ In the next verse, Pūṣan the suitor is called subándhu "of good lineage" (VI.58.4), just like the Pajras in our passage, and the climactic announcement is made that the gods gave him to Sūryā (yámdevāso ádaduh sūryāyai).

Such are the occurrences of vr̥ in the Kakṣivant hymns, which, I think, provide at least circumstantial evidence for the rendering "maiden with a choice/maiden holding a svayamvara". The other three vr̥ passages in the RV can be dealt with more quickly. In two the referents of the words are clearly female beings, but a svayamvara context is less clear. One of these passages is in Maṇḍala IV; the other, in the late Xth Maṇḍala, is clearly dependent on it:

IV.1.16c táj janatīr abhy ānūṣata vr̥ḥ

X.123.2d samānām yónim abhy ānūṣata vr̥ḥ

The first passage, in an Agni hymn, concerns the familiar theme of the discovery of the "names of the cow" and the proclamation of them, a theme associated with the Vala myth and with the power of poetic inspiration generally. Here what we need to focus on is the verb phrase abhy ānūṣata. The cows/dawns, recognizing the names and bellowing in response, are compared (though without comparative particle) to vr̥-. The second passage is in the mystical Vena hymn. Although it is not entirely clear what is going on in the verse, a much longed for creature is born, and female figures bellow at his/its natal place. The lexeme abhy ānūṣata is common in the RV, and its subjects are almost

between this passage and VI.58.3 and V.37.3, as argued in the text, the verb probably belongs to iṣ "seek, desire".

³¹ In V.37.3 cited above, the bride is "seeking" a husband (ichántī), with the same root.

always female beings or items (like hymns) compared to them. It is possible that *vrā-* has lost its precise meaning in these two passages, and simply refers to vaguely characterized female figures.

However, one parallel passage suggests a closer connection to the contexts with which we began:

IX.56.3 *abhī tvā yōṣaṇo dáśa jārám ná*
kanyānūṣata
 The ten young women *have cried out* to you,
 like a maiden to her lover.

In this passage in a soma hymn, the ten fingers preparing the soma, regularly identified as maidens (because of the gender of “finger”), roar (with the same lexeme *abhi+nu*), like a girl to her lover. Now I doubt if a girl embarking on a secret assignation would roar, cry out, or bellow to her lover. The only situation in which a girl could safely call attention to their relationship so noisily would be at a public announcement of her choice—at a *svayaṃvara*. So I suggest that it is this announcement that the repeated phrase in IV.1.16, X. 123.2 refers to—though I do so hesitantly because at the classical *svayaṃvara* the girl seems to indicate her choice silently, by touching his garment (or hers)³² or by her glance and by placing a wreath on him (cf. Kālidāsa, *Ragh.* VI.80-84). However, it would again not be surprising if changing mores had imposed more modest and recessive behavior on the maidens of later times. I therefore tentatively translate *abhy ānūṣata vrā* as “They roared to (X) (like) choosing maidens (announcing their choice).”³³

The last passage poses the most difficulties to the interpretation of *vrā-* as a female being of whatever sort and is the strongest evidence for a “troop” meaning. (Oldenberg bases his objections to “woman” on this passage.)

VIII.2.6 *gōbhir yād im anyé asmán mṛgám ná vrā*
mṛgáyante

It is difficult to contrive a translation for *pāda b* other than “they hunt him as *vrā*’s hunt a wild beast”, and starting from that translation, it is difficult to imagine an ancient Indian female, of

³² On the gesture, see Insler 1989.

³³ Note also in X.123.2 *samānám* *yónim* reminds us phonologically of *sāmanam* “marriage assembly”.

whatever stripe—wife, harlot, maiden with a choice—as an active participant in the hunt. Pischel produces an ingenious but very strained interpretation, whereby human hunters use female elephants as bait to lure male elephants into their traps (1897, pp. 122-23), and Geldner (in his note on I.121.2) follows him.³⁴ But unfortunately this is not what the passage says: the vr̥ā's actually hunt.

Before suggesting several possible solutions for this troublesome passage, let us note one crucial feature of it. This is the only form of vr̥ā- not pāda final. Combined with its presence in the VIIIth Maṇḍala, a book notoriously aberrant linguistically, I think it is possible that we are simply dealing with a different word or, perhaps better, with a radical misunderstanding of our vr̥ā on the part of the Kaṇvas, who may have *secondarily* associated it with vr̥āta- “troop”. As I stated above in another connection, a dying word, whose meaning is no longer firmly anchored in the Sprachgefühl, is available for capture by phonologically similar words³⁵ or for phonological play.

Confusion with vr̥āta-, as just suggested, would be capture. Phonological play is also possible. Compare X.40.4a, which contains the only other form in the RV based on a denominative to mṛgá-: yuvāṃ mṛgéva vāṛṇā mṛganyávaḥ “(we) hunting you two (Aśvins) like two wild elephants”. Our mṛgāṃ ná vr̥ā mṛgáyante seems like a phonetic variant of the last three words of X.40.4 (with metathesis of the ná/ā syllable).

If neither of these phonological explanations seems acceptable, it is possible (though in my view less appealing) to take vr̥ā- in its full meaning and interpret the passage as a metaphorical expression of girls aggressively seeking husbands—like the old, pre-feminist joke: “She chased him until he caught her.” Thus, “they hunt him like (husband-)choosing maidens (chase) a ‘wild one’.”³⁶

³⁴ In his note on the passage itself, he suggests that vr̥āḥ corresponds to góbhiḥ in a: “they hunt him (= Indra) with cows (= soma mixed with milk)”→ “they hunt him, as cows hunt a wild beast”, a transformation that pushes the semantic envelope.

³⁵ Much like the partial collapse of English gauntlet and gantlet.

³⁶ In this regard it is worth citing the Therīgāthā vs. already adduced by Pischel, in which a former courtesan compares herself in her former occupation to a hunter setting traps.

Thīg 723: vibhūsetvā imaṃ kāyaṃ sucittam bālālanam
aṭṭāsiṃ vesidvāramhi luddo pāsam iv' odḍiya

Such is the dossier of examples of RVic vrá. I hope that I have shown that "female chooser at a svayaṃvara", the meaning suggested by Ickler's derivation, is not only compatible with at least five of the six contexts in which the word appears, but that lexical and formulaic clues, especially in the Kakṣivant hymns, favor this interpretation and bring to light various features of the institution of the svayaṃvara, as we reconstruct it from later texts.

(KRNorman) Having decorated this body, very variegated, deceiving fools,
I stood at the brothel door, *like a hunter having spread out a snare.*

Of course, this refers not to a respectable husband-seeking girl, but to a prostitute.

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CHAPTER 5

Non-violence and the Mitra-Varuṇa Cow

J. C. Heesterman

Notwithstanding an abundance of textual materials and corresponding scholarly studies the problem of *ahimsā*, the prohibition to injure life and its corollary, vegetarianism, is still with us and in all likelihood will remain so.¹ The present effort will hardly change this prospect. It may, however, not be inapposite to come back to a topic to which Hanns-Peter Schmidt has significantly contributed.

A problem it already was in its homeland. Though relatively late in coming—in late and postvedic texts—as a norm, if not a mark of brahmanical orthodoxy, it is within the brahmanical fold that it created a lasting conflict of opinion. How was the incontrovertible prescript, believed to be ensconced in the Vedic *śruti*, to be brought in line with the equally incontrovertible brahmanical norm of non-violence without threatening to undermine the authority of the same *śruti*? The difficulty was the more acute since the brahmin invited to officiate at a Vedic sacrifice could not avoid to partake of the sacrificial meat on pain of having to pass as many years in hell as the heirs of the victim whose meat he had refused.² To make things even worse the Vedic *corpus rituale* also contains sacrifices meant to bring about the death of an enemy—such as the so-called *śyena* sacrifice. Understandably, such *abhicāra* acts are ruled out even by the staunchly Vedic

¹ The recent collection of academic studies, the volume edited by J.E.M. Houben and K.R. van Kooy, *Violence Denied*, Leiden 1999, does not bring the problem to rest, nor is it apparently intended to do so.

² VāsDhŚ. 11.34; cf. Manu 5.35. Curiously a similar punishment is reserved for one who eats non-sacrificial meat, Manu 5.38.

Mīmāṃsā. But then, what of the victim (or victims) killed at the regular Vedic sacrifices? How is the faithful to have his non-violent cake and eat it too?

A solution was found in a fundamental piece of *Mīmāṃsā* theory to wit the divide between those parts of the ritual that are *kratvartha*—aimed at realizing the sacrifice and together forming its structure—and, on the other hand, what is *purusārtha*—the decisive part of the sacrifice, its *pradhāna*,—culminating in committing the offering to the fire, whereby the sacrificer's aim is to be realized.³ Viewed in this way a sacrifice meant to dispose of an enemy is of a totally different order than, for instance, the immolation of the victim dedicated to Agni and Soma on the eve of the complex soma sacrifice. The latter is clearly *kratvartha*, supporting and leading up to the main sacrifice of which it is a "member" (*aṅga*).⁴ The immolatory killing is not man's purpose or responsibility but solely depends on the pre-ordained structure of sacrifice. Being *kratvartha* it is indispensable but not the decisive point. It is the otherwise simple act of abandoning the oblation to the fire that carries the weight of being *purusārtha*, fulfilling man's purpose.

Obviously, the reasoning that exonerates the sacrificer from any guilt—except the guilt incurred through a mistake, even made inadvertently, in the execution of the ritual—could hardly convince the adherents of non-violence. In terms of *Mīmāṃsā* ratiocination, however, it is perfectly cogent. It is, moreover, in keeping with the generally acknowledged doctrine that the essential *dharma*—which is identical with the *śruti*—transcends all worldly motivation. It requires disinterested action, forsaking all self-interest.⁵ The *kratvartha* action of killing the victim, performed solely in the interest of the sacrificial *dharma* and ac-

³ Cf. F.X. Clooney, *Thinking Ritually*, Vienna 1990, 98-100; J.C. Heesterman. "Zum Begriff des *apūrva*", in: G. Oberhammer (Hrsg.), *Raumzeitliche Vermittlung der Transzendenz*, Wien 1999, 124.

⁴ Prabhākara's Bṛhati on P.-M. Sūtra 1.1.2, quoted by J.E.M. Houben in Houben-van Kooy (n. 1), 147. For Kumārila's related argument that "although there is no difference as regards the form, it makes an essential difference whether or not to such killing is a subsidiary part (*aṅga*) of a sacrifice or not" (ŚV. 258), see W. Halbfass, *Kumārila and Śankara*, Reinbek 1983, 4.

⁵ See Śabara ad P.M. Sūtra 1.3.3-4; VāsDhŚ. 1.7; ĀpDhŚ. 1.1.4.9-10, 4.12.12, 7.20.1-4. See also P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* (2nd ed.), Poona 1968-77, vol. 3, 835-40.

cordingly free from worldly interest, is the model of disinterested action. It is only action for the sake of sacrifice that does not have a binding effect, as the Bhagavad-gītā teaches.⁶ Such detachment also explains Kṛṣṇa's embarrassing exhortation to Arjuna to kill even his relatives in detached fulfillment of his warrior *svadharma*.

It is true that the *śruti* does offer also the fulfillment of worldly human desires. But it is significant that such *kāmya* sacrifices are qualified as the way of the world (*pravṛtti*) and so continue the cycle of rebirths. Those, on the other hand, that are performed in a spirit of detachment (*niṣkāma*) will bring about the cessation of rebirth (*nivṛtti*) and so are conducive to the highest bliss (*naiḥśreyasika*).⁷

Even so it must be granted that the notion of completely disinterested action, including killing, does not seem overly realistic—nor, of course, is it strict *ahimsā*. At any rate it would be difficult to prove in each case that no self-interested motive is involved. Even in the case of sacrifice, as we saw, the wish for worldly rewards is acknowledged as legitimate, albeit at the price of forfeiting the *summum bonum*.

Apart from the uncertainty regarding the presence or absence of mundane motivation there is still another point of embarrassment. Even if the absence of an ulterior motive could be granted, the doctrine of killing disinterestedly harbours obvious dangers that the accompanying doctrine of the imperishable *ātman*, unaffected by killing or being killed, can hardly alleviate.

All in all, it cannot surprise that the two conflicting opinions—legitimacy of dharmic killing, at least in sacrifice, as against its categorical rejection, whether or not in sacrifice—remain unreconciled, without one definitely superseding the other. Till the present day they are capable of causing heated discussions, as happen at the occasion of revivalist performances of Vedic *śrautā* sacrifices.⁸

⁶ Bhag. Gītā 3.9.

⁷ Manu 12.88-90. Cf. 5.56.

⁸ E.g. Poona, 1955 (*Report of the Vājapeya Performance Committee*, Poona 1957); Panjal, C. Kerala (F. Staal, *Agni, the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, Berkeley 1983, vol. 1).

Whereas the traditional Indian discussion is concerned with the structural opposition of *ahimsā* and non-violence, academic scholarship concentrates on the historical question of the origin and development of *ahimsā*. How did the unresolved conflict within the fold of brahmanical orthodoxy arise? Here too no consensus has been reached either. Generally speaking there are two opposite tendencies, the one pleading for intra-Vedic, the other for extra-Vedic, more specifically ascetic, origins. Ludwig Alsdorf, who gave the academic discussion its present-day form, took up a middle position by convincingly arguing that the “heterodox” ascetic movements of Buddhism and Jainism took part, together with brahmanical Hinduism, in a common Indian development.⁹ The actual origins of *ahimsā* and vegetarianism, however, he wants to push back to the limbo of pre-Aryan times, as also the bloody sacrificial cult of Kālī. So we are back again at the structural opposition within Indian tradition, traced back to prehistory.¹⁰ His study of the actual sources, however, remains the model for the discussion on the development of *ahimsā* and vegetarianism.

Some years later Hanns-Peter Schmidt taking up the discussion made out a strong case for intra-Vedic origins.¹¹ His starting point was the frequent mention that this or that act or mantra was meant to avoid injury to which the sacrificer would be liable by way of retribution (*ahimsāyai, ariṣṭyai, śāntyai*). In this connection, he suggested, “one might speak of a ritual *ahimsā*-theory”.¹² This led him to the conclusion that the “ritual *ahimsā*-theory was the ultimate source of the later renunciatory *ahimsā*-doctrine”, even though he conceded that the latter is “still a far cry from the theory of the ritualists who believed in being able to compensate for every injury by magical means”—a belief not shared by the renouncer.

This strikingly original conclusion caused quite some ripples in the otherwise uneventful Indological duck pond. And so the

⁹ L. Alsdorf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinder- verehrung*, Wiesbaden 1962, 49.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 53-69.

¹¹ H.P. Schmidt, “The Origin of *ahimsā*”, *Mélanges d’Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1998, 625-55.

¹² *Ibidem*, 649-50.

discussions went back and forth from rejection to acceptance and various stages in between. The latest contribution reaffirms again the received wisdom that "ascetism formed the starting point of *ahimsā*" and that "its association with the bloody rituals of the Vedic priests is out of the question."¹³ In the meantime Schmidt has come back to the Vedic roots, summarizing his previous paper, surveying the discussion of the intervening years and adding to his argumentation.¹⁴ Although the ritual *ahimsā*-theory is not explicitly mentioned again, Schmidt's main point still is "that the Vedic sources do allow us to reconstruct a development (of *ahimsā*) within the Vedic culture."¹⁵

I am convinced that he is right, as I intend to show in the present paper. To that end I shall have to refer to earlier publications, especially one in which I reacted to Schmidt's interesting thesis.¹⁶ I did not mean to propose "a counterthesis", as Schmidt flatteringly called it. Rather I sought to broaden the scope of Schmidt's view by placing it in the wider context of the fundamental change that archaic, pre-classical sacrifice underwent. I shall not go into his disagreement with my intention to go beyond the ritualistic *ahimsā* of the Brāhmaṇa texts, but prefer to start from our broad agreement regarding the Vedic background of the rise of *ahimsā*.

3

The critical point in the development of the post-Vedic *ahimsā*-doctrine was, in Schmidt's view, not only or even primarily the awe and guilt associated with sacrificial killing but rather the interiorization of sacrifice. The change from external to internal sacrifice precluded the healing of injury by ritualistic means. Consequently injury to living beings had to be avoided altogether.¹⁷ This means that we have to widen the scope of our inquiry beyond *ahimsā* per se and its possible prefigurations. I

¹³ H.W. Bodewitz, "Hindu *ahimsā*" in: *Violence Denied* (n. 1), 17-44.

¹⁴ H.P. Schmidt, "Ahimsā and Rebirth", in: M. Witzel (ed.), *Inside the Texts*, Cambridge, MA 1997, 207-34.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 228.

¹⁶ J.C. Heesterman, "Non-violence and Sacrifice", in: *Indologica Taurinensia* 12 (1984), 120-27.

¹⁷ H.P. Schmidt "Origin", (n. 11), 653.

therefore propose to start from the general reform of sacrifice which led to its interiorization.

The peculiar nature of Vedic sacrifice as we know it from the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta sūtras shows itself already in the remarkable fact that the “solemn” or *śrauta* sacrifices are private celebrations. They are in no way communal but the exclusive affair of the sole sacrificer assisted by his brahmin experts. The community is excluded from taking part in the ritual. Generally speaking, private sacrifices are, of course, not uncommon but the systematic exclusion of society from the *śrauta* sacrifices, the absence of *sacra publica*, is definitely striking. Such has not always been the case. The *śrauta* ritual contains many indications that sacrifice originally was a social and highly competitive event. It was a periodic contest for the goods of life that decided the fate of the participants and their community. As such it was the dynamic centre of the social world.¹⁸

The archaic world of the sacrificial contest had its rules but there was nobody, no institution that had both the power and the authority to enforce the rules and keep the violent tensions of the contest from degenerating into chaos and destruction—as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*, the story of sacrifice gone catastrophically wrong. Such power and authority as were there arose from the outcome of sacrifice, they did not govern it. Rather than the killing of the victim, which was to provide the meat for the sacrificial meal, it was the threat of collapse inherent in the contest that was the basic danger of sacrifice.

Accordingly, the solution was sought not in abolishing sacrifice but in eliminating the contest. This was done by the simple device—as simple as it was fundamental—of excluding the rival partner, leaving the single sacrificer alone on his place of sacrifice. But this necessitated a complete overhaul of the ritual. Before, sacrifice was determined by the moves and countermoves of the contending partners. Now, however, the vacuum left by the absence of the rival partner had to be filled by the rigorous rules of a strict “choreography” that enabled the sole sacrificer also to play the part of his absent rival. Hence the utter rigidity of the Vedic *śrauta* ritual and an obsessive concern with mistakes in the

¹⁸ J.C. Heesterman, “Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer”, in: *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*, Chicago 1985, 16-44; Same, *The Broken World of Sacrifice*, Chicago 1993, ch. 1 (7-44).

execution of the ritual. Put briefly, the rules of the game were transformed into the game of the rules.

4

The transformation of sacrificial ritual is well illustrated by the barren cow (*vaśā*) dedicated to Mitra and Varuṇa, that is to be sacrificed at the end of the sacrificial soma complex. Strangely the soma sacrifice itself is already concluded by the final bath when the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow (also known as *anubandhyā*, “to be bound afterward”) is sacrificed. The explanations refer to the exhaustion of the foregoing soma sacrifice or of the metres used in its liturgy. The Kāthaka elaborates this theme by telling us that “the head of the sacrifice was cut off; the fluid that streamed out became the *vaśā* cow; that this *vaśā* cow is immolated at the end serves to provide sacrifice with pith (*rasa*)”.¹⁹ This passage continues with a slightly different explanation shared by the parallel texts. “Mitra grasped that of the (soma) sacrifice which was well offered, Varuṇa what was wrongly offered; in that this cow is immolated at the end, he (the *adhvaryu* officiant) frees the sacrifice from both (Mitra and Varuṇa) and restores it to the sacrificer ... The *anubandhyā* cow brings the sacrifice to rest” (*śāntyai*). Or, as the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā puts it, “the sacrificer does not come to harm (*nārtim ārcchati yajamānaḥ*).

But what is “the wrongly offered” that is grasped by Varuṇa? Where is the mistake that requires compensation? And why should Mitra appropriate the part of sacrifice, with which nothing was wrong, only to have it handed back to the sacrificer? Finally, why should the sacrifice be handed back at all? At first sight the passage about the severed “head of the sacrifice” seems to hold the answer. The basic flaw that must be compensated would then be the bloody business of decapitation. However, although decapitation of the victim clearly was the archaic way of immolation—and still is practiced in present-day sacrifices—, it is ruled out in *śrauta* sacrifices in favour of suffocation which leaves the victim’s body intact.²⁰ Even though the killing of the victim re-

¹⁹ Kāth.Saṃh. 29.4: 172.5; cf. Maitr.Saṃh. 4.8.6: 114.10 ff.; Taitt.Saṃh. 6.6.7.3; Śatapatha-Br. 4.5.1.6-7.

²⁰ J.C. Heesterman, “The Case of the Severed Head”, in: *Inner Conflict* (n. 18) 45-58 (on decapitation being ruled out, 46, 50). See also H.P. Schmidt, “How to kill a sacrificial victim”, *St II*. 22 (1999), 119-29.

mains a matter of serious concern, it is unlikely that the Mitra-Varuṇa cow should make up for a custom no longer practiced. Moreover, it would not explain the restoring of the sacrifice to the sacrificer.

There are, however, indications that point at a more complicated but no less ominous background which can make us understand the original meaning of the cow sacrifice for Mitra and Varuṇa and the flaw it was meant to remedy.

5

The *maitrāvaruṇī* cow is closely related to Īḍā, equally represented as a cow but mythologically known as the daughter and wife of Manu, the primordial sacrificer. In the Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa's story of the Deluge Manu brought her forth by offering ghee and sundry milk products in the receding waters. So, we are told, ghee gathered in her footprint. Possibly attracted by this luscious feature Mitra and Varuṇa met and claimed her, but she equivocated and saying she belonged to Manu went up to him. Declaring to him that through his offering in the waters he had begotten her, she promised him that by employing her in sacrifice he would become rich in offspring and cattle. And so Manu generated with her the human race. Īḍā, the text tells us, though belonging to Manu is at the same time *maitrāvaruṇī* belonging to Mitra and Varuṇa who had claimed her.²¹

Now this Īḍā "with the ghee-filled footprint" (*ghṛtapadī*) is invoked in sacrifice as the divine representation of the sacrificial food which is to be consumed by the participants. Put differently, she represents the cow (or another animal) immolated in sacrifice.²² For all its symbolism, what is being symbolized is rather disturbing. Manu's wife and daughter is the victim to be sacrificed.²³ Indeed Manu was quite prepared to sacrifice his wife at Indra's behest who, however, generously released her.²⁴

The theme of the sacrificed wife is further elaborated in the case of the *somakrayiṇī* cow, the price for the stalks of the soma

²¹ Śatapatha-Br. 1.8.1.6-10, 26-27.

²² J.C. Heesterman, "Somakuh und Danaergabe", 23. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, 1985, Stuttgart 1989, 352.

²³ Hence the title of S. Jamison's study *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, New York-Oxford 1996.

²⁴ Taitt.Saṃh. 6.6.6.1. Further see S. Jamison, *op. cit.* (n. 23). 21-26.

plant to be used for the soma sacrifice. When this cow is led away, her seventh footprint is treated in a special way. A piece of gold is put on it and over it a ghee libation is made; then the gold is taken out, a line is drawn around the footprint and the ghee-soaked earth is gathered up and handed to the sacrificer's wife. The *somakrayiṇī* then is a true image of *Īdā ghṛtapadī*. As Stephanie Jamison has argued, the seven steps of the soma cow exactly parallel the seven steps that ratify marriage. The soma cow, then, represents the sacrificer's lawful wife.²⁵ After the soma-purchase has been concluded, the soma cow is replaced by another non-consecrated cow and returned to the sacrificer's cattle pen.²⁶

All is well that ends well. But this is not yet the end. As if the chain of identifications—severed head, *maitrāvaruṇī*, *Īdā*, *somakrayiṇī*, sacrificial victim, sacrificer's wife—were not yet sufficient to provide the seemingly harmless proceedings with an ominous background, yet another element has to be added.

6

That element is the *arghya* reception due to "King Soma" represented by the aspirant sacrificer, the *dīkṣita*, arriving at the hall (*śālā*) where the fires have been readied for the imminent celebration.²⁷ Such a reception involves the offer of a cow; the guest must then decide whether it is to be killed or released. In the first case the guest reception is tantamount to an animal sacrifice concluded by a festive meal. However, in the case of Soma's arrival no cow is offered. The nearest candidate for this part would have been the *somakrayiṇī* which has been safely returned to her cowshed. In her guise of the ghee-footed *Īdā* she appears to be marked out for the banquet in honour of the high guest—as indeed *Īdā* was for Manu's divine guest.

Instead we find a vegetal *iṣṭi* in honour of Soma (*ātithyeṣṭi*) which, however, has been given the characteristic of an animal sacrifice by the feature of fire drilling. But apart from this *iṣṭi* there is a reception of sorts at the entrance of the *śālā*. There the

²⁵ S. Jamison, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 119-122.

²⁶ W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agnistoma*, Paris, 1906-07, 47.

²⁷ J.C. Heesterman, "La réception du roi Soma", in: A.M. Blondeau-K. Schipper eds.), *Essais sur le rituel III*, Louvain-Paris 1995, 9; Same, *Broken World* (n. 18), 172f.

dīkṣita is received—in fact by himself as the established sacrificer he aspires to become—with a he-goat.²⁸ This animal is later, at the conclusion of the *dīkṣā* period on the eve of the soma sacrifice, sacrificed in honour of Agni and Soma. Although the *agnīsomīya* sacrifice is expressly linked by some ritual details with the previous guest *iṣṭi* and so seems to replace the cow due to the guest, its ostensible intention is a different one. By this animal sacrifice, we learn, the sacrificer redeems himself from Agni and Soma by whom he was “seized” as a potential victim when undertaking his *dīkṣā*.²⁹

Why, one may wonder, this contorted way of replacing the normal *arghya* ritual with a vegetal sacrifice which is then ritually linked up to animal sacrifice unrelated to the *arghya*? Obviously the vegetal *ātithyeṣṭi* cannot have anything to do with even a glimmer of non-violent compunction, as Schmidt has already observed, because there is still the *agnīsomīya* sacrifice.³⁰ More likely the gruesome associations evoked by the *soma-krayiṇī* might have been the motivation for avoiding this particular animal, as I have formerly suggested.³¹ However, on further consideration there is a more important structural reason.

The clue to the tortuous treatment of the *arghya* reception is the double role of the sacrificer—on the one hand host and sacrificer, on the other his own guest and challenger. In the first case, as a *dīkṣita* descended from the bellicose *vrātya*, he is a consecrated warrior bent on winning the goods needed to establish himself as a bountiful sacrificer. His violent warrior ways, however, have burdened him with evil. Therefore one should not accept his food, nor mention his inauspiciousness (*aśīla*), nor even utter his name on pain of sharing his guilt.³²

At the time of his arrival at the *śālā* the now sole sacrificer is still in the state of a *dīkṣita* and this situation lasts till the animal sacrifice for Agni and Soma. He is, therefore, not yet fully qualified to perform sacrifice, his food being as yet unacceptable. It is even discussed whether one should eat the sacrificial food of the

²⁸ Understandably the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa has the place of the sacrificer at the entrance of the *śālā* taken by the assistant of the chief officiant, the *pratiprasthātṛ* (3.3.4.21).

²⁹ Ibidem. See also J.C. Heesterman, above, n. 27, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ H.-P. Schmidt, “Ahimsā and Rebirth” (n. 14), 213.

³¹ J.C. Heesterman, “Somakuh”, (n. 22), 351.

³² Same, “Vrātya and Sacrifice”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6 (1962) 11-15.

agnīṣomīya sacrifice by which the sacrificer redeems himself from the interdict to which he is subjected.³³ For all the more reason he is barred from offering the prescribed hospitality involving the sacrifice of a cow.

It is only at the *visarjana*, “the setting free”, when he separates himself from the soma—“Thou, o Soma, hast gone, a god to the gods; here I, a human to the humans”—and dissolves the intertwinement with his fire—“That body of mine that was in you is now in me; the body of yours that was in me is now in you”—that the sacrificer is released from the *dīkṣā* interdict.³⁴ It is not fortuitous that the *visarjana* is inserted in the *agnīṣomīya* sacrifice on the eve of the actual soma feast. For it is through this sacrifice, as we have seen, that the sacrificer frees himself of the bondage in which Agni and Soma held him as a *dīkṣita*. The *agnīṣomīya* sacrifice, then, is the turning point, when the *dīkṣita* “knight errant” turns into a fullfledged householder-sacrificer.

However, although this explains the replacement of the *arghya* cow by the *agnīṣomīya* he-goat, it did not fully satisfy the ritualists. Thus Baudhayana inserts a full-scale *arghya* reception including the offer of a cow.³⁵ But this is an exception. The relevant Brāhmaṇa texts, followed by the sūtra authors, confine themselves to providing the vegetal *iṣṭi* with a distinctive feature of animal sacrifice, to wit producing fire by means of the fire drill and adding the newly drilled fire to the already burning sacrificial fire. This at first sight rather superfluous act harks back, as I have argued elsewhere, to a contest for the mastery over the sacrificial fire.³⁶ Deprived of its original agonistic meaning it

³³ ĀpŚS. 10.15.15-16; J.C. Heesterman, “Réception” (n. 27), 10f.

³⁴ Same, *Broken World* (n. 18), 176f. For the mantras: Taitt.Saṃh. 6.3.2.4-6.

³⁵ Baudh.ŚS. 6.17:175.18 (taken over by Caland-Henry, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 57. It is not clear how precisely Baudhāyana wants this (domestic) rite to be inserted in the tight schedule of the *śrauta iṣṭi*. He only prescribes that the *adhvaryu* officiant should play the part of the guest who must give the order either to kill (*kuruta*) the animal or to release it (*srjata*): *tām adhvaryur viśāsti*. Sāliki on the other hand prefers that only the (vegetal) cake be offered, not the animal. Presumably this means that he prescribes the vegetal *iṣṭi* (without interrupting the *śrauta* ritual), *ib.21.23:92.10*.

³⁶ Kāṭh.Saṃh. 24.8:99.8; Maitr.Saṃh. 3.7.8:89.3-4; Taitt.Saṃh. 6.2.1.7; Śatapatha-Br. 3.4.1.19. On this rite harking back to an original contest for mastery of the sacrificial fire, see J.C. Heesterman, *Broken*

now serves to signal that the sacrificer, even though still a *dīkṣita*, is perfectly capable of performing sacrifice, the two antagonistic personae being amalgamated into the single person of the consecrated sacrificer.

7

When we now look again at the *maitrāvaruṇī*, the Īdā cow and the *somakrayiṇī* episodes, it appears that there too, as in the case of Soma's reception, the background is a contest. This is already suggested by the lapidary story of Mitra and Varuṇa claiming Īdā.³⁷ There is still another episode featuring Manu and Mitra-Varuṇa. Manu, in search of what place on the earth was fit for sacrifice, comes upon a spot of spilled ghee and enigmatically asks, "Who can make this in sacrifice?". Mitra and Varuṇa take on the challenge saying, "It is the cow, we are able to make (her)." "They then set her in motion and wherever she stepped ghee was pressed out. That is why she is called ghee-footed."³⁸ The point is that the verb *karoti*, "to make, do", also means "to kill". In its enigmatic way it is a sacrificial challenge pitting Manu, the primordial sacrificer, against his rivals Mitra and Varuṇa.

That the possession of the Īdā cow is indeed the issue of a contest is made clear by another passage from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*. Dealing with the invocation of Īdā (*īdāhvāna*) before distributing the shares of the sacrificial food our passage explains the invocation in terms of the rivalry of devas and asuras as a *vihava*, a rival invocation, the two parties vying with each other in attracting her. The devas finally get her to move to their side by invoking her "turned towards [them]" (*prācī*), while the unfortunate asuras call her "turned away" (*parācī*).³⁹ Although this

World (n. 18), 133, 137; Same, "Feuer, Seele und Unsterblichkeit", in: G. Oberhammer, *Im Tod gewinnt der Mensch sein Selbst*, Wien 1995, 39.

³⁷ See above, n. 21.

³⁸ *Taitt.Saṃh.* 2.6.7.1.

³⁹ For the *īdāhvāna* see A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, 122-127.

As regards the rival invocation, see the explanation *Taitt.Saṃh.* 1.7.1.3: after a brief reference to Īdā belonging to Manu as well as to

was meant to refer to the right and the wrong word order of the invocation, the reality behind it appears to be the cow's going to and fro between the two parties.⁴⁰ By uttering the mantra in the asura way the *hotṛ* officiant can deprive his patron of his cattle.

Given the similarity of the *somakrayiṇī* and the *Īdā* it is not surprising that the former is equally the subject of a contest, albeit that the contest is veiled as a purchase. On further consideration rather than a simple matter of buying and selling it turns out to be at best an elaborate bargaining contest. But when the soma seller at the end is given a beating, the matter takes on a different aspect. To add insult to injury the valuable soma cow is returned to its owner, while the soma seller is fobbed off with another cow to keep up appearances.

Interestingly, the acquisition of the soma is mythically indeed represented as a contest. When the goddess *Gāyatrī* brought down the soma it was stolen by the Gandharvas. The gods, counting on the Gandharvas' fondness of women, then turn *Vāc*, Voice, into a woman and exchange her for the soma. *Vāc*, however, runs away from the Gandharvas but does not return to the gods. So the two parties decide on a *vihava*, each trying to lure her to their own side—exactly as in the case of the *Īdā* cow and with the same result.⁴¹ *Vāc*, who in this context is identified with the *somakrayiṇī*,⁴² is finally successfully lured by the gods, as the *somakrayiṇī* is returned to her owner. This again recalls *Īdā*'s equivocal reaction to *Mitra*'s and *Varuṇa*'s claim on her—“either she agreed or she did not agree”.⁴³ In all these cases—*maitrāvaruṇī*, *Īdā* cow, Soma cow or *Vāc*—the cow is the life-giving treasure, moving to and fro between the parties who contend for her in the sacrificial arena.

Mitra-Varuṇa (as in the *idāhvāna* itself) the text shifts to the ubiquitous rivalry of devas and asuras, each calling *Īdā* to their own side.

⁴⁰ Cf. Śatapatha-Br. 1.8.1.25, stressing that *Īdā* is to be called “hitherwards” (*arvācī*) as against “thitherwards” (*parācī*). Cf. also the mantra Taitt.Saṃh. 1.2.4.2 g, “Be successful for us in doing (*suprācī*), successful in returning (*suprācī*)”. The *idāhvāna* suggests her shuttling between the two parties.

⁴¹ Kāth.Saṃh. 23.10; 24.1; Maitr.Saṃh. 3.7.3; Taitt.Saṃh. 6.1.6.

⁴² Kāth.Saṃh. 24.1: 127.1; Maitr.Saṃh. 6.1.6: 77.18; Śatapatha-Br. 3.2.4.10.

⁴³ Śatapatha-Br. 1.8.1.8.

Of course, we should not expect the contest to be a jolly sportive event. We are already alerted by Īḍā's seventh footprint which is the occasion of unabashed thoughts of bloodthirsty violence. The mantra for cutting out the ghee-soaked soil of the footprint proclaims, "Here I cut the neck of him who hates us and whom we hate".⁴⁴ Fortunately, there is no rival or enemy available anymore on the place of sacrifice. But the original intention is no less clear. The ancient contest was not a harmless affair, as we know from the verbal contests of the Upaniṣads, where the loser may have to pay for it with his head.

The theme of violence, poignantly present in the background of the Īḍā story, comes to the fore again in connection with the Īḍā portions of the sacrificial food consumed by the officiants and the sacrificer after the oblation in the fire—in other words, in connection with what originally was the sacrificial meal. This, we are told, is "the part of the sacrifice that is torn asunder" (*vyasta*); or "they cut the sacrifice asunder (*vicchindanti*) in that they eat in the middle of it." Or again, in a riddle question Īḍā herself is said to cut (the sacrifice).⁴⁵

But what is the point of all this cutting and tearing asunder? Apparently it refers to the cutting up of the sacrificial food that is going to be consumed by the participants. What it means, is the critical ambivalence of giving and accepting food. Put briefly, in order to be prepared food must first be killed. In this respect there is no difference between animal and vegetal food; the grain or rice that is ground is said to be killed and so are the soma stalks that are pressed.⁴⁶ Food has to pass through death before it can be consumed and consequently is burdened with the onus of death. The host or sacrificer, then, transfers with the food the onus to his guest who is the first to eat and who in any case has been the cause for the food to be "killed". But then the host is obliged to return the compliment when the erstwhile guest reciprocates.

⁴⁴ Taitt.Samh. 1.2.5.1 (e).

⁴⁵ Respectively Taitt.Samh. 1.7.1.4; 2.6.8.2 (cf. Śatapatha-Br. 1.7.4.19); 1.7.2.1.

⁴⁶ See e.g. Śatapatha-Br. 2.2.2.1-2, where the immolation of the victim as well as grinding the grain with mortar and pestle and pressing the soma stalks is summarily characterized as "killing, slaying" (*ghnanti*).

Here is, in a literal sense, the “cutting edge” of the *īdā* food. Hence the feeling, often expressed in the Brāhmaṇas, of being oppressed or even poisoned by the food and gifts of the sacrificial patron. The food given and accepted creates a bond that is sacralized by the sting of death and consequently ambiguous. It unites as well as divides.⁴⁷

9

Looking into the artfully disguised origins of the transformed sacrificial ritual we have come to discern an original background dominated by contest and its accompanying violence—a background that is shared by the soma cow, the *arghya* reception, the *īdā* cow of the sacrificial meal and the *maitrāvaruṇī*. The essential difference between these episodes lies in the change of position of the parties to the contest. In the case of the soma cow and the reception of “King Soma” the main part is played by the *dīkṣita*, the consecrated warrior who as a “knight errant” has to work his way up by winning the goods—primarily the soma—to become a fully qualified magnate and sacrificer. Finally, he is ready to confront the magnate in his *śālā*. But the final contest comes with the *agnīṣomīya* animal sacrifice, when he asserts himself as the sacrificer *en titre* by planting his fire on the sacrificer’s oblatinal fire and thereby taking over the sacrifice. At the ensuing soma feast on the next day the newly established sacrificer fulfills the part of a bountiful host.

But how are we to account for the origin of the repeat performance when all, including the final bath, is over and another sacrifice, that of the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow, is performed? Here we must turn to the cow’s namesake, the *maitrāvaruṇa* officiant. Although he is also known as the *praśāstr* “who gives the orders”, notably the summons to the *hotṛ* to recite the offering verses, he is in the monistic ritual subordinate to the *hotṛ*. His

⁴⁷ Cf. J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18), 154-56; S. Jamison on the “Anxieties of hospitality”, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 153-203. In general see M. Mauss, “Essai sur le Don”, in: Same, *Sociologie et Anthropologie*, Paris 1950, 249 (ch. III.2, “Droit hindou classique”): “C’est que la chose donnée elle-même forme un lien bilatéral et irrevocable, surtout quand c’est un don de nourriture”; with reference to the ancient Indian data he observes that “le lien que le don établit entre le donateur et le donataire est trop fort pour les deux”.

“election” (*pravara*) takes place in the ritual of the animal sacrifice—in this case the *agnīṣomīya* sacrifice—, where it is followed by the “election” of the sacrificer. The latter is elected with the words: “Agni is the leader of the divine hosts, this sacrificer of the human ones”. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, however, gives away the game. “On this occasion—i.e. the *agnīṣomīya* sacrifice—there are two *hotṛs*. It is with a view to the *maitrāvaruṇa* that [the *adhvaryu*] calls attention [to his *pravara*]. But it is the sacrificer whom he elects”.⁴⁸

Now the *hotṛ*, whose divine counterpart is Agni, appears to have been originally identical with the sacrificer.⁴⁹ But what about the *maitrāvaruṇa* as a second sacrificer? Significantly the staff that is the sign of his office and that is handed over to him at his election, is the staff the sacrificer carried when still a *dīkṣita*.⁵⁰ No less significant is the *maitrāvaruṇa*'s task to recite the “invitatory” verses (*puro'nuvākya*) that precede the *hotṛ*'s offering verses. These verses are associated with the sacrificer's enemy. Put briefly, the *maitrāvaruṇa* is the transformed manifestation of the rival who as a *dīkṣita* has successfully challenged the magnate householder and sacrificer and now has been elected as the “leader of the human hosts”.⁵¹ His original role of challenging the established sacrificer does not seem to be essentially different from the eponymous dual deity Mitra-Varuṇa, when they claimed Iḍā, the wife and daughter of Manu or took on Manu's riddle challenge.

Against this background we can determine the original function of the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow sacrifice. It would seem to be the mirror image of the preceding sacrifice, reflecting an alternating scheme of prestation and *revanche* in which the two parties, sacrificer and challenger—not necessarily always the same—, take turns in the recurrent contest for honour and wealth.⁵² Such alter-

⁴⁸ Śatapatha-Br. 3.7.4.10; KātyŚS. 6.4.4. Cf. Maitr.Samh. 2.3.9.8: 17.3; MānŚS. 2.3.6.17; 7.2.1.44. Also J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, nr. 56 (pp. 87 ff); J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18), 144.

⁴⁹ Cf. H. Krick, *Das Ritual der Feuergründung*, Vienne 1982, 56; J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World*, 144.

⁵⁰ KātyŚS. 6.4.5.

⁵¹ Taitt.Samh. 1.6.10.4.

⁵² Cf. H. Krick, *op. cit.* (n. 49), 577-79, recognizing the *maitrā-varuṇī* as part of a year-long cyclical pattern similar to repeated setting up of the sacrificial fires (*punarādheya*) which according to KātyŚS. 5.11.10

nation is also suggested by the statement that at the end of the third soma session in the afternoon “the sacrifice goes away from the one who has sacrificed to the one who has not”—that is the guest. This again suggests that the soma sacrifice was followed by a *revanche* of the other party.⁵³

This other party will not have been the rival in the guise of the *maitravaruṇa* who, as we concluded, was the successful challenger taking over the part of the established sacrificer. But having won through to the status of a magnate and sacrificer he must count on being challenged himself. Or, conversely, to make his peace with his erstwhile adversary. Sacrifice, and more specially the host-guest relationship has, as we have seen, both aspects. This may also explain why the second *hotṛ*, whom we came to know as the chosen sacrificial leader, should be named after a dual divinity, and why the counterpart to his sacrifice, where he won his position, should similarly be dedicated to Mitra and Varuṇa. The reason would seem to be that this dual divinity forms an opposition—the one appropriating what was rightly and the other what was wrongly done. The *maitravaruṇa*, then, embodies this opposition in his own person. Mitra and Varuṇa provide the model for the relationship of the “two *hotṛ*’s”. At the same time both are concerned with alliance and lawful order and so apt at presiding over a covenant between rival partners.⁵⁴

10

By now we are in a position to understand what was the original flaw that the cow sacrifice for Mitra and Varuṇa should redeem. This flaw was the recurrent contest for the cow, representing wealth, honour and power, that held the uncontrollable threat of getting out of hand causing death and destruction. This, rather than the perfectly controlled immolation of the cow, was the piv-

is preceded by a cow sacrifice. After the *maitravaruṇī* sacrifice there is equally a renewed setting up of the fire in connection with the final “breaking up” *isti*, the *udavasānīyesti*. Beginning and end of the soma complex would then be similar to an abridged form of the year-long cycle between *agnyādheya* and *punarādheya*. Cf. J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18) 131, 264 n. 93, 270 n.35.

⁵³ Taitt.Saṃh. 6.6.7.3; cf. Kāth.Saṃh. 29.4: 172.18; Maitr.Saṃh. 4.8.6: 114.10.

⁵⁴ Cf. J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18), 147, 155, 202f.

otal problem.⁵⁵ Though essential to the scenario of the contest her immolation is not at issue. In this respect it is significant that Īḍā, the sacrificial food invoked, divided and consumed, is said to be the “torn asunder” part of sacrifice—that is, not the killing but the sacrificial meal, causing as well as compounding rivalry and dissension, is the critical issue. In that sense sacrificial killing and the ensuing meal are central to the contest.

However, since the *śrauta* ritual has eliminated the contest, there is no call anymore for a *revanche*. So the function of the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow had to be changed. But its original function still shines through the dichotomy of the well-offered and the wrongly offered. The structural flaw has been changed into the technical matter of the ritual mistake. The rigid, evermore refined system of rules that filled that vacuum left by the absent rival partner was flawless but not foolproof. Its very complexity invited mistakes. The uncertainty of the contest lives on in the uncertainty of the ritual mistake that would undo the whole effort and might have dire consequences.

In this connection it is interesting what the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa has to say about the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow. Having stated that Mitra takes what was well-offered and Varuṇa what was wrongly-offered the text continues: “What about the one who has offered (*ijāna*)? What well-offered part of the sacrifice Mitra had taken that, pleased with this (cow sacrifice), he renders to the sacrificer; what wrongly offered part Varuṇa had taken that, pleased with this (cow sacrifice), he renders to him. This sacrifice truly is his own property, his own meritorious deed.”⁵⁶ We find

⁵⁵ This would seem to be also the background of the Mīmāṃsā’s lack of concern with sacrificial killing as against the rejection of sacrifice aimed at killing the opponent (see above, sect. 1). Nevertheless the ritual texts appear to be obsessed with the sacrificer’s enemy who is to be eliminated ritualistically *in absentia*. The explanations telling us that a mantra or gesture serves this purpose are legion. Such explanations, however, are not *vidhi*, part of the system of rules, but non-authoritative *arthavāda*. The relevant mantras and acts are *kratvartha*, serving the structure of sacrifice but not *puruṣārtha*, pertinent to the aim of sacrifice itself. The ritualists could not and did not rule out worldly rivalry and conflict. But sacrifice, aimed at the transcendent, should by its very nature rise beyond it.

⁵⁶ Śatapatha-Br. 4.5.1.7. It may be noted that *ijāna*, the “one who has sacrificed” is the one from whom the sacrifice departs to join the “one who has not sacrificed” (*anijāna*), see above, n. 53.

here a noticeable echo of the sacrificial contest alternating between two parties—like the cow going to and fro between the two sides that try to lure her. But no less interesting, we equally see here the link between the original structural flaw—the dualistic contest pattern of sacrifice—and, on the other hand, the ritual mistake in the monistic pattern of the single sacrificer, sole master of his sacrifice that is ritualistically freed of possible mistakes and rendered to him as his exclusive property beyond the reach of any rival.

11

The case of the *maitrāvaruṇī* cow sacrifice can also help us to understand the origin of *ahimsā*. Apart from the awe and fear surrounding the killing it was again the elimination of the contest from the sacrificial grounds that gave *ahimsā* its particular importance. It meant that the evil, the guilt of killing the victim, came to be seen in a different, more forbidding light. There was no other party anymore to whom the onus of death could be transferred. The sacrificer must cope with it by himself. Under these circumstances *ahimsā* became almost unavoidable.

Ahimsā, however, threatened to deprive sacrifice of its essence. It would cancel sacrifice as the way of dealing with—as different from solving—the enigmatic nexus of life and death. Renunciatory ascetic movements did indeed reject sacrifice. But there was also another way. What could no longer be done by means of the competitive exchanges of the sacrificial contest could be done ritualistically through the desocialized, purely technical means of the transformed ritual, in the same way that the ritual mistake could be neutralized. That is why the *śrauta* ritual is pervaded by acts and mantras “for the sake of non-injury” (*ahimsāyai*), meant to undo any harm or injury and so prevent it from rebounding upon the sacrificer.

This is what Schmidt has imaginatively called a “ritual *ahimsā*-theory”.⁵⁷ It is not a halfway house on the road to full-scale *ahimsā*. Nor is it so far removed from universal *ahimsā* as Schmidt thinks, the latter being in his view “a complete reversal of the ritual theory”. Being part and parcel of the ritualism that came to replace the agonistic exchanges it was a valid alternative

⁵⁷ See above, n. 12.

to anti-sacrificial *ahimsā*. Both the ritual and the universal *ahimsā* arose from the rejection of agonistic sacrifice.

12

There is, however, a chink in the ritualistic armour. The sacrificer, even without a rival partner, can still safely shed his evil on the brahmin officiants, who have to consume his food and accept his gifts. This especially is critical in the case of the *brahman* who, apart from his part of the sacrificial food, has to consume the "fore-portion" (*prāsitra*) which represents the "wound of sacrifice". Hence he is known as the "healer" of sacrifice (*bhiṣaj*).⁵⁸ Of course, he can use his knowledge of the ritualistic remedies and the equations on which they are based to protect himself. Thus, having swallowed the *prāsitra* he utters the mantra: "In the manly fire that is within the brahmins this *prāsitra* be well-offered; it should not injure me in the highest heaven"⁵⁹, meant to neutralize the evil inherent in the "fore-portion". The mantra is in perfect consonance with the notion of the brahmin taking his food as a sacrifice in the inner fire. His taking food, then, is nothing so mundane as eating for nourishment but a purely technical ritual that does not concern him personally.⁶⁰

However, the notion of an impersonal, purely technical act hinges on the unworldly disinterestedness of the brahmin recipient. Even though the doctrine of such impersonal disinterest as the decisive criterion has been explicitly formulated only later⁶¹, it is already implicit in the ritual *śruti*, being an integral part of the ritualistic transformation of sacrifice. On this count the *brahman* as well as the other brahmin officiants can hardly plead not-guilty. This in contradistinction to the sacrificer who surrenders his worldly goods in sacrifice, its central act being the *tyāga*, renouncing the offering abandoned to the fire.⁶²

⁵⁸ See J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18), 59, 154f.

⁵⁹ ApŚS. 3.20.3; cf. Vaitana-S. 65.15; Kaus.S. 65.15.

⁶⁰ This is the case of the *prāṇāgnihotra*, the offering of food in the *prāṇas*, which, according to H.W. Bodewitz (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.1-65, Leiden 1973, 256, 310), is the brahmin's ritual for eating; see also J.C. Heesterman, *Broken World* (n. 18), 213. The same goes for the *ātmayājin*, "who offers sacrifice in his Self", *ibidem* 216.

⁶¹ See above sect. 1 and n. 5.

⁶² On the *tyāga*, see references in n. 3.

It is not the sacrificer but the brahmin officiant who is vulnerable. This must have added considerable weight to the requirement of *ahimsā*, which did indeed become a typical characteristic of the ideal brahmin. The brahmin officiant, like his sacrificial patron, had no rival partner anymore with whom to engage in the exchanges and reversals of agonistic sacrifice. His only salvation lay in renouncing the ties that forced him to be burdened with other people's evil. Ideally the classical brahmin is a renouncer. The individualization that hove sacrifice from its worldly moorings created the classical brahmin, precariously seeking his way between mundane necessity and ultra-mundane calling.

13

The individualization of sacrifice that created the ideal of the classical brahmin equally brought forth the specifically Indian form of metempsychosis, namely its highly profiled connection with *karman*. The pre-eminent "work" is sacrifice—so much so that sacrifice simply is called *karman*. And like sacrifice man's *karman* is no longer exchangeable but his inalienable property.

In the celebrated dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Ārtaḥāga on the ultimate question of what remains of man after death the final answer is not, as one might expect, the *ātman* but his *karman*, man's "work". "Good one becomes through good 'work', bad by bad 'work'."⁶³ The seeming banality of this statement is belied by the fact that Yājñavalkya feels obliged to take his interlocutor outside the assembly to discuss *karman*. The shocking "secret" is the uncompromising individualism that rejects society and, therefore, can only be discussed outside the community.

Although rebirth is not touched upon, the implication is clear enough. The *karman*, good or bad, cannot be transferred and made to circulate in endless rounds of agonistic exchanges. Man can only exchange his *karman* with himself in an equally endless succession of births—unless he manages to break out of it by overcoming the dynamics of *karman*.

⁶³ Bṛhād.-Ār. Up. 3.2.13.

Individualization irresistibly led to the last stage in the development of sacrifice, its internalization. It was the internalization of sacrifice that rendered the overcoming of *karman* possible.

It had its base in the fusion of the consecrated warrior and the settled sacrificer, the *dīkṣita* and the *grhastha*, in a single person, the sole and unchallenged master of his sacrifice and household. In the last resort it meant that the entirety of sacrifice was absorbed by the individual. Here it was no longer the correct execution of the sacrificial ritual but the no less exacting knowledge of the equations of the elements of the ritual with those of the macro- and microcosmos that was decisive.

Through this knowledge Prajāpati, the Lord of Life, could in the ultimate sacrificial contest assimilate the counter-sacrifice of his rival Mṛtyu, Death, to his own sacrifice and thereby absorb his opponent in himself.⁶⁴ This Brāhmaṇa story might be considered to be the "charter myth" of the ritualistic transformation of sacrifice, and it is with this Prajāpati that the human sacrificer is regularly identified.

Hence it can be said of the sacrificer "who knows thus" (*ya evaṃ veda*)—that is, who knows the relevant equations—overcomes recurrent death, for "Death has no power over him, Death is his own Self". The enigmatic nexus of life and death lies in the Self, in the heart where the primordial seers found "the nexus of being in non-being".⁶⁵ The ultimate sacrifice is in the inner Self, where the union with *brahman* must be realized.

Excluding external sacrifice and replacing it with the pursuit of the ultra-mundane knowledge of *ātman* and *brahman* the internalization of sacrifice naturally implied *ahimsā*. Rather than having been borrowed from renunciatory ascetic movements, *ahimsā* can be seen to have arisen from the transformation of agonistic sacrifice. Its importance lay in its being an unmistakable sign of the renunciatory pursuit of the transcendent. As such, it enabled the brahmin to overcome the dilemma facing him and to be *in* the world without being *of* the world. By adhering to

⁶⁴ Jaim. Br. 2.69-70. See J.C. Heesterman *Inner Conflict* (n. 18), 32-34; Same, *Broken World* (n. 18), 53-58.

⁶⁵ Śatapatha-Br. 10.5.2.23, 6.5.8; cf. Bṛhad-Ār. Up. 1.2.7; R̥gveda-Saṃh. 10.129.4.

ahimsā the brahmin householder could, while living in the world, bear witness to his ultra-mundane commitment.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ We may speak here of “innerweltliche Askese”, as A. Wezler aptly characterized the conduct of the (brahmin) householder who is the “true eater of the remnants” of his daily sacrificial observances, see *Die wahren Speiseresteesser* (skt. *vighasāsin*), Wiesbaden 1978, 118-120.

CHAPTER 6

In Search of the Origins of Hindu Law: Remarks on the Relation Between the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra and the R̥gveda

Albrecht Wezler

Indological research was for quite some time, during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, “Veda-heavy”, if I may coin a neologism, i.e. to a large extent focused on the most ancient stratum of Indian literature, the Veda. The historical reasons are well-known and hence need not be repeated by me; I shall also refrain from criticizing our predecessors, even though such criticism may be regarded as fashionable, not to mention the ultimately baseless indictment on the charge of “Orientalistic” constructions.¹ But I am certainly happy that other periods and features of the very complex and variegated Indian culture, including that of modern India, are now given at least equal attention by Indologists all over the world, and that our discipline has become by and large much more balanced and much wider in scope and, especially, more comprehensive as regards its methods,—although today there is the danger that Vedic studies are not only neglected, but even fall into oblivion.

Vedic literature stood so much in the foreground during the period mentioned just now that the relation of the Dharmasūtras and the oldest of the Smṛtis, on the one hand, to the various parts and schools of Vedic tradition, on the other, and vice-versa, would have been studied by scholars even if these Dharmasāstra texts did not, as in fact they do, themselves suggest such a rela-

¹ As for the criticism of “Orientalism” (Said, Inden etc.) see Halbfass 1997 and Dallmayr 1997.

tion, or even if the manner in which they have been handed down did not suggest one. Quite some work has been done on the problems of this literary relation, in fact so much that one could gain the impression that at least these problems can be considered as definitively solved once and for all, and that one need only consult the handbooks. What I intend to do in this essay is to demonstrate that this impression would be wrong, and that there is still something to be said on the problems of the relation between certain texts of Dharmaśāstra literature and (the) strands of the Vedic tradition.² In doing so I shall, however, confine myself to the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra (= VasDhS). My remarks are divided into three parts, in accordance with observations and discoveries I have made, which occurred more or less accidentally; hence I do not have in mind a systematic division, although the questions I am going to deal with would certainly fall under such a division. The three parts are:

- a) quotations from the RV found in the VasDhS;
- b) reference to the story of Śunahṣepa in the VasDhS; and, finally
- c) the evolution of a legal rule out of a verse of the Rgveda (= RV).

1

In Lingat's *Le source du droit dans le système traditionnelle de l'Inde*, i.e. in Derrett's better-known English translation of this fundamental work, we read about the VasDhS the following (1973: 23): "Govindasvāmin, a commentator on the *dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana, cites a tradition³ that, before the *dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha enjoyed a general authority it was studied and received as authoritative in a particular school of the Rgveda. Vasiṣṭha is the name of one of the most famous of the *Rṣis* of the Rgveda", firmly connected with the 7th *maṇḍala*, as is well-known, "a redoubtable champion of Brahminism, a demigod born

² See, e.g., regarding the Manusmṛti and the Śāṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra, Gopal 1962.

³ This forms part of Govindasvāmin's commentary on BaudhDhS 11.2.6 which is quoted in full by Bühler (1882: XIII n. 1) as it possesses a considerable importance.

of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa and the *apsaras* Urvaśī.⁴ The *dharmasūtra* calls him “Vasiṣṭha the Ṛṣi”⁵ and thrice appeals to his authority.⁶ No doubt because of the tradition which relates it to the famous Ṛṣi, this *dharmasūtra* has been held in great veneration and has been preserved to our time. Perhaps there was a family of Ṛgvedin Brahmins who claimed the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha as its mythical ancestor, and a member of the family was the author of a *kalpasūtra* of which only the *dharmasūtra* has survived. Another possibility is that here we have an independent work adopted by a school of the *Ṛgveda* which happened to possess only *śrauta-* and *grhyasūtras*.⁷

It is amazing that Lingat does not mention quotations from the RV when talking about “the established relationship between this work and a school of the *Ṛgveda*.” For details we have to look into the first volume of Kane’s *History of Dharmasāstra* (1968: 94-112). In his chapter on the “Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra”, Kane deals altogether three times with this Sūtra’s relation to the RV, and other Vedic texts (viz. on pp. 94 f., 100 and 107), and fortunately distinguishes “quotations” from “passages that are based on or refer to Vedic works”, their total number being eight.⁷

Now let us assume for the time being that Kane’s admission that he “might have omitted through oversight a few Vedic passages” (1968: 107) is not really justified, and reflect for a moment on the kind of evidence he presents and what we can learn from it.

That is clearly what is usually called “cumulative evidence”. As for this type of argument—which is of great significance not only in our field of studies—it is important to be aware of what was recently expressed by my friend Claus Oetke⁸ by way of a metaphor, viz. that a number of pillars do not give any support

⁴ Cf. Vas. 30.11: as for the name or epitheton (?) *śatayātu* see RV 7.18.21. On Vasiṣṭha and the RV see Findly 1984 and now Gotō 2000.

⁵ Lingat 1973 does not himself give the references (for which see my fn. 6). In sūtra 24.5, however, Vasiṣṭha is called *bhagavān*, just as by Medhātithi on Manu 2.57 (Dave 1972: I 277.15) and Sudarśanācārya in his commentary on ĀpGS 1.1.1.

⁶ Viz. 2.50. 25.5 and 30.11.

⁷ Cf. Kane 1968: 95 and 107.

⁸ In the discussion of one of the papers read at the “International Conference on the Understanding of Other Cultures” held at the University of Warsaw, Oct. 7-10, 1999.

worth mentioning if each, or many, of them are in themselves crumbling. Indeed, each piece of evidence forming a part of an evidential support as a whole has itself to be fully able to bear a certain weight; of course, in the humanities, this will hardly ever be quantifiable, and is, at best, describable. What is presupposed here is the idea that a number of such individual pieces can, while their individual strength may differ, nonetheless together bear a much heavier weight; it does not matter here whether this idea was originally inspired by the corresponding physical phenomenon, or by a social experience,⁹ or is an independent development of the practice and theory of argumentation. I am not competent enough, or in a position, to deal with the philosophical, meta-theoretical foundations of "cumulative evidence"¹⁰; but I do like to add that the evidence, in the case at issue here, i.e. the relation between the VasDhS and the RV, represents a particular and interesting sub-type: All the pieces of evidence are of very similar character even though it is certainly necessary to clearly distinguish between quotations in the proper sense of the word (no matter whether a *rc* is quoted in full, or in part, or only its first word is quoted) and references to individual verses or whole *sūktas*, and it is also highly recommendable to analyse more closely what Kane calls "passages based on" the RV, or rather, as he says, "Vedic works" in general. In the case of this subtype of "cumulative evidence" the quantitative aspect becomes more important than in the case of pieces of evidence which are by their very nature different from each other, or at least fall into intrinsically different classes.¹¹ It is the sheer number of quotations, and references, which counts, i.e. is regarded as evidential support for a hypothesis.

If this characteristic feature of "cumulative evidence" is taken into account, and I do not know how this could be avoided, one can hardly spare Kane the reproach that, at least theoretically, it

⁹ Cf., e.g., verses 53-55 (*balināpi na bādhyante ...*) as well as 58-60 (*saṅghātavān yathā veṅur ...*) in the *Pañcatantra* (Kielhorn 1896: 48).

¹⁰ By Oetke, and ultimately, Murdoch, of the University of Stockholm, my attention was drawn in this connection to Hempel 1945 and 1974, Glymour 1980, Chisholm 1977, Earman 1992, Howson and Urbach 1993, Wayne 1995 and Steel 1996.

¹¹ Such as linguistic, metrical, factual ones, arguments of internal/external evidence, etc, with regard to the date of a text in terms of relative/absolute chronology, etc., etc.

is not at all irrelevant whether his list of quotations, and references, is exhaustive or not: If the number alone constitutes the "cumulative evidence", even a single additional instance is of importance.

But I am not out for over-subtleties, especially since I cannot show that they have practical consequences. Yet, let us listen to how Kane argues, i.e. what he writes immediately after the passage quoted last (p. 82): "But those examined above show that passages from the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of Vedas other than the Ṛgveda and its Brāhmaṇas outnumber those from the Ṛgveda and its Brāhmaṇas" (1968: 107f.). I must confess that I find this argument most irritating: The Ṛgvedic evidence is simply opposed to that of "Vedas other than the Ṛgveda", and the latter is without further ado treated as a significant whole! Would we not rather expect that the quantitative evidence regarding each Saṃhita clearly stated, juxtaposed and compared, and should not the fact that most of the quotations and references are from or to the RV and its Brāhmaṇas be examined as regards its evidential value? And would we then not be prone to give the statistical evidence its due and arrive at the conclusion that, formulated in its weakest form, the relation of the VasDhS to the tradition of the RV seems to be particularly close? And are we not only justified in doing so precisely because there are quantitatively determinable quotations from and references to other Vedic texts in the VasDhS?

But even if Kane is right that "Vasiṣṭha's Dh. S was originally an eclectic work of an independent character and that it did not at first attach itself to the Ṛgveda" (1968: 109 f.), do we have to accept what he said a little earlier, viz. 1968: 108: "... the question naturally arises, why was it adopted by the Ṛgvedins as their Dharmasūtra (as stated by Kumārila). The answer is obvious. Vasiṣṭha is mentioned by name in the Dharmasūtra several times The sūtra does rely on the Ṛgveda and its Brāhmaṇa in a few passages. Vasiṣṭha's is the greatest and most famous name among the ancient sages of the Ṛgveda"¹² Leaving aside other observations made by Kane—most of which are *argumenta e*

¹² See Macdonell and Keith 1912: II 274 ff., but add ŚaḍviṃśaB 4.1.12 and 1. 5.1. It should also be noted that this Vedic idea about higher rank and priestly function of (the) Vasiṣṭha(s) forms also the root of the *brāhmaṇa-vasiṣṭhanyāya* of the classical period.

silentio—¹³ I wonder what it actually is that Kane wants to intimate here. That the starting point was the occurrence of the name Vasiṣṭha in an originally eclectic compilation of materials on the *dharmā*, or that the process which led to its adoption by the Ṛgvedins was triggered by the fact that Vasiṣṭha's name is mentioned several times together with the quotations from and references to Ṛgvedic texts? What about those sūtras in which Manu is mentioned? And, more importantly, could the development not have been exactly the other way round, as suggested by Lingat, viz. that Ṛgvedins, at a particular point in time, became aware of, or felt strongly about the absence of a Dharmasūtra of their own, and decided to compile one, using mainly material from their own textual tradition, though not ignoring that of other branches of Vedic learning, making sure that its authority was beyond any doubt (i.e., cannot be questioned by anybody) by assigning it to one of the most famous ṛṣis of the RV whom they regarded as their forebear and as the archetypal *brāhmaṇa*?

I am not in a position to decide this fundamental question, not even to contribute to an answer to it. The main point I want to make is to show how little we actually know about the origin of the Dharmasūtras, how swampy the ground is on which we are moving, and how much we resemble blind men groping around when we lack the help of an existing textual tradition, i.e. in this case, a *kalpasūtra*, of which the VasDhS formed a part,—just like in the case of the GautamaDhS.

It is perhaps not unnecessary to add that I do not, by any means, want to advocate one-sidedly concentrating on historical-

¹³ Kane states, by way of summary, that the passages from the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas of Vedas other than the Ṛgveda and its Brāhmaṇas outnumber those from the Ṛgveda and its Brāhmaṇas, and explains the adoption of the VasDhS "by the Ṛgvedins as their Dharmasūtra" by the fact that "Vasiṣṭha is mentioned by name in the Dharmasūtra several times". Further arguments brought forward by Kane in support of his thesis that the VasDhS "had not been from the beginning a sūtra of the Ṛgveda", are the following: 1) in different mss. it ends with different adhyāyas, i.e. that it is not as well preserved as Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba; 2) it mentions and defines only six (and not, as the ĀśvGS, ŚāṅkhGS and the KauṣītakaGS (among others) eight) forms of marriage, and does also not agree as regards the names of these forms of marriage with the ĀśvGS; and that 3) there are more such points of disagreement.

philological interpretation, or even on the romanticists' question about the origins etc.; yet, quite clearly the problem of how the VasDhS came into being is of great significance for a history of Indian ideas, in general, and the understanding of the apparently highly complicated, though basically similar, processes and ideological techniques of the codification of *dharma*, and thus also of law in India,¹⁴ as well as of the "discovery" and successful propagating of new aspects of *dharma*, i.e., ultimately of the deliberate change of it. It is possible that the VasDhS served as a model for later Sūtra and/or Smṛti "compilations", similarly ascribed to Ṛṣis/authorities of the hoary past, or that it forms the first still extant example of this type of texts. Unfortunately, we do not know much, to put it mildly, about the origination, both the process as well as the manner of origination, of later Smṛti-texts, neither "emically", i.e. as regards their self-presentation (etc.), nor "etically", i.e. as regards the historical context, motives, etc. But in view of future research on this topic it is in order to have pointed out the possible function of the VasDhS as a model.

2

That Kane's reservation, i.e. his cautious remark about the possibility of a Vedic quotation or reference having escaped him, is not entirely theoretical is shown by VasDhS 17.2 which was not recognized as a quotation of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (= AB) 7.13.4 by Bühler,¹⁵ though it is recognized by Kane himself (1968: 95). For what Kane mentions (1968: 95) are several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa¹⁶ in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa quoted by the

¹⁴ On *dharma* as law cf., e.g. Olivelle 1999: XXI.

¹⁵ Cf. Wezler 2001.

¹⁶ As for the earlier relevant literature on this story (*itihāsa, ākhyāna*)—to which attention was paid already by Müller (1859: Appendix)—cf. Horsch (1966: 284-294); more recent translations and studies known to me are Rau (1966), Mimāṃsaka (1973), Moghe, (1979), Findly (1984), and Gotō (2000); cf. also Krick 1975: 69. — There are more motifs, in this *itihāsa*, than were recognized by Narahari (1941), for in addition to that of sacrificing one's son (and its significance in terms of the history of the idea of royal power), and adoption, we also have that of the particular dearness of the eldest son to the father, and the youngest one to the mother, and accordingly of the (relatively) precarious situation of

Sūtra, but a little later (1968: 107) he clearly refers to this particular sūtra of Vasiṣṭha as being a quotation from “Ait.Br. (adhyāya 33.1)”.¹⁷ Now as for the story of Śunaḥśepa, it is important to note that the VasDhS does not itself mention, not even allude to, the AB as being its source. The reproduction of this story, in VasDhS 17.32 and 35, is triggered, as it were, by the statement “that the third [type of sons] is a [son] bought” (*krītas trītyaḥ*, in 17.30), the immediately following sūtra (31) being *tac chunaḥśepena vyākhyātam*, “that (i.e. what is meant by the expression “bought”) is explained by [the case of] Śunaḥśepa”.¹⁸ Strangely enough, this peculiar manner of cross-reference (*atideśa*) is repeated *verbatim* in VasDhS 34, yet in this latter case *tac* has to be paraphrased by “the fourth type of sons, viz. one who has come [to his adoptive father] by himself/on his own” (*svayam upāgataś*), i.e. it refers to sūtra 33.

The short paraphrase of the famous story of Śunaḥśepa is very brief indeed, comprising as it does not more than 51 words. Nevertheless, there is indeed a very great likelihood that this paraphrase is based on the AB.¹⁹ There is only one more version

the middle son—on which see, e.g., the Madhyamavyāyoga (ascribed to Bhāsa).

For a case of reception of the name Śunaḥśepa cf. Jamison 2000: 176.

¹⁷ Cf. also Olivelle 1999: 394 (note on Vas. 17.31-5).

¹⁸ I am going to deal with this particular type of *atideśa* elsewhere, i.e. an article or an excursus in a monograph on the term *ātmopajīvin*, still under preparation.

¹⁹ As for the—theoretically possible—objection (which was in fact made by Richard Salomon in the discussion of my paper in Seattle, albeit rather *argumenti causa*) that the source of VasDhS’s short paraphrase of this *ākhyāna* (for the use of this category cf. Skandasvāmin-Maheśvara on Nir. 3.4) might after all be an unknown Vedic text, one of the many which have unfortunately not come down to us; and it is in fact necessary to recall in this connection the practise and conviction of the Mīmāṃsakas that each accepted/acceptable *ācāra* cannot but be based on a corresponding *śruti* which we are authorized to infer if it is not preserved. This principle, however logical an element it may be of the idea of the *vedamūlatva* of (the) *dharma*, cannot, of course, be taken over, and approved of, by critical philology; and as for the first argument, it is not, of course, possible to entirely preclude the possibility of the existence of a lost version of the story of Śunaḥśepa; but there is no evidence whatsoever that would suggest that it should be assumed,—and without any such piece of evidence—as they were used

of this story found in Vedic literature,²⁰ viz. that of the Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra (= ŚŚS)—which was collated with the former one already by M. Müller in 1859—, and it is hardly probable that Vasiṣṭha knew only the latter text, without also knowing the former. This is the thought which comes first to one's mind, regarding the identification of the source of VasDhS 17.32 and 35, and to be sure not the fact that the VasDhS contains a quotation, in the proper sense of the word, from the AB, and at the beginning of this very *adhyāya* at that. Yet neither the wording of VasDhS 17.32 and 35 nor the contents of this paraphrase of the story exhibit, if I am not mistaken, any peculiarity that would unambiguously point to the AB as the source, entirely excluding the ŚŚS. But the Brāhmaṇa carries, of course, decidedly greater authority, forming part of the *śruti* as it does,²¹ and authority is evidently what Vasiṣṭha is, or thinks that he is, in need of here.²² Therefore there is but little doubt that he in fact "used" the AB in formulating sūtra 17.32 and 35.

What about the testimonial value of this paraphrase, or I should rather say, summary of important parts, of the story of Śunaḥśepa, i.e. what does it tell us about the relation between the VasDhS and the Rgvedic tradition? Is it any different from that of the quotation from the AB or the quotations from, and references to, the RV? Yes, it is theoretically, because it is certainly possible to give the gist of a story which one has heard narrated by somebody else, i.e. without direct knowledge of it as it is formulated in the Brāhmaṇa. Yet in view of the quotation from this Brāhmaṇa in VasDhS 17.1. f., theoretical deliberations of this kind do not seem to be justified at all: Quite clearly Va-

e.g. by Renou—this possibility does not really need to be taken into account here.

²⁰ Cf., e.g., Macdonell and Keith 1912: II 395 f. or Rau 1966.

²¹ I wonder whether there is any evidence for the AB's having acquired this status at the time of the compilation of the VasDhS ([beginning of the] first century B.C., or somewhat later (?); cf. Olivelle 1999:XXXIII f.); that according to Horsch (1966:211f. and 457) "the technical term *udāharanti* is young" is of no consequence regarding the (relative chronology) of the Dharmasūtras, as the verse is quoted not only VasDhS 1. 14-15, but also BaudhDhS 1.1.2.11.—It should be noted that Wright (2000) takes issue with Alsdorf (1962) regarding "vegetarian material in Vas.", yet that he does not dispute "the anteriority of Vas."

²² Cf. Moghe 1979.

siṣṭha was familiar with the AB as he was with the RV-Saṃhitā. His summary of the story of Śunaḥśepa deserves the scholar's attention only as regards his manner of handling the original version, especially of making the summary sound truly Vedic, through the use of particles (the notorious *vai*, and *ha*), the perfect, the gotra names and patronymics and, last but not least, through the word order.

The two passages of the VasDhS can and, I believe, should also be looked at from a different perspective. We do not really know whether these two types of sons, the one "bought" and that "come by himself", were an element of legal reality, in the period the compilation of the VasDhS which has been assigned to by Kane (1968: 106) or Olivelle (1999: XXVIII and XXXIII); it is hence advisable to take into account both these possibilities, i.e. that the Sūtra refers to an existing legal practice, or else assumes the existence of this practice merely because the story of Śunaḥśepa forms part of the tradition of the RV²³—and is also not unknown to the Yajurveda—²⁴, i.e. that the Sūtra created corresponding categories of sons. In both these cases what naturally draws the attention of scholars of the history of Dharmaśāstra in India is the fact of the patent relation between certain legal rules and "the Veda", i.e., the *śruti*. The claim of the *vedamūlatva* of the *dharma*, of the Dharmaśāstra,²⁵ at least in the radical form it was given by the Mīmāṃsā in general, and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in particular, was repeatedly rejected, and unmasked as a mere fabrication, e.g. by Heesterman (1978: 81), a Brahmanical invention—which may have been provoked by the struggle and competition with Buddhism, among other things (viz. philosophical or "theological" reasons). This rejection is, no doubt, basically true, but Indologists should not only recognize the danger involved, viz. of being led astray by a particular element of an Indian ideology, or a myth about the roots of the *dharma*, but they should also adequately react to this danger, and thus not forget to carefully study each and every case of a possible relation between passages in Dharmaśāstra texts and "the Veda". And there are certainly not a few such individual cases—many of which were discovered and examined already by scholars of the

²³ Cf. first of all Horsch 1966: 285 f., but also Narahari 1941.

²⁴ Cf. Macdonnell and Keith 1912: II 385f.

²⁵ Cf. Wezler 1999, but of course, also Oberhammer 1974, Halbfass 1988: 325 ff., 359 and 366, and Halbfass 1991: 58, 62f., 148, and 155.

end of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. Yet, all of them should, in my opinion, be re-examined; particular attention, however, should be paid to the less obvious instances, or instances which were overlooked²⁶ by our academic ancestors. In the last part of my contribution to this felicitation volume I should like to present and discuss at least one such example.

3

My attention was drawn to this specific example by a section in the chapter on "The brotherless Maiden and the childless Wife" in Hanns-Peter Schmidt's highly interesting and stimulating monograph *Some Women's Rites and Rights in the Veda* (Schmidt 1987). It will be best to quote this section almost in full, though it is rather lengthy (1987: 35 f.):

«At this point», viz. at the end of his explanation of RV 3.31.1, «Yāska introduces opinions according to which the daughter had inheritance rights equal to those of the son, and then opposing views. First he quotes the following śloka:

*aviśeṣeṇa putrāṇāṃ dāyo bhavati dharmataḥ,
mithunānāṃ visargādaḥ manuḥ svāyambhuvo
'bravīt.*

"At the beginning of creation self-existent Manu said:²⁷ 'According to law the right to inheritance belongs to both children (son and daughter) without distinction'."

²⁶ For one such case see Wezler 2001.

²⁷ Is there a difference in authoritativeness aimed at by the formulas *manuḥ svāyambhuvo 'bravīt*, on the one hand (for which see also Mahābhārata (Poona), Pratikā-Index Vol. IV, 2905), and (*ity*) *abravīn manuḥ / (tan) manur abravīt* (etc.) (which is found in the Manusmṛti itself, in spurious verses ascribed to this law-giver, and in the *Mahābhārata*, too), on the other? Or has the choice to do with the legal subject at issue in the corresponding verse? Or is the choice of no importance at all as the formula *manuḥ svāyambhuvo 'bravīt* is also met with the Manusmṛti itself, viz. 6.54, 8.124 and 9.158 (cf. 10.78: *manur āha prajāpatiḥ*)?

The śloka does not occur in the Manusmṛti extant which mentions the egalitarian view (9.130; 133; 139), but applies it only to the *putrikā* who does actually not inherit from the father in her own right, but only as a trustee for her son.

Although Yāska's paraphrases of RV 3.3 1. 1a can only refer to the *putrikā*, he introduces the reference to the brotherless maiden as a third view (*abhrāṭṛmativāda ity aparam*). He then quotes AV 1.17.1b which he interprets as follows: *abhrāṭṛkā iva yoṣās tiṣṭhanti saṃtānakarmaṇe piṇḍadānāya hatavartmāna ity abhrāṭṛkāyā anirvāha aupamikaḥ* "They stay (at home) like brotherless women whose way (to a husband's house) is obstructed for the sake of the continuation of (their father's) lineage (and) the offering of the sacrificial cakes (to the fathers). The point of comparison consists in the not being taken out (of the father's house) of a brotherless maiden." For further explanation Yāska draws on RV 1. 124.7, giving a lengthy commentary on the whole stanza of which only the first *pāda* is of relevance for the issue at hand: *abhrāṭṛkeva puṃsaḥ piṭṛnety abhimukhī saṃtānakarmaṇe piṇḍadānāya na patim* "Like a brotherless maiden she goes towards men, viz. ancestors, for the sake of continuation of (the fathers') lineage (and) the offering of the sacrificial cakes (to the fathers), not to the husband." This is hardly the correct interpretation of the Ṛgvedic *pāda* (see above section I),²⁸ but in essence it also underlies Vasiṣṭha 17.16 which is based on the same Vedic passage: *vijñāyata*²⁹ *abhrāṭṛkā puṃsaḥ piṭṛn abhyeti praticīnam gacchati putratvam* "It is recognized (in the Veda): 'A brotherless maiden returns to men, viz. fathers; she becomes (their) son'." Vasiṣṭha adds a verse to be spoken by the father when he appoints his daughter:

*abhrāṭṛkāṃ pradāsyāmi tubhyaṃ kanyāṃ alaṃkṛtām,
asyāṃ yo jāyate putraḥ sa me putro bhavet,*

"I shall give you a brotherless maiden adorned (with jewelry);
the son borne by her shall be my son."
Yāska further quotes a verse not attested elsewhere:

²⁸ This is a reference to Schmidt 1987: 30f.

²⁹ On (*iti*) *vijñāyate* see Seghal 1942-43 and Gonda 1977: 640. —It should be noted that Nandapaṇḍita, on ViṣṇuS 15.3, takes *vijñāyate* to be part of the preceding *sūtra* (*trītyaḥ putrikā*).

nābhrātrīm upayaccheta tokam hy asya tad bhavati

“One should not take a brotherless maiden, for the offspring belongs to him (her father),”

and comments: *abhrātrkāyā upayamanapraṭiṣedhaḥ
pratyakṣaḥ pituś ca putrabhāvaḥ*

“(from this) the prohibition to take a brotherless maiden is obvious, and also (the maiden’s) becoming (her) father’s son.”»

What I find particularly interesting in this section of H.-P. Schmidt’s aforementioned monograph is the relation between RV 1.124.7, Yāska’s interpretation of this *rc* and VasDhS 17.16. The former reads as follows:

*abhrāteva puṃsā eti praṭicī
gartārūg iva sanāye dhānānām /
jayēva pātya uśatī suvāsā³⁰
uśā hasréva ni riṅṅite āpaḥ //;*

and Yāska’s paraphrase of the first *pāda*, to repeat it, is (Nir. 3.5):

*abhrātrkeva puṃsaḥ pitṛṇ ety abhimukhī saṃtāna-
karmaṇe piṅḍadānāya na patim ...*

One cannot but emphatically agree with H.-P. Schmidt when he states that “this is hardly the correct interpretation of the R̥gvedic *pāda*”; for quite clearly, *puṃsā(h)* is to be construed with *praṭicī*, the correct, i.e. historically original, meaning being: “(S)he approaches men like a brotherless maiden”,³¹ i.e., she seduces men. But what I, on my part, would like to add is: we cannot stop here, but have to move on and wonder why Yāska took this *pāda* to refer to the *putrikā*, “the brotherless maiden”, who is to continue the lineage and to take care of the deceased ancestors by performing the offering of the sacrificial cakes, i.e., balls of rice, to them.

An answer which most readily suggests itself is that, at the time of Yāska, there was a corresponding legal practice, or cus-

³⁰ Cf. RV 10.71.4 d.

³¹ Cf. Schmidt 1987: 31; cf. also Schlerath 2000: 245.

tom. It is not possible at present to say anything about the question directly connected with this conclusion, viz. how old this custom in fact was. When confronting this type of problem Indologists are faced with the fact that there is no comprehensive, modern³² description of law/legal customs in early Vedic times, not to mention its/their Aryan or Indo-European prehistory,³³ and that the material at their disposal will most probably also not allow them to reconstruct more than a few tessera of the ancient mosaic(s), i.e. to gain more than a very fragmentary knowledge of the earliest Indian system of law. But it is at least possible to infer from Yāska's interpretation that he knew this particular custom; for, it would seem rather farfetched to suspect him of pure fabrication, and there is no reason to assume that he simply inferred it from RV 1.124.7a. The conclusion drawn by me can hence be styled as very probable indeed.

The question to be answered next is, of course, whether Yāska deliberately misinterpreted RV 1.124.7a so as to have an authoritative basis, and thus an unquestionable justification for this particular custom, or whether he unconsciously made a mistake, was led astray, whatever the exact mental process may have been. No means is available for making a decision between these two alternatives. Yet there is a third one, viz. that he fell prey to the wish to find, in the most sacred part of the Veda, a passage that would prove the "sacredness" itself of this custom, i.e. that instead of drawing on an—existent—authority, he created an authority. After all, the Veda was in India used, as the Bible in European literature, not only for carving out new norms, but also for propagating existing ones.³⁴ The choice among these alternatives being to a large extent arbitrary, a matter of taste, so to say; the only relatively solid thing we can take hold of, or rather historical hypothesis we can infer from this passage of the Nirukta, is the result to which Yāska's interpretation quite clearly led, the effect it had, no matter whether it was envisaged or even intended by him, viz. that it was henceforth taken for granted that this custom goes back to and is in fact explicitly sanctioned by the RV.

³² Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra* has to be used with particular critical reservation whenever he deals with Vedic evidence.

³³ It is not, I think, unfair to style Leist 1889 and 1892 as outdated, although I, too, highly welcome the reprint of the former.

³⁴ Cf. von Matt 1995: 35.

That Yāska's interpretation has had a lasting effect is, I believe, shown and confirmed by VasDhS 17.16, as quoted by H.-P. Schmidt, *vijñāyata*³⁵ *abhrātrkā pūṃsaḥ pitṛn abhyeti pratīcīnaṃ*³⁶ *gacchati putratvam*. For it is indeed, as stated by H.-P. Schmidt, "based on the same Vedic passage", i.e. if this remark is taken to mean that RV 1. 124.7a ultimately forms the starting point of the *sūtra*, but that the interpretation of the *rc* offered by Yāska represents the essential foundation in the sense of constituting the decisive interpretive idea, and the formulation of the legal principle at issue: It is hardly probable that the idea of connecting this legal custom with this verse of the RV was conceived of twice in India, i.e. once independently by Yāska and later by Vasiṣṭha,³⁷ especially as the latter can be shown to have been familiar with the Nirukta.³⁸

VasDhS 17.16 has to be examined within its—narrower—context which is formed by the preceding *sūtra* (*trītyaḥ putrikā*, "the third [type of sons] is the *putrikā*") and the śloka quoted immediately afterwards (*abhrātrkāṃ pradāsyāmi*, etc.): It contains a twofold justification for a particular daughter's being recognized as son in that it explains her—legal—change of sex, *sit venia verbo*, and at the same time stresses the significance of the *putrikā*'s male issue, called *dauhitra*, as has been shown by Scharfe (1975).³⁹

³⁵ Cf. n. 29 above.

³⁶ Quite clearly *pratīcīnaṃ* echoes *pratīcī*, of RV 1.124.7a, but what is its function? The same as that of *pratīcī*, according to Yāska (*abhimukhī*), and Skandsvāmin-Maheśvara (*pratyaggāminī*), viz. to express that the maiden is "turned towards/moving towards" her father? *abhy-* of *abhyeti* etc. would then be redundant. Or is *pratīcīnaṃ* rather also to be construed with *gacchati*, "she goes backwards [towards her fathers, and not away as a daughter usually does when / in that she is married off and becomes the member of another family: and] becomes a son"? – It is a pity that the critical edition of the Vasiṣṭhasmṛti which is being prepared right now by Harry Falk (cf. Falk 1998) is not yet ready.

³⁷ In this connection it should be noted that the last two words of VasDhS 17.16 (*gacchati putratvam*) look very much like a clarification or explanation of the expression *saṃtānakarmaṇe* used by Yāska.

³⁸ Cf. Kane 1968: 100.

³⁹ I do not know whether Sengupta 1938—which is not available to me and which is, by the way, not mentioned by Scharfe, (1975)—has made any substantial contribution to the topic except (perhaps) for emphasizing the non-recognition of the institution of the *putrikā-putra* (in

Vasiṣṭha thus clearly goes beyond what is said by Yāska himself, at least in terms of explicitness: That the *putrikā* is regarded as a son is not expressly stated by Yāska, but can in fact be taken as something implied, or presupposed, by him. After all, such growth-in-precision of the formulation of a legal principle, i.e. ultimately the striving for less opaque and ambiguous statements of law, is a common mark of the development of Dharmasāstra.

In summing up, it may be stated that we have grounds for regarding VasDhS 17.16 as a further instance of a statement of this Dharmasūtra ultimately going back to “the Veda”. In the case of VasDhS 17.16, in contradistinction to 17.13 and 35 discussed previously (§ 2), the relation is, however, different: The sūtra does not only contain a clear verbal allusion to RV 1. 124.7a, but is also “based” on a particular interpretation of it, as given by Yāska and made more explicit by Vasiṣṭha. Yet it remains to be seen whether there are more such instances in the VasDhS. No doubt, however, it is possible as regards Dharmasāstra literature as such; Jamison (1991, 1997 and 1998; cf. also Wezler 1994) is not only on the same trail—and, this one should emphasize, she applies, and very consciously at that, a highly promising method, viz. of collecting material from, i.e. using the evidence of non-Dharmasūtra texts for the reconstruction of elements of (the) early Indian law (system)—, but the arguments brought forward by her quite independently are no less convincing. It can, hence, safely be contended that there is a “vedamū-

later times). Trautmann (1973) “has denied that *dauhitra* denoted specifically the son of an ‘appointed daughter’”; but as Scharfe (1989: 64 b. 293) rightly states, “his main argument is Bühler’s erroneous translation of BDhS II [2], 3, 15: H.-P. Schmidt (1987: 39-42).” Note that the correct translation is adopted also by Olivelle, (1999: 172).—Of particular interest in the context of the discussion about the *putrikā* and *putrikāputra* is Talbot (1995) to which my attention was kindly drawn by a member of the audience at the University of Hamilton, Canada in 1999; for, Rudrama-Devī, “the female king” (who reigned from 1262 to 1289), was to all appearances a *putrikā*, and her successor, the son of her daughter Mummamma, a *putrikāputra*. But strangely enough Talbot herself does not even touch upon this problem—even though she is not entirely unaware of Dharmasāstra literature, and theory; as I am myself not in a position to lay hands on the primary sources (inscriptions, *prāśastis*, etc.) referred to by her, I cannot check whether a significant term clarifying the matter can be found in them, and have to leave the question unresolved for the time being.

latva’ of the Dharmaśāstra which is markedly different from the corresponding Indian conception or, and this is even more important, one which at least comprises various types of relations. To study these types of relations is not just a way of passing time indulged by an old-fashioned German professor, but is quite clearly the most significant and promising, if not even the only, method to be applied by those of us who want to know more about a particularly dark period in the history of Indian law.

Addendum⁴⁰

The term *putrikā* is, as far as I can see, met with also in Manu 9.127 and 134, Viṣṇu 15.5f. and GauthDhS 28 (= 2.10).16 and 17; for *putrikāputra* reference should be made to Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra 3.7.5, and Yājñ. 2.128 (*putrikā-suta*). The distinction between two types of *putrikā-sutas*, as drawn by the Vyavahāramayūka (cf. Kane 1973: 647 and n. 1230), and the Mitākṣarā on Yājñ. 2.128, viz. the daughter appointed as son (karmādhāraya compound), on the one hand, and the son of one’s daughter “who becomes the son of his maternal grandfather”, on the other, is only reported by Kane; one, however, wonders how old it is and which of the two “devices” to resolve the most unpleasant situation of a father who happens to have no son is the older one. Inscriptional evidence may be of some help in finding an answer to this question.

Regarding the “reaction” to this institution, Kane (1973: 659) apodictically states that “(t)he *putrikāputra* is no longer recognized anywhere in India except among the Nambudri Brāhmaṇas of Malabar”. Even if this statement should call for some qualification, the development as such is not surprising at all: the first type of “son-ship” quite evidently provoked (early ?) criticism,⁴¹ and as for the second, men are rather strongly warned (cf. e.g.

⁴⁰ In the course of a lecture tour in the USA and Canada, in November/December 1999 I read papers directly connected with the present essay, viz. at the Universities of Austin, Seattle, Vancouver, Hamilton, and at Harvard, and learned, of course, quite a bit through suggestions, remarks and questions made by members of the audiences. Some of them led to corrections and additions in the body of this essay itself; as for the remaining ones I want to deal with them in this “Addendum”.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Scharfe (1975), Schmidt (1987:30 ff.) as well as Kane, (1973:657 f.).

GautDhS 28 (= 2.10).20, or Manu 3.11; Kane (1973. 658)) not to be so “foolish as to marry a brotherless maiden”, and a girl “whose father is not known [to live ?]”, and, to wit “because of the fear that the law of the appointed daughter may be in force” (*putrikā-dharmaśāṅkayā*: 14.3.11)! Most probably none of the two types of obtaining a grandson was ever a real success, and taken recourse to only in rare cases, except perhaps for *kṣatriyas*, nobility, kings and other rulers, who were concerned with continuing their dynasty and *vamśa*. The devaluation of the institution of the *putrikāputra* alias *dauhitra*, the “[Erb-] tochtersohn”, is reflected also in the fact⁴² that in Mithilā a *dauhitra* was and still is assumed to be able to perform the *śrāddha* only for three, and not as in fact necessary for eleven, days, i.e., that he was and is not regarded as a full-fledged substitute for one’s own son, quite in contradistinction to an adopted son. Even though I do not know when, approximately, this devaluation, of the *dauhitra*, came into existence, it is certainly the right moment to add here that adoption⁴³ must have been right from the beginning a strong competitor which—not un-expectedly—ultimately prevailed, especially since that time when a direct relative’s son was preferred over other children and in principle eligible for adoption. That is to say, most probably there were several factors which led to the erosion of the institution of the *putrikā* and the *putrikāputra*, viz. religious as well as economic and social. The extraordinary importance attached to descent in India is responsible for the origination of the institution at issue here, but equally also for its (almost total) final disappearance.

⁴² I take it to be a fact even though I was not able to check this information which I was kindly given by an Indian member of the audience in Hamilton, if I remember well.

⁴³ This is clearly attested to already in the RV (cf. *anyājāta-* in 7.4.7c and *anyōdarya-* in 7.4.8 b).

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CHAPTER 7

Yājñavalkya as ritualist and philosopher, and his personal language

Michael Witzel

§ 1 Introduction

All¹ early information on Yājñavalkya² stems almost exclusively³ from ŚB and from the slightly later BĀU, both of which have been transmitted in two recensions, the Kāṇva and the Mādhyandina. These four versions, thus, are a welcome means of checking the tradition.⁴ Major redactional

¹ I thank my discussants at Kyoto (Nov. 30, 2000), notably T. Gotō and W. Knobl, for their corrections and suggestions. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, mine.—The translations from ŚB are those of Eggeling, unless specified.

² One of the most interesting figures of Archaic India and Iran, next to Vasiṣṭha, the Buddha, and Zarathustra; see section 2.

³ Barring some JB passages: JB 1.19-20 ~ ŚB 11.3.1.1-4/5-8 (and the beginning of JB 1.19 ~ ŚBK 3.1.4.1-2); JB 1.22-26 ~ ŚB 10.6.1 (cf. ChU 5.11-18); JB 1.51-65 ~ ŚB 12.4.1-4 and JB 1.49 ~ ŚB 12.4.1.10; JB 2.76-77 ~ ŚB 11.6.3 (cf. BĀU 3.9); JB 2.228-299 ~ ŚB 2.5.1-5; note further Vādh Br. Caland 3: 40 (mentioning Vājasaneyā) ~ JB 1.19; they all have close parallels to ŚB, while Sāṅkhāyana Ār. 9.7 quotes VS 5.43, and ŚĀ 13.1 ~ BĀU 4.4-5. See the discussion of these parallels in Tsuji 1981: 350-352. It is notable that most of these passages come from the late additions to the JB dealing with the Agnihotra, JB 1-65; the same is true for the VādhB story.

⁴ Unfortunately, none of the texts is available in a really critical edition. D. Maue has made a start with the critical edition of the N. and S. versions of BĀUK 1, followed by C. Perez-Coffie (Harvard PhD 1994); BĀUM is available only in Weber's ŚB semi-critical edition and in Boethlink's conjecture-filled ed.; ŚBK (ed. Caland) extends only up

tampering⁵ should show up, given the competition between the various Vedic schools, in one of these recensions, and in some of the ŚB stories taken over into JB, ŚĀ and VādhB.

In view of the generally good transmission of ŚB, the text contains authentic or *almost* authentic materials from the period in question, though such information may, of course, be shaped and motivated by various contemporaneous interests. The Vedic statements be better taken at face value first, in spite of the twists and turns of contemporary fashions of interpretation of ancient texts.⁶

As will be seen below, the very texts supposedly composed or spoken by Yājñavalkya exhibit a particular style, which justifies the statement that we are dealing with authentic materials.

§ 2 Materials about Yājñavalkya

Yājñavalkya has been discussed several times and scholars have been fascinated by him, and several have contributed investigations about him, more recently Tsuji (1943/1981), Renou (1948), Horsch (1969), Fišer (1984), Witzel (1987, b, c), and Brereton (1997).

Why this fascination? I believe because he is one of the few *lively* people in the oldest strata of Indian literature. There are but a few such fascinating characters about whom we know more

to ŚBK 7 ~ ŚBM 5, has some notes for the rest of the text, but does not include any for the Upaniṣad.

⁵ Wilhelm Rau (1955) once briefly mentioned that he believed it was possible to show an archetype for both the BĀU versions. Cf. now Joel Brereton (1997) and especially C. Minkowski (1996) on the relationship JB ~ ŚB ~ BĀU, which points to an archetype for all *three* versions of a particular story that involves an old mistake; for more examples, see below.—In general, note that ŚBM and ŚBM usually differ only in small syntactic details (and ideal, but largely unexplored field of study!). In the Yājñavalkya quotes, too, there is little difference between the two versions.

⁶ The pendulum shifts every few decades between blind credulity in statements made in ancient texts to absolute denial of the existence of such figures as Yājñavalkya, the Buddha or Zarathustra,—a trend very much seen these days. Methodologically, it is better to take the information provided by the older texts at face value, and *then* investigate whether they contain internally consistent or contradictory materials, anachronistic information and some clear divergence in language (see below).

than sketchy details: Vasīṣṭha of RV 7, Yājñavalkya of ŚB and BĀU and, of course, the Buddha. Indeed, Yājñavalkya is *always* interesting, innovating, witty, ready with his puns. He is not just a ritualist but also a thinker, and sometimes, a mystic, especially so in the passage studied in some detail below, BĀU 4.3.

As is well known,⁷ the materials dealing with Yājñavalkya can be divided into three parts:⁸

- the "early" Yājñavalkya of ŚB 1-5—a ritualist, often innovative and witty;
- the "later" Yājñavalkya of ŚB 11-13—still a ritualist, but often a discussant in brahmanical disputes as well, all in sources that are slightly later than ŚB 1-5;
- and, finally, the Upaniṣadic thinker and, occasionally the mystic, of BĀU.

One might think, following the later Indian penchant for sectioning one's life into several *āśramas*,⁹ that the Upaniṣad

⁷ See Tsuji 1981: 347 for details.

⁸ Some have doubted that we deal with the same Yājñavalkya here (Horsch, Ruben), or some suppose that the texts in BĀU represent altogether later developments; for this see below. I agree with Tsuji in regarding Yājñavalkya as *one* person, see Tsuji 1981: 347 sqq., and 1969: 32. But I do see serious editorial changes (and therefore additions to his image) in BĀU. The history of the redaction of ŚB, however, is complex and remains in the balance (see Caland 1990, introduction p. XIV).—Some have thought that the Yājñavalkya of BĀU is a different person from the Yājñavalkya of ŚB, especially when taking into account the seemingly different character of the *ritualist* versus the *philosopher* perceived in both texts. However, as will be seen below, the texts indicate that we have just one person; the same position is held by Tsuji, 1981: 347 sq. He stresses that especially in ŚB 11-13 there is no difference in character between the ritualist (ŚB 11.4.217; 12.4.1.10; 13.5.3.6) and the philosopher (ŚB 11.3.1.2-4; 11.6.2-3); also, he correctly remarks, if we were to admit more than one Yājñavalkya, we would also have to 'split' his contemporaries Uddālaka Āruṇi, Bārku Vārṣna Āgniveśya and Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi Vaiyāghrapadya and all other persons met with in the early and later parts of ŚBM and in BĀU. His (correct) conclusion is to give up the traditional 'split' between the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad "periods."

⁹ In the early period, just two stages: studentship, *grhastha*, and maybe old age (staying at the *antigrha* RV 10.95.4); later on, three stages: starting with Yājñavalkya who is the first to leave home attested in a text (in BĀU) as a kind of proto-*saṃnyāsin*; the *vānaprastha* is a still later development (see Sprockhoff 1979, 1981, 1984).

notices are of a later period in his life,—but Yājñavalkya is not seen in the texts as growing old following this pattern; at ŚB 3.8.2.24, for example, he is an old, gray-haired ritualist. And, the BĀU chapters (1-2, 4-6) do not *always* show him as a philosopher.¹⁰ In the discussion with his wife, Maitreyī, he speaks about the last questions to be asked, but he still is portrayed as a householder, be it that he—as the first person recorded in the texts—is preparing to go into homelessness. All these passages describe his various activities occurring simultaneously during the several stages of his life. We therefore have to treat all available passages as describing the *whole* person, and cannot compartmentalize Yājñavalkya into a separate ritualist or philosopher, or divide him up into several real life persons, and certainly not so according to a split into ŚB and BĀU.¹¹ It should also be noted that the “different” types of Yājñavalkyas appearing in the early part of ŚB (1-5) and the later one (ŚB 11-13) are due to the content of the texts, not to a difference in personality. The later parts clearly deal with additional material and discuss it in a more speculative way, often in form of dialogues (*brahmodya*), than the ritualistic sections in ŚB 1-5.¹²

The period he lived in is, of course, uncertain, but a few hints are provided by the names of his contemporaries, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Ajātaśatru Kāśya and Janaka Vaideha.¹³

¹⁰ In BĀU 6.3-4, instead, we also find (him?) the typical Veda teacher, giving final advice to his departing students, some of them of a peculiar nature, such as secret conception rites, or how to get a yellow-eyed son; note P. Thieme’s lecture about this section of BĀU in Kyoto 1989, on receiving the Kyoto Prize (unpublished).

¹¹ See Tsuji; cf. Ruben 1947,—the non-existence of a split would allow that even more passages in the early ŚB that state the opinion of Yājñavalkya could be regarded as interpolations, for which see n. 78, cf. n.10. On the late redaction of BĀU, and three levels in BĀU, see now Olivelle 1996: 3.

¹² The redaction of ŚB will have to be taken into account here. While most references to Yājñavalkya in ŚB 1-5 cannot be late additions, some may indeed have been inserted. Note for example the occasional differences with regard to ŚBK. Clearly, a thorough study of the redaction of this text is a high priority!

¹³ We can discern (however, see now Kasamatsu, MA thesis, Sendai) the following family tree:

*Upaveśi (BĀUK/M 6.5.3) → A/Āruṇa Aupaveśi (KS 26.10, TS 6.1.9.2; 6.4.5.1; TB 2.1.5.11, ŚB 2.2.2.20; note that MS 1.4.10 has Āruṇa Aupaveśi!) → Uddālaka Āruṇi Gautama (KS 13.12 pl.

Āruṇayaḥ!; JB, JUB, AĀ) → Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (ŚB, BĀU, JB, KauṣU 26.4, ChU, KauṣU; ĀpDhS 1.2.5.40-6 regards him as more recent or younger (*avara*). Clearly, the Aruṇa/Āruṇa/Āruṇi overlap with the later YV Saṃhitā (prose) period.

Janaka is a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāśi (BĀU 2.1.1, cf. KauṣU 4.1, for the Kāśi see also ŚB 13.5.4.19 sqq.); he already is a legendary figure (Mahājanaka) in the Pāli texts; similarly at also BĀU 2.1.1 (*Janako, Janakah*), and in the Kāṭhaka section, TB 3.10.9.9. It would be wrong to identify him with the famous Ajātasattu of the Pāli texts, a contemporary of the Buddha, as the Upaniṣadic Ajātaśatru simply is king of Kāśi, not of Magadha; in addition, Kāśi (of the Pāli caṇon) had been given by Pasenadi of Kosala to his daughter who had married Ajātasattu's father, Bimbisāra, and it was taken away when Ajātasattu murdered his father.

In addition, there is another Ajātaśatru, a Kuru King, (VādhB, see Witzel 1989/97). Note also that Āruṇi bewitched a descendent of Ajātaśatru, Bhadrasena Ājātaśatrava, ŚB 5.5.5.14.

It seems unlikely that the Kāśi king Ajātaśatru could be identical with the Maghada king Ajātaśatru as Maghada is not (yet) mentioned as an important country in the Vedic texts (and an *Ajātaśatru of Maghada is simply unknown in the Veda).

However, there also is a Brahmadata Prāsenajita of Kosala, JB § 115, obviously the Kosala king Pasenadi found in Pāli; apparently both names were common in late Vedic as well as at the time of the Buddha. Pasenadi's father is called Mahākosala, and this has a parallel in the Pāli texts with the Videha king Mahājanaka. All of this points to an earlier tradition, (well) before that of Ajātaśatru and the Buddha, c. 400 B.C.E. While Janaka is a contemporary of the pre-Buddha kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Kāśi, he is already regarded, at TB 3.10.9.9 in one of the older Kāṭhaka sections in the Taitt. school, as a king of the past. Cf. the discussion in Tsuji 1981: 353-354.

Finally, it should be noted that the late/post-Vedic theory (in TĀ and Pāṇini) known of YV teacher Vaiśampāyana—but not yet mentioned in the Vamśas—does not contain any clue for (near-) contemporaneity of Vaiśampāyana, his students Yājñavalkya and Pāṇini (cf. Tsuji 1981: 359). Note also that while Pāṇini knows of Vaiśampāyana and Tittiri, but does not even teach typical features of the prose sections of TS, not to speak of VS and ŚB. Both were beyond his interest and purview (Witzel 1989, Thieme 1935).

Tsuji adds some speculative notes based on the name Brahmadata Prāsenajita, king of Kosala, who is mentioned in BĀU 1.3.24, JUB 1.38.1, 1.59.1-3, (cf. ChU 1.8) who must have been a contemporary of Uddālaka, Śvetaketu and Yājñavalkya. (ChU 5.3.1, BĀU 6.2.1, JB 1.337-338, JB 1.316, JUB 1.38.4). On the other hand, his presumed father, Prasenjit (Pāli: Pasenadi) was a contemporary of the Buddha.

§ 3 ŚB texts by and about Yājñavalkya

What then does the ŚB tell us about Yājñavalkya? He occurs only in ŚB 1-5 and 11-13 as well as in the BĀU part of ŚB (14.4-9). But he is completely absent from the Śāṅḍilya section of ŚB (6-10), which, as A. Weber has shown long ago, is of more western origin than Yājñavalkya sections.¹⁴

Yājñavalkya thus appears to be a figure of the East, of Videha. However, he is clearly reckoned among the Kuru-Pāñcāla Brahmins according to BĀU 3.1.1, in other words, he is an immigrant to the East that was quickly Sanskritizing in the last centuries before the Buddha.¹⁵ Just as his colleagues in BĀU 3, Aśvala (Āśvalāyana), Kahoḷa Kauṣītakeya,¹⁶ Uddālaka Āruṇi, he is one of the persons who were driving this process; he may indeed be responsible for redacting the VS, as reflected in the final sentences of ŚB.¹⁷

When we study Yājñavalkya of ŚB in context, he appears, variously, as a ritualist, a discussant, a philosopher.

Tsuji's observation, hesitatingly put forward and only for argument's sake, would countermand all evidence listed above and would make many Br. and Up. texts contemporaneous, or even slightly later, than the Buddha. One way out of the dilemma may be to assume that Brahma-datta is not the son of Prasenjit/Pasenadi, but of one of his ancestors, also called Prasenajit (cf. Āruṇa- Āruṇi- Āruṇeya). Indeed, there is a king Brahmadata of Kāsi (Pāli Vinaya i.342 sqq., DhA 1.56 sq.) who conquered Kosala, murdered his king Dīghiti but later on gave the kingdom back to Dīghiti's son Dīghāvu.

Obviously, the dynastic history of Kosala and Kāsi is more complicated than the Vedic texts allow us to see, and we cannot put too much faith into the coincidence of the name Prasenajit of Kosala and of Brahmadata Prāsenajit. (Note that there are other Brahmaddatas, kings of Assaka and of Hatthipura at Kapilanagara).

¹⁴ Cf., now Witzel 1989 on dialects.

¹⁵ See Witzel 1997. On Uddālaka see now Kasamatsu (MA thesis, Sendai University).

¹⁶ ŚĀ 15 (Vaṃśa) makes him a student of Uddālaka Āruṇi; cf. Tsuji 1981: 355).

¹⁷ ŚB 14.9.4 *ādityānīmāni śuklāni yajūṃṣi vājasaneyena yājñavalkyenākhyāyante*; cf. Witzel 1987c (see below).

§ 4 Yājñavalkya, the ritualist

Most prominently, Yājñavalkya appears as the typical YV ritualist who discusses (in about a dozen cases) the minute details of the complicated Śrauta ritual. His opinions are sometimes clever, sometimes innovative, but they are not always followed even by his own school, the Vājasaneyins. Many of them are too detailed and outwardly obscure to be of particular interest here. They are, nevertheless, given here in detail as to provide an impression of Yājñavalkya, the ritualist.

§ 4.1 Discussion of ritual details

At ŚB 1.1.1.9 he discusses such a technical point, the eating on the Upavasatha (fasting) day; when the gods are guests in one's house, one cannot eat before them, and therefore should fast; Yājñavalkya, however, proposes to eat that part of the offerings (*havis*) which are not regarded as regular food. The point is to eat and, at the same time, not to, that is to do neither/nor.¹⁸

ŚB 1.9.2.12 refers to a traditional custom and ritual: one conceals the offerings from the place where the wives of the gods are fed by offerings: "and accordingly, Yājñavalkya says,¹⁹ 'whenever human women here wish to eat (they do so) apart from men.'" (discussion below 4.4).

At 2.3.1.21, there is a technical discussion on a point of the Agnihotra ritual, again referring to eating the remnants of the offering. Here the excuse to eat them is motivated by the sub-

¹⁸ "Yājñavalkya, on the other hand, said: 'If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the Manes; and if he does it, he eats before the gods have eaten: let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten.'"

tad u hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ | yadi nāśnāti, pitṛdevatyō bhavati; yady u aśnāti devān atyaśnātīti. sa yad evāśitam anaśitam tad aśnīyād iti. - - - A similar point is made at KaṭhĀ 2.143 and KS 29.2 *prāśyā3 na prāśyā3 iti mīmāṃsante: yat prāśnīyāt, prakārukas syād. yan na prāśnīyād, ahavis syād. avajighred. ubhayam eva karoti*, where the solution is just to smell: thereby one eats and does not eat at the same time; cf. C. Lopez in *EJVS* 3, October 1997. Other positions are given in the ŚB passage as well.

¹⁹ *tasmād imā mānuṣya striyas tira ivaiva pumāṃso jighatsanti, yā iva tu tā iveti ha smāha Yājñavalkya.*

mission that the Agnihotra is to be looked upon as a domestic sacrifice (*pākayajña*) and when one, “after the offering into the fire, sips water and licks up (the milk), then this is indeed (characteristic) of the domestic offering.”²⁰

At 3.1.1.4, there is a discussion about the nature of the offering ground. Yājñavalkya tells a story about his and Sātyayajña’s going to offer a certain Vārṣṇya: Sātyayajña thinks that the whole earth is divine and hence an offering ground. Yājñavalkya, however, argues that it is the *offering priests* who constitute the place (or medium) of worship (for a discussion, see below, 4.6).²¹

At 4.2.1.7, Yājñavalkya speculates, but his actual praxis differs: The two Soma cups, the Śukra and Manthin *grahas*, are supposed to be drawn for the Asura-Rakṣas, Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, as was done previously by the gods who drove them away; however, in ritual the cups are actually offered to the deities. “Yājñavalkya said: ‘Should we not rather draw them for the deities, since that is, as it were, the sign of conquest?’ In this, however, he merely speculated, but he did not practice it.” In other words, in this particular case, he is rather conservative.²²

At 4.6.1.10, there is a discussion about the Aṃśu cup, that is whether it should involve actual pressing or not, as Budila Āśvatarāśvi thinks. Yājñavalkya says: “nay. Let him press (quoting RV 7.26). For no other deity he strikes but once: thus he does

²⁰ *tad u hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ | na vai yajña iva mantavai pākayajña iva vā itīdam hi yad anyasmin yajñe srucyav adyati, sarvaṃ tad agnau juhoty. athaitad agnau hutvotsrpyācāmati nirledhi, tad asya pākayajñasyeveti; tad asya tat paśavyaṃ rūpam. paśavyo hi pākayjñah.*

²¹ *tad u hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ | vārṣṇyāya devayajanaṃ joṣayitum aima. tat sātyayajño 'bravīt: sarvā vā iyam pṛthivī devī devayajanaṃ. yatra vā asyai kva ca yajuṣaiva parigrhya yājayed iti ṛtvijo haiva devayajanaṃ | ye brāhmaṇaḥ śuśruvāṃso 'nūcānā vidvāṃso yājyanti, saivāhvalaitan nediṣṭhamām ivā manyāmaha iti—The Kāṇva version (ŚBK 4.1.1.4) differs slightly: *tad u hovāca yājñavalkyo vārṣṇo 'ayakṣateti. tasmai devayajanaṃ ikṣitum ayameti ...* “Accordingly, Yājñavalkya spake, ‘Vārṣṇa intended to sacrifice (*ayakṣata*). Thus we went (*ayama!*) to look for a place of worship.’ ...”*

²² *api hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ / no svid devatābhya eva grhṇīyāmā3, vijitarūpam iva hīdam iti. tat vai sa tan mīmāmsām eva cakre, net tu cakāra.*

different from what he does for other deities: therefore let him press.²³

At 4.6.8.7, Yājñavalkya explains why one has to take out a fire brand and disperse it to the various *dhiṣṇya* hearths: “they who do so, said Yājñavalkya, slay with those fire-brands of theirs.²⁴ But again, SB does not agree fully with Yājñavalkya but offers a second possibility, that of taking the fire brands and proceeding to the animal sacrifice for Prajāpati.

§ 4.2 Discussion of myth and ritual

In a few cases, Yājñavalkya does not simply argue his case but he uses traditional myth, though—as always in the post-Ṛgvedic texts—shaped by sacrificial practice.

At 2.4.3.2, one such sacrificial myth is told by Yājñavalkya and Kahoḍa Kauṣītaki. It deals with the offering of first fruits (*āgrayaneṣṭi*). While Kahoḍa, the main proponent of KB, thinks that the sap of the plants belongs to Heaven and Earth, is offered to the gods and then eaten by humans, Yājñavalkya ventures into a long mythological tale²⁵, interspersed by (his own?) Brahmana style explanations that stretches from 2.4.3.2-11. His tale and his explanations stress the fact that it was the sacrifice by the gods

²³ *tad u hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ / abhy eva ṣuṣṇyān na soma indrama-
suto mamāda nābrahmāṇo maghavānaṃ sutāsa ity ṛṣiṇābhyānūktaṃ
na vā asnyasyai kasmai cana devatāyai sakṛd abhiṣuṇoti, tad anyathā
tataḥ karoti, yathā cānyābhyo devatābhyas tasmād abhyeva ṣuṣṇyād
iti.*

²⁴ *tair eva teṣāṃ ulmukaiḥ praghnaīṭīti ha smāha Yājñavalkyo ye tathā
kurvantīty.*

²⁵ 2.4.3.2 *tad u hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ / (non-mythological sections in
{}) devās ca vā asurās cobhaye prājapatyāḥ pasprdhire ... tasmīn ājīm
ājanta. 2.4.3.5 tāv indrāgnī udajayatām / tasmād aindrāgnau dvādaśa-
kapālah puroḍāšo bhavatīndrāgnī hy asya bhāgadheyam udajayatām.
tau yatrendrāgnī ujjigītvāṃsau tasthatus. tad viśve devā anvājagmuḥ.
2.4.3.6 {kṣatram vā indrāgnī / viśo devā yatra vai kṣatram ujjayaty.
anvābhaktā vai tatra viṭ tad viśvān devān anvābhajatām. tasmād eṣa
vaiśvadevaś carur bhavati} ... 2.4.3.11 etena vai devāḥ / ya-
jñeneṣṭvobhayīnām oṣadhīnām, yās ca manusyā upajīvanti, yās ca
paśavaḥ kṛtyām iva tvad viṣam iva tvad apajaghrus. tata āśnan ma-
nusyā āliśanta paśavaḥ.*

that made the plants, poisoned by the Asuras, eatable both for humans and cattle, in other words, this is another myth about the establishment of the world and of culture.

At 2.5.1.2, Yājñavalkya, in connection with another sacrificial myth, quotes the Ṛgveda, but ultimately insists on his own opinion in a myth dealing with the repeated creation²⁶ by Prajāpati: birds, reptiles other than snakes, then snakes are “emitted” by him all of which “vanished (*parā bhū*)”. “Yājñavalkya, on his part, declared them to be of two kinds only; but they are of three kinds according to the Ṛk.” (RV 8.90.14, see ŚB 2.5.1.4, JB 2.228-229). ŚB 2.5.1.3, 5 actually adds a fourth creation, the mammals including humans, whose offspring does no longer die because of the mother’s milk provided for them.²⁷ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Yājñavalkya wanted to include, in his two classes, the “perished” beings and humans, or whether he simply “rationalized” and combined the various “perished” beings into two classes, birds and reptiles.²⁸ In both passages quoted here, he shows himself as the typical Brāhmaṇa “theologian” who uses a mixture of prose exposition and ready-made mythology to drive home his point.²⁹

²⁶ A common topic in many mythologies, e.g., the Popol Vuh of the Quiché Mayas. Only the last creation is viable.

²⁷ *prajāpatiḥ ha ... prajā asṛjata. tā asya prajāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ parābhūvus. tānīmāni vayāṃsi. puruṣo vai prajāpater nediṣṭhaṃ. dvīpād vā ayam puruṣas. tasmād dvīpādo vayāṃsi. sa aikṣata prajāpatiḥ / yathā nv eva puraiko 'bhūvam evam u nv evāpy etarhy eka evāsmīti. sa dvitīyāḥ sasṛje. tā asya paraiva babhūvus. tad idaṃ kṣudraṃ sarīṣṛpaṃ, yad anyat sarpebhyas. tṛtīyāḥ sasṛja, ity āhus. ta asya paraiva babhūvus. ta ime sarpā. etā ha nv eva dvayīr. yājñavalkya uvāca trayīr u tu punar rcā ... 2.5.1.4 tasmād etad ṛṣiṇābhyanūktam / prajā ha tisro atyāyamīyur iti ...*

JB 2.228 *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. tā asya sṛṣṭāḥ parābhavan. tad idaṃ sarīṣṛpam abhavad yad anyat sarpebhyah. sa dvitīyā 'asṛjata. tā asya paraivābhavan. te matsyā abhavan. sa tṛtīyā asṛjata. tā asya paraivābhavan. tāni vayāṃsy abhavan. sa aikṣata yā imās trayīḥ prajā 'asṛkṣy ṛte brahmana ṛte 'nmādyād ṛte yajñāt parā tā abhūvan.*

²⁸ This is an interesting classification, see H.-P. Schmidt (1980) on Indo-Iranian animal categories.

²⁹ K. Hoffmann, *Die Komposition eines Brāhmaṇa-Abschnittes*, 1975-6, 208-220, and Witzel 1996.

§ 4.3 Brahmodya discussion in later parts of ŚB

Turning now to the added sections of ŚB, 11-13, we find, at 11.3.1.4 an esoteric explanation of Agnihotra. King Janaka of Videha,³⁰ obviously one of the major figures that Sanskritized the East, once asked Yājñavalkya about the Agnihotra; he explains it variously as water, truth, and fervent belief in the efficacy of a ritual (*śraddhā*) (see below 4.4 and n.36, on ŚB 1.31.26):

“... ‘If there were no water, wherewith wouldst thou offer?’ He spake, ‘Then indeed, there would be nothing whatsoever here, and yet there would be offered the truth in faith.’”³¹

At 11.4.2.17, Yājñavalkya supports a ritualistic detail, the cutting of the four or five cuttings of the offered cake and the use of ghee: (cf. ŚB 1.7.2.7 sqq.) “Concerning this Yājñavalkya said: ‘When after making an underlay (of ghee), and cutting portions (from the sacrificial dish), he bastes them (with ghee), then indeed he satisfies them, and they being satisfied, the gods fill (for him) gold cups.’”³² The support for a ritualistic detail is justified with myth or popular beliefs: the rewards one expects after death, in the realm of the ancestors or even that of the gods.

At 13.5.3.6, he discusses the Vapā offerings and which one of them is to be offered first. Various Brahmins give their opinion, “but the established practice is different from that. Now Yājñavalkya said: “They should proceed simultaneously with the (omenta) of Prajapāti’s (victims) and simultaneously with those consecrated to single gods: it is in this way he gratifies them deity after deity, that he goes straightforwardly to the completion of the sacrifice and does not stumble.”³³

³⁰ See Witzel 1997: 319 sq.

³¹ ... *yad āpo na syuh, kena juhuyā iti?*
*sa [Yajñ] hovāca: na vā iha tarhi kiṃ canāsīd (!).*³¹ *athaitad ahūyataiva satyaṃ śraddhāyām iti.*

³² *tad u hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ / yad vā upastāryāvadāyābhighārayati, tad evaināḥ samtarpayati, tāsām samtrptānām devā hiraṇmayāms camasān pūryayante.*

³³ *atha hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ / sakṛd eva prajāpatyābhiḥ pracareyuh, sakṛd eva devatābhis; tad evainān yathādevataṃ priṇāty, añjasā yajñasya samsthām upaiti, na havalatīti.*

§ 4.4 Yājñavalkya's witty style in discussing innovations

While all of the preceding discussions are in the traditional mold of Yajurvedic deliberations of ritual that lead to its explosive spread in so many ritual schools, Yājñavalkya also can be quite innovative.

At 1.9.3.16, he even changes a Mantra³⁴—something one should not be allowed to do at all outside the required changes of number and gender in applying certain mantras. His Mantra and that mentioned by Aupoditya actually differ in their wording. And, Yājñavalkya makes his point *ex cathedra*, using the expressions *aham + eva* here, and elsewhere: "Light-bestowing art thou, give me light (*varcas*)! so I say, said Yājñavalkya."³⁵

This innovative and authoritarian tendency is especially visible in many of the quotations on ritual (see above).

His actual quotations frequently are witty, sarcastic and even derisive of the ritual, of others, and even of himself. Self-deprecating humor is not exactly a characteristic of Vedic personalities. However, in judging such statements, it must be observed that, like all trans-cultural sarcasm and joking, such sentences are difficult to understand. A lot of explaining is necessary before they can be appreciated.

There are a number of sarcastic remarks about his mainstay, the ritual, and its social underpinnings.

At 1.3.1.26, Yājñavalkya raises an interesting, "rationalistic" point: "why do not the (sacrificers) themselves become Adhvaryu priests? And why do not they themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for? How could these (*yajamānas*?) possibly have faith in this?"³⁶ Whatever the officiating priests in-

³⁴ The corresponding Mantra VS 2.26 is: *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr, varcodā asi, varco me dehi. sūryasyāvṛtam anvārtate.*

³⁵ *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr ity. eṣa vai śreṣṭho raśmīr, yat sūryas. tasmād āha: svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr iti. varcodā asi, varco me dehīti tv evāhaṃ bravīmīti ha smāha yājñavalkyas.*

³⁶ Such sentences, just like the one about the non-existence of Indra RV 2.12.5, and especially RV 8.100.3, or in the YV Saṃhitās such as "who knows what is there after death?" point to real doubts at the time these texts were composed. Note also some of the Buddhist criticism of Brahmins: if the gods like valuable offerings, why don't the humans sacrifice their parents?

voke during the sacrifice that is for the benefits of the sacrificer alone."³⁷

An important, a real life question, "how could these (*yajamānas*?) possibly have faith in this?", that may have been asked by many of his and his colleagues' Kṣatriya or royal employers, is turned around and answered in a traditional manner. It must be noted, however, that this kind of questioning strikes at the heart of Brahmanical ritual, for as the seldom stated Śrauta theory goes,³⁸ without a *yajamāna*'s *śraddhā*, the ritual will not work.

At 5.5.5.14 a question of the frequent, but socially deprecated magic is discussed. The Sāutrmaṇī ritual can be used for magic; for example, Āruṇi bewitched Bhadrasena Ājātaśatruva³⁹ with it. Yājñavalkya simply says:

kṣipraṃ kilāstrṇuteti! ha smāha Yājñavalkyo ...

"Quick, then spread (the *barhiṣ*)! this Yājñavalkya, used to say."

In other words, just perform a bewitching ceremony! The "joke" is in the simple statement: go ahead, just spread it out, no matter what people might think about sorcery. Sorcery, especially black magic, has been looked down upon socially, from RV 7.104 onwards.⁴⁰

The same is seen in more personal remarks. At 3.1.3.10 he offers a rather proud statement about his own health (cf. also the

³⁷ *kathaṃ nu na svayam adhvaryavo bhavanti? kathaṃ svayaṃ nānv āhur yatra bhūyasya ivāśiṣaḥ kriyate? kathaṃ nv eṣāṃ atraiva śraddhā bhavātī?*

yāṃ vai kāṃ ca yajña ṛtvija āśiṣam āśāṣate, yajamānasyaiva sā tasmād adhvaryur evāvekṣeta.

³⁸ See Koehler 1948/1973, and Witzel, on ritual (forthc.); this is just one of the many items that need further discussion, see Witzel in Hara-Fs. (forthc.), and cf. a brief summary of such items in Witzel 1998.—Note that Manu *śraddhādeva* in MS 4.8.1 acts only when invoked so by Indra, that is as one who always follows *śraddhā*, and cf. the famous Naciketas story, TB 3.11.8 and KathUp. 1.2 (*tam ha kumāram santam ... śraddhāviveśa*).

³⁹ Son of Ājātaśatru, king of Kāśī?—Note Bharata dynastic names in *-sena*, such as Ugrasena, see Witzel 1995, and note the Epic and Buddhist tribal name Śūrasena; cf. Morton-Smith 1966.

⁴⁰ Cf. below on Śākalya, and note even the modern attitudes directed against Orissa AV Brahmins (Witzel 1985).

confident description of his old age, ŚB 3.8.2.24, below 4.5). The context is the one of anointing one's eyes, and ŚB tells us that human eyes were sore before, and had secretion. Yājñavalkya, however, simply states: "Sore indeed is the eye of man; mine is sound",⁴¹ so spake Yājñavalkya."⁴²

Several times, he is, in perennial Indian tradition, quite sarcastic about women.⁴³ At 1.3.1.21,⁴⁴ some ritualists opine that by placing the ghee⁴⁵ inside the Vedi, one would deprive the gods from the company of their wives,⁴⁶ and (in the same way) the sacrificer's wife would become dissatisfied with her husband. "Yājñavalkya says: 'Let it be so as it has been prescribed

⁴¹ For *pra-sām* see J. Narten 1980: 161, n. 27.

⁴² *arur vai puruṣasyākṣi, prāśān mameti ha smāha Yājñavalkyo.*

⁴³ This attitude does not quite fit with that shown by Yājñavalkya in the Maitreyī story of BĀU 4.5.1. However, his other wife, Kātyāyanī, is said to know "only what women know (*striprajñaiḥ*)", which exemplifies not exactly the same derisive attitude met with in some of the ŚB texts attributed to Yājñavalkya. What he really strives after, also in his talk with the *brahmavādinī* Maitreyī, is to be *brahmiṣṭha*; it is therefore that he respects her as intellectual partner.

⁴⁴ *tād āhuḥ / nāntarvedy āsādayed. āto vai devānām pātnīḥ sāmyājajanty. āvasabhā āha devānām pātnīḥ karōti. paraḥpūṃso (sic!) hāsyā pātnī bhavati.*

tād u hovāca yājñavalkyo: yathādiṣṭām pātnyā astu! kās tād ādriyeta, yāt paraḥpūṃsā va pātnī syād?

yāthā vā yajñō vēdir, yajña ājyaṃ yajñād yajña nirmimā iti. tasmād antardedy ēvāsādyet.

⁴⁵ This is part of a discussion about the clarified butter from which oblations for the wives of the gods are made. It must be looked at by the wife of the Yajamāna "as not to exclude her" from the ritual (the wife is identified with ghee, ŚB 1.3.121, cf. also the introductory chapter to the new edition of the VādhB, ed. Y. Ikari), and ghee is then put inside the Vedi, between the three sacred fires. That is, not too close to the wife, who sits outside the Vedi, between the Gārhapatya and Dakṣiṇāgni, cf. ŚB 1.3.1.12, 17. Cf. below.

⁴⁶ This clearly refers to the origin in butter of some primordial women, such as Mānāvī (MS 1.6.13, cf. Krick, *Agnūdheya*, Wien 1982: 368sq.). Does this also apply to the wives of the gods? There certainly is a close link between Aditi and the wife in ŚB 1.3.1.—Another reason is the identification of the participants in the sacrifice with the deities, for example, the Brahmins clearly are 'human gods' at ŚB 2.4.3.14.

for the wife!⁴⁷ Who would care whether his wife may consort with other men?" (Eggeling).⁴⁸

This translation, however, is not correct. As Wackernagel (*Ai. Gramm.* II 2, pp. 111, 134) has pointed out, *paraḥpumsá*⁴⁹ means "excluded from the circle of men" (aus dem Kreise der Männer entfernt) and is to be taken as a compound with governing preposition in the first member,⁵⁰ cf. also, in the present context a compound such as AV *tiro-janám* "distant from men (abseits von Menschen)." The goddesses thus would remain outside the group of the gods (*ávasabha*-).⁵¹ There is no referring to having sex with other men in this passage.⁵²

The Kāṇva version,⁵³ in one of its few real divergences, lets Yājñavalkya speak somewhat differently: "Yājñavalkya, how-

⁴⁷ That is, putting the ghee near the wife, making her look at it and then placing it inside the Vedi (*antarvedī*).

⁴⁸ On this point, cf. the "confession ceremony" in Cāturmāsya ritual, Einoo 1986.

⁴⁹ In the sentence *paraḥpumsá* (sic!) *hāsyá pátnī bhavātī*, *paraḥpumsá* has the wrong accent; not, however, in the correct Kāṇva version.

⁵⁰ Such as those with *para-* 'dar über hinaus', e.g. RV *paró -mātra* 'übermässig', AV *paró 'kṣa* 'über den Gesichtskreis hinausliegend' etc. —Note that adverbial compounds seem to have final accent: RV *parogavyūti* 'über das Weideland hinaus', cf. in this passage also *antarvedī*.

⁵¹ Note the Bahuvrīhi accent, taken from *ava-sabhā*-, a compound governed by its first member, though we have the collocation, e.g., RV, AV *áva diváh*.

⁵² Though relatively lax contemporaneous *mores* are seen elsewhere. As is well known, the authors of some YV texts thought it necessary to include a yearly "confession ceremony" for wives in Cāturmāsya ritual (Einoo 1986). This would have been necessary for the lineage-obsessed men of the period (see H.-P. Schmidt 1987; Witzel, Hara-Fs, forthc.) who must exclude, just as effected by the later custom of child marriage (Thieme, *Jungfrauengatte*, 1963 = 1984: 426sq.), the intrusion of outside lineages among their children.

⁵³ Cf. Caland 1989: XIV on the history of the ŚB and its redaction; ŚBK 2.2.4.17: *tād ahur nāntarvedy āsādayed ity. áto vái devānām pátnīḥ sāmýājyanty. ávasabhā ha devānām pátnīḥ karóti. paraḥpumsá hāsyá pátnī bhavati, yāsyāntarvedy āsādāyanti.*

tād u hovāca yājñavalkyo: 'ntarvedy evāsādayed iti hovāca. yāthādiṣṭám pátnyā astv iti. yat sá (+sā) paraḥpumsá vā syād, yád vā kás táy ārtha iti hovāca.

yajño védir yajña ájyam yajñád yajña nirmimā iti tásmād antarvedy evāsādayet.

ever, said: 'Let him place it within the altar!' thus he said. "Let it be so as it has been prescribed for the wife,' thus (thinking) 'let him place it, whether or not she consort with other men.'" (Eggeling, footnote *ad. loc.*, read, however: "whether she is outside the circle of men").

At 1.9.2.12, a traditional custom is discussed, but the derisiveness is more hidden here. In ritual, one conceals the offerings from waiting deities while the wives of the gods eat, and this is explained by the -old- custom,⁵⁴ in the words of Yājñavalkya. Eggeling wrongly has "whenever human women here eat (they do so) apart from men." However, the desiderative requires "when-ever human women wish to eat"⁵⁵

The derisiveness lies in *jighatsanti*, which generally functions as regular suppletive desiderative of *ad* "to eat", thus: "they wish to eat, long to eat, look out to eat." The expression becomes understandable if we observe that women normally have to wait for men to finish eating to get their share, technically the "rest".⁵⁶ The passages describing the custom of eating separately, in the KāṭhB (Agn'yādheya) and in the Aditi story (MS 1.6.12, KS 11.6, TS 6.5.5, ŚB 3.13.3-4; cf. ŚB 1.9.2.12, 10.5.2.9), simply state, matter of fact, that women 'eat' separately.

Yājñavalkya also is sarcastic about himself, his colleagues, and the whole class of Brahmins. At 11.6.3.2, King Janaka is reported to have performed a sacrifice; setting apart 1000 cows as prize, he said:

⁵⁴ That the custom of men and women eating separately (and women only after men) is an old one is clear from the Aditi story in Yajurveda prose (MS, KS, TS, ŚB), see Witzel, Hara Fs. (forthc.), K. Hoffmann 1975-6/1991 (Mārtāṇḍa), C. Lopez 1997. Cf. also KāṭhB (Agn'yādheya Br.) *yā devapatnayas, tā hi [tiro ivaiva nila]yantīr na prāśnanfīti.*

⁵⁵ *tasmād imā mānuṣya striyas tira ivaiva pumāṃso jighatsanti, yā iva tu tā iveti ha smāha Yājñavalkya;* cf. the shortened Kāṇva version: 2.8.3.11 (without mentioning Yājñavalkya!): *tasmād puṃsō 'pīmā mānusyāḥ striyas tirā ivaivā jighatsanti* "Hence women also here swallow their food apart from men." (Egg.)

⁵⁶ Cf. Fišer 1984: 68sq. with criticism of Eggeling's translation. He adds that *ghas* is used more often for the eating by the women and compares ŚB 10.5.2.9, where the husband is admonished not to eat in the presence of his wife (*tasmāj jāyāyā ante nāśniyād*).

“he who is the most learned in sacred writ among you O Brahmins, shall drive away (these cows)”.

(*etā, vo brāhmaṇā yo brahmiṣṭhaḥ, sa udajatām iti*) Yājñavalkya said: This way (drive) them! *sa hovāca Yājñavalkyo: 'rvacīr etā iti.*

“They said: ‘Are you really the most learned⁵⁷ among us, Yājñavalkya?’ He said: ‘reverence to him who is the most learned in sacred writ! We are but hankering after cows!’”

(*so hovāca: namo astu brahmiṣṭhāya! gokāmā eva vāyam sma iti*)

which describes the sentiment of Brahmins well, ever since the *dānastutis* of the RV, and since they appropriated the identification of speech (*vāc*) = cow, and turned *vāc* into a *real* cow in the Atharvadeva: the Brahmins denounce any injury made to a Brahmin’s cow, its killing and also the lack of its presentation to Brahmins: AV 5.18; 5.19; 12.4-5.⁵⁸ (Witzel 1991).

§ 4.5 Yājñavalkya’s style in rejecting some ritualistic details.

At ŚB 3.8.2.24, the basting of the omentum, followed by that of clotted ghee is discussed. A ritualist from the neighboring, rival Caraka school of the Black Yajurveda,⁵⁹ simply called a Caraka-Adhvaryu, happens to be present and challenges Yājñavalkya. He prefers the opposite order, arguing that clotted ghee is the same as breath.

“A Caraka-adhvaryu forsooth, cursed Yājñavalkya for doing so, saying: ‘That Adhvaryu has shut out the breath; the breath shall depart from him!’ But he (Yājñavalkya), looking at his arms, said: ‘These hoary arms—what in the world has become of the Brahman’s words!’”

sa ha sma bāhū anvekṣyāha: imau palitau bāhū, kva svid brāhmaṇasya vaco babhūveti?—na tad āhriyeta ...

The subtext is obvious: “I have performed the ritual all my life in the manner prescribed by the White Yajurveda; I am quite old

⁵⁷ For this expression see n. 82.

⁵⁸ At 12.4-5, the evil results of killing the Brahmin’s cow and eating it are described. 12.4.31 “... she (*vaśā*) goes to the gods; therefore the Brahmins go on to ask for the cow”. 33: “the cow is the mother of the Kṣatriya.”

⁵⁹ For a discussion, see Witzel 1982.

now, and breath still has not yet left me.” This kind of one-liner put-downs are quite typical, as we have seen, for Yājñavalkya.

Most interestingly, while Yājñavalkya is reported at BĀU 3.2.13 to be one of the major early proponents of the new *karma* theory that revolutionized the older concept of simple rebirth,⁶⁰ he ridicules, at ŚB 3.1.2.21, the more radical aspect of the new, combined theory, that is the rebirth in animals and makes fun of the (new) custom of the avoidance of cow meat.⁶¹

“Let him not eat of either the cow or ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth ... Hence, were one to eat (the flesh) of a cow, there would be, as it were, an eating of everything, or as it were, a going to the end (or to destruction). Such a one indeed would be likely to be born (again) as strange being, (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as ‘he has expelled an embryo from a woman’, ‘he has committed a sin’, let him therefore not eat (the flesh) of the cow and the ox. (*tasmād dhenv-anaḍuhayor nāśnīyāt*).

Nevertheless, Yājñavalkya said, “I, for one, eat it, provided it is tender!” (better: “fatty”)⁶²

(*tad u hovāca Yājñavalkyo: ’śnāmy evāham, aṁsalaṁ ced bhavātī*).

Obviously, Yājñavalkya does not take this identification seriously; his matter-of-fact attitude towards cows is well reflected in his “hankering after cows” (see above) and further supported by his actual treatment of cows, at ŚB 12.4.1.10. The ritual question here is what to do if one’s Agnihotra cow lies down while being milked. Some of his colleagues make her get up with Mantras, and then give the cow to a Brahmin whom one does not intend to visit, thereby “fastening the suffering and evil on the Brahmin” in question. Yājñavalkya, however says, matter of fact: “... let him rather do it in this way: Let him make her get up by pushing her with a staff!”⁶³

⁶⁰ For the development of the concept of rebirth, see, in detail, H.-P. Schmidt, 1969, 1997; cf. also Witzel 1984a, b, 1998.

⁶¹ Details in Witzel 1991.

⁶² See discussion by Mehendale 1977 who adds: “secondarily, ... through the Brahmanical identification of *médas* [‘fat’] with *médha* ‘full of sacrificial essence’. The word is a near-hapax, see Fišer 1984: 69.

⁶³ (*tad u hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ: aśraddhadhānebhyaḥ haibhyaḥ gaur apakrāmaty ārtyo vā āhutiṁ vidhyanti-*)
itham eva kuryād: daṇḍenaivaināṁ vipisyotthāpayed iti,—

Typical for him are, thus, the Gordian knot solutions, with the expressions, though not necessarily the actual words, often taken from daily life:

- “Just push (the cow) with a stick ...–
- “Drive (the cows) here! –
- “We are but hankering after cows! –
- “I, for one, eat (cow meat), provided it is fatty! –
- “Quick, then, spread (the *barhiṣ*)! –
- “Who would care whether his wife may be outside the circle of men?”

§ 4.6 some further insights into his personality

Finally, these quotes provide some further insight into his personality. While he criticizes general human behavior and especially that of his colleagues, he does not exclude himself from such observations. In fact, he does not care so much about his own “face” but rather about being *brahmiṣṭha* “the best of the brahmans.”⁶⁴

At 11.6.2.2-10, King Janaka and some traveling Brahmins discuss how best to perform the Agnihotra. Yājñavalkya is lauded by the king for the best understanding and given 100 cows; but the king tells him that not even Yājñavalkya knows the details of the two libations of the Agnihotra. The Brahmins then deliberate whether to challenge the King, a Rājanya, to a disputation, (*brahmodya*). Yājñavalkya, however, says, rather sophisticatedly: “We are Brahmanas and he is a Rājanya: if we were to vanquish him, whom would we say we had vanquished? But if he were to vanquish us, people would say of us that a Rājanya had vanquished Brahmans: do not think of this!” The other

(*tad yathaivādo dhāvatyato 'śvo vāsvatāro vā gadāyita balivardo vā yuktaḥ, tena daṇḍaprajitena tottraprajitena yam adhvānam samīpsyati, tam samaśnuta evam evaitayā daṇḍaprajitayā yam svargaṃ lokam samīpsyati tam samaśnute ...*) “And just like horse, mule, ox yoked ... The cow being urged forward by staff or goad, attain that heavenly world which he desires to reach.” Āruṇi offers another solution: keep the cow to yourself, which is ŚB practice. JB 1.59 has shortened the quotation of this saying: *tad u hovāca vājasaneyo 'śraddadhānebhyaḥ haibhyaḥ gaur apakrāmati. ārtiyāhutim (?) vidhyanti. ittham eva kuryāt. daṇḍam eva labdhvā tenaināṃ vipīṣyotthāpayet.*

⁶⁴ Cf. the idea of the “good Brahmin” of the Buddha, Dīghanikāya 13.

Brahmins agree, but Yājñavalkya drives after the king on his own chariot, overtakes him, and the king asks him: "Is it to know the Agnihotra, Yājñavalkya?"—"The Agnihotra, O King!" Yājñavalkya replies. The King then explains the Agnihotra to him and Yājñavalkya grants him a wish to be asked for later on (cf. ŚB 14.7.1.1 *samenena vadiṣya ity*).⁶⁵ ŚB concludes "Thenceforth Janaka was a Brāhmaṇa."⁶⁶

It is interesting to observe that Yājñavalkya thinks of the Brahmin's position in the society and tells his fellow Brahmins not to accept the challenge of a Kṣatriya, but then, in secret, does precisely that by approaching Janaka and becoming, in fact, his student.⁶⁷ In other words, Yājñavalkya strives after secret knowledge (appropriate for a *brahmiṣṭha*) even in spite of his colleagues and outwits them and does not let them know that he went against his own advice. Nevertheless, in this way, he keeps up being a *brahmiṣṭha* 'the most qualified, highest ranked Brahmin' (see n. 82, cf. above 4.4 on ŚB 11.6.3.2) in the eyes of the society.

He expresses this sentiment differently at 1.9.3.16, in the context of a mantra (VS 2.26, *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr ity*) that speaks about the light of the sun "self-existent are you, the best ray of light (*varcas*)"⁶⁸ "for at this indeed the Brāhmaṇa should strive, that he be a *brahmavarcasin*."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ With various interpretations, in the tradition, of *samenena vadiṣye* as *sam enena vadiṣye* "I will talk with him" or *sa mene: na vadiṣye* "he thought, 'I will not talk (with him)'" Even the accented MSS of ŚB/BAU vary here and allow both interpretations. Interestingly, in a discussion I had in a Veda school at Kapileshvarapuram (Andhra) in 1992, the Paṇḍit at first could not resolve this very question put to him, thought about it for a day, and came back with the internally consistent solution: since Yājñavalkya granted Janaka a wish earlier, at ŚB 10.6.2.6, *samenena vadiṣye* in ŚB 14.7.1 was therefore to be interpreted as *sam enena vadiṣye*.

⁶⁶ *tato brahmā janaka āsa*. Does that mean 'a real (*varṇa*, class) Brahmin' or a *brahmiṣṭha* in the sense of Yājñavalkya? Taking into account the rankings we have to observe among the Brahmins (see n. 82), likely, only the first.

⁶⁷ Normally, one does so by approaching one's new teacher with fuel in one's hand, see the discussion in Witzel 1987.

⁶⁸ *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr ity—esā vai śreṣṭho raśmīr yāt sūryas. tāsmād āha: svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīr iti varcodā* (sic!) *asi varco me dehīti tv evāhām bravīmīti ha smāha yājñavalkyas*.—On

This is in line with his general approach to being a Brahmin. At 3.1.1.4, he argues that the offering priests constitute “the place [or, the medium] of worship; wheresoever wise and learned Brahmins,⁷⁰ versed in sacred lore, perform the sacrifice, there no failure takes place: that (place of worship) we consider the nearest (to the gods)”.⁷¹

However, Yājñavalkya is, as was seen above, quite concerned about his own image *vis à vis* his colleagues. At 11.6.3.2, he wins in a discussion. His colleagues then discuss who shall challenge him. Finally, it is the “shrewd” Śākalya who is threatened with a split head if he cannot answer Yājñavalkya, and who actually loses his head in the end (Witzel 1987). In fact, Yājñavalkya is generally regarded as an authority (see above) and ŚB describes him as such: At 11.4.3.20, it is told how the mythical (R̥gvedic) Ṛṣi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa⁷² discovered the Mitravinda (“find a friend!” or “find Mitra!”)⁷³ sacrifice: it went away to Janaka of Videha, he searched for it in the Brahmins versed in the “limbs” (*aṅga*) of the Vedas, and finally found it in Yājñavalkya.⁷⁴ In other words, it again is Yājñavalkya who is more learned than his colleagues.

the meaning of the difficult *varcas*, note the Śvetaketu story (ChU 6) and see the discussion by Tsuchiyama 1990.

⁶⁹ ...iti ha smāha Yājñavalkyas. tad dheva brāhmaṇenaistavyaṃ yad brahmavarcaṣī syād ity...

⁷⁰ Note that Yājñavalkya’s hidden point here may be that he advocates his colleagues, the learned Brahmins from the western countries (Kuru- and Pañcāla), who are needed to recite the texts and to perform the rituals properly (see Witzel 1997: 327sq.).

⁷¹ tad u hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ / vārṣṇyāya: devayajanaṃ joṣayitum aima.

tat sātyayajño ’bravīt. sarvā vā iyam pṛthivī devī devayajanaṃ, yatra vā asyai kva ca yajuṣaiva pariṅghya yājayed iti.

rtvijo haiva devayajanaṃ. ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśruvāṃso ’nūcānā vidvāṃso yājayanti, saivāhvalaitan nediṣṭhamām iva manyāmaha it.

⁷² A RV poet, otherwise—anachronistically—known from the story of Videgha Māthava at ŚB 1.4.1 (Witzel 1997: 308).

⁷³ Word play involving *mitra* “friend” and *Mitra* ‘god Mitra, agreement’ is frequently found.

⁷⁴ See below on *aṅgajid/aṅgavid*, Fišer (1984: 72) proposes to emend to *aṅga-vid-brahmaṇa*). The text continues: “thus one finds Mitra, his kingdom prospers, he conquers recurrent death, gains all life ...” Is this wish instigated by the need to find friends and allies against the (admittedly later attested) Vajji confederation in N. Bihar?

In passing it may be added that BĀU provides some more lively details about his private life, such as his dialogue with one of his wives, Maitreyī (BĀU 2.4., 4.5) when he had decided to leave her and his other wife, Kātyāyanī, for homelessness⁷⁵; it also sheds some further light on Yājñavalkya's relationship with his fellow Brahmins at the court of king Janaka of Videha, as well as Janaka himself.

§ 5 Authorship of the Yājñavalkya quotations

This concentrated praise of Yājñavalkya raises the question whether such characterizations can be regarded as true, and whether his words were actually spoken by him or were only later on attributed to him, as one step in his Ṛṣification.⁷⁶ It therefore is instructive to take a look at the linguistic peculiarities of the words reportedly spoken by Yājñavalkya. A number of Yājñavalkya's quotes share some peculiarities of expression.

1. He likes to stress his opinion with the mentioning of *aham*, followed by *eva* "I, for one"

tad u hovāca Yājñavalkyo:

'śnāmy evāham, am̐salam̐ ced bhavatīti. 3.1.2.21

*iti tv evāham bravīmīti ha smāha Yājñavalkyas. tad dheva
brāhmaṇena iṣṭavyam̐ yad brahmavarcasī syād ity. 1.9.3.16*

11.4.3.20 *taṃ haitaṃ gotamo rāhūgaṇaḥ vidāṃ cakāra. sā ha janakaṃ
vaideham̐ pratyutsasāda. tāṃ hāṅgijid brāhmaṇeṣv anviyeṣa. tām u ha
yājñavalkye viveda sa hovāca: sahasram̐ bho yājñavalkya dadmo yasmin
vayaṃ tvayi mitravindām̐ anvavidāmeti.*

*vindate mitraṃ rāṣṭram̐ asya bhavaty, apa punarmrtyuṃ jayati, sar-
vam̐ āyureti, ya evaṃ vidvān̐ etayestyā yajate, yo vaitad evaṃ veda.*

⁷⁵ Yajnavalkya is the first person mentioned in the Vedic texts who leaves home, more clearly in BĀU 4.5.1 than in 2.4.1; whether he can actually be called an early *saṃnyāsin* is another question, also for the later developments see Sprockhoff 1976, 1981, 1987.

⁷⁶ See Fišer 1984: 56sq. and especially on language, p. 60 sq., and passim. He stresses, correctly, that "some of the words in Yājñavalkya's quotations are not attested anywhere else in the Brāhmaṇas, others are not registered in any other *śruti* text, and, in some cases, in any other Vedic work". For more examples, see below.

2. Yājñavalkya likes to use the particle *svid*:

*api hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ / no svid devatābhya eva
grhṇīyāmā3 4.2.1.7*

*sa ha sma bāhū anvekṣyāha: imau palītau bāhū, kva svid
brāhmaṇasya vaco babhūveti? (cf. also 3.8.2.24.⁷⁷)*

In both cases, the use of *svid* is a typical feature of the eastern language, and also of some sections of JB (Witzel, 1989: 196). However, it is important to notice that this is not so in the older sections of ŚBM (6%) and ŚBK (19%)—there is no case at all in ŚB 6-10!—as compared to the increase in ŚB 11-13 (138%) and especially in the Upaniṣad (285%). This obviously raises the question whether these quotes were added later.⁷⁸

However, among the quotations attributed to Yājñavalkya in ŚB 1-5, they stand out as a feature that is typical for the later parts of ŚB/BĀU where Yājñavalkya figures prominently. In other words, the idiosyncratic use of *svid* may point to a feature of Yājñavalkya's and the easterner's language. The use of particles is, as is well known, easily influenced by geographical and temporal factors.

3. However, Yājñavalkya's use of some *hapax* or rare words stand out as well. This feature applies to all levels of ŚB and BĀU texts, from ŚB 1-5 onwards.

To begin with, the uncertain formation ŚB 3.1.3.10 *prāśām* (?) "sound, well-sighted" is a *hapax* ("sore indeed, is the eye of man; mine is sound"; *arur vai puruṣasyākṣi, prāśān mameti*), and in the same passage we find *an-arus*. Both are rare words; the simple *arus* "sore, wound" also occurs at ŚB 3.1.3.10 "weak-eyed, indeed, he was, and the secretion of his eyes was pus; he now makes it sound by anointing them." (foll. Fišer).⁷⁹ Fišer who has paid attention to the attestation of the words used in the

⁷⁷ Obviously a *śloka*, not part of the original speech of Yajnavalkya. —There are these verses: *kim svid vidvān pravāsati? ... 11.3.1.5 tad apy ete ślokāḥ: kiṃ svid vidvān pravāsaty / agnihotrī grhebhyaḥ / katham svid asya kāvyam / katham saṃtato agnihir iti katham svid asyān apaprositam bhavatīy evaitad āha.*

⁷⁸ Note, for example, such points of 'doctrine' as the early (?) discussion of *punarmṛtyu* in ŚB 2.3.2 (cf. Witzel 1989). They should be investigated in larger context.

⁷⁹ *durakṣa iva hāsa pūyo haivasya dūṣikā te evaitad anaruṣ karoti yad akṣyāv ānakti.*

Yājñavalkya passages underlines that *arus* occurs only once in AV and GB.⁸⁰

Another hapax is found at ŚB 1.1.1.10 *vrksya* "fruit(s) of trees", cf. Fišer, 1984: 64.⁸¹

The following three words probably are rare as they all occur in the specialized context of Brahmodyas, which are not all too frequently mentioned in earlier texts though we can trace them back to the RV (Witzel 1987b).

ŚB 11.4.3.20 *aṅga-jid-brāhmaṇa* "a Brahmin learned in the *aṅga* (the limbs of the sacrifice)," which Fišer (1984: 72) proposes to emend to *aṅga-vid-brāhmaṇa*.

ŚB 11.6.2.10 *kāma-praśna* "a question (allowed) according to one's wish" which is otherwise found only at BĀU 4.3.1, in the same context,⁸² cf. Fišer, 1984:73.

ŚB 11.6.3.11 *anatipraśnya (devatā)* "(a deity) not to be further pursued in questioning" occurs in the same context at ŚB 3.6.1; cf. also JB 2.77, Witzel 1987, Fišer 1984:76.

ŚB 12.4.1.10 *a-śrad-dhā (a-śraddadhāna)* "not trusting, believing"; though not an unusual form at all, it is found only here and at JB 1.43, 2, 384; see Fišer 1984:66.

Other words used by Yājñavalkya occur first, at least almost all of them, in ŚB and remain rare:

ŚB 1.3.1.21, ŚBK 2.2.4.17 *paraḥ-puṃsa* "being outside the circle of men" (see above);

⁸⁰ As in AV 5.5.4, GB 2.3.1; it has the compounds *arus-cit*, *arus-pāna*, *arus-srāṇa* (occurring once each, Fišer 1984: 61, with note 14-16 and Narten 1980: 161, n.27).

⁸¹ On the 'ghost' quotation from PW on KŚS 2.1.13.

⁸² T. Gotō (oral comm.) thinks that this is a question that one is allowed and entitled to ask only when one has reached a certain high level as poet, with an "official" certification (a quasi-"Meisterbrief") or as a learned priest (Priestergelehrter), cf. his seminal discussion of the status of Vasiṣṭha as such a poet, see Gotō 2000: 153. Note, in addition, that similar stages in the education of poets, including actual exams, were common in Old Ireland. This is, again, a trait that the extreme west and the extreme east of the Indogermania share. From this point of view, the long discussed question of the "brahminhood" of Janaka, conferred by Yājñavalkya as ŚB 11.6.2.2, assumes a new meaning: Janaka could answer a difficult question and is now 'promoted' by Yājñavalkya to Brahmin rank (ŚB 14.7.1.1, see n. 66). The highest one would be the *Brahmiṣṭha* (ŚB 11.6.3.1, cf. n. 69) rank, which is claimed by Yājñavalkya himself at another occasion.

ŚB 3.1.2.21 *aṃsala* "fatty, stout" (otherwise found only ŚB 3.8.4.6, JB 2.270, TB 3.4.17; cf. Fišer 1984: 69 sq.);

ŚB 11.6.2.4 *dhenu-śata*, otherwise JB 2.151 (same contexts, where ŚBK and JB 1.19 have "1000" instead) cf. Fišer 1984: 71.

ŚB 11.6.3.11, *parimoṣin* "robber" (otherwise only BĀU 3.6.1, ŚB 13.2.4.2, 4; TB 3.9.13, 4) cf. Fišer 1984: 80.

ŚB 12.4.1.10 *vi-piṃś*; this is otherwise only ŚB 4.1.5.21, 5 and ŚBK 3.1.10.1, see Fišer 1984:66.

The word *hvalati* ŚB 13.5.3.6 is a late form, for older *hvarate* RV+. It is typical for ŚB and is found, for example, at ŚB 4.5.7.4; 5.1.2.6, 14; 6.2.2.20; 11.5.8.5; 12.6.1.2; 13.5.2.6; *hval* is otherwise common in Epic and Classical Skt. (cf. also *hvalā*, f., again typically ŚB+). While it cannot be said that it is altogether typical for Yājñavalkya, his use of the verb and noun with the popular *-l*-form is a characteristic of the early and late ŚB, and therefore can be in tune with his other peculiarities agreeing with late Vedic eastern speech.

Outside the immediate scope of this paper we must also compare *ardhabrgala* BĀU 1.4.3: "Yājñavalkya used to say: 'Here, the two of us are like a half-fragment. Therefore this space is filled by a woman'."⁸³ Fišer (1984: 78) underlines that this is the only independent pronouncement ascribed to him in the whole of BĀU; it concerns the primeval self. Further, note BĀU 3.9 *ahallika* probably meaning something like "idiot" (cf. Fišer, 1984: 80).

There also are some other words allegedly used by Yājñavalkya which are quite rare.⁸⁴

4. Yājñavalkya's quotations share one frequent characteristic: they are *ex cathedra* sayings: "I for one, say ...; I, for one, eat ...; this is just ...; let him just do so; who would care ...?" It is clearly a person of great, acknowledged authority who speaks here (even though ŚB does not always follow his ritual advice and solutions, see above).

Even then, the question remains whether certain stories may have been attributed to Yājñavalkya by the redactors of ŚB: For

⁸³ *tasmād idam ardhabrgalam iva sva iti ha smāha yājñavalkya. tasmād ayam ākāśaḥ striya pūryata eva.*

⁸⁴ BĀU 4.1.2 *māṭṛmani* 'someone having a mother', and *ācaryavant* 'having a teacher' are rare; they occur only at AV 12.1.60 and ChU 6.14.2 respectively. (Fišer 1984: 82).

example, every witty remark by an important Upaniṣad teacher may have been attributed to him. One should compare some other sages such as Āruṇi, etc. and investigate, for example, a possible similarity in expression of their ŚB quotes with other inside and outside ŚB. This is beyond the scope of this study, which is limited to Yājñavalkya. Such studies have not yet been carried out, even by those scholars who have stated that there are two or three Yājñavalkyas (Horsch, 1966: 380-401) or who think that he clearly is one person (N. Tsuji), or who assume that a large amount of legend forming has taken place by the time of BĀU (Fišer).

In this situation, an investigation of Yājñavalkya's language, also outside ŚB proper, is of great importance. First of all, to find out whether the Yājñavalkya of ŚB and the slightly later BĀU are the same person or not. To prepare the ground, a survey of the language of BĀU 4.3, a text clearly attributed to Yājñavalkya, is given below.⁸⁵

§ 6 The language of BĀU 4.3

This chapter of BĀU (esp. 4.3.9-33) deals with the dream state and it is, I believe, the first in Indian literature which explores the realm of sleep and dreams in detail.⁸⁶ As it deals with new ideas, or as it gives the first available description of these new ideas, we may expect many new formulations and words. This, indeed, is precisely what we will discover.

Yājñavalkya tries to express these new ideas in various ways:

- a. by using old expressions in a new meaning,
- b. by forming new compound nouns, not used before,
- c. by coining completely new words.

(a) Among the old words used in a new meaning we find the following:

- BĀU 4.9.3 *sandhya*-normally means "point of sunrise, sunset", *sandhyā* "dawn/dusk ritual". The adjective *sandhya* is used here for the first time (and rarely afterwards, BŚS, VaikhGS) in the meaning of "intermittent

⁸⁵ Cf. already Witzel 1987c: 200, n. 92.

⁸⁶ Cf. the dreams discussed by Stuhmann 1982.

point” or “liminal point” between waking and being in the other world (of heaven), between *loka*, “this world”, and *para-loka* “the other world, reached in dream.”

- BĀU 4.3.20 *hitā-* (fem.) normally means “placed, put; friendly” etc. Here, *hitā-* refers to the *nāḍyāḥ*, the channels, or imagined capillary arteries stretching out from the heart.⁸⁷ They are *śukla*, *nīla*, *piṅgala*, *harita*, *lohita* “white, black-blue, tawny, yellowish-greenish, golden, red”.⁸⁸

(b) New compounds.

- BĀU 4.3.32 *a-dvaita-* *dvaitā-* is found earlier in the sense of “duality” (“*Doppelheit*”, Thieme). Its occurrence as *a-dvaita* in BĀU is a Vedic hapax; it occurs only at ŚB 14.7.1.31, BĀU 4.3.32, and clearly is a word coined by Yājñavalkya.⁸⁹

- BĀU 4.3.10, 14 *svayām-jyotiḥ*, cf. 4.3.7 *antār-jyotiḥ* “having light for itself,” viz. “in itself”. Since the “inner light” is referred to here, this is a new concept (similar to the light apparition at the moment of death, BĀU 4.4.2).⁹⁰

- BĀU 4.3.7 *vijñāna-maya-* “made of knowledge”. The noun *vijñāna* is well attested before, from AV onwards, but the new compound, not an unusual formation at all by itself, nevertheless, is new and is, in addition, only found in ŚB, Up (MU+).

⁸⁷ They are set up, arranged like a *setu* “dike, bridge” or, like hair, they are strands and capillaries at the same time. The later meanings of the word in Middle and New Indo-Aryan are “tubular stalk or organ, pipe, vein” (Turner, CDIAL 7047) and have the same range; cf. also *hita-baṅga* ‘breaking of dikes’ (Manu).

⁸⁸ Cf. the traditional colors of the directions of the sky in ancient Iran: blue = E, red = S, white = W, black = N (and similarly, in ancient China: E = green/light blue, S = red, W = white, N = black, and also in native North America); see Witzel, 1972: 183, n.19.

⁸⁹ On the term see T. Vetter 1978 (2. part); cf. also BĀU 4.3.26 *nā tad dvitīyam asti*.

⁹⁰ Cf. *svar-jyotiḥ* (Samh.+).

• BĀU 4.3.10 *ratha-yoga-*

“yoking of the chariot” is, a *prima facie* simple Tatpuruṣa compound, hardly worth mentioning, if it were indeed attested *before* this passage. However, it is not, and even after BĀU, it is found only in Mbh+. Thus, again, it is a coinage made by Yājñavalkya.

It is true that a word such as *rathayuj-* ‘yoked to the chariot’ is found in RV+; however, the Tatpuruṣa compounds such as *ratha-yoga* (next to *rathāḥ*, *panthānaḥ*), are rare in earlier Vedic literature though⁹¹ it is not altogether unusual: cf. *aśvamedha*, *rājasūya*, *agnihotra* (KS) etc.

In short, it remains a strange fact that such an easily made compound had to be coined by Yājñavalkya.

• BĀU 4.3.11 *eka-hamsā-*

“the one-goose, superior goose”, is again not an unusual compound, but it is found here for the first time: ŚB 14.7.1.12-13. Similar compounds are *eka-rāj* AB 8.15, *eka-rāja* TB 2.8.3.7, KauśS “the only king, superior king”, *eka-vrātyá* “the only Vrātya, leader of the Vrātyas” AV 15.1.6, *eka-rtú*, *eka-cará*, *eka-dhaná*, *eka-nakṣatrá*, etc.

• BĀU 4.3.10 *para-loka-*

“the higher world, the other world”, i.e., the Vedic heaven or, later on, “the world of Brahman”. It is situated between: *idam (sthāna)* — *sandhya* — *paraloka*, identified with: “this world — sleep — the otherworld.”

Again, this is one of the quite common Karmādharaya compounds, but it is found only here, and much later on, in VkhGS, Viṣṇu Smṛti, etc.

• BĀU 4.3.14 *jāgarita-deśa-*

“the waking state”; cf. *jāgarita-anta* KU 4.4, *jāgarita-sthāna*-MaṇḍU 3, *jāgarita-* ŚB 12.9.2.2, 14.7.1.

Again, this is not an unusual compound; in fact, there are dozens of compounds in *-deśa*, but the combination with *jāgarita-* is unusual, and it is imitated later on in KU, MaṇḍU by *jāgarita-anta/sthāna* (doubtless modeled on this passage).

While this word is found in the general context of a Yājñavalkya passage, the actual sentence is attributed to “some”: *atho khalv āhuḥ* “Some say, as you know (*‘doch, donc’*) ...”.

⁹¹ Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II 2, 243 3qq.

Such a quote can be a generally held opinion, a popular saying, or the opinion of some ritualists and philosophers.⁹² We may attribute the general opinion to 'some'; however, the formulation must be Yājñavalkya's as the usual way of popular quotations is *tad āhuḥ*.

(c) Hapax, newly coined words.

- BĀU 4.3.19 *sallayāya* (*saṃlayāya* BĀUM) *dhriyate* 'is borne to his nest'.

This is a real hapax, only found in BĀU/ŚB. The Mādhyandina version, *saṃlayāya* is perhaps related to Pāli *prati-saṃlayana* "deep trance". Should we translate: "a falcon, folding his wings, is borne to his resting/sleeping place"?

The Kāṇva version may go back to the same origin: **saṃ-llaya-* and belong to *saṃ- lī, -lī līyate* "cling to" (Mbh).

- BĀU 4.3.9 *sarvāvānt-* "containing all", is a simple formation, like so many others in *-vant*: *somā-vant*, *devā-vant*, etc.; however, contrast RV *maujavānt*, from post-RV *mūjavānt*.

The word is a real hapax that occurs only in ŚB 14.7.1.11 and in BĀU. It is also interesting to note that the vowel *-a-* is length-ened before *vant*.

(d) Some near-hapax words.

BĀU 4.3.20 *sarvo 'smi* K.: *sarvaṃ asmi* M "I am the overlord of all"⁹³ or "I am all" = "Universe", which here comes to the same. Further, note: BĀU 4.3.10: *veśantāḥ* "ponds" (next to: *puṣkarīṇya sravantyo ...*) :: *veśantīḥ* AV 1.3.7, PS, 1.4.7; *veśantā* AV 11.6.10, *veśāntā* TB 3.4.12.1; *veśānta* SB 14.7.1.11/BĀU 4.3.10, *vaiśanta* RV 7.33.2, *vaiśantā*, VS, ŚBK 7.2.14, *vaiśantī* ŚB 5.3.3.14, TB 3.1.2.3, 3.12.7.4—Note the many variants, the unclear etymology (EWA II 585) and varying

⁹² Such quotes (*tad āhuḥ*) are common from YV prose onwards (MS+); in the AV, however, we find *ta-* or *ya-* or acc.+ *āhuḥ*, but only rarely the expression *tad āhuḥ*: AV 10.8.33 *vadantīr yatra gachanti, tad āhur brāhmaṇaṃ mahat*, and the late Mantra AV 20.128.2 *jyeṣṭho yad apracetās, tad āhur adharāg iti*.

⁹³ See K. Hoffmann, *idām bhū*, 1975-6: 557-559.

accentuations; the next sentence in BĀU has: *veśāntān, puṣkariṇīh, sravantīh*

§ 6.2 A Counter-check

These preliminary linguistic observations leave some questions to be answered, some of them by way of counter-check of the evidence. They include such as the following:

- in how far are these features not just Yājñavalkya's but generally eastern Vedic?
- in how far typical for all early Upaniṣads?
- in how far typical of late Vedic (e.g., AB 6-8, parts of JB/JUB, VādhB, etc.)?
- in how far are they reflected in early Middle Indo-Aryan, such as in Pāli?

The answer is fairly straightforward: Most of these features are hapax, or not used before Yājñavalkya while they are common after him, even in the Upaniṣads, and later on (also in Pāli). They are *not* typical Eastern (little found in the late AB, VādhB, etc.), but they are late Vedic, in the sense that other Up.s have copied these phrases. The relationship with Pāli would need more investigation.

In short, what we see in BĀU 4.3 is the very *personal* language of Yājñavalkya. This is especially so in the present, difficult chapter dealing with the dream state, where he had to deal with new, not easily described and expressed concepts. Yājñavalkya chose to present his new ideas with newly coined words, with older words used in a new meaning, with unusual, new nominal compounds, or with a combination of words that had not been used before.

In short, his way of expression is a very *personal* one, fit for this quasi-mystical chapter.

§ 7 A Comparison of the language of the Yājñavalkya quotes in ŚB and BĀU

We can now proceed to compare, briefly, the state of affairs found in BĀU 4.3 with his *dicta* in the ŚB. The following picture emerges:

In the ŚB quotations, just as in BĀU, a number of hapax, "first" or very rare expressions are found: ŚB *an-arus / prāśām*,

aṃśala, vipiṃś, hvalati, parimoṣin, vṛkṣya :: BĀU 4.3 *sandhya, hitā, sallaya, sarvāvant*.

Again, both texts have a number of unusual nominal compounds: *paraḥ-puṃsa, dhenu-śata, aṅga-jid-brāhmaṇa, kāma-praśna, anatipraśnya, a-śraddadhāna* :: BĀU 4.3. *a-dvaita, ratha-yoga, eka-haṃsa para-loka*; cf. also *ardhabṛgala* BĀU 1.4.3, *ahallika* BĀU 3.9.

The number of new items probably is comparatively higher in BĀU 4.3 as this section deals with altogether new concepts, if not with a mystical vision by Yājñavalkya. Both texts agree in that they contain a large number of new, rare, or hapax words (first) used by Yājñavalkya. He emerges a provocative thinker and innovator.

§ 8 Conclusions

In sum, both sets of texts coincide in a few points. As far as the content of these passages are concerned, both present new materials, and both do this in a new, personal language that is not encountered before Yājñavalkya. In other words, we discern the *same* teacher and philosopher, whether he acts as a priest (mostly in ŚB 1-5, partly 11-13) or as a thinker and mystic (mostly in BĀU). However, as has been indicated above, the border line between such compartments of the mind of Yājñavalkya as a single person does not exist.

The very nature of famous sayings predestines these hapaxes, sayings and teachings to have, potentially, multiple origins. They could be the famous sayings of Yājñavalkya *and* of other great seers or philosophers of the early Upaniṣad period and might have been copied from one teacher to another, or appropriated by their schools. However, there is hardly anyone of equal stature in sight: One may think of Uddālaka Āruṇi, or perhaps of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, yet, none of them is regarded as highly as Yājñavalkya.⁹⁴ And, it is obvious by now that the selection of quotes, new expressions and hapaxes listed above is

⁹⁴ Politics may have played a role here: just as Vasīṣṭha, because of his connection with king Sudās, is highly regarded in RV, so is Yājñavalkya, due to King Janaka, in the Upaniṣads; they function as emblems of Rgvedic/Upaniṣadic texts. Others (like Viśvāmitra, Āruṇi, etc.) have been pushed more into the background.

limited to Yājñavalkya and has not been copied by the more or less contemporaneous teachers just mentioned.

However, it will be interesting, though leading beyond the scope of this paper, to follow up the individual ways of these teachers expressing their new insights, as met with in BĀU/ChU, and to compare their Upaniṣadic language with the few quotations attributed to them outside these texts. In addition, it would be instructive to study in detail the colloquial speech of Śvetaketu and his father in ChU 6.⁹⁵

Separately from this, we must finally take a closer look at the charge that Yājñavalkya is presented in ŚB/BĀU as *more* than a famous teacher and Ṛṣi,—and that therefore, the statements about him have to be taken *cum grain salis*.

§ 9 The beginnings of a hagiography

There are indeed a number of features which point, as Fišer stresses, to a beginning hagiography that was begun in late Vedic times, when the Vedic texts, including the Upaniṣads, were redacted.

In principle, this is not surprising, as important figures are apt to receive special attention. For example, we know about Yājñavalkya's contemporary, Mahidāsa, that he lived 116 years. And there are interesting stories about Satyākama Jābāla, etc. When did they originate and when were they put together? Small items such as mentioning the age of a person could easily be inserted. In the case of Yājñavalkya, however, we have a large body of texts, sayings, anecdotes which are attributed to him. How to distinguish original material from later accretions? When was this material collected and when was it redacted?

This type of argument and research into it is clearly important. Unfortunately, the question of canon formation and redaction of Vedic texts, particularly of late Vedic texts, has hardly been taken up.⁹⁶ Especially as far as the ŚB/BĀU complex is concerned, it is complicated and not much studied.⁹⁷ The Vaṃśas of the ŚB, BĀU (and JUB 4., ŚĀ 15) provide some idea

⁹⁵ See K. Hoffmann 1975-6:370sq., cf. Kuiper *IJ* 2, 1958, 308 sqq., Morgenroth, *History and Culture of Ancient India*, Moscow 1963, 223 sqq.

⁹⁶ See now Witzel 1997, for a beginning.

⁹⁷ Cf. Caland, 1990: xxiv and cf. Tsuji 1981: 358-361.

of the complicated lines of transmission of these texts and of the difference in time at which their 'last' teacher (before redaction) would have lived.⁹⁸ The matter is further complicated by the fact that ŚB/BĀU have been transmitted both in the Kāṇva and in the Mādhyandina schools and that, in addition to this, BĀU itself seems to be split into a Yājñavalkya and a non-Yājñavalkya part, both again transmitted by both schools, each with their own Vaṃśa.

The frequent Vājasaneyi quotations in a slightly later text, ĀpŚS, seem to indicate that there was a ŚB text (the *Vājasaneyaka*) preceding our present ŚB.⁹⁹ Tsuji (1981: 358) is of the opinion that it was Yājñavalkya who separated a proto-Vājasaneyi, traditional style YV text with mixed Mantras and Brāhmaṇas (as in the Black YV). This is entirely possible; one must add, however, that he decided to model his VS on western pronunciation (see immediately).¹⁰⁰

In short, a variety of traditions have been incorporated into the complete text of ŚB/BĀU, and have been redacted at a comparatively late time (200-100 BCE?).¹⁰¹

Leaving aside this rather complex issue, it may be pointed out, however, that at the very end of ŚB the authorship of the Mantras of the Vājasaneyi schools is depicted as having been

⁹⁸ See Morton-Smith, 1966.—There are 12 generations between the Sun deity and Yājñavalkya in the Vaṃśa of BĀU 6.5.3. Tsuji 1981: 350 explains the non-occurrence of Yājñavalkya's name in the genealogy of both the Madhu-Kāṇḍa and the Yājñavalkya-Kāṇḍa (!) of BĀU by the fact that the Yājñavalkya-Kāṇḍa may be a late collection of Vājasaneyi doctrines redacted long after Yājñavalkya's time.

⁹⁹ Caland, 1990: xiv; cf. Witzel 1997; Tsuji 1981: 361 assumes a date of c. 650-550 BCE for the formation of the ŚB and the newly extracted VS, see Caland *AO X*, 132 sqq.

¹⁰⁰ Tsuji thinks that Yājñavalkya is the "author" of VS 1-10, and of ŚB 1-5 (1981: 358). He notes, in addition, that certain sections of VS presuppose ŚB; see earlier, Caland *AO X*, 132 sqq., and cf. Witzel 1997: 324.

¹⁰¹ Note the new fashion of giving metronyms in ŚB *vaṃśa* lists (compounds of mother's name + *putra*) and the similar usage beginning in royal records of the Maurya dynasty, followed by evidence from the Mathura inscriptions, the Śātavāhana and Gupta dynasties, see Witzel 1988: 172/1997: 327, 315. — Did the Brahmin Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties have the Vājasaneyi texts (especially the VSK?) redacted in E. India at that time? For this assumption, note some late features in VSK, see Witzel 1989: 358.

obtained by Yājñavalkya directly from the sun (and therefore they are *śukla* “bright”).¹⁰² Such a “revelation” is a feature that is not found in any of the traditions of other YV schools.¹⁰³ Interestingly, this statement is still given in accented Vedic Sanskrit.

The important point is that Yājñavalkya is portrayed as receiving the Mantras not from a long line of teachers before him—some of whom are indeed mentioned in other Vamśas—but directly from the Sun. Normally, this lineage is reserved for the descent of the Kṣatriya rulers who ultimately all stem from the sun-god Vivasvant and his son Manu.¹⁰⁴ Instead of Agni who inspires at least one Ṛṣi,¹⁰⁵ or some other Vedic deity such as Brhaspati or Soma, it is the Sun, humankind’s ultimate ancestor, who figures as the source of the VS text.¹⁰⁶ The reasons for this strange feature have been discussed elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Here it may suffice to mention that our present (and medieval) VS is *not* recited with the standard eastern Bhāṣika accent like the ŚB but with standard western (Kuru-Pañcāla) accent, while it differs widely in form and content from the western (Black YV) texts. The only recourse for a respectable *paramparā* was to claim divine origin, which ensued.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Though the Sun is said to have revealed the ŚYV to Yājñavalkya, there are in fact 12 generations between the Sun and Yājñavalkya in the Vamśa; cf. Tsuji 1981: 358.

¹⁰³ There is a late, unedited Chārdī Brāhmaṇa (in Epic-Purāṇic style Sanskrit) that reflects the later, Purāṇic idea of Yājñavalkya’s vomiting the Veda and Tittiri’s picking up the bloody, black-stained vomit; hence, the name Taittirīya and “Kṛṣṇa” Yajurveda.

¹⁰⁴ Note that at this time we do not yet have the Epic (and later) Lunar and Solar dynasties, just as a descent from the solar figure Vivasvant and his son Manu; cf. now, however, the very beginning of VādhB (ed. Y. Ikari 1990) with its complicated scheme of incestual relationship between males and mothers and daughters that sets the conceptual frame for the Epic: the lunar Bharata (Mbh.) and solar Ikṣvāku lineages (Rām.). Cf. Witzel (in prep.).

¹⁰⁵ See RV 6.5.9 with its vision of Agni: *vi me karṇā patayato vi cakṣuh...*

¹⁰⁶ Based on the last sentence of ŚB; cf. Tsuji 1981: 359.

¹⁰⁷ Witzel 1997: 324 sq.

¹⁰⁸ Note that similar claims of divine help are made for Videgha Māthava who moved eastwards with the help of Agni Vaiśvānara. Divine origin is claimed right from the RV onwards: note the cases of

Other items that point to a redactional intrusion of hagiography are the following:

* He always wins in the discussions/contests (*brahmodya*). In the case of the elaborate discussion with Śākalya (see Witzel 1987b, Brereton 1997) he is deliberately made the winner, even though he just barely gets out of this discussion better than a woman, Gargī, and his Ṛgvedic rival Śākalya.

* Once he even wins “all of Videha” (BĀU 4.3) from his king, Janaka. Since there was no personal ownership of land during the Vedic period, this is, typically, out of proper historical context. However, the king was the nominal owner of the land and had to agree, for example, to sacrifices being carried out on a certain plot of land: the sponsor of the ritual (*vajamāna*) had to ask the king for permission to perform it. Though a very suspicious fact indicating a late redactional activity, the wording may be taken as metaphorical.

* There is a clear addition of some materials by the redactions, such as the concluding verses in BĀU 3.9.28, see Brereton 1997: 4sq.,¹⁰⁹ and there is the probable re-arrangement of some sections. Note also the doubling of the Panjab story, BĀU 3.4 and 3.7 (Witzel 1989). This is in line with the assumption, made above, that the ŚB/BĀU texts were redacted late. Clearly, a detailed study of late Vedic redactional activities is a desideratum.¹¹⁰

In post-Vedic texts, Yājñavalkya gains very much in status. The reasons for this remain to be investigated as well. It is noteworthy that Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.E.) mentions a sub-school of Yājñavalkya's Veda text, the adherents of the Mādhyandina version of the VS, as *Maduandinoi* just south of the Ganges (Witzel 1987c, 1989, 1997). As an eastern Veda school, the Vājasaneyins may have been the most important *Śākhā* during the Maurya realm and most probably were so under the Brahmin dynasty of the Śunga (Puṣyamitra, 150 B.C.E., mentioned by Patañjali). It is almost certain that they were most important under the Brahmanical Kāṇva dynasty, who not unsurprisingly,

Vasiṣṭha or Trasadasyu, both derived from (the semen of) Mitra and Varuṇa combined.

¹⁰⁹ Note the parallel in BĀU 6.3.7.

¹¹⁰ For some initial steps, see Witzel 1989, 1997.

carry even the name of the other sub-school of the Vājasaneyins, the Kāṇva. These are sufficient reasons to explore the various stages of late YV redaction under these kings.¹¹¹

Yājñavalkya is, even according to the last (still accented!) sentences of ŚB, 14.9.4.33, the redactor of the White YV which stems from the sun (Āditya): *ādityānīmāni śuklāni yājūṃṣi vājasaneyēna yājñavalkyenākhyāyante* (cf. also ŚS 6.108.5, PS 10.17.9).

Later texts see him as independent of his teacher Vaiśampāyana, who is a late figure in the Veda, occurring first at TĀ 1.7.5 (a very late passage, see Witzel 1972, 1997), Pāṇini 4.3.104, BŚS Pravara 41: 13 = 451.4, and more often in the GS.

According to Epic tradition as well, Yājñavalkya receives the Yajus of the white Yajurveda *and* the ŚB from the sun (Mbh.Vulg. 12.319/11724-8, 11790).

Though he is often mentioned in the Epic (predominantly in late portions, Mbh 12, 13), it is notable that Yājñavalkya is *not* an ancestor of the Bharata clan as so many other Brahmins: Bhṛgu, Uśanas Kāvya, Viśvāmitra ~ Menakā, Bharadvāja; note also Parāśara as ancestor of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. However, according to Mbh 13.18.52, it is the famous Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra who is the father of Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Āśvalāyana, etc. (cf. Hari-varṣa 1466, Viṣṇu Pur. 279, Bhāg Pur. 6.15.13).

According to Viṣṇu Pur. 3.5.1-29: 279, Vaiśampāyana accidentally killed a Brahmin child (cf. Mbh Vulg. 13.331 *ājñānād brāhmaṇam hatvā, spr̥ṣṭo balavadhena ca...viprar̥ṣir...* = Poona ed. 13.60.37); he asked his students to perform an atonement for him, but Yājñavalkya refused. Vaiśampāyana therefore asked him to regurgitate all he has learnt, upon which Yājñavalkya brought up the Veda, soiled with dark blood, from his stomach. The other students of Vaiśampāyana picked it up, having taken the form of partridges (*tittiri*); Yājñavalkya then addressed the sun-god who appeared in form of a horse (*vājin*) and granted him a wish (cf. Mbh Vulg. 12.318.6) and the new (*śukla*) Yajurveda, the students of which therefore are called Vājis (= Vājasaneyin). A similar story is told, however, from a Taittirīya point of view,

¹¹¹ As has been mentioned above, there are indications that point to certain aberrant forms, perhaps influenced by an early attempt of the introduction of writing in Veda texts, see Witzel 1989. Some Dharma texts disallow the writing down of the Veda—clearly a reaction to early attempts to do so! This is in need of further and detailed investigation.

in the unedited short South Indian epic piece, called Chārdi Brāhmaṇa. However, Vaiśampāyana is also seen as a student of Vyāsa, Viṣṇu Pur. 275, 279, Bhāg. Pur. 1.4.21.

Later on, Yājñavalkya is the supposed author of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which has become very influential through its medieval commentary Mitākṣara.

§ 10 Summary

In sum, if the strands of traditions visible in the Vedic texts are carefully screened, a nucleus emerges of texts composed by Yājñavalkya, of his sayings and one-liners, and of reports dealing with him as an exceptional person: someone who is, at the same time, a late Vedic priest, a teacher, a philosopher, and a mystic. These traditions represent the same person, with the same linguistic background and with peculiar, idiosyncratic habits of speech.

It is only at the time of redaction (150 B.C.E.?) that some aspects of an incipient hagiography—such as giving all of Videha to Yājñavalkya—emerge; they are so obvious and intrusive that they can be discerned easily. The same applies to some texts portions that have been added to the BĀU corpus.¹¹²

In sum, we see the beginnings of the legend of Yājñavalkya arise before our eyes: the always victorious discussant of the rearranged section BĀU 3 (Brereton 1997), who also becomes one of the first persons mentioned in the texts that leaves mundane concerns behind him and becomes a Saṃnyāsin. It is this personality that receives the close attention, at first only as his school, the Vājasaneyins who are named after his family name Vājasaneyya, of other Upaniṣadic and Epic circles. He is already quite prominent in the Epic, and in other post-Vedic texts. Finally, in the Purāṇas, he is the pupil of Vaiśampāyana¹¹³ and the story of his

¹¹² See above, and cf. Brereton 1997 on the final verses of BĀU 3.9.

¹¹³ First mentioned in late passages of the Kāṭhaka section of the Taitt. school, TĀ 1.7.4, which is full of late, Purāṇic elements, see Witzel 1972, 1997: 317; otherwise in Pāṇini 4.3.104, as YV teacher; Tsuji 1981: 346 also discusses his lineage in the Purāṇas and in medieval commentators: he is the son of one Brahmarāta (Viṣṇu Pur. 3.5.2) or Devarāta (Bhaga. Pur. 12.6.64), and – predictably – a descendant of Vājasanī (according to Mahīdhara), or of one otherwise completely unknown Yājñavalkya (in Śaṅkara). The name as such probably is a popular nickname (with -i-). Yājñavalkya's family name, Vājasaneyya,

receiving Vedic teaching directly from the sun—instead of his nominal teacher Vaiśampāyana¹¹⁴—makes him a latter-day Ṛṣi.

is based on older Brahmanical (not necessarily Kṣatriya!) names including *-vāja-* and *san*, such as that of the Rgvedic Ṛṣi *Bharad-vāja*, note RV 6.60.1 *vājam sanoti*, etc. cf. now Hintze 2000.

¹¹⁴ According to Viṣṇu Pur. 3.5.1-29, Yājñavalkya has received his text only *after* having vomited the original YV text of Vaiśampāyana; it is therefore, in a way, later than Tittiri's, the "author" of part of the Black YV. There was a strong antagonism between the two schools. This is also reflected in the unedited post-Vedic Chārdi-Br. tale (ms. Caland, Utrecht and Madras, GOL).—For more on the various Veda schools found in the YV-Vṛkṣa, see Witzel 1982, and cf. Tsuji 1981: 345 on the interpretation of the Purāṇic tales.

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CHAPTER 8

On The Style Of The *Bhagavadgītā*

Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin

When Abbé Etienne Lamotte passed his doctorate in 1931 at Louvain with a dissertation entitled *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā*, he was asked by Albert Carnoy at the end of the session why he had not dealt with the style of the Gītā. "How could there be style," he answered, "in a chain of compounds (*dans une suite de composés*)?"

Only recently, in my ninetieth year, have I had the opportunity of reading, with a young Belgian yogi, through the eighteen Adhyāyas. We promptly came to the conclusion that Lamotte was wrong.

For one thing, the Gītā is in verse, and it is an epic which unfolds in a succession of dialogues one could, without too much exaggeration, regard as a play, obeying as it does the rule of triple unity of a classical tragedy: the scene is the battle-field of the great war, apparently on its first day, between the Pāndavas and the Kauravas; the dialogue, reported by a Sanjaya, between the warrior Arjuna and the Bhagavat, deals with the duty of a *kṣatriya* and the brahmanical Absolute, non-rebirth, with Vāsudeva revealing himself as the *deus sine machina*. Simple nouns and conjugated verbs occur as frequently as compounds, some of which are neologisms, and the preoccupation with style is perceptible in the use of similes and, last but not least, in that of chiasmus.

It is our humble observations on the style of the Gītā that I have the honor of contributing to the Festschrift Hanns-Peter Schmidt, whose class I had the privilege to attend when visiting at UCLA.

The first adhyāya, *Arjunaviṣādayogaḥ* "On Arjuna's depression", is a mere prologue, not deemed by Śaṅkara worth a comment.

The second adhyāya, the largest one with its 72 ślokaḥ, is entitled *Sāṃkhyayogaḥ* "On the sāṃkhya." The Bhagavat reminds Arjuna of his duty as a *kṣatriya*. Arjuna expresses his reluctance to kill venerable masters. A first chiasmus in śl. 5: *gurūn hatvā.../hatvā gurūn* "killing masters." There follows a moment of silence. Then the Bhagavat replies, up to śl. 54.

In śl. 11, one and the same root is used both as a noun and (twice) as a verb: *aśocyān anvaśocaḥ...nānuśocanti* "you pity unpitiable...they do not pity."

In 12 a chiasmus: *nāham jātu nāsam na bhaviṣyāmaḥ sarve vayam* "never was I not / nor will we all not be."

In 16 a chiasmus: *nāsato vidyate bhāvo / nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ* "of the non-existing there is no existence / no non-existing of the existing."

In 17 a root, at first in the negative, *avināśi* "indestructible", is repeated in the positive, *vināśam ... kartum* "to destroy."

In 19 a root is repeated four times *hantāraṃ hatam hanti hanyate* and twice more in 20 *hanyate hanyamāne śarīre* and also, with a chiasmus, *kaṃ ghātayati / hanti kaṃ?*

In 22 a simile: *vasāṃsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti 'parāṇi* "as a man having stripped worn clothes puts on new ones", *tathā śarīrāni vihāya jīrṇānyanyāni samyāti navāni dehī* "so does the soul, having stripped worn bodies, unite with new ones."

23 has a simile in four symmetrical phrases and is continued in 24 and 25 in negative compounds.

In 26 an epithet, first appearing in a compound, is repeated as a simple: *nityajātaṃ nityaṃ vā ... mṛtam* "born eternally or eternally dead."

27 has a chiasmus: *jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyuḥ / dhruvaṃ janma mṛtasya ca* "what is born is sure to die, and sure to be born (again) is what is dead."

Śl. 30 ff. deal with the duty of the *kṣatriya*.

There is in 32 a chiasmus from the beginning *yadṛcchāya* "such" to the end: *īdṛśam*.

34-35 depict the fate of a *kṣatriya* oblivious of his duty.

34 has a chiasmus: *akīrtiṃ cāpi bhūtāni kathayasyanti / sambhāvitasya cākīrtiḥ* ... “and the beings will narrate your shame / and the shame of a respectable man....”

In 37 and 38 the fate of the righteous completes the exposition of the *sāṃkhya* doctrine. Now comes in the remaining 33 ślokas, the yoga doctrine, a unique doctrine *buddhirekā*, said in a chiasmus to be self-assured *vyavāsāyātmikā* in contradistinction to the many which are *avyavāsāyin*.

46 has a simile: *udapāne sarvato samplutodake* “a tank filled with water from everywhere”, so does a brahman profit by all the veda *sarveṣu vedeṣu*.

48 has a chiasmus: *yogasthaḥ kuru / samatvaṃ yoga ucyate* “act as faithful disciple of the yoga, indifference is called yoga.”

In 53 an epithet *niścalā* “immovable” is varied as *acalā*.

In 54 a variation *kā kim kim kim*; in 55 *ātmani / ātmanā*.

In 56 a symmetry: *duḥkeṣvanudvignamnāḥ / sukheṣu viga-tasprhaḥ* “in suffering not troubled, by pleasure untouched.”

There comes in 58 the simile of a tortoise drawing its limbs together *yadā saṃharate ... kurmo 'ṅgāni* compared to the yogi isolating his senses from their objects.

Both 62 and 63 have chiasmi: 62: *saṅgāt saṃjāyate kāmaḥ / kāmāt krodho abhijāyate* “desire is born from contact, from desire wrath is born.” 63: *krodhād bhavati saṃmohaḥ / saṃmohāt smṛtīvibhramā* “from wrath error is born, from error confusion of mind”; *smṛtibhramśād buddhināśo / buddhināśāt praṇaśyati* “from confusion of mind destruction of spirit; from destruction of spirit one perishes.”

66 has a double chiasmus: *nāsti buddhirayuktasya / na cā-yuktasya bhāvanā* “there is no thought without yoga, or without yoga meditation”.

In 67 the tumult of the senses carries away knowledge as a wind carries away a ship on the waters *vāyurnāvamivāmbhasi*.

In the same atmosphere, śl. 70 gives the simile of an ocean the waters flow into and which is neither filled nor disturbed: so does the man whom all desires penetrate attain peace if he does not obey them: *kāmā yaṃ praviśanti sarve sa śāntim āpnoti na kāmakāmī* And this is expressed in a chiasmus with *yadvat* at the end of the first hemistich and *tadvat* at the beginning of the second.

3

The third adhyāya is in praise of karma, *Karma-praśamsayogaḥ*. It begins with Arjuna asking “If you deem thought superior to action, why do you urge me to terrible acts?” The answer is given in the 40 ensuing śloka. It has remarkably few occurrences of chiasmus. A chiasmus would have been feasible in 3, 11, 35, 40, and 41: there are not any.

There are only three occurrences of a chiasmus:

24: *asīdeyur ime loke na kuryāṃ karma ced aham / saṅkarasya ced kartā syāmupahanyāmimāḥ prajāḥ* “these worlds would cease to exist if I did not do my job / and I would be an agent of confusion, I would destroy these creatures.”

25: *yathā kurvanti / kuryād vidāṃs tathā* “as these act, so let the knowing ones act.”

38: *dhumenāvriyate vahnir yathā / tathā tenedam āvṛtam* “as a fire is masked by smoke, so is masked the universe by him.”

As will be seen presently, the fourth adhyāya, with the same length, has more than twice as many occurrences of chiasmus. Could this paucity of chiasmi in the third adhyāya be related to a change in content? No less than four new, alien elements appear in this adhyāya. Miscreants are mentioned in 13, 27, and 32: in 13 *bhūñjate pāpā ye pacantyātmakāraṇāt* “those eat sin who cook for their own usage” contrary to those who only eat the remnants of sacrifice. In 27 we read that a man who believes himself an agent, whereas action only results from the guas, is a victim of his egoism, *ahaṃkāra*. In 32 there is a reference, unique in the Gītā, to people who protest against God’s doctrine, *ye ... etad abhyasīyante, tān viddhi naṣṭān* “those are lost, mind.” Moreover, an allusion is found in the following śloka to something redolent of materialism-determinism: *sadrśam ceṣṭate svasyāḥ prakṛteḥ jñānavānapi ... nigrahaṃ kiṃ kariṣyati* “everyone acts according to his nature, even the best instructed. What use would be renouncing?”

4

The fourth adhyāya *Jñānakarmasanyāsayogaḥ* “On knowledge, action, and renunciation” has in its 42 śloka no less than 9 chiasmi. Bhagavat tells of his former existences.

Śl. 6 has a chiasmus: *prakṛtiṃ svāmadhiṣṭhāya / sambhavāmyātmamāyayā* “according to my own nature I am born by my own might.”

Śl. 9: *tyaktvā deham / punarjanma naiti* “having given up the body it is not born again.”

17: *karmaṇo hyapi boddhavyam / boddhavyam ca vikarmaṇaḥ* “action has to be known / and to be known is inaction.”

18: *karmaṇyakarma yaḥ paśyed / akarmaṇi ca karma yaḥ* “who would see inaction in action and in inaction action.”

19: *yasya sarve samāraṃbhāḥ ... / jñānāgnidagdha-karmāṇaṃ tam āhuḥ* “the one whose enterprises ... they call him ‘whose actions are burnt by fire.’”

20: *karmaṇyabhipravṛtto 'pi / naiva kiṃcit karoti saḥ* “even engaged in action / he does nothing at all.”

29: *apāne juhvati prāṇam / prāṇe 'apānam tathā 'pare* “they sacrifice expiration in aspiration, so do others inspiration in aspiration.”

36 has the simile of the ship of knowledge *jñānaplavena* traversing the ocean of evil *vṛjinaṃ santariṣyasi*.

37 has a chiasmus: *yathā ... agnir ... kurute / jñānāgniḥ ... kurute tathā* “as does the fire, ... does the fire of knowledge.”

40 has a chiasmus: *saṃśayātmā vinaśyati / na sukhaṃ saṃśayātmanaḥ* “the sceptic one perishes, there is no happiness for the sceptic one.”

42 repeats a root: *ātiṣṭho 'tiṣṭha*.

5

The fifth adhyāya, *Samnyāsayogaḥ* “On renunciation”, in fact a conciliation of renunciation and action, is short, with only 29 śloka and only one chiasmus.

Śl. 10 has a simile: *padmapatramivāmbhasā* “like a lotus leaf by water.”

The chiasmus is in 19: *nirdoṣaṃ hi samaṃ brahma / tasmād-brahmaṇi te sthitāḥ* “the brahma is spotless, impartial, therefore they are resting in the brahma.”

Adhyāya 5 appears thus to be a complement or correction to the fourth, as the third is to the second.

6

The sixth adhyāya, *Dhyānayogaḥ* “On contemplation” has 47 ślokas with 4 chiasmi. The final aim appears for the first time since the beginning of the Gītā, it is identification with the brahma.

Śl. 5 has a chiasmus: *uddharedātmanā ’tmānam / nātmānam avasādayet* “one should rescue oneself by oneself, not cause oneself to sink.”

13 has a chiasmus: *saṃprekṣya nāsikāgraṃ svaṃ / diśaśca nāvalokayan* “observing the tip of his nose, not looking in any (other) direction.”

18 has a chiasmus: *yadā ... tadā*. 19 offers the simile *yathā dīpo loke...* “like a lamp in the world...”

In 23 a root appears no less than five times: *saṃyogavi-yogaṃ yoga yuktavya yoga*.

30 has a chiasmus: *yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra / sarvaṃ ca mayi paśyati* “one who sees me everywhere and sees everything in me.”

34 has a simile, *vāyoriva* “as the wind”, and one and the same root appears in 34 and twice in 35, *durnigrahaṃ grhyate*.

Similarly in 36-37, *duprāpa avāptum aprāpya*.

38 has a simile, *chinnābhramiva* “like a torn cloud.” *gatim gacchati* in 37 is taken up again, with double negation, in 40: *durgatim na gacchati*.

40 has *adhiko* thrice.

7

The 7th adhyāya, *Jñānavijñānayogaḥ* “On knowledge and understanding” clearly continues the 6th, stressing already in śl. 1 the union with the Bhagavat, whose nature is then explained, including his relation with the world and the four kinds of his devotees. We are here, as we shall be in the 8th adhyāya, on the threshold of the great epiphany in the 9th (the middle of the Gītā). The 7th is a short one, with only 30 ślokas but still three chiasmi.

In 5 a chiasmus: *apareyam* “this is my inferior (nature) / *itas tvanyām prakṛtim viddhi me parām* “but know my other, ultimate one.”

7 has a simile: *maṇigaṇā* “like pearls.”

17 has a chiasmus: *priyo hi jñānino 'atyartham aham / sa ca mama priya* "to the devotee possessing knowledge Bhagavat is extremely dear, and he is dear to Bhagavat."

In 23 those who honor the gods and go to the gods are opposed, in a chiasmus, to those who honor Bhagavat and go to him.

In 27 *dvandvamoha* "illusion of duality" is repeated in 28.

8

The 8th adhyāya, *Dharaṇāyogaḥ* "On concentration", answers questions asked by Arjuna about the essence of the brahma and the means to know Bhagavat. The ślokas 23-27 describe the two paths to the hereafter. Although short, its 28 ślokas contain no less than four chiasmi.

In 4: *adhibhūtaṃ kṣaro bhāvah / puruṣaś cādhidevatam* "in the order of beings a transient existence, and a puruṣa in that of gods."

In 17: *sahasrayugaparyantam aharyadbrahmaṇo viduḥ / rātrim yugasahasrāntām* "they know that a day of the brahma lasts a thousand yugas, and that the night lasts a thousand yugas."

In 18: *avyaktād .../... avyaktasaṃjñake* "from the undeterminate to the consciousness of the undeterminate", and *sarvāḥ prabhavanty aharāgame / rātryāgame pralīyanti* "all are produced at the coming of day, at the coming of night they dissolve."

9

The 9th adhyāya, *Rājavidyārājaguhāyogaḥ* "On the royal science and the royal mystery" is the central point of the Gītā. In its 34 ślokas it has no less than six chiasmi.

Śl. 6 has a simile: *yathā vāyuḥ sarvatrago* "like an all-pervading wind."

Śl. 9 repeats a root: *udāsīnavadāsīnam*: so does 11: *avajānanti ... ajānanto*, and so 12: *moha* (thrice) *mohinīm*.

Śl. 16 has a chiasmus: *svadhā 'ham / ahamoṣadham* "self-power am I, I am herbs."

Śl. 19 has a double chiasmus: *tapāmyaham vṛṣaṃ nigrhṇāmi* "I shine, I restrain rain"; *sadasaccāham* "being and naught am I."

20 repeats a root: *divyān divi devabhogān*.

25 has two chiasmi: *yānti...devān / pitṛn yānti* “they go to gods, to the ancestors they go”; *bhūtāni yānti / yānti mām* “to the demons they go, they go to me.”

28 repeats a root: *mokṣyase ... vimukto*.

29 has a chiasmus: *mayi te / teṣu ... aham*.

34 has the root *mad* six times.

10

The tenth adhyāya, *Vibhūtiyogaḥ* “On manifestation” has, in 42 ślokas, as many as eleven chiasmi.

Śl. 6: *mahārṣayaḥ sapta pūrve / catvāro manavastathā* “the seven great sages at the beginning, and the four manus as well.”

Śl. 10: *dadāmi buddhiyogaṃ taṃ / yena mām upayānti te* “I give the strength of spirit, through which they rise up to me.

11 has the simile of *jñānadīpena* “the lamp of knowledge.”

12 has a chiasmus: *paraṃ dhāma / pavitraṃ param* “supreme refuge, purifier supreme.”

21 *marīcirmarutāmasmi / nakṣatrānāmahaṃ śaśi* “I am Marici amongst the Maruts, amongst the heavenly bodies I am the moon.”

23: *Rudrānāṃ śaṅkaraścāsmi / vitteṣo yakṣarakṣasām* “and of the Rudras I am the śaṅkara, the lord amongst yakṣas and rakṣas.”

vasūnāṃ pāvakaścāsmi / meruḥ śikhariām aham “and of the vasus I am the fire, Maru amongst the summits.”

26: *aśvattho sarvavrkṣānāṃ / devaṛṣiṇāṃ ca nāradaḥ*.

27: *Airavatam gajendrānāṃ / narānāṃ ca narādhipam* “Airavata of the elephants, and of men the king.”

29: *pitṛnāmaryamā cāsmi / Yamaḥ saṅyamatām aham* “and of the ancestors I am Aryaman, Yama of the governors.”

30: *mṛgānāṃ ca mṛgendro 'ham / venateyaśca pakṣinām* “and of the beasts I am the lion, and the venateya of the birds.”

33: *akṣarānāmakāro 'smi / dvandvaḥ sāmāsikasya ca* “of the syllables I am the *a*, and the *dvandva* amongst compounds.”

11

The eleventh adhyāya, *Viśvarūpadarśanayogaḥ* “On the vision of the omniform being,” has 53 ślokas, with no less than 8

chiasmi. It is an interplay between Bhagavat (four times), Arjuna (four times), and the narrator (thrice).

In 9-13 the god is described by the narrator. Not one chiasmus here, nor in 14, nor in Arjuna's speech, 15-24.

25 has a chiasmus: *diśo na jāne / na labhe ca śarma* "where to go I do not know, and I do not get refuge."

28 has a simile: *yathā nadīn* "like rivers", and so has 29: *yathā pataṅgāḥ* "like butterflies", and a chiasmus: *viśanti nāśāya / nāśāya viśanti* "they enter perdition."

In Arjuna's further speech, 36-46, are two chiasmi.

36: *rakṣāṃsi bhūtāni sarve / namasyanti ca siddhasaghāḥ* "all evil demons run, and the troops of siddhas pay homage."

In 39 the beginning of the 2nd hemistich, *namo namaste* "homage to you" is repeated at the end, and 40 has a chiasmus: *namaḥ purastād / prṣṭhataḥ namo* "homage in the east, in the west homage to you." In the same śloka *sarva* occurs four times, and in 41 *he* thrice.

50 has a chiasmus: *svakaṃ rūpaṃ darśayām āsa / āśvāsayām āsa ca bhūtam enam* "he manifested his form, and appeased this terrified (warrior)."

In each of the first two ślokas in Bhagavat's speech is there a chiasmus: *sudurdarśam* "very difficult to see" at the beginning of the first hemistich is echoed at the end of the second: *darśanakāṅkṣiṇaḥ* "wishing to see."

In 53 a chiasmus: *śakya ... draṣṭum / drṣṭavānasi* "to be seen, you have seen."

In 54 *bhaktiā* "through devotion" and in 55 *madbhaktaḥ* "devoted to me" announce the theme of the following adhyāya.

12

The twelfth adhyāya, *Bhaktiyogaḥ* "On devotion" has in its 20 ślokas not less than three chiasmi.

In 7 *teṣāṃ* at the beginning of the first hemistich announces *āveśitacetāsāṃ* that terminates the second.

In 12, two chiasmi: *śreyo hi jñānam / jñānāddhyānaṃ viśeṣyate* "better is knowledge, to knowledge contemplation is superior." *dhyānātkarmaphalatyāgas / tyāgācchāntiranantaram* "to contemplation renouncing the fruit of action (is superior), from renouncing (comes) immediate peace."

In 15 a chiasmus: *yasmānmodvijate loko / lokānmodvijate ca yaḥ* “the one before whom people do not tremble, and who does not tremble before people.”

13

The 13th adhyāya, *Kṣetrakṣetraññayogaḥ* “On the body and the soul” contains in the first 19 of its ślokas not a single chiasmus, which betrays this rather dry exposition of the sāmkhya as interpolated.

In the remaining 15 ślokas, 20-34, there are four chiasmi:

20: *kāryakāraṇakarṭṛtve hetuḥ prakṛtirucyate / puruṣaḥ sukhaduḥkhānāṃ bhokṛtve heturucyate* “the prakṛti is said to be the cause of activity, effects, and causes, the puruṣa is said to be the cause of perception of pleasures and suffering.”

24: *anye sāmkyena yogena / karmayogena cāpare* “others by thought and effort, and others by effort in action.”

30: *yadā ... anupaśyati / ... brahma sampadyate tadā* “when he recognized ..., he attains Brahma then.”

In 32 and 33 similes: *yathā ... ākāśam* “like ether”, *yathā raviḥ* “like the sun.”

In 34 a chiasmus: *ye vidyur / yānti te param* “(those) who know, those go to the absolute.”

14

The 14th adhyāya, *Guṇatrayavibhāgayogaḥ* “On the distribution of the three guṇas” has no less than seven chiasmi in its 27 ślokas:

Śl. 4 has *...yāḥ / tāsām* “(those) who, of them.”

11 in its second hemistich has a chiasmus: *jñānaṃ yadā / tadā vidyāt* “when knowledge ... then one would know.”

15 a chiasmus: *rajasi pralayan gatvā / tathā pralīnastamasi* “having dissolved in the rajas, and dissolved in the tamas.”

22, second hemistich, a chiasmus: *na dveṣṭi sampravṛttāni / na nivṛttāni kāṅkṣati* “he does not hate the arisen, or care for the departed.”

25 a chiasmus: *mānāpamānayostulyo / tulyo mitrāripakṣayo* “indifferent to esteem and contempt, indifferent to friend and foe.”

27 a chiasmus: *śāśatasya ca dharmasya / sukhasya ekāntika-sya ca* “and of eternal order and of bliss devoted to one end.”

15

The 15th adhyāya *Puruṣottamayogaḥ* “On the supreme spirit” in its 20 ślokas has only one chiasmus.

But ślokas 1-3 have the simile of the *aśvattha* tree and 8 a simile, *vāyurgandhāniva* “as the wind (disperses) the perfumes.”

Śl. 10, second hemistich, the chiasmus: *vimūḍhā nānu-paśyanti / paśyanti jñānacakṣuṣaḥ* “the foolish-minded do not discover (it), those with the knowing eye see (it).”

16

The 16th adhyāya, *Daivāsurasampadvibhāgayogaḥ* “On the distribution of divine and demonic destinies” in its 24 ślokas has only two chiasmi.

Śl. 5: *daivī sampadvimokṣāya / nibandhāyāsuri* “the divine fate to deliverance, to slavery the demonic one.”

14: *asau mayā hataḥ śatrur / haṁṣye cāparānapi* “that foe by me was struck, and I will strike others also.”

17

The 17th adhyāya, *Śraddhātrayavibhāgayogaḥ*, “On the distribution of the three faiths”, takes up again in śl. 1 *śāstravidhāne* from 16, 24. It has only one chiasmus, in 4: *yajante sātṭvikā devān / yakṣarakṣāṁsi rājasāḥ* “sattva beings sacrifice to gods; to yakṣas and rakṣas the rajas beings.”

18

The last adhyāya, *Mokṣasamnyāsayogaḥ*, “On deliverance and resignation”, might be called miscellaneous as it deals with several other subjects, namely *jñānam* (20-22), *karma* (223-25), *karṭṛ* (26-28), *buddhi* (29-32), *dhṛti* (33-35), *sukham* (36), and the duties of the castes (40-48). It has in its 72 ślokas nine chiasmi.

2: *saṃnyāsam kavayo viduḥ / prāhus tyāgam vicakṣaṇāḥ* “the sages know resignation, the enlightened call forsaking.”

3: *tyājyam doṣavadityeke / na tyājamiti cāpare* “some say forsaking implies fault, and others say one should not give up renouncing.”

4: *śṛṇu me tyāge / tyāgo hi ...* “hear me on renouncing, for renouncing...”

10: *na dveṣṭyakuśalam karma / kuśale nānuṣajjate* “he does not loathe a disagreeable act, nor is he attached to an agreeable one.”

11: *yastu ... tyāgī / sa tyāgī* “but one who renounces, renounces.”

16: *yaḥ paśyatyakṛtabuddhitvāt / na sa paśyati* “(one) who considers through lack of reflection, does not see at all.”

There is not a single chiasmus from 20 to 44.

48 has one: *sarvārambhā hi doṣena / dhūmenāgnirivāvṛtāḥ* “for all enterprises in fault, in smoke like agni are enclosed.”

50: *siddhim prāpto yathā / brahma tathā* “noti” “as he has attained perfection, so does he attain the brahma.”

62: *parām śāntim / sthānam ... śāśvatam* “eternal peace, dwelling eternal.”

Summary Conclusions

The occurrence of chiasmus has been observed throughout the Gītā. This, along with similes and parallels, is more than sufficient to disprove Lamotte’s impromptu reply. There *is* definitely style in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

But in four passages the chiasmus is rare or conspicuously absent, which may have a bearing on the question, debated by Lamotte after many others, of the structure of the poem.

Two of these passages may be said to appear as corrigenda, the other two as addenda.

The 3rd adhyāya in its 40 ślokas has only four chiasmi, whereas the 4th, of the same length, has more than twice as many. Now this 3rd adhyāya may be considered as correcting the preceding one which praised the superiority of buddhi to karma. It praises, on the contrary, karma. But it also contains, as noted, four new elements: miscreants are mentioned thrice, including those refractory to the Bhagavat’s teaching, a unique occurrence in the poem. And the following śloka is redolent,

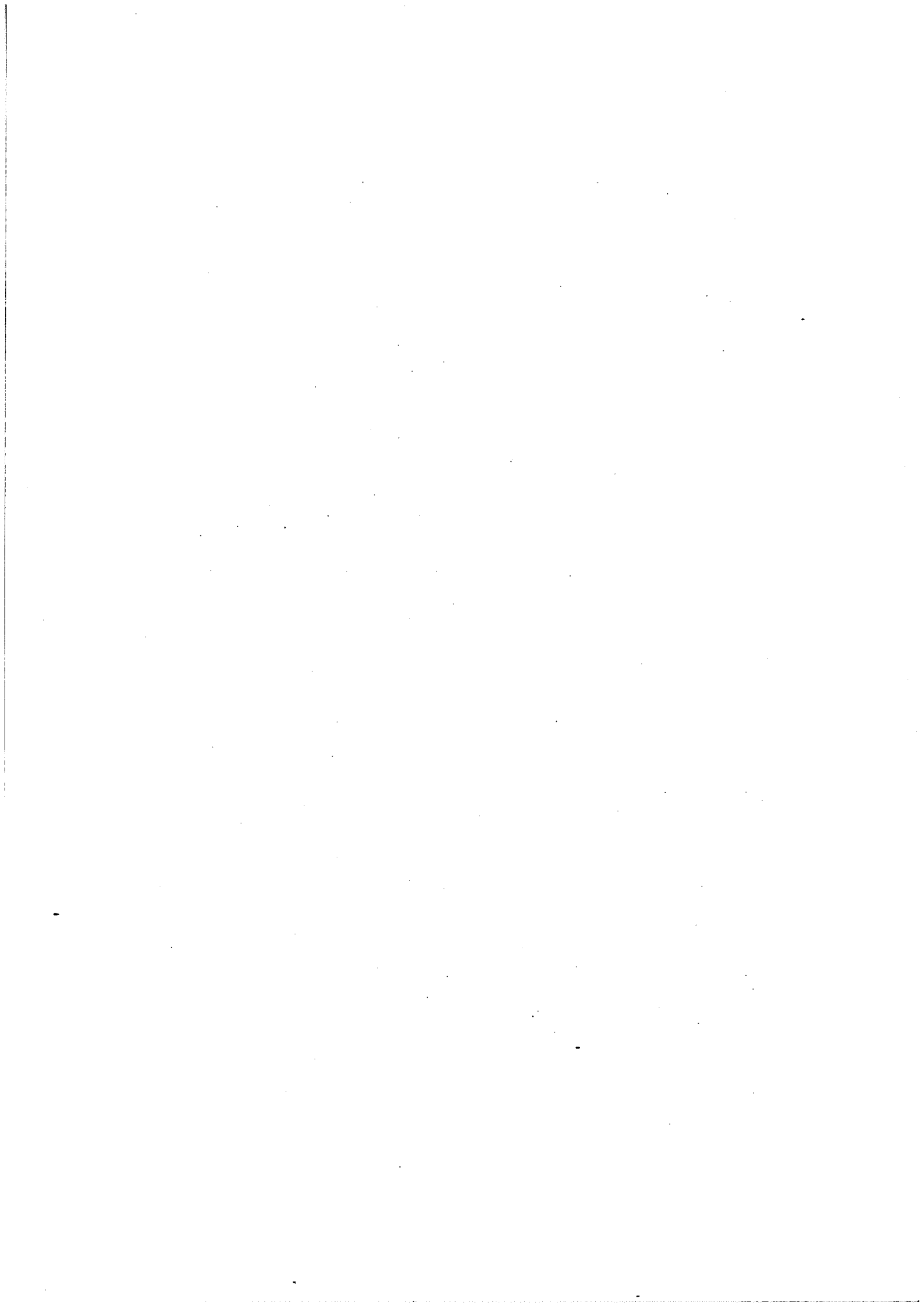
also exceptionally, of materialism-determinism. These facts induce us to consider the 3rd adhyāya as interpolated.

In the 13th adhyāya, on the body and the soul, the first 19 of its 34 ślokas, devoid of chiasmus, are an exposition of the sām̐khya doctrine, albeit not quite as distinctly formulated as in the ulterior darśana. Still, we suggest here also an interpolation.

Finally in ślokas 20 to 44, also devoid of chiasmus, of the last adhyāya, it seems that a miscellany of subjects, not dealt with previously, has been added for the sake of exhaustivity.

Volume II

Iranian Studies



CHAPTER 9

Zarathustra: First Poet-Sacrificer

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

You are beautiful, O Zarathustra,
you are well-made, O Spitama,
you have good calves, long arms.
In your body Fortune has been placed
and long well-being for your soul.
(Yt.17.22)

An Historical Zarathustra?

Who was Zarathustra—and how did he speak? Since the late 17th century, Western scholars have held the opinion that Zarathustra was an historical person, from Thomas Hyde, who, in his *De vetere religione* (Oxford, 1700), expressed the opinion that Zarathustra was “a prophet, as well as a reformer, a theologian and a philosopher,”¹ to Mary Boyce, three centuries later (1996: 27): “It is widely held that Zoroaster was himself a mystic, as well as a thinker and teacher.” Considering that knowledge of the Avestan language and Iranian history and religion was almost nil at the time of Hyde, one would normally expect that this issue—first the historicity of Zarathustra, then his prophethood and reform—had, in the meantime, been subjected to close scrutiny and reevaluation on the basis of our improved knowledge in the fields of Old Iranian linguistics and philology. Such is not the case, however. Instead we find that only one argument has ever been made. About 200 years

¹ Herrenschildt 1987: 213.

after Hyde, A.V.W. Jackson and C. Bartholomae argued that the Zarathustra figure in the *Gāthās* is so "life-like" that it has to be real. Thus, for Jackson (1898: 3-4),

... Zoroaster is a historical character ... the figure of the great reformer, nevertheless, stands out clearly enough to be recognized in its general outlines; and sufficient data can be collected to enable one to give a clear and correct idea of his personality and individuality.

And Bartholomae (1904, col. 1675) regarded "it as certain that Zarathustra is an historical personality and that the *Gāthās* are in the main his work," and, in greater detail, (1924: 6; repr. 1970: 4):

I have no doubt that [the *Gāthās*] are the work of the founder of the Iranian religion himself, that they contain the sayings and teachings of Zarathuštra in the form he gave them himself, to the extent it is possible in a long, exclusively oral, tradition. *Conclusive proof of the genuineness of the sermons is, in my opinion, the presence of so many purely personal elements.*² [my italics]

No other argument has ever been produced, and, when feeling compelled to produce an argument, scholars throughout the 20th century have invariably reached back to Jackson and Bartholomae's argument, as, for instance, Mary Boyce (1992: 113):³

Yet [Zarathustra] is also drawn into the divine and mythic worlds, and thereby piously transformed from the *recognizably real figure* of the *Gathas* into a revered, semi-legendary one. [my italics]

And Gherardo Gnoli (1994: 470-71, 474):

there are not sufficient reasons for denying the authenticity of the traditional attribution of the *Gāthās* to Zarathustra, in spite of the opinions of some authoritative scholars [Darmesteter, Molé, Kellens] ... with the exception of the fifth (*Yasna* 53), which is probably

² "Für die Echtheit spricht meiner Ansicht nach entscheidend das viele rein Persönliche, das in jenen Verspredigten enthalten ist."

³ See also Skjærvø 1994:241; 1996: 221-26; 1997a: 104-07.

later. ... Thus, the *Gāthās* present Zarathustra as a fully and uniquely human figure.⁴

Even assuming that this assessment of the *Gāthās* is correct, which is by no means certain, the only objective conclusion that can be drawn from it is that the author, who is not necessarily Zarathustra (whose existence has to be proved before his authorship of the *Gāthās* can be discussed), was a good author, who described his characters well. Rather than beginning their descriptions of Zarathustra and old Iranian religion with a discussion of Zarathustra's historicity, Western scholars begin along the lines of "Zarathustra was ..." or "Zarathustra lived ...," as if the mere act of giving him a grammatical predicate would call him into existence.

In the absence of serious arguments, there is therefore no reason, *a priori*, to believe that the name "Zarathustra" mentioned in the Old Iranian ritual texts, dating from long before we know of any persons by name in Iranian or Indic history (2nd millennium B.C.E. or even later), is, exceptionally, an historical person and that reliable details about his life were transmitted orally, but exactly, for millennia and resurfaced in the Zoroastrian accounts about the world's mythical origins. Indeed, all the Zoroastrian texts, the *Avesta* and the Pahlavi books, notably the 7th book of the *Dēnkard*, contain what are clearly *myths* about Zarathustra, but nothing that can be safely assumed to be the *vita* of an historical person.⁵ Thus, the burden of proving Zarathustra's historicity lies, not on those who deny it or ignore it for lack of any evidence to the contrary, but on those who maintain it.⁶ It is with some trepidation I offer these heretical thoughts to Hanns-Peter Schmidt, whose work I greatly admire.

⁴ "Le *Gāthā* presentano quindi Zoroastro come una figura pienamente e unicamente umana." The *quindi* "therefore" does not, however, refer to any preceding argument.

⁵ The Zarathustra of the Pahlavi books, in particular, was studied in great detail by Molé 1963, 1967. On the problems experienced by scholars who try to extract "historical" details from the myths and legends, see Skjærvø 1997a: 105 (citing Bartholomae) and p. 106 (citing Boyce).

⁶ Molé (1963: 180) makes the same comment in connection with those who deny or ignore how the Zoroastrian tradition views the *Gāthās*, namely as, five ritual poems of mythical origin, first recited by Zarathustra and later recited in every sacrifice.

Until a proof of Zarathustra's historicity is produced, we are therefore free to try to answer the question of who Zarathustra was by established methods of comparative religion, mythology, linguistics, etc. This also relieves us of the need to assume that the Young Avestan Zarathustra is, as in the judgment of Boyce (just cited) a pious transformation of an historical figure, and nothing prevents us from working on the assumption that the mythical and epic Zarathustra we see in the *Young Avesta*—making allowance for some historical developments—is the *original* Zarathustra.⁷ In the Young Avesta, Zarathustra is a “first poet-sacrificer,” culture hero, and epic hero, and the scant evidence of the *Gāthās* does not, as we shall see, disagree with this. He can then also not be the “author” of the *Gāthās*; indeed, these texts, being part of an oral tradition, must represent the final reworking of familiar poetic material by one or more poets before they were “crystallized” (no longer recomposed in performance) and, probably in the Young Avestan period, canonized. What we therefore need to do is to situate the Old Avestan poet-sacrificer in his *poetic-religious* universe, rather than try to understand him as an historical person.

In an ancient society, be it mid-second millennium B.C.E. or later, the role of the poet-sacrificer and his place in society and the greater scheme of things were very different from what they are today, and early 20th-century West-European notions of an aristocratic thinker who broke with his society's ancient traditions because he found them outdated or primitive are anachronistic, or, at any rate, need to be proved.⁸ To understand the old Iranian poet and his poems we must be prepared to situate them in an appropriate cultural setting, far removed from modern Western civilization. To do so we must read the text itself carefully, our only witness, while consulting anthropology and comparative religion to interpret it. Then, from the poems them-

⁷ Similarly, Molé 1963, passim; Kellens 1994a: 20.

⁸ For instance, Lommel 1955:189 (repr. pp. 201-202): “For this purpose each had to distinguish himself by surpassing his rivals in Brahmanic knowledge. This is exactly what Zarathustra had to do as well, only on a *much higher level*: he had to gain prominence in order to propagate *his new, profounder, and purer teaching*”; Boyce 1969: 34: “[Zarathustra's] reform consisted largely in reinterpreting its [= the old Iranian religion] beliefs *at a nobler and subtler spiritual level*.” [my italics]

selves there emerges clearly a universe divided into three levels: the ritual, in which the poet-sacrificer is acting; the society, on behalf of which he acts; and the divine sphere, the sphere of "myth," which it is the poet-sacrificer's function to communicate with and influence favorably—in order for the gods to favor him and his people—by performing a ritual fit for gods, that is, a ritual that will enable the gods to restore the world to its pristine state by overcoming darkness and death and bringing back light and life. In ancient Iran, the human and "mythical" or divine spheres are clearly distinguished: one can only be perceived by "thought" (*manah-*) or "inspiration" (*maniu-*), the other is the world of living beings (*gaēθā-*), that which has bones (*astuuant-*). It is the "job" of the poet-sacrificer in the world of living beings to strengthen and revitalize the inhabitants of the mythical world, and so provide prosperity for themselves in return.

Zarathustra prototypical poet-sacrificer in the Young Avesta.

In the *Young Avesta*, Zarathustra has three roles: he is (1) a first poet-sacrificer assisting Ahura Mazdā in overcoming evil, (2) a first organizer of society, and (3) an epic hero combating the Evil Spirit and his minions, the *daēuvas*. Here I shall discuss mainly the first aspect.⁹

Zarathustra's role as first poet-sacrificer is mentioned frequently.¹⁰ The principal text is the hymn to the fravashis (Yt.13), which contains the longest passage devoted to this aspect of Zarathustra. In Yt.13.89 we are first told that Zarathustra was the first of the material world to praise Order¹¹ and blame the

⁹ For the epic Zarathustra, featured especially in *Yašt* 17 and *Videvdad* 19, see Skjærvø 1996a and 1998 (forthc.).

¹⁰ Cf. Kellens 1994a: 14 fn.6. In Greek literature the notion of the divinely inspired "ultimate poet" is seen in the case of both Homer and Hesiod, see Nagy, 1979: 5-6: "... the references made by an archaic poem to its composer, or 'author,' are not so much a personal attempt by the poet to identify himself but rather a formal reflection of the poetry upon its own importance: the archaic poem presents itself retrospectively as something transmitted by the ultimate poet."

¹¹ The reason for my rejection of H. Lüder's (1951) argument for translating OInd. *ṛtá-* and Av. *aša-* "truth" rather than as "cosmic/ritual, order" has been given in Skjærvø, "Truth and Deception," (forthc.).

*daēuuās (yō paoiriō stōiš astuuaiθiā staot ašəm nāist daēuuī).*¹²

Zarathustra is also portrayed as a culture hero in Yt. 13, when he is said to have been the first representative member of each of the three social classes and to have been the first to win the boon of material prosperity, Order, and the gift of poetry given him by Ahura Mazdā in return for his worship and praise (Yt.13.88):

*paoiriāi aθaurune paoiriāi raθaēštāi
paoiriāi vāstriāi fšuiieinte ...
paoiriāi haṅhananāi
paoiriāi haṅhanuše
gəmca ašəmca uxδəmca*

the first priest, the first charioteer,
the first husbandman ...
the first to have gained for himself,
the first to have gained for the others¹³
the cow, the Order, the word to be spoken.

Finally, Zarathustra is portrayed as the originator of the “law discarding (or: rejecting) the *daēuuas*” (Y.2.13 *dātəm vīdōiūm dātəm zaraθuštri*) and in general of any other instruction in the *Avesta* by virtue of having received it from Ahura Mazdā and passed it on to mankind.

Zarathustra is not the only first poet-sacrificer in Indo-Iranian mythology, however. In the hymn to Sraoša, this deity is said to have been the first to spread the barsom and make heard the five *Gāθās* of Zarathustra (Y.57.6, 8). The implication may be that Sraoša, the divinized “readiness to listen,” was the first divine being to *utter* the *Gāθās*, as they were *thought* by Ahura Mazdā in order to communicate them to the human Zarathustra, who would then repeat them in *his* sacrifice.¹⁴ While Zarathustra was the first to “make heard” the *Gāθās*, in *Yašt* 13.87, Gaiiā Marətan is described as he “who was the first to listen to the

¹² On the notion of the *Gāθās* as mixed praise and blame poetry, see Skjærvø 1996b:227, 1998 (forthc.), and “Praise and Blame” (forthc.).

¹³ Cf. Y.71.3 *haṅhanuštəməm ašahe* (“Zarathustra), who has the most gained Order.”

¹⁴ See also Molé 1963: 173 and fn. 4.

thought and commands *of Ahura Mazdā” and as the ancestor of the Iranians.

In the hymn to Haoma, in which Zarathustra is depicted as tending the fire and singing the *Gāθās*, the Haoma tells him that the first mortal to press the *haoma* for rewards was Viuuayhan, father of Yima (Y.9.3-4), while Zarathustra was the reward allotted to his father, Pourušāspa, who was the fourth sacrificer. It was Zarathustra, however, who first recited the *Ahuna vairiia* prayer¹⁵ in Airiiana Vaējah, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, thereby making the *daēuuas* go underground (Y.9.14-15):

srūtō airiēne vaējahi
tūm paoiriio zaraθuštra
ahunəm vairīm frasrāuuaiio
vībərəθraqtəm āxtūirīm
aparəm xraoždiiēhiiā frasrūiti

tūm zəmərgūzō ākərənuuō
vīspe daēuuā zaraθuštra
yōi para ahmāt vīrō.raoda apataiien
paiti āiia zəmā
yō aojištō yō tañcištō
yō θfəxšišō yō āsištō
yō as vərəθraqtəmō
**uuaiiā mainiuuā dāmən¹⁶*

Renowned in Airiiana Vaējah
 you were the first, O Zarathustra,
 to make heard the Ahuna Vairiia
 with *pauses and repeated four times,
 the last time with stronger pronunciation.

You made all the *daēuuas*
 hide in the ground, O Zarathustra,
 who before that went about in the shape of men
 on this earth,

¹⁵ Based on an analysis of the structure of the *Gāθās*, I regard the *Ahuna Vairiia*, composed in a regular *Ahunauuaitī* meter, as the first strophe of the *Ahunauuaitī gāθā*, see, e.g., Skjærvø, “Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti” (forthc.).

¹⁶ Mss. *yō as vərəθraqtəmō abauuāt mainiuuā dāmən*; cf. Yt. 13.76: *tā zī hənti yāskərəstəmā uuaiiā mainiuuā dāmən*.

(you) the strongest, the firmest,
the most active, the fastest,
who were the greatest resistance-smasher
among the establishments of the two Spirits.

and even chased the Evil Spirit himself, as told in the hymn to
Aši, goddess of rewards (Yt.17.18-20):

*adāṣt uiti frauuašata yō spitāmō zaraθuštra
yō paoiriō mašiiākō staota ašəm yaṣt vahištəm
yazata ahurəm mazdqm yazata aməšē spəntē
yeṣhe zəθaēca vaxšaēca uruuāθən apō uruuarāasca
yeṣhe zəθaēca vaxšaēca uxšin āpō uruuarāasca*

*yeṣhe zəθaēca vaxšaēca apaduuarat aṅrō mainiiuš
haca zəmat yaṣt paθanaiiā skarənaiiā dūraēpārariiā
uiti dauuata hō yō duždā aṅrō mainiiuš pouru.-
mahrkō
nōiṣt mqm vīspe yazatāṅhō anusəntəm fraorəciṅta
āat mqm aēuuō zaraθuštrō anusəntəm apaiieiti*

*jaiṅti mqm ahuna vairiia
auuauuata snaiθiša yaθa asma katō.masā
tāpaiieiti mqm aša vahišta mənaiiən ahe yaθa aiiō.
xšustəm
raēkō mē haca aṣhā zəmat *vanhuiiā kərənaoiti
yō mqm aēuuō jāmaiieiti yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō*

Thence Zarathustra Spitama *drove forth,¹⁷
he, who first praised that Order that is best,
worshipped Ahura Mazda, worshipped the Life-giving
Immortals,¹⁸

¹⁷ Thus, if from *vart-* (middle) “drive in a chariot”; but it may also be read as *frauuašata* “welled-forth” <*vacia-*; cf. RV.3.6.1 (Agni) *prā kārauo mananā vacyāmānā devadrīcīm nayata devayāntah* “O bards, who well forth by (your) thought, lead (the spoon) turned toward the gods, you who follow the gods!...” The image may be that of the bobbing up and down of the heads of the horses and the charioteer while racing forward, producing a wave-like effect.

¹⁸ The root *spā-/sū-/sau-* (from Indo-Iranian **śuaH/śuH/śauH*: *spənta-*, etc.; *sūra-*; *sauua-*, *sauuah-*, *saošiiant-*, etc.) properly refers to “swelling,” that is, in religious context, to nature swelling with (the

at whose birth and growth the waters and plants rejoiced,
 at whose birth and growth the waters and plants grew,
at whose birth and growth the Evil Spirit ran away
 from the earth, wide, round, (and) with distant borders.
 Thus he spoke, the Evil Spirit who gives bad gifts,
 full of destruction:-

All the beings worthy of worship could not *catch
 up with me against my will,
 but Zarathustra, alone, reaches me against my will.

He smashes me with the Ahuna Vairiia,
 (as) with a weapon like a stone the size of a house.
He heats me with the Aša Vahišta just like metal.
He makes me flee from this good earth,
 who alone comes against me, Zarathustra Spitama.

In the hymn to Anāhitā, goddess of rivers, Ahura Mazdā is said to have established Zarathustra as “the *ratu* (~ prototypical model, ‘judge’) of the bony world of the living” (Yt.5.89), and according to the *Vispered* Zarathustra was made *ratu* and *ahu* “lord” of living beings in the material world as the counterpart to Ahura Mazdā, who is *ratu* and *ahu* (~ lord) of the “spiritual world” (Vr.2.4):

ahmiia zaōdre barəsmanaēca
𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 ratūm āiiese yešti yim ahurəm mazdqm
mainiiaom mainiiauanqm dāmanqm
mainiiaoiā stōiš ahūmca ratūmca

ahmiia zaōdre barəsmanaēca
𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 ratūm āiiese yešti yim zaraθuštrəm spitāməm
gaēθīm gaēθiianqm dāmanqm
gaēθiiaoiā stōiš ahūmca ratūmca

In this libation and barsom,
 by sacrificing I ask you Ahura Mazdā hither as the *ratu*,
 the (*ratu*) in the world of inspiration of the
 establishments in the world of inspiration,
 the *ahu* and the *ratu* of being in the world of inspiration.

juices of) life. I render words containing this root by means of “(re)-vitalizing, life-giving,” and similar words.

In this libation and barsom,
 by sacrificing I ask you Zarathustra Spitama
 hither as the *ratu*,
 (the *ratu*) in the world of living beings as that of the
 establishments of in the world of living beings,
 the *ahu* and the *ratu* of the existence¹⁹ in the world of
 living beings.

Whether the triple function of Zarathustra is "original" will have to be investigated, and it is possible that we are dealing with three different original "types" that merged over time. The process would be similar to the one observed for instance in Greek literature, where, as pointed out by G. Nagy:

Greek myths about lawgivers, whether they are historical figures or not, tend to reconstruct these figures as the originators of the sum total of customary law. ... Solon, whose status as primary culture hero of the State, originator of a wide variety of institutions, makes him the ideal recipient of any credit taken away from others who came after him.²⁰

In the sacred texts of the Iranians' closest relatives, in the *Rigveda*, Agni, the sacrificial fire himself, was the first sacrificer. This myth agrees with that of *Vīuuaṅ'haṅt* as the first sacrificer in the hymn to Haoma (Y.9.4), since *Vīuuaṅ'haṅt*, OInd. *Vivasvant-*, is an old epithet of the sun, the cosmic fire. In Indic mythology another first sacrificer (and law-giver) is Manu,²¹ which also shows how the attribution of these mythological functions can sometimes be somewhat fluid.

To illustrate an anthropologist's view of the relationship between first and current poet-sacrificers, let me finally quote S. Tambiah's (1985: 28) description of sacred words:

It is clear that we are dealing with three notions which form an interrelated set: deities or first ancestors or their equivalents instituted speech and the classifying activity; man himself is the creator and user of this

¹⁹ That is, past, present, and/or future existence, cf. Y. 52.1 *vīspaiiā aṣaonō stōiṣ haṛḍiāica bauuqiḍiāica būṣiiqiḍiāica* "of the entire existence of the sustainer of Order, that which is, is becoming, and shall be."

²⁰ Nagy 1996b: 74-75.

²¹ Cf. Nagy 1990a: 110-11.

propensity; language as such has an independent existence and has the power to influence reality.

Correlated with these three notions are:

1. the domain of myth, which relates stories about the doings of saviors or prophets or ancestors and the arrival of the message, be it doctrine or magic;
2. the ritual or magical system itself—that is, the linguistic structure of the sacred words and the grammar of the non-verbal acts that go with them;
3. the present-day human priests or magicians, their sacred status, their links with the saviors or ancestors, and their special behavior and preparations which make their ritual practices effective.²²

We see that the picture of Zarathustra conveyed by the texts is a common one and so needs no further proof to be justified.

Zarathustra's installation as first poet-sacrificer in the Ahunauuaitī Gāθā.

Having thus established the nature of Zarathustra in the *Young Avesta*, we are now ready to look at the Gathic Zarathustra.

In the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā*, Zarathustra is mentioned for the first time in the introduction to the *Gāθā*.²³ After asking Ahura Mazda whether he will be able to perform a perfect ritual that will allow him to get to hear Ahura Mazda's commandments, the poet-sacrificer requests inspiration, long lifespan, and help to overcome his adversaries, reminding Ahura Mazda that he helped Zarathustra in this way. In anticipation of victory, he then asks *Ārmaitī* (the Earth) to give invigoration to *Vištāspa*, one of the poet-sacrificers (*kauui-*) that followed in the path of Zarathustra (*zaraθuštri-* 5.53.2), as well as to himself (1.28.6-7):²⁴

²² Ibid., p. 29.

²³ The numbers in bold-1,2,3,4,5- identify the *Gāθā*: *Ahunauuaitī*, *Uštāuuaitī*, *pəntamaniiū*, *Vohuxšaθrā*, *Vahištōišti*; YH=*Yasna Haptanhāiti*. The other numbers identify the *hāiti* and strophe; thus 2.44.6 = Y[asna]. 44.6.- For the structure of the Old Avestan texts see Skjærvø 1998 (forthc.).

²⁴ In the translations below bold indicates actual text, the rest being added for comprehension.

*vohū gaidī manañhā dāidī ašā dā darəgāiiū
 ərašuuāiš tū uxđāiš mazdā zaraθuštrāi aojōñhuuat
 rafəno
 ahmaibiiācā ahurā yā daibištūuatō duuaēšā
 tauruuiiāma*

*dāidī ašā tqm ašīm vañhəuš āiiaptā manañhō
 dāidī tū ārmaitē vištāspāi tšəm maibiiācā
 dās tū mazdā xšaiiācā yā və mąθrā srəuuimā rādā*

**Come now on account of my good thought! Give me
 now on account of my Order the gift of a long
 lifespan!**

**On account of his capacious²⁵ utterances, you gave, O
 Mazdā, support with strength to Zarathustra.
 Give to us, too, O Ahura, support by which we shall
 overcome the hostilities of the hostile one.**

**Now give on account of my Order that reward: the
 spoils of my good thought!**

**Give, you, O Ārmaiti, the invigorant to Vištāspa! To
 me, too,
 you have now given it, O Mazda. Command, too, O
 Mazdā, for us your generous gifts, which we wish
 to hear about through your thought-formula, O
 Mazdā.**

Note here the contrast between “to Zarathustra” and “to us, too.” In the translation above, I have taken *dā* as the noun **da’ō* “gift” seen also in 5.53.2 *dāñhō* (= *da’anñhō*) *ərazūš paθō* “the straight paths of the gift,” rather than as a verb “you have (now) given,” since then another noun would have to be supplied for the adjective *darəgāiiū*; but this is unlikely to be both an adjectival compound (YH.41.4 *rafənahī darəgāiiū* “support bestowing long lifespan”) and a noun “long life.”²⁶ The verb expressing the gift to Zarathustra is thus unexpressed (gapped) and must be supplied from the context. We have the choice of supplying either the same form as the preceding verb, that is, *dāidī*,

²⁵ See Skjærvø 1997a: 111.

²⁶ Old Indic has the noun *dirghāyutvá-* from an adjective **dirghāyú-* in RV.8.59.7 to Varuṇa and Indra: *dirghāyutváya prá tiratam na áyuh* “Extend our lifespan for long lifespan!”

an imperative, another form of the same verb, or a different verb according to the context.²⁷ The first alternative would be the simplest, but the variation between the imperative *dāidī* and the aorist injunctive *dā* in 1.28.7 shows that the second alternative is also possible, and I have translated accordingly. The interpretation of *dā* as a verb is less satisfactory,²⁸ because the preceding *dāidī* is then left without a direct object.²⁹

Zarathustra is next mentioned in 1.29, which has the literary form of a drama taking place in heaven. The poet-sacrificer's soul and the soul³⁰ of the cow stand before Ahura Mazda complaining about the hardships suffered by the soul of the cow and the good living among the bad (1.29.1):³¹

xšmaibiīā gəuš uruuā gərəždā kahmāi mā θbarōždūm
kā mā tašaṭ
ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəmo ahišaiīā dərəšcā təuuišcā
noit mōi vāstā xšmaṭ aniiō aθā mōi sqstā vohū vāstriiā

To you gods the breath-soul of the cow complains:

“For whom have you carved *me*? Who has fashioned me?”

Fury and violence, obstruction keep me bound, as well as fetter and oppression.³²

I have no pastor other than you gods, so please me with a good forager!”

²⁷ This alternative cannot be evaluated, as there are no examples of *rafənō* as direct object.

²⁸ The variations in the number of syllables in the second half-line of the *Ahunauii* do not allow us to choose between *dā* one or two syllables.

²⁹ We could, however, supply *rafənō* with *darəgāiū*, as in YH.41.4 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā θbahmī rafənahī darəgāiū* “May we gain and leave the others behind, O Mazda Ahura, in the race for your support, which ensures a long lifespan,” to obtain: “Give me now a gift on account of my Order! You have now given the assistance that ensures a long lifespan.”

³⁰ I understand *uruuan-* as the “breath-soul,” that is, the faculty that conveys the poet-sacrificer’s words, as opposed to the *daēnā-* his “vision-soul,” which guides the unseeing *uruuan-*.

³¹ See also Lommel 1935-36; Molé 1963: 193-202; Kellens 1995.

³² The adversaries of Ahura Mazda’s ordered cosmos, see Skjærvø, *Weaving a World of Thought* (forthc.).

The fashioner of the cow then asks Order what measures Ahura Mazda has taken for the cow's protection (1. 29.2):

*adā tašā gēuš pərəsaṭ ašəm kaṭā toi gauuōi ratuš
hiiaṭ hīm dātā xšaiiantō hadā vāstrā gaodāiio
θβaxšō
kām hōi uštā ahurəm yā drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəməm
vādāiioiṭ*

Then the fashioner of the cow asks Order: "How was your model (*ratu*) for the cow, when you gods who are in command established her together with her pasture as "cow-nourishing activity"?"

Whom do you all wish to be an Ahura for her, Someone who may push back Wrath, together with those possessed by the Lie?"

and is answered by Ahura Mazda, basically, that he had not thought about that (1.29.6):

*aṭ ē.vaocat ahurō mazdā viduuā vafūš viianaiiā
nōiṭ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ašāciṭ hacā
aṭ zī θβā fšuiiantāēcā vāstriiāicā θβōrāštā tatašā*

Thus he has said, Ahura Mazda, who knows the webs by their *texture:³³

"Neither has a model been found during this one period of existence³⁴ nor one just in accordance with Order.

For the carpenter has fashioned you for the cattle-tender and the forager."

I understand this to mean that, during the period extending from the moment of the first ordering of the cosmos to the first "attack" of darkness and evil, no *ratu* "(heavenly) prototype"³⁵ or *ahura* "lord" had been prepared for the cow, a living creature

³³ See Skjærvø, *Weaving a World of Thought* (forthc.).

³⁴ On the meaning of the *ahu-*, see, e.g., Schlerath 1968; Skjærvø, *Weaving a World of Thought* (forthc.).

³⁵ See, e.g., Kellens 1994a: 115 fn. 13, quoting Renou 1950: 438: *rtū-* = "modèle, principe gouvernant."

crucial to man's subsistence, but now suffering torture at the hands of the powers of darkness without anybody to protect her.³⁶ It is made clear, however, that the prerequisites for improving the situation, namely hymns and libations, have already been prepared by Ahura Mazdā, and only someone to bring them down to the mortals is needed (1. 29.7):

*tēm āzūtoiš ahurō maθrām tašaṭ aša hazaošō
mazdā gauuōi xšuuīdāmcā huuō urušaēibiiō spəntō
sāsnaiiā
kastē vohū manaḡhā yē ī dāiiāṭ ēāāuuā
marataēibiiō*

**The Ahura, who has the same pleasure as Order,
fashioned *that* thought-formula of the libation
and the milk for the cow, he, Mazdā. *He* is Life-
giving for the meager ones by his ordinance.
“Whom do you have, (O fashioner of the cow) who by
his good thought shall bring them down to the
mortals?”**

But such a one exists, namely Zarathustra (1.29.8):

*aēm mōi idā vistō yē nē aēuuō sāsnā gūšatā
zaraθuštrō spitāmō huuō nē mazdā vašī ašāicā
carakəraθrā srāuuaiieḡhē hiiāṭ hōi hudəmēm diiāi
vaxədrahiā*

**“This one³⁷ is the one found by me who alone listens
to our ordinances,
Zarathustra Spitama. He wishes, O Mazda, to make
heard
for us and for Order poems of praise, if only(?) I am
made (= assigned as) the good breath/good
control³⁸ of his speech organ.”**

³⁶ Thus also Lommel 1935-36 and Kellens 1995, with some differences.

³⁷ Note that *aēm* is the near-deictic pronoun, denoting a person in the speaker's vicinity.

³⁸ From **hu-dama-* from *dam-* “breathe” or “control,” rather than = OInd. *svādman-* “sweetness” with different vowel in the first syllable.

A literary echo of the preceding strophes is heard in a Rigvedic hymn to Indra (RV.10.99.10): *ayám daśasyān nāryebhir asya dasmó devébbhir váruṇo ná māyī / ayám kañīna ṛtupá aveḍy...* “This one, seeking to fulfill his obligations³⁹ with his men/heroes, qualified, with the gods, like Varuṇa, rich in the creative magic of change, this young man has been found as protector of the *ṛtus* ...,” where we note the close correspondences *ayám ... ṛtupá aveḍy* and 1.29.6 *vistō ...ratuṣ*, 1.29.8 *aēm ... vistō*.

The soul of the cow is not happy with this arrangement, since Zarathustra’s voice is not nearly strong enough to qualify him as poet-sacrificer (1.29.9):

*aṭcā gēuš uruuā raostā yā anaēšəm xšqnmānē rādəm
vācam nərəš asūrahiā yēm ā vasəmī īšā xšadrīm
kadā yauuā huuō aṇhaṭ yā hōi dadaṭ zastauuṭ auuō*

**And, thus promised, the breath-soul of the cow
lamented: “Am I one who would *direct a
forceless voice at the *pleasing (of the *arədras* =
heavenly judges?),
the voice of a man without life-giving power. He
whom I wish here and now to have command
through this invigorant—
When shall *he* ever be there who shall give *him* help
with his hands?”**

This little mythical drama enacted in the presence of Ahura Mazda clearly represents the installation of Zarathustra as the first = original singer of Ahura Mazda’s praise, since before then only Ahura Mazda himself knew the praises, and is, from our point of view, the Old Avestan poet’s adaptation of, or reference to, a part of the myth of Zarathustra’s installation as the first poet-sacrificer to assist in the defense of the cosmos of Order and remake the first (ordered) state of existence. Thus the *Gāθās*, as a text accompanying a ritual whose purpose it is to reestablish the first ordered state of existence, start by recounting

³⁹ This is what I think is the implication of *daśasya*- “fulfill one’s obligations (to the sacrificer with rewards/to the gods with the sacrifice)” and *dāśvān*- “who has fulfilled his obligations,” but this is not the place to discuss it.

the myth of the night of darkness and chaos abolished by the first successful ritual performed by a human.

The last mention of Zarathustra in the *Ahunaucii* comes just after the poet-sacrificer has declared himself ready for the journey into the spiritual world and the *daēnās* of the worshippers are about to be sent on their way. Zarathustra is then said to be performing the supreme sacrifice of the “vital energy of his own body” and be ready to listen to Ahura Mazda’s instructions, before the worshippers in unison, presumably, perform the same action symbolically (1.33.13-14, 34.1):

*rafədrāi vourucašānē dōiši mōi yā vā abifrā
tā xšaθrahiā ahurā yā vaṇhəuš ašiš manəḥō
frō spəntā ārmaitē ašā daēnā fradaxšaiiā*

*aṭ rātqm zaraθuštṛō tanuuascū xʼaxiiā uštanəm
dadāiṭi pauruuatātəm manəḥascā vaṇhəuš mazdāi
šiiəoθanahiā ašā yācā uxdašiiācā səraošəm
xšaθrəmcā*

*yā šiiəoθanā yā vacaṇhā yā yasnā aməratatātəm
ašəmcā taibiiō dāṇhā mazdā xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō
aēšqm tōi ahurā əhmā pourutəmāiš dastē*

**You shall show me now for support for the far-seeing
sun (?) the path by which I shall *cross over to
you.**

**Along that path(?) of my/your command, O Ahura,
along which the reward of (= for) my good thought shall
arrive,
launch, O Ārmaiti, our vision-souls through life-
giving Order!**

**Thus, Zarathustra is giving as gift the vital energy of
nothing less than his own body
as the foremost share of his sacrifice and of his good
thought to Mazda,
as well as what is the foremost share of his action
through Order
and that of his utterance: his readiness to listen and
the command generated by his sacrifice.**

The action, the speech, and the sacrifice through

**which you now receive immortality
as well as Order for yourself, O Mazdā, and the
command of wholeness,—the foremost share of these is
being given to you, O Ahura, by us gathered here in greatest
numbers.**

These verses are closely related to 1.28.5-6 by their contents and their formulaics, but now it is the poet-sacrificer in imitation of the now heavenly Zarathustra or in the *persona* of Zarathustra who through his sacrifice is sending counter-gifts to the gods, re-performing Zarathustra's primeval ritual.

The picture of Zarathustra gained from the *Ahunaucitī* as perhaps dwelling with Ahura Mazdā at the time of the first Attack and appointed by Ahura Mazdā to be the first poet-sacrificer, with the function of protecting Ahura Mazdā's worldly creation, is exactly that preserved by the Zoroastrian tradition. Thus, according to the Zarathustra myth told in book 7 of the *Dēnkard*, it was at the beginning of the second 3000-year period of the 12,000-year duration of the creation, at the point when Ohrmazd transferred the spiritual (*mēnōy*) creation to a material one (*gēfīy*), but before the Attack, that Ohrmazd transmitted the *frawahr* of Zardušt through the *hōm* for him to be born as a great fighter against evil:⁴⁰

Dk. 7.2.14-15

*ēg ēd ī paydāg kū dādār Ohrmazd ān ī Zardušt
frawahr tar Hōm ō pidarān ī Zardušt widārd
pad abd warz-kerdīg
aniz dēn gōwēd kū
ka ān ī sidīgār hazangrōzim brīn būd pad 3,000 sāl ī
mēnōy-estišn anēbgadīg sar pas az dām pad
mēnōy-estišnīh pēš az druz abar rasišnīh
ēg amahrspandān Zardušt ham tāšīd frawahr awēšān andarg
nišast dahanōmand uzwānōmand ud
frāz-guftār.*

Then this is revealed: Ohrmazd the Creator sent
Zarathustra's *frawahr* through the *hōm* to the parents
of Zarathustra by a wonder-working miracle.
Another thing the Religion says:

⁴⁰ See Nyberg 1937: 31; Molé 1967: 14-19.

It was the conclusion of the third millenary, at the end of
 the 3000 years of (the creation's) being in the
 spiritual state without the Attack—after the creation's
 being in the spiritual state (but) before the Lie came
 upon it—
 then the Amahrspands fashioned together the *frawahr*
 of Zarathustra.
 It sat down among them with mouth and tongue,
 speaking ...

Together with the Young Avestan evidence this story shows
 that for at least two millennia of its existence, Zoroastrianism
 conceived of Zarathustra as the first human poet-sacrificer,
 fighter of evil. This was seen clearly by Nyberg:

At any rate, the crucial point of this chronology seems
 to be that Zarathustra appeared just at the beginning of
 the period when evil broke into this world. This can
 only imply that Zarathustra was conceived of as the
reincarnated first man, who appears to reestablish order
 in the world and there proclaim the teaching of
 Ahura Mazdāh, since the first man had already suc-
 cumbed. The character of the apocalyptic saviors, the
 Saošyants, agrees very well with this. They are Zara-
 thustra's as yet unborn, mythical sons, for whom sperm
 from him is preserved in the Kansaoya Sea. As Zara-
 thustra is the *reincarnated first man*, so the apo-
 calypic saviors are the reincarnated Zarathustra.⁴¹

Zarathustra in the Uštatauaitī Gāθā

There is no mention of Zarathustra in the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti*,
 perhaps because it is a hymn sung by the worshippers in unison,
 accompanying the ritual performed by the poet-sacrificer, Zara-
 thustra or another. Nevertheless, the worshippers in the *Yasna*
Haptaṅhāiti, as well, conform to the model of Zarathustra by
 declaring themselves solemnly to be Ahura Mazdā's "praisers
 and your formula masters" (YH.41.5 *θβōi staotarascā maθrana-*
scā), cf. 3.50.6, below.

The *Uštatauaitī* contains three series of mentions of Zara-
 thustra in the introductory section; in the "audition" section,

⁴¹ Nyberg 1937: 32. — Note that this is Nyberg's interpretation of the
 prophetic legend. He does not deny Zarathustra's historicity.

where the poet-sacrificer's contribution is judged by its recipients; and in the conclusion.

The first series occurs in the part of the introduction in which the poet-sacrificer states his identity and his credentials,⁴² after which he is ready to perform the supreme sacrifice of himself, like Zarathustra in the *Ahunauii*. This concept then recurs at the end of the introduction, where the poet-sacrificer reiterates his resolve just stated, but this time with the emphasis on the *choice* made by Zarathustra in the present time (*varəntē*, present indicative). The promise of the supreme sacrifice of one's own body is repeated, but without a pronoun or genitive to indicate who is performing the sacrifice. In this way the distinction between the mythical Zarathustra, presumably still dwelling with Ahura Mazda, and the poet-sacrificer, who has become Zarathustra in his ritual, is blurred:

2.43.7-9

*spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā məjhī ahurā
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manəḥhā
pərəsaṭcā mā ciš ahī kahiiā ahī
kadā aiiarə.daxšārā fərasaiiāi dīšā
aibī θβāhū gaēdāhū *tanušucā*

*aṭ hōi aoji zarəduštrō paouruuim
haiθiiō duuaēšā hiiat isōiiā drəguuāitē
aṭ ašāunē rafənō xiiēm aojiḥhuuat
hiiat ā būšnš vasasə.xšəθrahiia diia
yauuat ā θβā mazdā stāumī ufiācā*

*spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā məjhī ahurā
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manəḥhā
ahiiā fərasəm kahmāi vā viduiiē vašt
aṭ ā θβahmāi āθrē rātqm nəmanhō
ašahiiā mā yauuat isāi maniiāi*

**Thus, I now think of you as life-giving, O Mazda
Ahura, when he *surrounds me with good
thought
and asks me "Who are you? Whose are you?
How would you *submit your daily-*mark-earnings
for questioning**

⁴² See Skjærvø, "Praise and Blame" (forthc.).

*regarding *your* herds and persons?"⁴³

Thus, I declare myself to him first as Zarathustra,
the real one; second, that I wish to command
hostilities for the one possessed by the Lie,
but for the sustainer of Order I wish to be support
and strength,
because I would like to receive the *adornments of
one who commands at will;
and, third, that to the extent that I can I am praising
you, O Mazdā, and weaving you into hymns.

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdā
Ahura.

Whenever he *surrounds *me* with good thought
I then ask about this: "To whom do you wish right
now gifts to be made known?
Thus, here, to *your* fire I wish to give as a gift of
reverence
and Order: *me*, to the extent I am capable and shall
think it(?)."

2.43.15-16

spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā mēñhī ahurā
hīiaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manəñhā
daxšaṭ ušīiāi tušnā.maitiš vahištā
nōiṭ nā pourūš drəguuatō xīiāṭ cixšnušō
aṭ tōi vīspəñg aṅgrəñg ašāunō ādarā

aṭ ahurā huuō maniiūm zaraθuštrō
vərəñtē mazdā yastē cišcā spəništō
astuuat ašəm xīiāṭ uštānā aojōñhuuat
x'əñg darəsōi xšəθrōi xīiāṭ ārmaitiš
ašīm šīiaoθanāiš vohū daidīṭ manəñhā

Thus, I now think of *you* as life-giving, O Mazdā
Ahura.

When he *surrounds *me* with good thought,
*silent composure *benefits my *hearing as the best:

⁴³ That is: 1. who are you, 2. who do you side with, and 3. what is your contribution through your work? For a more detailed commentary on these strophes see Skjærvø, "Praise and Blame" (forthc.).

**May no man/hero be someone who wishes to please
the many followers of the Lie,
for they claim that all the evil ones are sustainers of
Order.**

**Thus, he there, Zarathustra, O Ahura, prefers your
inspiration
whichever, O Mazdā, is your most life-giving.
May Order have bones through my/his vital energy
and be powerful!
May Ārmaiti (the Earth) be in command and in full
sight of the sun!
May she, by her actions, give me my reward for my
good thought!**

The themes here are the same as in the last Zarathustra section of the *Ahunauuaitī*: we first find the poet-sacrificer performing the ritual of presenting counter-gifts to the gods *in the persona of* Zarathustra, then, perhaps, follows a reference to Zarathustra re-performing the primeval sacrifice in heaven.

The second series of mentions of Zarathustra comes in the "audition" section.⁴⁴ We observe here the same lack of deixis, which makes it difficult to assign a location in space to Zarathustra, but the connection with Vištāspa, as in 1.28.5-6, again locates him among the poet-sacrificers of old dwelling with Ahura Mazdā (2.46.13-14):

*yā spitāməm zaraθuštrəm rādanhā
marətaēšū xšnāuš huuō nā fərasrūidiīai ərəθβō
aṭ hōi mazdā ahūm dadāṭ ahurō
ahmāi gaēθā vohū frādaṭ manəḡhā
tām vā ašā məhmaidī huš.haxāim
zaraθuštrā kastē ašauuā uruuəθō
mazōi magāi kə vā fərasrūidiīai vaštī
aṭ huuō kauuā vištāspō yāhī
yəḡgstū mazdā hadəmōi mīnaš ahurā
təḡg zbaiīā vaḡhəuš uxđāiš manəḡhō*

He who once (?) favored Zarthustra Spitama with his

⁴⁴ Note that, while the name of Zarathustra is mentioned prominently in this context in 1.29.8, in 2.44 it is—perhaps—hidden in str. 17-18 in *zarəm ... uštrəm* (thus Humbach 1959, II: 159).

generosity
 among mortals, that man/hero is according to the
 models and ready to be renowned by my/his song.
 Thus, for *him* Mazdā Ahura establishes the new state,
 for *him* he furthers his herds on account of his good
 thought.
 We now think of him as a good companion of the
 Order.

O Zarathustra, which sustainer of the Order abiding
 by the deals⁴⁵ do you have
 for the exchange? Or, who wishes to be renowned by
 my/your song?
 Well, he there is Kauui Vištāspa at the audition.
 All of those whom you, O Mazdā Ahura, *sustain in
 *one and the same house as yourself,
 those I want to invoke with the utterances of my good
 thought.

The last mention of Zarathustra comes in the last strophe of the *Gāθā*. This time I think the distinction between the poet-sacrificer and Zarathustra is actually made by *ahmāi* “to this one” in the context of the “fee,” which seems to establish a contrast to “to Zarathustra.” The implication may be either that, although it is Zarathustra who, in heaven, is performing the ritual for the gods, the fee should be given to the poet-sacrificer down here, whose part in the cosmic drama is just as important, or that the poet-sacrificer deserves the fee for his successful performance of a Zarathustra-sacrifice (2. 46.19):

yā mōi ašāṭ haiṭīm hacā varāšaitī

⁴⁵ I agree with Schmidt's (1958) interpretation of OInd. *vratá-*, OAv. *uruuāta-* as “*Gelübde*, vow” against, e.g., Insler and Brereton, who translate as “commandment.” I think the *vratás/uruuātas* are eternal (OInd. *prathamá-* “first, primeval”) rules or conventions that govern the cosmos and affect gods, men, and natural phenomena. In the divine-human sphere they seem to me to translate into mutual agreements that regulate divine and human *interaction*, to which both parts must conform, though, obviously, humans are the weaker part in the relationship. As I understand it, the term therefore comes close to the meaning of *vow*, as in *marriage vow*, or *deal*, as in “we have a deal,” etc. See Skjærvø, “Truth and Deception” (forthc.).

*zaraduštrāi hiiat vasnā fərašō.təməm
ahmāi mīzdəm hanəntē parāhūm
manə.vistāiš maṭ vīspāiš gāuuā azī
tācīṭ mōi sqs tuuēm mazdā vaēdišō*

**He who shall produce for me the real state in
accordance with Order,
for Zarathustra, that which is the most Juicy⁴⁶ in
exchange price
shall produce for this one (= me), who thereby shall
earn it as his fee, a higher state:
a bull and a cow⁴⁷ together with all things to be found
in/by one's thought.
You, O Mazdā, appear to me as the one who finds for
me most often just those things.**

Zarathustra in the Spəntāmaniiū Gāthā

The *Spəntāmaniiū* does not mention Zarathustra in the introduction, which is wholly devoted to the *maniiu-* “inspiration,” and Zarathustra does not come up until the preparations for the ritual race competition.⁴⁸ After evoking the dangers of undertaking the journey with a faulty ritual and before asking what assistance he can count on for himself, the poet-sacrificer recalls Ahura Mazdā’s support of Zarathustra (3.49.11-12, 50.1):

*aṭ dušə.xšaθrəṅg duš.šīaoθanəṅg dužuuacəṅhō
duždaēnəṅg dužmanəṅhō drəguuatō
akāiš xʻarəθāiš paiṭi uruuqnoṅ paitiieṅti
drūjō dəmānē haiθiiā aṅhən astaiiō*

*kaṭ tōi ašā zbaientē auuəṅhō
zaraduštrāi kaṭ tōi vohū manəṅhā
yə və staotāiš mazdā frīnāi ahurā
auuəṭ yāsqs hiiat və ištā vahištəm*

kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuəṅhō

⁴⁶ Since one of the goals of the sacrifice is to make Order “full of swelling” (4.51.21: *ašəm spənuuat*), I assume *fraša-* (if connected with OInd. *pfks-* and if this is “liquid strengthening” of some sort) means “full of the juices of life and vitality.”

⁴⁷ If *gāuuā azī* is a dvandva; otherwise: “two fertile cows.”

⁴⁸ See Skjærvø 1996: 231-32.

*kā mōi pasəuš kā mā nā θrātā vistō
 aniiō ašāꞤ θβaꞤcā mazdā ahurā
 azdā.zūtā vahištā.aꞤcā mananḥō*

**Thus, those with bad command, bad actions, bad
 speech,
 bad vision-souls, bad thoughts, those possessed by the
 Lie,
 their breath-souls are at this very moment coming
 toward them with bad foods.
 On account of their true state they shall be guests in
 the house of the Lie.**

**What help do/did you have for him when he
 invokes/invoked you with Order,
 for Zarathustra? What do you have for me when I
 invoke you with good thought,
 for me, who want to be a friend to you all with my
 praises, O Mazdā Ahura,
 asking for yonder reward which is the best you all
 have at (your?) ritual.**

**Does my breath-soul control here and now anybody's
 help, I wonder?
 Who has been found to be the protector of *my* cattle,
 who to be *my* man/hero
 other than Order and *you*, O Mazdā Ahura,
 and then your best thought, in my *explicit
 invocation.**

The lexical references in 3.49.12-50.1 to 1.29 are too numer-
 ous to be fortuitous, and one can hardly escape the conclusion
 that this whole passage is a reference to the myth of Zarathus-
 tra's installation as primeval poet-sacrificer.

The second and last reference to Zarathustra in the
Spəntamaniū comes at the end of the audition section, where
 the poet-sacrificer, in return for the anticipated victory and re-
 wards, promises a Life-giving ritual for the divine world (3.50.5-
 6):

*ārōi zī xšmā mazdā ašā ahurā
 hīiaꞤ yūšmākāi maθrānē vaorāzaθā*

*aibī.dərəštā āuušīiā auuaṅhā
zastāištā yā nā xʾāθrē dāiiā*

*yā maθrā vācəm mazdā baraitī
uruuadō ašā nəmaṅhā zaraθuštrō
dātā xratəuš hizuuō raidīm stōi
mahiiā rāzəṅg vohū sāhī manəṅhā*

**For they are sent on their way hither by you all, O
Mazdā Ahura, through Order (the heavenly
spaces)/on account of the Order of our ritual,
so that you all shall constantly provide happiness for
him who holds *your* thought-formulas,
with manifest help seen clearly
and set in motion by your hands, by which he may
place us in comfort.**

**The holder of the thought-formulas who is lifting his
voice, O Mazdā,
he who abides by your deals by the Order of his
ritual, in homage, is I/he Zarathustra.
May the maker of the creative thought instruct the
chariot-horse of this tongue
of mine how to be through my good thought the
chariot-horse of the poetic *directive.**

Here, again, Zarathustra is evoked as the proto-typical winner, the one who holds the thought-formulas, before our poet-sacrificer asks for assistance in producing an equally effective ritual.

Zarathustra in the Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā

The references to Zarathustra in the *Vohuxšaθrā* are distributed approximately like those in the *Spəntāmāniiū*. The first comes in the context of questions about the audition and the heavenly judges, or arbiters (*arədra-*), and the problems of the

journey coupled with a particularly obscure “poet’s complaint” (4.51.11-12):⁴⁹

*kā uruuathō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā
kā vā ašā āfrašta kā spəntā ārmaitiš
kā vā vaṅhəuš manəṅhō acistā magāi ərašuuō*

*nōiṭ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiiō kəuuīnō *pəraō zīmō
zaraθuštrəm spitāməm hiiāṭ ahmī urūraost aštō
hiiāṭ hōi īm caratascā aodərašcā zōišənū vāzā*

**Which man/hero abiding by the deals is/was for
Spitama Zarathustra, O Mazdā?
Who has either consulted with Order? And with
whom has life-giving Ārmaiti consulted?
Or who – someone with capacious resources – has
marked me for himself for the exchange of gifts
for good thought?**

**The “shaker,” the poetaster, did in spite of (?) that
good thought(?) not favor him with his generosity
at the passage in winter,
Zarathustra Spitama, when(?) his messenger
*obstructed him at it,
when his two draught animals exhausted from both
the *walking and the *cold were *angry with
him(?).**

The second mention of Zarathustra comes in the context of fees and rewards. After describing the “rewards” of those possessed by the Lie, the rewards originally promised by Zarathustra to his heavenly judges in charge of the rewards are evoked before our poet-sacrificer promises the supreme sacrifice of himself, followed by the examples of the poet-sacrificers and heroes of the past, notably Kauui Vištāspa (4.51.15-16):

*hiiāṭ mīždəm zaraθuštrō magauuabiiō cōišṭ parā
garō dəmānē ahurō mazdā jasaṭ paouruiiō
tā vā vohū manəṅhā ašāicā sauuāiš cəuuūšī*

⁴⁹ On the notion of the poet’s complaint, see Skjærvø 1998 (forthc.). For a more detailed commentary on these strophes see Skjærvø, “Praise and Blame” and “Rivals and Bad Poets” (forthc.).

*təm kauuā vištāspō magahiiā xšaθrā nqsaṭ
vanhəuš padəbiš manəḥō yqm cisīm āša maṇtā
spəntō mazdā ahurō aθā nē sazdiīai uštā*

**The fee which Zarathustra assigned before to the
holders of the exchange,
in the House of Song Ahura Mazdā comes forward
for/with it as the first in line.
On account of that fee I have assigned *myself* through
my good thought with life-giving strengths to you
all and to Order.**

**Kauui Vištāspa first *reached that understanding by
the command of the exchange
along the paths of his good thought,— the
understanding which he first(?) thought through
Order:
“Mazdā Ahura is life-giving!” in order for the
wished-for things to appear to us too in that
manner.**

Here the distinction between the poet-sacrificer down here
and the mythical Zarathustra is as clear as one can ever hope it to
be.

Zarathustra in the Vahištōišti Gāθā

The mentions of Zarathustra in the *Vahištōišti* follow ap-
proximately the pattern of those in the *Uštānuaitī*. The first, in
the first line of the first strophe, states his qualifications, namely,
as having the best ritual. This, then, provides the model for the
other poet-sacrificers of old, notably, Vištāspa. The whole is
connected with the theme of the *daēnā* and her journey (5.53.1-
2):

*vahištā īštiš srāuuī zaraθuštrahē
spitāmahiiā yəzi hōi dāṭ āiaptā
ašāṭ hacā ahurō mazdā yauuōi vīspāi.ā huuaḥəuūm
yāēcā hōi dabən saškəncā daēnaiiā uxδā śīiaoθanācā*

*aṭcā hōi scaṇtū manəḥā uxδāiš śīiaoθanāišcā
xšnūm mazdā vahmāi.ā fraorəṭ yasnqca*

*kauuacā vištāspō zaraθuštriš spitāmō fərašaoštrascā
dāṅhō arəzūš paθō yqm daēnqm ahurō saošiiantō dadāt*

**The best ritual is renowned as that of Zarathustra
Spitama. For when Ahura Mazdā shall give to him as
spoils
in accordance with its Order a good existence for an
entire lifespan,
he also shall give it(?) to those who *imitate and
*master the utterances and actions of his good
vision-soul.**

**And so let *them* all pursue (= devote themselves to) by
their thought, utterances, and actions *his*
favor, that of Mazdā—opting for his hymn—and the
sacrifices to him,
Mazdā, both Kauui Vištāspa, a Zarathustrid and a
Spitamid, and Frašaoštra, as well as all the others,
the sacrifices which are the straight paths of the gift
awaiting the vision-soul which Ahura establishes
as that of the revitalizer.**

The next mention of Zarathustra is as the father of Pouru.cistā. As her function is not explicit, we cannot make much out of it without studying the *Vahištōišti* in greater detail, which cannot be done here. One possible interpretation is that, like Ahura Mazdā presumably engendered the first Dawn, Zarathustra probably engendered the second Dawn, the first one after the attack of the Adversary, which may then be called his daughter and appropriately named “she who is (re)marked by many.” Another possible analysis of the reference to father and daughter is that we are witnessing the union of Zarathustra and his daughter replicating that of Ahura Mazdā, god of heaven, and his daughter Ārmaiti, the Earth, who then produces by her “actions” all living things and their sustenance (5.53.3).⁵⁰

*tāmcā.tū pourucistā haēcaḷ.aspānā
spitāmī yəzuuī dəgədrqm zaraθuštrahē
vanhāuš paitiiāstīm manəṅhō ašahiiā mazdāscā taibiiō*

⁵⁰ See Skjærvø, “Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti” and *Weaving a World of Thought* (forthc.).

dāṭ sarəm
aθā hēm.fərašuuā θβā xraθβā spāništā ārmatōiš
hudānuuarəšuuā

Let Pouru.cistā, a Haēcaṭ.aspid,
 —she a Spitamid and the youngest of the
 daughters of Zarathustra—*throw firmly
 the return—throw of his good thought.⁵¹ She has now
 given *you* her union with Order and Mazda.⁵²
 In that way consult *your* creative thought.
 Produce for yourself the most life-giving actions⁵³ of
 Ārmaiti as generous good things(?).

The final mention is in the final strophe of the *Vahištōišti*, in
 the *Ā airiēmā išiiō*, in the context of the *fee* (5.54.1).⁵⁴

ā airiēmā išiiō rafədrāi jaṅtū
nərabiiascā nāiribiiascā zaraθuštrahē
vəḥhəuš rafədrāi manəḥō yā daēnā vairīm hanāṭ
mīždəm
ašahiia yāsā ašīm yəm išiiəm ahurō masatā mazdā

Let speedy Airiiman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, for the support
of Zarathustra's
good thought, by which his vision-soul may gain
a well-deserved fee.⁵⁵
I am now asking for the reward of Order, which

⁵¹ *paitiāsti-* may be a weaving term: the return of the west-spool (opposite *fradaxš-* “launch” the west-spool), and good thought the web of the poet's thought woven into his utterances and stretching out the diurnal sky; see Skjærvø *Weaving a World of Thought* (forthc.).

⁵² The main problem with this strophe is that the 2nd person singular reference is not explicit.

⁵³ See note on 1.34.5.

⁵⁴ I think there can be no doubt that the *Ā airiēmā išiiō* is the last strophe of this *Gāθā*, which would otherwise lack the concluding reference to the fee found in the other four *Gāθās*.

⁵⁵ It could also mean: for support / for Zarathustra's men and women [i.e., those following his example?], for the support of my good thought, by which my vision-soul may gain a well-deserved fee.

**Ahura Mazdā shall *deem worthy of being sped
hither.⁵⁶**

Here we observe the same ambiguity in the references. The men and women can be those attending the primeval ritual, but also those here and now who “belong to” Zarathustra. In any case, there seems to be a contrast between Zarathustra and the “I” of the poet-sacrificer.

The plurality that pervades the *Vahistōišti*, with its staging of a group of young men and women, seems to correspond to the notion of worshippers “in large numbers” (e.g., *pourutāmāiš* in 1.34.1) or the use of the 1st plural, as consistently in the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti*. Thus, the “main action” of this drama may be that of the presentation of the worshippers’ own selves, as expressed in the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* (YH.37.3):

tēm aṭ āhūriiā nāmānī
mazdā varā spəntō.tēmā yazamaidē
tēm ahmākāiš azdabišcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē
tēm ašāunqm frauuašiš narqmā nāirinqmā yazamaidē

**Thus, up to him we offer up in sacrifice his Ahurian
names:**

**O “Mazdā,” O “good one,” O most “life-giving one”!
To him we are sacrificing with nothing less than our
bones and vital energy.**

**Up to him we are sacrificing the Pre-souls of
the sustainers of Order, men and women.**

Conclusion

The references in the *Gāthās* are clearly insufficient to establish in detail the function of Zarathustra in them. Nevertheless, the comparison with the Zarathustra figure of the *Young Avesta* and the conventions of Old Indic and Greek poetry renders the

⁵⁶ Cf. RV.6.37.4 (Indra) *vāriṣṭho asya dākṣiṇām iyarti indro maghónām tuvikūrmítamaḥ / yáyā vajrivaḥ pariyāsy ámho maghā ca dhṛṣṇo dáyase ví sūrīn* “He impels his *dakṣiṇū* as broadly as possible, Indra, the one among the holders of the exchange whose *kūrmi* (=?) is greatest in strength, by which you, O vajra-holder, get around (= contain?) con- striction, and distribute the exchange gifts to the patrons.”

conclusion very likely that the Gathic Zarathustra is a mythical Zarathustra, the prototypical poet-sacrificer.

We may go one step further. The Old Avestan poems, belonging to an oral literary tradition, must have been performed. The occasion of their performance was obviously the ritual and the purpose of the singer to assist Ahura Mazdā in “revitalizing” the world, like, or rather, *in the persona of Zarathustra*. As in the case of archaic Greek poetry, as argued by Nagy, the performer is not merely an actor “who re-enacts a given god or hero”; what we have is “rather a merger of the performer’s identity with an identity patterned on an archetype—a merger repeated every time the ritual occasion recurs.”⁵⁷ The poet’s statement in 2.43.8 “Thus, I declare myself to him first (as) ‘Zarathustra’ the true one” can be interpreted in this sense.⁵⁸

The reference to the poet-sacrificer’s identification with the prototype may be slightly different from the concept of poet-sacrificers *following the model of a predecessor*, which we see in the *Young Avesta* (Y.12.6):

*avā avā cōiṭ zarathuštrō
daēuuāiš sarəm viiāmruuīta ...
avā azēmciṭ yō mazdaiiasnō zarathuštriš
daēuuāiš sarəm vīmruiē
yaṭā anāiš viiāmruuītā yē ašauuā zarathuštrō*

And thus again and again did Zarathustra
forswear the company with the *daēuuas*...
And thus do I too, as a Mazdaiiasnian and a Zarathustrid,
forswear the company with the *daēuuas*,
like he used to forswear them, Zarathustra, the sustainer
of Order.

⁵⁷ Nagy 1996a: 96-97; Skjærvø, “Praise and Blame” (forthc.).

⁵⁸ Molé (1963: 86) saw this clearly: “Pendant la célébration [de l’office zoroastrien], particulièrement pendant la récitation des Gāthā, tout prêtre s’identifie au Sauveur futur, mais aussi à Zoroastre: cela est visible dans les Gāthā et est attesté par toute la tradition ultérieure”; (p. 239, discussion of 2.43.8) “Toutes les fois que le Yasna est célébré, le *zaotar* récite les Gāthā et place le service sous l’invocation de Zoroastre qu’il imite ... A un certain moment de la récitation, le *zaotar* dit être Zoroastre, c’est-à-dire s’identifie à lui.”

and frequently in the *Rigveda*, for instance, by the term *manuṣvat* “like Manu,” who was a first sacrificer,⁵⁹ but it is similar to the references to the original family poet seen in the *Rigveda*.⁶⁰

Finally, since we have no way now of determining at what stage relative to the *Gāthās* the Zarathustra myth was developed, we have to assume, with Molé, that the whole myth antedates these texts, and so the *Gāthās* themselves can be seen as poems composed—at least used—to fulfill the requirements of the myth: by naming—explicitly or not—Zarathustra as their own composer, they assume the role of the *gāthās*, “songs,” that Zarathustra was believed to have been the first to sing.

Indeed, if we look at the entire Old Avestan corpus, we cannot help being struck by the cohesive structure imposed upon it by the Zarathustra myth. We start out with the poet-sacrificer’s statement of intent (the *Ahuna vairiia*): to bring back the first state of existence as modeled by Ahura Mazdā, followed by the pious wish that Ahura Mazdā may assist him as he did Zarathustra (1.28.6-7). This is then followed by a lengthy (from a Gathic perspective, extremely lengthy) retelling of the myth of the installation of Zarathustra as the ultimately successful poet-sacrificer (1.29), how he was installed by Ahura Mazdā himself⁶¹ to reestablish the one and only choice existence (*ahu- vairiia*).⁶² The next three *Gāthās* then describe a series of sacrifices, each emphasizing different aspects of the ritual procedure: first, the *Uštāuaitī*, which focuses on the necessity of the sacrifice to be according to Order for it to be successful and reestablish cosmic Order, earning the poet-sacrificer his wished-for (*uštā*) desires (2.43.1); second (and central), the *Spəntāmaniiū*, devoted to the divine life-giving Inspiration (3.47.1); and, third, the *Vohušaθrā*, in praise of the good command, the royal command generated by the sacrifice to Ahura Mazdā, enabling god to overcome his adversaries (4.51.1). These middle three *Gāthās* are framed by hymns in praise of Ahura Mazdā and his creation, the first, the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* in Old Avestan, with its rapturous

⁵⁹ Nagy 1990a: 110.

⁶⁰ Note also the YAv. expression *zaraθuštrō.təma-* “most Zarathustra(-like),” with which cf. OInd. *āṅgirastama-*.

⁶¹ Like the Achaemenid king who is Ahuramazdā’s chosen and receives his royal command directly from the god.

⁶² On the interpretation of the *Ahuna vairiia* see Skjærvø, “Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaitī” (forthc.).

praise of the waters and other natural phenomena (followed by a Young Avestan hymn to the first creations, with emphasis on the waters), and the other, Y.52, a Young Avestan hymn to various entities worthy of sacrifice (*yazata-*) announced by the concluding strophe of the *Vohuxšaθrā* itself (4.51.22 *tq yazāi x'āiš nāmānīš pairicā jasāi vaṇtā* "these I shall now sacrifice to by their own names and circumambulate with *adoration).⁶³ The entire collection is closed by the *Vahištōišti*, with the realization that Zarathustra's sacrifice was indeed the best (5.53.1) and that it is the most efficient for overcoming the powers of evil and establish peace and harmony and good living conditions for living beings. The *Vahištōišti* concludes with a tremendous curse against evil-doers, followed by the arrival of the healing god Airiïaman, and the *Old Avesta* closes on a note of complete serenity.⁶⁴

Molé, the first and only Iranist to have analyzed the structure of each *Gāthā* in detail, concluded about the "use" of the Zarathustra figure in this progression, that it is impossible to tell whether the sacrificer in the *Ahunauvaitī* (the 1st *Gāthā*) is to be identified with Zarathustra; however, after the questioning of Ahura Mazda in the *Uštānavaitī* (2nd), the sacrificer is, or has become, Zarathustra. In the last two, the *Vohuxšaθrā* (4th) and the *Vahištōišti* (5th), the sacrificer again has his own identity, and Zarathustra once more becomes the archetypical poet-sacrificer (p. 255):

L'office célébré dans la troisième Gāthā est celui de Zoroastre. Dans l'*Ahunavaiti* le fait n'était pas évident et le *zaotar* apparaît peut-être distinct du Prophète; à partir de la rencontre avec Vohu Manah il s'identifie à lui et assume sa personnalité. Telle nous paraît être l'explication de nombreux passages où Zoroastre est cité à la première personne et visiblement identifié au récitant. Dans les deux dernières Gāthā, les choses changeront et le Prophète n'apparaîtra plus qu'à la troisième personne; la portée et la valeur exemplaire, archétypique, de l'office zoroastrien se trouveront ainsi soulignées; ce qui sera censé s'être déroulé un jour, au moment où la révélation fut reçue, acquerra la signification d'un acte archétypique que reproduisent tous les

⁶³ This is in Young Avestan (*tq* for *tāng*), perhaps by assimilation to the following hymn (Y.52). There is thus no reason to take *nāmānīš* as anything but the regular YA v. instrumental plural.

⁶⁴ See Skjærvø, "Praise and Blame" (forthc.).

offices célébrés depuis—jusqu'au moment où aura lieu le grand sacrifice final qui amènera la Rénovation.

It may, finally, not be a coincidence that the five days preceding the great festival of the New Year are named after the *Gāthās*. If Molé is correct in thinking that they were originally ritual texts used in the New Year ritual, then that would explain both their number and why they survived.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Molé 1963: ix, 85-86, and passim.

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CHAPTER 10

Gathic Compositional History, Y 29, and Bovine Symbolism

Martin Schwartz

INTRODUCTION

It is my genuine pleasure to dedicate this article to my dear colleague Hanns-Peter Schmidt. Among his many accomplishments as an Indo-Iranist are his important studies of the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, in which he shows a rare combination of meticulous textual investigation, judicious argumentation, and original, often bold, conclusions. My present study has its ultimate methodological underpinnings in some innovative observations which Professor Schmidt made concerning Gathic compositional techniques (discussed in my next paragraph) which I subsequently expanded and systematized. I shall here apply this theoretical development to prove an independent hypothesis, or cluster of hypotheses, which Prof. Schmidt has elaborated in several articles pertaining to bovine symbolism in the Gāthās, views which have been controverted, especially by Helmut Humbach. For all these issues of composition and synthesis, my focal text will be Y(asna) 29, which is particularly full of difficult words and is in other ways as well probably the most mystifying text of the Gāthās. The study of Y 29 will lead me to examine some remarkable features of other Gathic poems.

GATHIC RING COMPOSITION

Over the course of several publications, Prof. Schmidt noted that within several of the Gathic poems, some stanzas standing in

concentric relationship are among those which show "concatenations" or linkage based on corresponding words, i.e. the Gāthās contain elements of the structural phenomenon known as "ring composition".¹ (This phenomenon is probably connected with the mnemonics of composing preliterate poetry.)

By about a decade ago I realized that in every Gathic poem, all the stanzas are concatenated concentrically in accord with one of several patterns of symmetry, and that for each poem the central stanza(s), which are thematically significant, concatenate(s) with the immediately preceding and following stanzas, and, more importantly, with the first and last stanzas. The correspondences which make for concatenations are chiefly of lexical forms (words related at the level of root or stem, or complete identity), and/or of meaning (synonyms and antonyms); in addition correlations of theme, or sound, or grammatical function may play an ancillary role.²

More recently I discovered that some of the longer Gathic poems contain within themselves what must be in effect the first compositional form of these poems, attested within the final versions as a set of concentrically concatenating stanzas. Thus

¹ "Die Komposition von Yasna 49", *Pratidānam F.B.J. Kuiper*, pp. 170-192, London: Mouton 1968; "Associative and Symmetrical Structure in the Composition of Yasna 47", *Neue Methodologie in der Iranistik*, ed. Richard N. Frye, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1974, pp. 304-330; and *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, with contributions by Wolfgang Lentz and Stanley Insler, American Oriental Society Essay Number 10, New Haven: American Oriental Society 1985 (henceforth "Schmidt 1985").

² See most recently my article "The Ties That Bind: On the Form and Content of Zarathushtra's Mysticism", *New Approaches to the Interpretation of the Gathas* (Proceedings of the *First Gatha Colloquium* held in Croyden, England [5th-7th November 1993 under the auspices of the World Zoroastrian Organization]), ed. Farrokh Vajifdar, London: C.S. Podd & Son, Ltd. (Surrey), 1998, pp. 127-197; henceforth "Schwartz 1998". Here I show, *inter alia*, how the principles of symmetrical ring composition prevails in the composition of one poem on the phraseological basis of another, as I show systematically with regard to Y 46 > Y 32 > both Y 49 > and Y 48. — The chart of patterns of Gathic symmetrical composition, p. 197, needs some minor revision. Cf. also my earlier article "Sound, Sense, and 'Seeing' in Zoroaster: The Outer Reaches of Orality", International [Indo-Iranian] Congress [of 5th-8th January 1989 in Bombay], Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute 1991 (printed without proofs), pp. 127-163.

(Yasnas) 28.1-8; 32.1-13; 33.2-10; 45.1-7; 46.2-10; 48.7-12; and 49.4-11. Most conspicuously in 28.1-8 and 32.12, the concatenations in the concentrically related stanzas are more consistently lexical (and in 32.1-13 more detailed)³ than in the final version of these poems, but this is not true of 46.2-10 as compared with the final Y 46 (46.1-19).⁴ This raises questions of rhetorical and esthetic vs. mnemonic function which cannot be addressed here. Even less can one say about the extent to which the "proto-poems" were modified in the composition of the final versions; judging from the abundant remnants of concatenations of the original concentric schemes, any such changes were few and superficial. The step marking the completion of the poems was concatenation of central to outer stanzas, giving the final version, which newly (if less carefully) satisfied the basic requirements of symmetrical composition. This feature is lacking in the preliminary forms of Y 32 (> 32.1-13) and Y 49 (49.4-11). At least the first version of Y 46 (> 46.2-10) and that of Y 28 (> 28.1-8) existed long enough for vicissitudes to have changed Zarathushtra's self-image and motivate him to expand these poems.

I note here the felicitous nature of Prof. Schmidt's use of the term "concatenation". The Gathic poems, whose overall systematic, concentrically oriented patterns, simple and complex, would explain the term *hāti-* (*hāiti-*),⁵ literally 'a tying up, tying

³ The 13-stanza pre-form of Y 32 concatenates as follows (henceforth capitals represent semantic and thematic, as against formal, correspondences): 1 & 13 *dūta-* (m./*n.) 'messenger/message'; 2 & 12 *aiyah mazdāh ... mraut* 'to them Wisdom ... spoke'; root *war* 'choose'; 3 & 11 *maz-* 'great'; 4 & 10 *acišta-* 'worst'; 5 & 9 (-) *jjyātai/uš* 'from living'; and 7 & 6 & 8 *ainah-* 'violation'; root *sru* 'to hear'.

⁴ Cf. on Y 49 (vis-à-vis Y 32) and Y 28 (vis-à-vis Y 50) Schwartz 1998: 153-54 and 188-90 (fn. 2 above). Although that article focused on the form and content of Y 32, I had not yet noticed that the poem proceeded from the backwards recycling of Y 46 in sequential source of the present 32.7-13, to which were added stanzas 1-6 via symmetrical composition (see fn. 5 below), and then 13-16, the new entirety having a secondary, laxer, overall systematic symmetry (which I had charted in Schwartz 1998: 134).

⁵ The words in bold script represent a proximate phonemic reconstruction of Zarathushtra's Old Avestan along the lines of Robert S.P. Beekes' *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*, Leiden etc: Brill 1988; note

together', abstract noun to the verbal root *hā(y)-*, which serves to designate each individual Gathic Yasna (cf. Visperad 13.3) with its Younger Avestan name (e.g. Y 29 as the *Xšmāuuōīia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti*). I suggest that this word, later designating non-Gathic Yasnas as well, was used by Zarathushtra himself for his poetry; thus, in a pun on the homophones *hāti-* 'merit, earnings' (root *han*), *hāti-* 'Gathic poetry' at 32.9b", one of the two central stanzas of Y 32, *hātim* concatenates with the final word of the poems, 32.16c" (*ā*) *hāyayā* 'I would tie up, I would fetter' (as interpreted by Insler⁶, *ad loc.*).⁷

There are three basic patterns of Gathic concatenation. Depending on the poem, systematic linkage of stanzas (with A representing the first stanza and B the last stanza, etc., of the same poem) applies (I) to two single stanzas, i.e. A & Z; B & Y; C & X; etc.; thus Yasnas 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 43, 47, 48, 49, and 50; in longer poems, (II) stanzas are consecutively paired (A-B, C-D, E-F, etc.); here concentric linkage applies to blocks of such pairs (A-B & Y-Z; C-D & W-X, E-F & U-V; etc., in addition to which A may occasionally also concatenate with Z, and B with Y, etc.); thus Yasnas 46, 31, and 45; and (III), in which single and paired stanzas (or vice-versa) have systematic consecutive alteration, and the single stanzas concentrically concatenate with single stanzas, and with paired stanzas as in type II (A & Z; B & X; C & Y; D & W; etc. or A & Y, B & Z; C & X, etc.); thus respectively Y 44 and Y 51. The majority of poems of Type I also show consecutive pairs (or, in the instance of Y 49, triplets) of stanzas; and other features of arrangement may be simultaneous with patterns of concentric concatenation; thus 45.1-6 begin with *at fra waxšyā* and 8-10 begin with *tam nah* plus a phrase with desiderative participle, stanzas 6 and 11 acting as reprises or elaborations on the stanzas preceding. In all three types the central stanza(s) concatenate(s) with the stanzas immediately pre-

that I use *w* for Beekes' *v*. The Avestan in italics represents the "Vulgate" text, accordingly to Karl Hoffmann's system of transliteration.

⁶ Stanley Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*, Acta Iranica, Leiden: Brill 1975 (henceforth "Insler, Gāthās").

⁷ See the detailed discussion on pp. 175-77 of my 1988 article. For the magical connotations of the root, I now add Ossetic *xin(æ)* 'magic', whose etymology **hinyā* 'binding' I have from the late Dr. Gershevitch.

ceding and following, and (chiastically and/or otherwise) with the first stanza and the last stanza.

PART I

Y 29: STRUCTURE

Yasna 29 belongs in its concatenations to Type III, described above. The concatenations (with omission of consecutive pairings of stanzas) are as follows (capitals indicate correspondence of meaning, theme, or grammatical function):

1a" (*bis*), b & 11a" *mā* 'me'; 1a & 11a INTERROGATIVES; 1a, c & 11b, c 2ND PER. PL. PRON.; PL. PRON.; 1c and 11a-c REQUEST FOR DIVINE ENTITIES TO MANIFEST THEMSELVES.

2b' & 10a": *dāta* 'give ye' juxtaposed with form of $\sqrt{xšāy}$ 'have control or dominion'; 2c" & 10b" ELIMINATION OF HAVOC: ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND ORDER.

3a' & 9a' *gaw-* 'cow'; 3c" & 9c" *hau* 'that one' juxtaposed with \sqrt{ah} 'to be'; PROVISION OF AID.

4c" & 8b" *hau* 'that one' subject of 3RD PERS. SG. STEM *was-* 'to wish'.

5b' & 7b' *gaw-* 'cow'; 5b" end & 7b" end, nouns from $\sqrt{sāh}$ 'to indicate, to teach' (thereby, with 7b" *sāsnaiiā* 'through instruction', 5c" *fərasābiio*= *frasāhbyah* 'for indications, *specifications, advisements', discussed below, as against the reading *fərasābiio* 'for consultations').

5c & 6b *nait ... nait/naida*. 5c and 6c *fšuyantai* 'for the cattleman'; 6c" end & 7a"

3RD PERS. $\sqrt{taš}$ 'to fashion'. 6c" & 9c" *wāstriyā* 'pasturage'; 6c" and 1a" *θwarš-* ($\sqrt{\theta wrs}$) 'shaped' and *taš-* 'fashioned'

1a & 11a-b' *k-* INTERROGATIVES; YOU(R); 1a" & 11a" *mā* 'me'.

Y 29, PHONOLOGICALLY

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

1 a xšmabya gauš ru'ā gržda . kahmāi mā θwarždwam
kah mā tašat

- b ā mā aišmah hazas-ca ramah hišāya drš-ca tawiš(-ca)
 c nait mā wāstā xšmat anyah aθā mai sansta wahū
 wāstr(iy)ā
- 2 a adā tašā gauš prsat artam kaθa tai gawai ratuš
 b yat hīm dāta xšyantah hadā wāstrā gaudāyah
 θwaxšah
 c kam hai ušta ahuram yah drugwadbiš aišmam
 wādāyait
- 3 a ahmāi artā nait sarjā adwaišah gawai pati mrawat
 b awaiša'am nait widwai yā šyawatai ādranh ršwāhah
 c hāta'am hau aujīstah yahmāi zawanh jamā krdušā
- 4 a mazdāh sahwār marištah yazi wāwrzai pairi ciθit
 b daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca yā waršatai api ciθit
 c hau wicirah ahurah aθā nah ahat yaθā hau wasat
- 5 a at-wā uštānāiš ahwā zastāiš frīnamnā ahurāya
 b mah ru'ah gauš-ca azyāh yat mazda'am dwadi
 frasāhbyah
 c nait ržji'ai frajyātiš nait fšuyantai drugwasu pari
- 6 a atah waucat ahurah mazdāh widwāh wafūš
 wyānayā
 b nait aiwā ahū wistah naida ratuš artāt-cit hacā
 c at-zi θwā fšuyantai wāstriyāi-ca θwaršta tataša
- 7 a tam āzutāiš ahurah manθram tašat artā hazaušah
 b mazdāh gawai xšwidam-ca hau rušaibyah swantah
 sāsnayā
 c kas-tai wahū manahā yah ī dāyāt awā martaibyah
- 8 a ayam mai idā wistah yah nah aiwah sāsnāh gušata
 b zaraθuštrah spitāmah hau nah mazdā wašti artāi-ca
 c carkarθrā srāwayahai yat hai hūdmam diyāi
 waxθrahya
- 9 a at-ca gauš ru'ā rausta yah anaišam xšanmanai
 rādam
 b wācam nrš asūrahya yam ā wasmi išāxšaθriyam
 c kadā yawā hau ahat yah hai dadat zastawat awah

- 10 a yužam aibyah ahura dāta artā xšaθram-ca
b awat wahū manahā yā hušitiš rāmām-ca da'at
c azam-cit ahya mazdā θwā(m) manhi parwiyam
waidam
- 11 a kudā artam wahu-ca manah xšaθram-ca at mā
marta
b yužam mazdā fraxšnanai mazai magāya pati
zānata
c ahura nū nāh awar ahmā rātaiš yušmawata'am

Y 29 TRANSLATION

- 1 To You the Cow's soul complained: "For whom did You shape me? Who fashioned me? Fury with force, violence with brazen vice have gripped me with might; I have no pastor other than You, so appear to me with good pastur(ag)e."
- 2 Then the Fashioner of the Cow asked Rightness: "What manner of judge(ment) hast Thou for the Cow? Since You, who govern her, have created, together with pasture, cow-nourishing diligence, whom do You wish to be her lord, who would thrust away the fury of the wrongful ones?"
- 3 They responded to Him through (the aspect of Rightness: "There is no impulse, free of malice, on behalf of the Cow. Of these beings (down there), not even he who is strongest is known through whom the Lofty Ones may move the lowly ones, (he) for whom I would come to (his) appeals with (my) protection."
- 4 May Wisdom, who most thoroughly remembers claims/grievances, take present notice of the things which are done by godlings and (evil) mortals, and take future notice of things which will be done (by them). He is the decisive Lord: as He wishes, so will it be for Us."

- 5 So we two were (there) with hands outstretched to the Lord to gain his favor, my soul/self and that of the Fertile Cow, that we might dispose Him for (imparting) specifications: "Is there no hope for the right-living person, none for the cattleman surrounded by the wrongful ones?"
- 6 Thereupon the Lord Wisdom, knowing in His foresightful awareness the (cosmic) designs, spoke: "Not one (hope), nor any judge(ment) in accord with Rightness has been found by the world, but for the cattleman and for pasturage has the Fashioner shaped thee."
- 7 The Lord, who is of the same disposition as Rightness, fashioned the mantra of poured butter and milk for the Cow; through His teaching, He is holy (through His energy of abundance, swanta-) to the underfed (mortals). "Whom hast Thou, who as/through/with Good Mind, could deliver these things down to mortals?"
- 8 "This (mortal) has been found here by Me, who is the one (mortal) who has listened to Our teachings: Spitama Zarathushtra. He wishes to sing praises for Us, O Wisdom, and (= including) Rightness, so may there be given him sweetness of vocality."
- 9 But the Soul of the Cow groaned: "I who have (thus) gotten (on my behalf merely) the mightless voice of a powerless man instead, (I) who wish for someone who is dominant with might! When will there ever be someone to give him help of hands?"
- 10 May You give to these (mortals) strength, O Lord(,) with/through/as Rightness and Good Mind, that Dominion through which one will establish safe dwellings and peace, of which I, O Wisdom, have first thought Thee (to be) the provider,
- 11 Where are Rightness and Good Mind and Dominion?

Now, take account of me, You (all), O Wisdom, and with awareness show recognition for the great patronage-bounty. Lord, come down to us here because of that gift to those such as You.

Y29: COMMENTARY ON TRANSLATION

29.1b More literally, 'there has fettered me (*hišāya*, sg.) fury and force, violence and boldness/captivity (*drš*), and might'. My 'brazen vice ... gripped' attempts to approximate the intentionally ambiguous stem *drš*, stem *drš-* 'boldness, daring' and/or *drz-* 'fastening, pressure, bond' (which occurs in the kindred context 53.8d).

29.2a" (and 29.6b") *ratuš* 'judge(ment)', see below. 2b" *gaudāyah* 'cow-nourishing', like YAv. *gaodāiiu-*, which represents the etymon of Man. MPers. *gy'w*, Pers. *giyāh* etc. 'grass'. 2c" *wādāyait* (with obj. *aišmam* 'fury') approximately 'would thrust away' allows comparison with Gr. *ώθέω* 'push', cf. 48.12d *ha(m)maistārah aišmahya* 'expellers of fury' (continuing the context of 48.11b-c, the advent of good dwellings with pasture and establishment of peace as against the violent wrongful ones), and with YAv. *vaḍa-* 'wedge' as well as with 32.10c" *wadar*, Vedic *vādhar* 'weapon', cf. 48.7a *ni aišmam dyata'am pati ramam syadwam* 'let fury be tied down; slash back violence'.

29.3c" *sarja*: I propose *sarja*, nom. of a neuter *sarjan-* 'impulse, impulsion, propulsion', (with n. adj. *adwaišah-*). This mg. suits the following statement concerning the heavenly beings not finding a human medium 'to move or motivate' (*šyawatai*, as per Insler, *ad. loc.*) the beings on earth.

Etymologically, *sarja* provides the Old Iranian source of the Parthian word indicated by the phonological shape of Armenian *šarž* 'movement, impulse, stirring, and quaking (of the earth)' and the verb intrans. *šaržim*, trans. *šaržem* 'to move'. The Parth. would show development **sarja(-)* > *sarž(-)* > *šarž(-)* by assimilation; cf. *spiš-* > Sogd. *špšH-* /špiš/, Pers. *šipiš* 'louse'; **snaija-* > Av. *snaēža-*, Sogd. **/šnēž-/* > *šnyš-* /šnēš-/ 'to snow', Shugni *šənij* 'a snow', etc.

Under Middle Iranian *šarž- may now be placed Khwarezmian šž 'wild beast' and Persian šarza (šarže) 'swift (*tond o tīz*, the lead definition in Dehkhoda, *Loyatnāme*, s.v.), ferocious, enraged', chiefly a cliché epithet for lions, but also used of leopards, and more rarely of other large beasts, of snakes (*šarza mār* in a 13th century verse of Khājū Kirmānī, cited in M. Š. Šukurov *et al.*, *Farhangi Zaboni Tojikī*, Moscow 1969, II, p. 568), and people. Thus *šarza* means essentially 'making a quick move in attack, pouncing upon, darting forth ferociously', from which sense(s) Khwar. 'feral, wild (beast)' would derive. The Pers. adj. is compatible with a verbal notion involving impulsion, propulsion, jumping' posited for the Ir. root *s(a)rg/j. This is corroborated by the fact that such an Iranian etymon is the ideal outcome of a Proto-Indo-European root *skelg, and as such furnishes the only extra-Germanic correspondence for a group of Germanic words reconciled by a Gmc. base *skelk (also the expected outcome of PIE *skelg) 'to spring, jump' (cf. J. Pokorny, *Indo-Germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1959, p. 929 s.v. *(s)kel- 'springer'): Middle High German *schelch* 'rutting male deer'; Old Norse *skelkr* 'fright, fear' (cf. Eng. *jumpy*); and ONor. *skalkr*, Goth. *skalks* 'servant, slave' (*'one who will spring up/forth at command').

The derivation of Pers. *šarza* (*šarže*), epithet primarily for lions, from *šarž- and more ultimately from an Ir. root *s(a)rg/j 'to jump up, spring, pounce', leads to a solution for the problematic etymology of the Iranian word for 'lion' itself. Irregularly, Khwarezmian has *sry* and Khotanese *sar(a)u-*, with *s-*, whereas š- is found for Sogdian *šryw* and Middle Persian *šgr* i.e., /šagr/, giving Pers. *šēr* (*šīr*). Henning (*AION* Sez. ling. 6, 1965, p. 40) sees in the Mir. alteration *s/š* reason to posit a non-Indo-Iranian *Wanderwort* whence also OInd. *siṃhá-* 'lion'. For the Indic, however, Hübschmann's separate comparison with Armenian *inc* (i.e. *indz*; *-u-* stem) 'leopard' has been attractively supported by Bailey's (*Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 1979, p. 484) connection with the Iranian root *haiz* 'to rise up' and ('creep'), which I adopt to posit two PIE nasal-infix forms from the root *seiǵh*: **siǵhó-* for the Indic, and **siǵhí-* for the Armenian, both referring to the pouncing (and/or stealth) of the beasts' attack.

This is suggestive for the etymology of 'lion' in Iranian. We may now proceed from Ir. **sargu-* *'springing, pouncer' (formed like the unrelated OInd. *tsáru-* 'sneaking, stealthy beast'), nominalized specifically for 'lion'. This noun is attested

for Old Persian proper names in Elamite orthography (*Šarku-dada*, *Šarkuniya*; see Gershevitch, *BSOAS* XXXIII/1, 1970, p. 90), in which Old Persian *s would have been spelled, as usual, with Elam. š. Our *sargu- 'lion' occurred alongside sarja- 'springing up, moving rapidly, pouncing', most likely in a *figura etymologica*. When the latter word became *šarž(ak) 'fiercely attacking' in Middle Iranian, in formulaic association with 'lion' (and reflecting the old *figura etymologica*) the *s- of 'lion' became š- in Sogdian and in Middle Persian. Thus we have as formulaic remnant the Persian *šēr-i šarza* (*šir-e šarze*), in which is found the last survival of an ancient set of developed forms, whose basic idea of impulsion occurs in Y. 29.3 *sarja* (*sarjan-*).

Earlier proposals for *sarajā* are unconvincing. Bartholomae's 'helper', with invention of an unevicenced PIE root *kelg alongside *kelp 'to help', is a counsel of despair.

Humbach⁸ takes *sarajā* as 'a deliverer', from 'he who smashes shelters' (!), since he insists that sar- means 'shelter' and is cognate with OInd. *śarman-* 'shelter, refuge', and that the verb and noun sar(-), via '(enter into) mutual shelter with', only when governing a noun in the instrumental case, but not genitive, to mean '(have an) association (with)'. However, a review of the evidence will show that OAv. sar(-) throughout refers to connection or union (probably from the meaning 'commingling' inherited by the Indo-European root *śar(H)* from Proto-Indo-European.

49.9 b nait ršwacāh saram dadans drugwatā
 c yat dayanāh wahištai yujan miždai
 d artā yuxtā ya'ahi djāma'aswa

49.9 b-d 'The person whose words are true does
 not make a union/alliance with the wrong-
 ful (= deceitful) one, but they yoke their
 envisionments to/for the best prize, who
 are yoked to Rightness in the race, Jamaspa!'

The passage in itself contrasts, in effect, (b) a union with (*drug-* in *drugwant-* 'wrongful' = 'deceitful') and (d) a yoking with Rightness. The close semantic relationship between sar- 'union, connection' etc. and √yuj 'to yoke' is shown by 49.8d 'yoked with Rightness' and 49.8d'-b' *artahya dāh saram* 'make Thou the union of Rightness', and

⁸ Helmut Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and Other Old Avestan Texts*, I and II, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatverlag, 1991 (henceforth "Humbach, *Gāthās*"), II, pp. 33 and 78.

49.9c 'yoke their envisionments' parallels 49.5b 'has connected/united (sāršta) his envisionment with Good Mind. Furthermore, 49.3a-b contrasts the 'ties (sarah pl.) of Good Mind' with the 'associations (hax-manh) of the wrongful', sharing the similarity of the notions of sar- and the root hac 'to associate' found also in the seminal passage 32.2a-b 'connected/united (sāramnah) with Good Mind and the boon associate/friend (hušaxā) with (= of) Rightness' and at 44.17c-d (āsktim ... sarai), concentrically concatenating with 44.4b-c drta 'held fast' and yaugt 'yoked'. Elsewhere sar- co-occurs with 'ally' (31.21b-c: wraθa-), 'kinsman', and is collocated in syntactic parallelism with 'community' (YH 35.8 artahya ... sari artahya wrzanai). Against Humbach, the meaning 'association (tie, nexus)' is shown for sar- with genitives; all of the foregoing instances, 49.8, YH 35.8, 31.21 (as well as 53.3) have sar- with artahya 'of Rightness', and 49.3 has it with wahauš manahah 'of Good Mind'.

The only evidence Humbach (*Gāthās* II, p. 118) offers for sar- as 'shelter' (or, rather 'enclosure') is *sairi* at V 3.8 and 3.12, 7.45, and 7.47. Humbach takes this form as locative of sar-, i.e. *sar-i with normal, epenthetic -i-; the contexts refer to how long it takes the corpses of humans and dogs to decompose in the earth. It is thus rather unlikely that men, let alone dogs, are buried in containers. Since in mss. of these *Vidēvdād* passages we find *saēre* ('they lie') for *sairi*, cf. conversely Yt. 5.102 *saite* for **saēite* 'lies', we may read **saēire* (...) *nikante/niḍaite* 'they lie (...) in a state of being buried/deposited' The wrong form *sairi* may have been influenced by V 15.17 *sairi varəzāne* < YH 35.8 *sairi ... varəzānē* (sari ... wrzanai).

The extra-Avestan evidence confirms the basic sense of sar- as 'union, tie, nexus'. For Zarathushtra's admonition to Jamaspa to the effect that the righteous person (49.9b) *nait ... saram *dadans drug-watā* 'does not ... make union with a deceitful person' I point out a remarkable parallel from an early Pashto proverb: *yaibat sara ma kāṇaī* 'do not make union with a slanderer', which preserves a noun *sara* f. 'union' (=OAv. sar- f.), whence the later usual Pashto use of *sara* as postposition 'with'. The verb *sar* is represented in Sogdian by Chr. Sogd. *'srty* 'united with, accompanying'.⁹

Against Kellens-Pirart's novel comparison of *sarjā* with OInd. *ślāghate* 'confides in, speaks confidentially, vaunts, boasts' from a putative Indo-Iranian root **śl(e)Hgh/jh*,¹⁰ OAv. *sarjā*, taken with Kellens-Pirart as 1st pers. sg., does not syntactically fit easily at 29.3; moreover such a *sarjā* is unlikely as a (rare) zero-grade thematic stem (**śljha-*) in the active, in contrast with the OInd. full-grade thematic in the middle. Furthermore, OInd. -*gh-* against expected -*h-* points to derivation from

⁹ See Schwartz 1998: 154 & 191 for details.

¹⁰ Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, III, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1991, p. 35.

an underlying noun **slāgha-*, which could be vṛddhi from a root *sla(g)h*, i.e. without internal *-H-*. The Indo-Iranian antiquity of the formation *slāgha-* results from G. Morgenstierne's finding the formally precise (but semantically slightly different) correspondent in Pashto: "*šāyəl* 'to please, to prefer, to like', < *srāg-*, cf. Skt. *slāgh-* 'to trust in, boast of, praise, commend'" (*Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927, p. 77). To these a Khotanese form, which seems to show short *-a-* as the root vowel (and agreement with the laudatory sense of the Pashto) is added by H.W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 1979, p. 408: *ššahanā* 'virtue, quality'. These correlations between the Vedic and the East Iranian forms relevance support for the *sarājā* of our context Y. 29.3.

29.3c" *krdušā* 'with protection', instr. of *krduš-* (provision of) protectiveness'. This form was identified by Gershevitch as the antecedent of Sogd. *kurč* in *kurč-wādē* 'place of safety, refuge', as discussed with the attestations of this compound by Sims-Williams.¹¹ I propose that it survives as a loan in colloquial Persian *korč* (used with *nešastan* 'to sit') 'the act of (a hen) brooding'. For Sogdian forms in colloquial Persian, note e.g. Persian *lert*, *lerd* 'lees, dregs, sediment', cf. Sogd. *ḍrtyc*, Per. *dord*. Plr. *krduš-* may be derived from PIE **kerd-*, under which Pokorny lists OIrish *fo-cridigedar* 'girds', and nouns OIrish *cr(i)uss* 'girdle', Welsh *crys* 'girdle, shirt' < **kerd-su-*; Russ. *čeres* 'money-belt' etc. The original root meaning may now be specified as 'to surround protectively'.

29.4' b *sahwār* 'claims, grievances': The form (*sax'ārā*) is readily identifiable as pl. of *sahwan/r-*, attested as Sogd. *sywn*, MPers. *saxwan*, Pers. *soxan* 'word, speech, utterance' etc. a legalistic additional specification of meaning is now evident from Bactrian σαχοανο, which N. Sims-Williams cites from unpublished texts, in connection with a compound form of the word in a document declaring that a slave is manumitted αβησαχοανο αδο αβηαιοισαπο 'without claim and without argument'.¹² Thus I take 29.4 *sahwār* as 'a claim (against), (prose-

¹¹ N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985, p. 84. [Cf. now Mugh PN *kwrcy*.]

¹² *Idem*, "A Bactrian Deed of Manumission", *Silk Road Art and Archeology (Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura)* 5, 1997/8, p. 199. [See now Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, Oxford: University Press, 2000, p. 223 σαχοανο 'word, statement, claim, thing, business, matter.']

cutorial) grievance'. The legalistic nuance explains the archaic pl. -ār vs. the more productive -āni. Note also 29.4c' *wicirah* '(judicially) decisive'.

In addition, the foregoing explanation of *sahwār* accords with the following *marištah*, superlative from root *m(a)r* 'to remember, to keep (mental) records, to (keep ac)count', found, again in reference to *Mazdā Ahura*, in a legalistic passage in Y 32 (a text which uniquely parallels Y 29 in its account of cruelty toward the Cow, 32.10,12,14; note also collocation of roots *hā(y)* 'to tie' and *grz* 'to complain', 32.9 *hātim ... grzai* and 32.13 *hiš(s)at ... jigrzat*: 29.1 *gržda ... hišāya*). 32.6b' has *hātā-marnai* '(O Thou) who keepest account of merits/just deserts' (obj. [32.6a'] 'the many violations, countless').¹³ The context here features legal language: 32.6a', 7a', and 8a' *ainah*- 'violation'; 32.6c" *sanha*- 'sentencing' and 32.7b *yā jīwiyā sanhatai yāiš srāwi* 'which are declared as capital offenses for which one undergoes a hearing, i.e. is tried' (cf. Insler, *Gāthās*, *ad loc.*). Cf. 43.6d *ratūš sanhatai* 'declares judgments'; 32.7a' *aujai hādraya* 'I sincerely profess'; 32.7c" *rixtam* 'outcome'; 32.8b" *hwāramnah* 'swearing, pleading judicially'; and 32.8c" *wiciθai*- '(judicial) decision'.

32.3-6a, which immediately preface *hātāmarnai*, and the other legal terms in 32.6-8, further illuminates the theme of 29.4, *Mazdā*'s remembrance of claims against misdeeds committed (29.4b') 'by godlings and (evil) mortals', *daiwāiš-ca martyāiš-ca*. Such crimes are detailed at 32.3-5, in which *daiwāiš-ca martyāiš-ca* is paralleled by equivalent phraseology: 32.3 *at yuš daiwā ... yas-ca wāh ... yazatai ... šyaumān // api dbitāna* 'you godlings and whoever worships you ... duplicitous are (your) doings...'; 32.4 *yāt yuš tā fra mimāθa yā martiyā acištā dantah waxšantai daiwazuštā* 'whereby you have ordered the worst things, (by) doing which mortals wax, the minions of (you) the godlings'; and 32.5 *tā dbanauta martiyam hujyātaiš amrtātas-ca // yat wāh ... yanh daiwanh akasca manyuš akā šyauθnam wacahā yā fra cinas drugwantah xšayah* 'Thus have you cheated the mortal(s) out of good life and immortality, just as the Evil Spirit (has cheated) you who are the godlings—an action with/through evil speech, via which the

¹³ For *anāxšta*- as 'countless', cf. YAv. *ahaxšta*-; root *xsā* (Skr. *khyā*) 'to take account of, tell, discern'; cf. 46.2e *ā xsah*, in a passage compositionally related to 32.6. Further details elsewhere.

Ruler has discerned the Wrongful One.' Thus (29.4) *Mazdā's* quality of most thorough account-keeping (*marišta-*) of claims for the wrongdoings enacted by mortals and godlings parallels (32.6) *Mazdā's* keeping account (*marni-*) of penalties merited for 'violations through which one gains fame or notoriety' (*aināh ... yāiš srāwahyati*). The latter refers back to 32.3c *šyaumān ... yāiš asrudwam* 'the doings ... through which you have gained fame/notoriety', i.e. the deeds (32.3b) of the godlings and their worshipers = 32.4a"-b' *martiyā ... daiwā-zuštā* 'mortals, ... the godlings' minions' = 32.5a-b *martiyam ... daiwanh* 'mortal(s) ... godlings.

The (*Indo-Iranian) formulation 29.4b' *daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca*, although it is variously paraphrased in 32.3-5, reoccurs in 48.1, which itself goes back to 32.3-5 (see below, after translation, with fn. 2):

48.1 a *yazi adaiš artā drujam wanhati*
 b *yat ansšyutā yā dbitānā fra'uxtā*
 c *amrtāti daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca*
 d *at tai sawāiš wahmam waxšat ahura*

48.1 'If, through these things, one will with Rightness defeat Wrong, when the duplicitous things, enacted/motivated by malice, have been declared for the sake of immortality by godlings and (evil) mortals, then one shall increase laudation of Thee with benefactions/ salvations, O Lord.'

For root-stem *anh-*'malice' in *ansšyutā*, cf. *ahra-*'malign' euphemized in 32.5b" *aka-manyu-*'the Evil Spirit'. For *-šyutā* 'enacted, motivated' ... *dbitānā fra'uxtā* 'duplicitous (things) declared', cf. 32.3c' *šyaumān ... dbitānā* 'duplicitous doings' and 32.5c' *akā šyauθnā wacahā* 'actions with evil speech'; *amrtāti* 'for immortality', cf. 32.5a' *amrtātas-ca*; and *waxšat* 'will increase', cf. 32.4b' *waxšantai*.

29.4a" and b" *ciθit* 'may observe': The departure of this optative (with zero-grade suffix and root) from the ideal (historical) norm does not exclude its presence in Gathic linguistic realia (Beekes, Humbach). The starting point may have been 28.2c" etc. *dadit* from stem *dad-* alongside common *dada-*. The stem *ciθ-* is supported by 32.5c" *fra cinas* 'recognizes, observes'

from the same root *ciθ* (the object here again is demonic wrongdoing), cf. 29.4c' *wicirah* 'discerning, decisive', in the same semantic field.

29.6a *wafūš* '(cosmic) designs': Earlier translations have 'pronouncements, utterances, formulas' or the like, by comparison with *ufya-* 'to praise, proclaim (a hymn)'. This interpretation does not much suit the present context of *wafūš*, nor that of 48.9c" *wafuš*. As at 29.6a", at 48.9c" this noun is direct object of the verb *wid* 'to know', in reference to the larger scheme or design of things, with the fated future:

- 48.9a *kadā waida yazi cahya xšayaθa*
 b *mazdā artā mā āθiš dwaiθa*
 c *rš mai ucām wahauš wafuš manahah*
 d *widyāt saušyans yaθā hai artiš ahat*

48.9a-d 'When shall I know if you have control, O Mazdā with Rightness, over whoever is a threat and danger to me? Let the design of Good Mind be told to me truly; the weal-bringer should know what (kind of) reward he'll have.'

I take our *wafuš* 'design' etymologically as *'a weave, a weft' (the Indo-European pattern-concept *par excellence*) from the root *waf* 'to weave', attested throughout both East and West Iranian. (From *waf* 'to weave' with another Indo-European metaphor, that of poetic construction and artful speech, may come the OAv. *ufya-* 'to hymn'.) For *-f-* (**-ph-*?) against earlier *-b(h)-* (vestigial in YAv. *ubdaēna-* 'woven stuff'), cf. Av. *jafra-* vs. OInd. *gambhīrā-* 'deep', *nāfa-* 'navel, kin' vs. OInd. *nābhī-* (and Av. compd. *nabā-nazdišta-* 'next of kin'), etc. The two attestations, acc. pl. *wafūš-* and nom. sg. *wafuš-*, allow stem *wafu-* m. or *wafuš-* n. I opt for *wafuš-* 'design, pattern', comparing OInd. *vāpus-* 'form' (> 'beauty'), and propose Ved. **vābhus-*, upon replacement of **vabh-* (cf. *ūrnavābhi-*) by *vay-* for the verb 'to weave', become *vāpus-* via *vapati* 'shears, shaves' (whereby *vāpus* 'form' as *'shaped by trimming'). [For the "Weaving of Fate", cf. Richard G. Onians, *The Origin of European Thought*, Cambridge 1959 (1998), pp. 349-351.]

29.6a" *wyānaya* 'in foresightful awareness': all three Avestan attestations of this word, spelled *viiāna-*, may be reconciled grammatically as locatives referring to a psychic faculty of sentience and/or foresight which characterizes gods. In the present passage, 29.6, *Mazdā*, 'knowing in His *wyāna-* the (cosmic) designs', or 'knowing the (cosmic) designs in His *wyāna-*, answers the question of future hope for the Cow (His answer does not preclude that such hope is yet to come, as is clarified in the positive by His aspect Good Mind). In 44.7 the quality of awareness is providential, and involves the filial aspect of 'piety' or 'devotion' (as *aramati-*, lit. 'Right-mindedness' may be more practically translated).

44.7b *kah brxθām tāšt xšaθrā mat aramatim*
c *kah uzmam cart wyāniīā puθram puθrāi*

44.7 b-c 'Who has fashioned, with (His) Dominion, the esteemed Right-mindedness? Who, in foresight(ful awareness), has created the son to be respectful to the father?'

In seeing *wyānayā* as referring to the Fashioner (*Mazdā*) rather than to the son, I take into account that *wyāna-* (constantly locative) is throughout attested as a faculty of a god [this would hold true if the word referred to the "son", who, as we shall see, is the Holy Spirit]. The divine reference of *wyāna-* is found again in Yt. 10.64, for the translation of which I follow Gershevitch,¹⁴ for now however leaving *viiāne* (Gershevitch 'in the soul') untranslated:

'Mithra ... in whom there is a great and mighty commitment in his *viiāna-* to the broad-spreading Religion, whereby its seed is dispersed unto the seventh clime.'

A translation of *viiāna-* as 'soul' would follow from an equation of the Avestan word with the antecedent of MPers. *gyān*, NPers. *jān* 'soul' whose Achaemenid meaning is approximated by the Pahlavi logogram *HYA* = *hayyē* 'vitality (< life)',

¹⁴ Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge: University Press 1967, pp. 103 and 213.

cf. OInd. *vyāna-* 'breath (circulating throughout the body)', root *an(H)* 'to breathe'.¹⁵ The fact that the Persic word must be of Proto-(Indo-) Iranian origin, and thus should have been reflected in Avestan, and the fact that it belongs to the vocabulary of psychic functions, suggest that it is relevant for the Avestan word in question. However, if Av. *viiāna-* meant 'soul', its absence from e.g. eschatological contexts would be odd. Moreover, for the three Avestan attestations 'soul' ('animation') is not apt, while some faculty of (supernatural?) awareness is. Finally, the OAv. correspondent to the OIr. ancestor of MPers. *gyān* would be trisyllabic, **wi'āna-*, rather than the disyllabic form *wyāna-* at 29.6 and 44.9.

I suggest a modified form of Insler's explanation of OAv. *wyāna-*. Insler (*Gāthās*, p. 152) takes *wyāna-* as 'attentiveness' citing W.P. Schmidt's demonstration that the Vedic root *vī* (3rd pers. pres. sg. *vēti*, pl. *vyānti*) means 'richtet sein Augenmerk auf etwas, trachtet nach, auf etwas bedacht sein, verfolgen'. The last sense, 'to pursue', is continued in Iranian; cf. Bartholomoe, *AirWb.* s.v. *vā(y)-*, where note the form *viiāna-* pres. mid. ptc., Yt 13.35. From 'direct one's observation (toward)' one gets the ordinary Iranian pres. stem *waina-* 'to see'. However, in Vedic the verbal stem *vēna-* has the nuance 'to see in a spiritual sense', and the noun *venā-* 'a seer (gifted with foresight)' as noted in Schmidt's article; cf. Gonda's connection of these words with prescient praeternatural qualities.¹⁶ I propose that the Avestan *wyāna-* 'foresighful awareness' reflects root *wī* in reference to prescient/praeaternatural sight, with nominalization of the participle formally evidenced at Yt 13.35, superimposed upon and replacing **wi'āna-*, which was almost identical to *wyāna-* in phonology, and was in the same semantic field. The supplantation of *wi'āna-* was also motivated by the pressure of competition by other words for forces of animation (*ru'an-*, *anman-*, *manyu-*, *manah-*, *baudi-*, *frawarti-*, etc.)

¹⁵ Humbach, *Gāthās* II, p. 39 (where differently on Yt 10.64) and p. 201 accepts the connection with MPers. *gyān*, but takes the word via 'heart, soul' as **"what is innermost"*, deriving this "from the root *viiā* 'to cover, wrap, envelop'".

¹⁶ Jan Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963, 349-357.

29.8c" *hai hūdmam dyāi waxθrahya* 'may sweetness of vocality be assigned to him': There is no reason to deny the parallelism of *RV* 2.21.6 *dhehi ... svādmānaṃ vācaḥ* 'assign (imptv.) sweetness of voice'. In *hūdmam* we have the acc. of **hūdmá-* 'sweetness', which would in gradation stand to OInd. *svādmán-* as YAv. *xšnuman-* to *xšnaoman-* 'propitiation'; *dyāi* is pass. juss. inf. to root *dā* 'establish, assign' = OInd. *dhā* in *dhehi*; and *waxθra-* is the cognate of OInd. *vāc-* = 29.9c *wāc-* 'voice'. (for *waxθra-*: *wāc-* see below, *ad loc.* If *waxθra-* has the meaning 'mouth' of its OInd. cognate *vakra-*, or refers to another organ of voice production, it would be metonymical, like Gr. *στόμα* 'mouth: speech, utterance', cf. *χρυσόστομος* 'golden-mouthed' = 'eloquent', etc. There is no warrant for Humbach's (*Gāthās* II, *ad loc.*) taking *hudāmā diiāi* as 'may I see (**di*'āi) the good build (**hu-dma-m*) of his speech-organ' = 'may I enjoy the beauty of his speech'.

29.9a" *xšanmanai* 'instead': The usual rendering 'to have to be content with (!)' etc. is based on analysis of the texts' *xšqmānē/xšqmānē* as **xšam-man-ai* with comparison of the OInd. root *kṣam*, is invalidated, however, by Pashto *zyamal* 'to endure', whose *zy-* would require an Av. cognate to have **γž-*. Phonologically the incontestable antecedent of *xšqm-* would be not **xšamm-*, but **xšanm-*; thus for 29.9a" one should proceed from **xšanmanai*, dative of a *-man-* derivative of an Ir. root *xšan*.

I see the root *xšan* in the otherwise unexplained Oss. (*ā*)*xšān* 'together with, in common, mutual' <**xšana-* from PIE **ksono-* 'a situation of exchange' which also accounts for Old Irish *son* in *ar son* 'in exchange, instead of, in place of, for the sake of', showing the same datival sense as *xšanman-ai* from *xšanman-* 'an exchange' < PIE **ksenmen-*. From the PIE root, **ksen* 'to exchange', comes **ksenu-*, **ksen-u* (formally like PIE **dhebh* 'to diminish, impair, deceive' > Hitt. ptc. *tep-u-* 'small', verbal *tepaw-* 'to diminish', OAv. root *dbau*, pres. *dbāwaya-* 'to deceive', *dbauman-* 'deception'; OInd. *tsārati* 'creeps, sneaks', *tsāru-* 'stealthy beast', YAv. pres. stem *sr(a)uu-* 'to sneak (up)') **ksenu-ó-* > Arch. Gr. **ksenw-o-s* *'one engaging in institutional gift-exchange' 'host, guest, guest-friend' (formed like YAv. *hauruua-* < *har-w-a-* 'observans, watching, guardian'), Gr. **ksenw-ion* (>Myc. Hom.) 'hospitality gift'; Av. stems *xšnāuuaiia-*, *xšnaoš-*, *kuxšnu-*, *cixšnuša-*) 'to satisfy merits or expectations, give hospitality or its cultic equivalent', *xšnut-*

'hospitality gift, (eschatological) requital'. The semantic range of PIE *ksen and its derivative is matched by PIE *meitH* 'to (ex)change': Lat. *mūtāre* 'to change', *mūtūus* 'mutual'; OSicil. *moitos* 'requital'; Goth. *maidjan* 'to exchange', *maiþms* '(recovered) gift'; OInd. *méthati*, *mitháti* 'changes, alternates', *mithás* 'counter to, together with'; OAv. *maiθā* 'change', YAv. *maēθmanəm* 'for pairing', MPers. *mēhmān* 'guest' (= Pashto *melmə*, Yazghulami *miθmen*), *mehmānīh* 'hospitality'.¹⁷

Contextually, *xšanmanai* 'instead' refers to the contrast of what the Soul of the Cow succeeds in obtaining (*rādam* 'I have achieved', cf. 33.2c *rādanti* 'they achieve') vs. her hopes; 'The powerless (29.9a" *an-aiša-*) voice of a mightless man vs. someone mighty (29.9c" *išā-*) with dominance'; there being given to him (29.8c" *hai ... diyāi*) sweetness of vocality vs. one who will give him (29.9c" *hau ... hai dadat* help of hands; and the desires of the Cow (29.9b" *wasmi* 'I wish') vs. those of Zarathushtra (29.8b" *wašti* 'he wishes').

29.11a"-b" *marta* 'take account' ... *pati zānta* 'recognize': The two verbs are here coordinated by their parallel meaning and syntax (both 2nd pers. pl. impv.). The first form, vulgate *mašā* < *mār-ta*, with stressed root-syllable, represents the same verb root as 29.4a *mar-išta-* 'who most takes account'. The second form, *pati zānta*, refers to the acknowledgement of hospitality gifts, or their cultic equivalents, in institutionalized reciprocity; this is indicated by both the YAv. usage of *paiti.zan-* and by *RV* 7.54.1 *prati jānīhi* in hospitality contexts. Similar function for the verb *ciθ* is shown by 33.2b" *caiθatai astim* 'recognizes the guest' and 46.9a *caiθat* 'recognizes' before the overt hospitality context 46.10-14. Thus perhaps 29.11 *marta ... pati zānta* is a semantic echo of 29.4 *marištah ... -ciθit*, with reference to divine requital, respectively for good and for evil.

Y 29 (AND 27.13, "AHUNA VAIRIIA"):

FORM, INTERPRETATION,

AND TEXTUAL HISTORY

¹⁷ Schwartz 1998, pp. 139-145 *et passim*.

The above-discussed concentrism of Y 29 has important consequences for the interpretation and history of the poem. It not only invalidates Insler's suggestion for the original order of stanzas (*Gāthās, ad Y 29*), according to which 3-5 followed 9 and 6 followed 2; but the conventional order, as confirmed by the system of concatenation, is seen to set the framework for the rhetorical structures of the poem. The questions of 29.1, 'For whom did You shape me? Who fashioned me?', the ensuing question of 29.2, 'What judge(ment) dost Thou have for the Cow?', and the question at 29.5c (which immediately leads to the central stanza), 'Is there no hope for the right-living man, none for the cattleman in the midst of the wrongful ones?' are all addressed by what must be translated as the answer in the center, 29.6b-c: 'Not one (hope), nor a judge in accord with Rightness has been found by the world, but the Shaper has fashioned thee (the Cow) for the pasturing cattleman.' 29.6b "Not one (hope) ... has been found by the world ..." is resolved at 29.8a-b 'This (mortal) has been found by Me here (= in the world), the one (mortal) who has listened to our teachings: Spitama Zarathushtra.' This also answers the question in 29.8b-c as to who would bring down to mortals the teaching through which the Cow is provided with milk, and the mantra of poured butter.

These questions are addressed to the three aspects of the godhead (in order, Rightness, the Wise Lord, and Good Mind). A positive answer finally comes via Good Mind, from the earthly plane, where Zarathushtra alone has been found as able to transmit the divine teachings and to be champion of the Cow. The treatment in terms of the three entities is most closely comparable with Y 28, in which the three entities figure in every stanza. Note especially 28.8a"-b' *artā ... hazaušam ahuram* 'the Lord, of the same disposition as Rightness', cf. 29.7a"-b'. Importantly also, 28.1c states as goal the satisfaction of the "Soul of the Cow"; the collocated "Holy Spirit" (28.1b) parallels 29.2a "the Fashioner of the Cow" (see below, on bovine symbolism); and 28.1a" *ustānazasta-* is equivalent to 29.5a *ustānāiš ... zastaīš* 'with outstretched hands'.

As compared with the other Gathic poems, the linkage between the outer stanzas of Y 29 is weak: interrogative words and forms of 'you', and tautometric *mā* 'me'. Furthermore, there is no linkage between the last and central stanzas. I suggest that the minimality of concatenation is due to the final stanza of Y 29, 29.11, being outside the original construction of this poem, a

substitute for the original conclusion, which is completely ad-
ducible.

For the original 29.11 I propose 27.13, the "Ahuna Vairiia Prayer", which Zoroastrianism has considered the most potent mantra. Of the four brief Old Avestan texts traditionally called "the Holiest Prayers" (27.13-15, 54,1), 27.13 alone is metrical; moreover it furnishes the name of the Ahunauvaitī Gāthā, to whose meter Y 29 (as well as Y 30-34) belongs. Here is 27.13, with my translation:

27.13 a yaθa ahū wari'ah aθā ratuš artāt-cit hacā
b wahauš dazdā manaha šyauθnāna'am ahauš
mazda'ai
c xšaθram-ca ahurāya yam drigubyah dadat
wāstāram

27.13 'As he is (fit) to be chosen by the world, so
the judge, in accord with Rightness and
Good Mind, dedicates/assigns himself and
the Dominion over actions of the world
to Wisdom The Lord, whom it (the world)
has established as pastor to the poor.'

Leaving the translation aside for now, I note the corres-
pondences 27.13c" (end-line) wāstāram 'pastor' (acc.) and
29.1c wāstā 'pastor' (nom.) and (end-line) wāstriyā 'pasture'
(instr.); post-caesural 27.13a" and 29.1c" aθā 'so'; 27.13a and
29.6b ahū ... ratuš artāt-cit hacā 'by the world ... a judge in
accord with Rightness'.

The comparison of 29.6b nait aiwā ahū wistah naida ratuš
artāt-cit hacā '... not one [29.5c' frajyātīš 'hope'], nor a ratu-
in accord with Rightness has been found by the world' with
29.8a-b ayam mai idā wistah aiwah ... zaraθuštrah 'this one
(man), i.e. Zarathushtra, has been found here by me' favors for
ratuš 'a judge' rather than 'a judgment' (as probably also 29.2
artam kaθā tai gawai ratuš ... kam hai uštā ahuram yah ...
aišmam wādāyait 'What manner of judge (arbitrator, regulator)
hast Thou for the Cow? ... Whom do You wish to be her lord,
who would thrust away ... fury ...?). Thus 27.13a, 'As he is to
be chosen (wari'ah, paralleled by 29.6b' wistah 'found') by the
world, so the judge in accord with Rightness (aθā ratuš artāt-cit
hacā, cf. 29.2" artam kaθā ... ratuš as well as 29.6b" ratuš
artāt-cit hacā)'

I regard my proposal that 27.13 represents the original eleventh stanza of Y 29 as well evidenced; more moot is my translation of 29.6b" (and 29.2a") as well as 27.13a" *ratuš* as 'judge', a self-reference of Zarathushtra. I shall now try to justify this interpretation, and then move to the broader issue (for which the translation of *ratuš* is relevant) of why Zarathushtra changed the conclusion of 29.11. I shall first show the evidence of Zarathushtra's self-image as judge, reserving for my later discussion of bovine symbolism why Zarathushtra saw himself specifically as judge for "the Cow". One may start out from the evidence of Y 29 itself that this judgeship is tantamount to the championship of Rightness and Order against the forces of Wrong and chaos (29.2-3), and that this championship is connected with Zarathushtra's being able to receive and transmit the divine teachings to mankind (29.6-8). This ability is revealed (29.8) from the earthly perspective by Good Mind (thus resolving the questions initiated by the Soul of the Cow) and then taken further by the Fashioner of the Cow in his interrogation of Rightness (29.1-2), on the basis of whose report the Lord Wisdom consults with Good Mind (29.6-7).

For all these issues, the most important illumination is provided by a brief Gathic composition whose contents show it to belong to the same earliest period of Zarathushtra's poetic career as Y 29. This poem is recoverable as the present 46.2-10, a complete concentric construction in itself which documents the difficulties of Zarathushtra's early career; Zarathushtra expanded the poem from 9 to 19 stanzas, as the present Y 46, after he acquired his chief patrons. This gives the poem's first half, with the original core 46.2-10, the appearance of a "flashback". In the original first stanza of the early poem, he complains (46.2c' *grzai*) of his defenselessness, just as the Soul of the Cow complains in 29.1 (a' *gržda* etc.), and he describes himself at 46.2a" as *anaiša*- 'powerless', a word found again in the Gāthās only at 29.9a" in the Soul of the Cow's lamentful description of Zarathushtra. [see further below, BOVINE SYMBOLISM.]

Postponing a detailed examination of both the proto-poem found as 46.2-10 and the textual relationship between the opening stanza-pair, the central stanza, and the final stanza-pair of the completed Y 46 (see the latter part of this paper), I shall now note the possible evidence in Y 46 for Zarathushtra's self-image as judge. In 46.10, which was the final stanza of the proto-poem,

and became the central stanza of Y 46, Zarathushtra promises, with regard to those who support him:

46.10d yans-ca haxšāi xšmāwata'am wahmāya
e fra tāiš wiswāiš cinwatah fra'a prtum

46.10d 'and those when I shall bring into (my)
association for the laudation of those of
Your kind; with all of these shall I cross
the Bridge of the Judging One.'

The term 'judging (one), he who is judging', **cinw-ant-**, is pres. ptc. of the stem **cin(a)u-** from root **ci** 'to pick out, select, discriminate, discern judiciously, judge'. The Bridge is where the souls of the just and unjust are judged to go respectively to heaven or hell, and it is with the latter dooming function of the Bridge of the Judge that Zarathushtra continued the poem at 46.11. That Zarathushtra may have seen himself to have a role in this judgment seems to follow from 46.18, which concatenates with and elaborates 46.10(-11). In 46.18 Zarathushtra again assigns "the best things in his power" to his supporters, and adversities to those who would harm his community, and claiming this to be his gratification of the divine will, he declares this assignment to be the decision or discernment (**wiciθa-**) of his own mind and intellect.

A self-declaration of being a judge alongside of Mazdā seems well to have been something from which Zarathushtra, as I have argued, later distanced himself, accused by his rivals of hybriatic behavior. Toward such a conclusion, I have argued that in the consecutive recycling of phraseology backwards from the end of Y 46 into the composition Y 32 (first stanzas 7-13 and then stanzas 14-16), Zarathushtra took from 46.18 his proclamation of judgment (**wiciθa-**) in gratification (**xšnaušamnah**) of Mazdā's will, and in the central stanza 32.8, converted the phraseology of 46.18 into a humble surrender to Mazdā's judgment as to whether he, Zarathushtra, is a sinner like Yima, who, swearing falsely, declared himself a god and claimed that thereby he was merely wishing to gratify (**cixšnušah**) his people's desires. Proceeding from 32.8, 49.1a-b is directed against the constant embattled opposition of the "greatest Plague" (thus Schmidt's "Die Komposition von Yasna 49", p. 172 for **bandwāh ... mazištah**), i.e. the Evil Spirit and his preachers (cf.

49.2a-b). Here Zarathushtra says that he has merely been wishing to gratify (*cixšnuša*) his poorly overseen flock.

46.18c" *wiciθam* not only concatenates with (central stanza) 46.10e" *cinwatah* '[Bridge] of the Judge'!, but is the climax of other expressions of judgment or discriminative discernment from *wi* plus root *ci*. In the preceding stanza Zarathushtra calls *Mazdā Ahura* (46.17d) 'He who discerns/judges (*wi cinaut*) the law-abiding and the lawless one'; but it is this faculty which Zarathushtra, two stanzas earlier, himself claims to possess: (46.15a"-b) 'I shall tell you ... how you may discern (*wi cayaθa*) the law-abiding and the lawless'. This ability of discernment or judging, which is informed by Rightness, is represented *in parvo* in the protoform of Y 46: The righteous person, being able to discern (46.5d' *wicira-*) that an obligatory guest is wrongful, must warn his family. Otherwise *wicira-* occurs only at 29.4c', to designate *Mazdā*'s decisive or judicial authority over the misdeeds of false gods and mortals.

The relevance of the protoform 46.2-10 for Y 29 (27.13) arises not merely from the issue of judgeship in 46.10 (which concatenates with 46.2, with *grz-* and *anaiša-* paralleling 29.1 and 9), but from the fact that 46.10 is immediately linked with, and introduced by 46.9, which has a unique allusion, hitherto not sufficiently understood, to Y 29:

46.9a *kah hau yah mā ardrah caiθat parwiyah*
 b *yaθā θ(u)wā zawišti'am uzmahi*
 c *šyauθnai swantam ahuram artāwānam*
 d *yā tai artā yā artāi gāuš tašā marut*
 e *išanti mā tā tai wahū manahā*

46.9 'Who is the trustworthy one, the first who will acknowledge me as I (first) most quickly respected Thee (to be) in action the holy, righteous Lord? The things which the Fashioner of the Cow said to Thee with/through Rightness, which He said to Rightness, when He was seeking me, those things which He said to Thee He said to Thee with/through Good Mind.'

The last two lines refer to conversation reported in Y 29: the Fashioner of the Cow's interrogation of Righteous (29.2), the answer of the divine triad ('They', pl.) through Rightness (29.3),

Wisdom's further response (29.6), and the final answer to the search initiated at 29.2, given by/with Good Mind at 29.8, finding Zarathushtra. 46.9a-b initiates the reciprocal hospitality/cult theme, continued at 46.10 and subsequently at 46.11 (c' *astayah* 'guests'; with 46.9a" *caiθat* = 32.2b" *caiθatai astim* 'recognizes the guest'), I take *ardra-* as *'competent, reliable, trustworthy one' (cf. OInd. *ardhuka-* 'successful', but Sogd. *arδūk* 'sincere'), from OAv. (a)rd 50.11c" = OInd. *rdh-* 'succeed, achieve'; cf. 50.8c-d, where *ardra-* is collocated with *hunartāt-* 'skill' and 34.7a-b, where *ardra-* is in apposition with *caxri-* 'able to make'. As a term of hospitality, note 50.4d 'the *ardra-* in the House of Song (the heavenly divine abode)' and similarly 43.3d"-e '[he who would show us the straight paths ...] where the Lord dwells, an *ardra-*, a kinsman (*huzantu-*), one like Thee', where 'kinsman' is tantamount to an intimate in the sphere of hospitality, as is also *ardra-*, for which cf. Greek *πιστός* 'trustworthy' as one fit for the hospitality relationship.

Given the close connection between the proto-poem 46.2-10 and Y 29, both of which reflect a period of the poet's self-perception as powerless, the thematic correspondence between the final stanzas 46.10 and (the present) 29.11 embodies an explanation of why the latter stanza was substituted for the original conclusion of Y 29, i.e. 27.13: to elicit patronage.

It is possible that, in addition, Zarathushtra, in changing the ending of Y 29, wished to de-emphasize his self-presentation as judge. This conclusion may be borne out by the difference between 48.18, in which Zarathushtra emphasizes that it is a matter of his judgment (*wiciθa-*) that he shall assign eschatological rewards and penalties and thereby satisfy (*xšnušamnah*, root *xšn(a)u*) the divine will, and the corresponding derivative stanza (in the composition of Y 32 based on the reverse recollection of Y 46), 32.8, in which Zarathushtra leaves it to Mazda's judgment as to whether he is guilty of a crime like Yima, who sinned by proclaiming himself a god, this on the excuse that he meant 'to satisfy (*cixšnušah*, root *xšn(a)u*) our people'.

PART II: BOVINE SYMBOLISM

Hanns-Peter Schmidt has on several occasions boldly and innovatively addressed the issue of bovine symbolism in the Gāthās, most extensively in Schmidt 1975 and most recently in Schmidt 1985, Appendix, as a final riposte to critics of his ideas

on the subject. Obviously a study of Y 29, in which the Cow is central, must include a position on the bovine symbolism. I find Schmidt's arguments, with their varied multiplicity of evidence, thoroughly convincing, and am pleased to offer here some further confirmations, based in large measure on the expanded study of symmetrical composition.

This is a summary of the main points of Schmidt's explanation of Gathic bovine symbolism (henceforth I shall continue my adaptation of Beekes' reconstructive transcription, e.g. **dayanā** for *daēnā* etc.). The Cow (**gaw-**), represents the good **dayanā** 'the vision' (in my translation, 'envisionment'). The latter is both a faculty of the human psychological apparatus, and an object of this faculty (the "vision" of the teachings of the Lord) whence the later prevalent meaning 'religion' derives. The term probably means also something like our term 'conscience'.

The 'Fashioner of the Cow' (**gauš tašan-**) is the Holy Spirit **swanta-manyu-** (thus also Stanley Insler, whose independent view of Gathic bovine symbolism overlaps in many ways with Schmidt's, cf. Schmidt 1985, Appendix.) The faculty of envisionment, symbolized by the Cow, has as complement a male creative faculty **xratu-**, which is the "triggering predisposition" for the envisionment (and its realization as 'cognition', **cisti-**).

To begin my own observations on the Gathic bovine symbolism, I shall proceed from an issue the difficulty of whose resolution Schmidt frankly acknowledges, the meaning of **gauš ru'an-** or **ru'an-gauš** 'the Soul of the Cow' (for which Schmidt very tentatively suggests "the innermost or essence of the vision or religion"). From the larger context of Y 29, in which 'Soul of the Cow' is the fixed term for the Cow as active *dramatis persona* (29.1, 5, 9) but not in more general allusions in the same poem, where "Cow" alone occurs (29.2, 3, 7), and the fact that the 'Soul of the Cow' is paired with the soul of Zarathushtra, who is also a *dramatis persona* (as well as narrator), I propose that Y 29 speaks of the soul of the Cow and Zarathushtra's soul because it is in a non-material form that the Cow and Zarathushtra would enter the higher plane (which is not "down" in the realm of the mortals, cf. 29.7c) in which they witness and participate in the conversation of the divine beings, and in which Zarathushtra's mission (as caretaker and transmitter of the good Envisionment) is ordained.

It is in this perspective that one may now examine the remaining Gathic attestation of the "Soul of the Cow", 28.1c. First, however, I must point out that the earliest form of Y 28 is represented by the first 8 (of the 11) stanzas, which form a complete poem, which (as against the final 11-stanza Y 28) shows systematic concentric concatenation based on correspondences of word-forms. The remodeled, final Y 28 with its eleven stanzas by design imitates the format of the 11-stanza Y 50 (zaraθuštra- at the absolute center, juxtaposed with two expressions of the office of composition of manθra-, the entire middle section concatenating with line 1a" via a word for 'help' or 'support' sought from Mazdā, the center also concatenating with the last stanza, in which Zarathushtra manifests a self-image of Mazdā's poet-priest, who hopes to facilitate the renewal of existence). In Proto-28, we have concatenations: 1 & 8 yāsā 'I entreat'; 2 & 7 √dā 'give' with obj. āyafā 'boons'; 3 & 6 √gam 'to come' in imperative plus a noun form √rap 'to support'; 4c" (end) & (immediately) 5a' (beg.) arta- in a continuous expression of the desire to glimpse Rightness); 4a' & 1c" ru'ānam 'soul' (acc.) and šyauθna- 'actions', and 5a' & 8a' θwā (as 3rd syll.).

We now see that Proto-28 is literally framed by material occurring elsewhere only in Y 29: 28.8a"-b' artā ... hazaušam ahuram 'the Lord, of the same nature as Rightness' (in a mantra introduced by 28.7c manθrā); note also the combinations of 'give/establish' and 'rule', da'astu xšayaca: 29.2b dāta xšayan-tah) corresponds to 29.7 ahurah manθram ... artā hazaušam. 28.1a" has ustānzastah, cf. 29.5a ustānāiš ... zastāiš 'with outstretched hands'; 28.1 has the overt 'Holy Spirit' manyauš ... swantahya collocated with 28.1c" gauš ru'ānam 'the Soul of the Cow', which, in confirmation of the symbolism illuminated by Schmidt and Insler, is paralleled by the juxtaposition of 29.1a' gauš ru'ā 'soul of the Cow' with 29.1b' tašā gauš "Fashioner of the Cow'. Most importantly, the concatenation between 28.1c" ru'ā and the central 28.4a' ru'ānam 'soul' recapitulates 29.5b mah ru'ā gauš-ca 'my soul and that of the Cow', as I shall show.

From the foregoing unique parallels show that Y 28 (i.e. Proto-28, Y 28.1-8) proceeds from the thought of Y 29. In Y 29 the issue as to whether there is an earthly champion for the Cow is presented as being discussed among the three aspects which the Godhead assumes, which are collectively addressed by the

soul of the Cow at 29.1c", 'appear You to me with good pasturage', and by Zarathushtra at the conclusive 29.11, 'Where are Rightness, Good Mind ...? O Mazdā, ... may You (pl.)' In Y 28 every stanza inculcates the divine triad, and in Proto-28 the concatenative responson, via *θwā* 'Thee', to 28.5a 'Rightness, shall I see Thee?' is the theological equation in 28.8a, 'The Best One, Thee [O Lord], who art of the same nature as Best Rightness [*< 29.7a*] do I entreat!'

28.1 takes up from 29.1 the theme of the concern of the Fashioner of the Cow / Holy Spirit for the soul of the Cow:

28.1 'With hands outstretched in reverence of the Holy Spirit, I entreat (You) all, O Wisdom with Rightness, for actions of support, through which Thou mayst gratify the intellect-craft of Good Mind, and the soul of the Cow.'

The divine 'actions of support' could include divine conferral of the ability for Zarathushtra to perform efficacious priestly acts in support of the divine values, with mediation of the Holy Spirit; cf. the later finale, 28.11, in which Zarathushtra asks Mazdā to teach him to speak with His divine mouth from out of His Holy Spirit. 29.1 also provides the background for the linkage of 28.4 with 28.1:

28.4 'I who am meditating to raise up my soul in concert with Good Mind, having experienced the Lord Wisdom's rewards for actions, as long as I can and am able shall I look in search of Rightness.'

For mss. *mān gairē ... dadē* (in which, as Insler observed, *gairē* as '[to] hymn' or 'to awaken' is contextually improbable) I adopt Insler's emendation to *māng airē dadē*, with *airē* (*arai*) 'to raise', Zarathushtra, who has experienced (*widuš*) a vision of Mazdā's ultimate requitals for actions (cf. 29.4 with e.g. 43.4-5 and 45.7-8, where note 45.8d', the only other Gathic attestation again referring to visionary experience). My interpretation is that Zarathushtra, through meditative contemplation with Good Mind, wishes again to exalt his soul to the higher realm of the divine beings (where Zarathushtra saw himself appointed to give the divine utterances "down" to the mortals, 29.7c) in which he can glimpse Rightness Itself.

Professor Schmidt's important observation of the parallelism between 44.9 and 48.5 shall be the springboard of my remaining observations in support of his interpretation of Gathic 'cow' and 'bull'. My approach will be to first examine the larger contexts of each passage in their relevance for bovine symbolism and then, after a reevaluation of the compound verb *yauš dā-* (*yauždā-*) which unites the two passages, to expand Schmidt's comparison of 44.9 and 48.5. The discussion of these passages will then lead to a reanalysis of the amazingly intricate 46.18-19, thereby confirming what is probably the boldest of Schmidt's suggestions on the bovine symbolism.

I start by translating the relevant sections of 44.6-11:

44.6c-e 'Proper Thought through actions solidifies
Rightness; with Good Mind has She assigned
Dominion to Thee. For which persons didst
Thou fashion the joy-bringing pregnant Cow?'

44.7b 'Who with Dominion fashioned esteemed
Proper Thought? Who, via (his) foresightful
awareness, made the son respectful Toward
the father? With these (questions) I am helping
to discern Thee, O Wisdom, (in Thy role) as
creator of all things.'

44.8e 'Via what will my soul proceed to the good
things to come?'

44.9b-d 'How shall I vitalize that Envisionment which
the Master of Dominion would proclaim as
that of a munificent one, with lofty dominion—
one such as Thee ...?'

44.10b-e 'Have they correctly seen that Envisionment,
which is the best of those that exist, and
which, in association with Rightness,
would prosper my creatures through actions
and words of Proper Thought? Because of
my cognition they have wished for Thy
powers, O Wisdom!'

44.11b-c 'How shall Proper Thought move outward
toward those whom Thy Envisionment streams
forth?'

44.10-11, being the central stanzas, make *dayanā* 'Envisionment' focal in the poem. The symbolism Cow = Envisionment is borne firstly by the imagery of the Cow which leads from 44.6 to the stanzas with *dayanā*. Note the connection of the motif of Mazda's fashioning the Cow (44.6e) with that of the fashioning of Proper Thought (44.7b), both implicit as answers to the questions put forth. On the way to the denouement at 44.7e, we have the seemingly out-of-place question of the relation of the son to the father. Given the background of Y 44 in the Indo-European genre of enigmatic revelation texts, the question may be understood as a riddle of sorts. According to Y 47, which is devoted to the Holy Spirit, Mazda is the father of the Holy Spirit, 'who fashioned for this one here the joy-bringing Cow, and, giving peace for her pasture, Proper Thought'. 44.7c" *wyānāyā* 'with foresightful awareness' parallels the same form at 29.6a", again in reference to Mazda's knowledge concerning the Fashioner of the Cow. Thus 44.7d-e ('helping to discern' as per Insler, after ms. *fraxšnē*) subtly provides the reason for and the answers to the questions of 44.6e-7c: the Holy Spirit, son of Mazda, is the agency through which Mazda fashioned the Cow, amongst His other creations. Finally in the transition to the 'Envisionment' stanzas 44.9-11, in 44.8 Zarathushtra's declaration to meditate (b' *manh dadyāi*) with help of Good Spirit and Rightness how his soul will proceed to the future 'good things' recalls 28.4, discussed above in its relation to the Soul of the Cow.

The focal role of the Envisionment in Y 44 is also borne out by the ring-compositional pattern of this poem, in which the central stanza 44.10, where (b') *dayanām* is juxtaposed with (c) *mai gaiθāh artā frādait* 'would further my creatures with Rightness', concatenates with the final stanza 44.20, according to which (c) the party of the priests hand the Cow over to fury (*aišma-*, cf. 29.1b') and, as per the last line of the poem, (e) are not eager 'to further her and pasturage with Rightness' (*hīm ... artā wāstram fradahai*). As Schmidt has observed, the 'creatures (*gaiθāh*) to be prospered' represents the physical counterpart of the psychical elements; note that 50.3d *gaiθām*, which Schmidt cites, continues the thought of 50.2a-b 'the joy-bringing Cow ... pastured'. The relationship of the term *gaiθā* to the bovine vocabulary especially emerges from the mg. 'flock, livestock': Pš. *yela* 'flock', Parth. *gēhbān* 'herdsman', cf. OPers. *gaiθā* 'estate'. Even where, at one level, *frād-* 'to further' with obj. *gaiθāh* applies to material flocks, livestock, and posses-

sions, as at 46.12-13 (cf. 45.9), or 'flocks' as metaphor for Zarathushtra's followers, as at 46.7, the presence of *dayanā* in adjoining stanzas shows that *gaiθā(h)* is simultaneously part of a symbolic complex involving the "psychical elements".

The semantic multiplicity of this complex is also demonstrated by Y 34, in which we have concentric concatenations of stanzas 2 and 14 by a" *dāta* 'has been established' and c' adjectives from *xšma-* 'You', and of 3 and 13 by c' *huda'ah-* 'beneficent, munificent'. 34.2c' has (as adj. of *wahma-* 'laudation') *parigaiθa-*, probably 'embracing all physical existence', and 34.3b' *gaiθāh* 'the human physical elements'. Continuing 34.13b-c 'the Envisionment of the saviors proceed (*wrāxšat*, cf. 44.8e above) to that prize ...' we have:

34.14 'For that (prize), selectively desirable for bodily breath (*astwatai uštānāi*), has been established, through action of Good Mind, for those in the pen of the pregnant Cow, who further Your good cognition, O Lord, with Rightness, through the community (*wrzanā*) of intellect-craft.'

The combined elements of 34.2-3, 13-14 are those of 31.11:

31.11 'Since Thou, Wisdom, first fashioned for us the "creatures" and envisionments (*gaiθās-ca tašah dayanās-ca*) and intellect-crafts via Thy mind when Thou didst create bodily breath, as also actions and proclamations whereby one manifests choice and wishes.'

This passage follows 31.9-10, which begins with 'Thine was Proper Mind, Thine was the Fashioner of the Cow, the Spirit's intellect-craft' (*as xratuš / mainiiθuš*; alternatively **aš.xratuš mainiiuš* 'the Spirit endowed with much intellect-craft'), this connected with *Mazdā*'s creation of paths for the Cow's choice between the pasturing and non-pasturing cattleman. To Schmidt's emphasis on the importance of 31.9-10 as evidence for the bovine symbolism I would add the collocation of 31.9-10 with 31.11, and the parallel material in the concatenating 34.2.3 and 13-14.

34.14c *hucistim ... frād-* 'furthering good cognition' parallels *gaiθāh ... with frād-*, as explained by Schmidt. The striking repetition of *wrzana-* at 34.14b" and c" plays on the two senses

of the word, the usual 'community' in the second instance, and in the first instance 'enclosure, pen for cattle', cf. *RV* 2.2.29, in which the inspired poetic vision (*dhī-* cognate with *dayanā*), is said to swell amidst the immortals in heaven, as a cow (*dhenū-*) providing milk in the enclosures (*vrjanā-*, cognate of *wrzana-*).

In continuation of 48.5c-d (the bovine symbolism initiated in Y 29), 48.6 shares the motif of pacification with 48.7, both stanzas forming the center of Y 48. I note the similarities of 48.7-11, which is chiefly based on the backwards recollection of the last stanzas of Y 32 (i.e. 32.16-14) to Y 29: The Cow which is to be "tended", 48.5c' *gawai ... fšuyah*, corresponds to the Soul of the Cow in its relationship to the cattle-tender, *fšuyant-*, 29,5-6; here also 29.6a" *wafuš* > 48.9c" 'design'. Note further 29.1b and 48.7a *aišma-* ... *rama-* 'fury ... violence' (29.1b also *tawiš* 29.1b" > 48.6b' 'might', respectively against and from the Cow). Cf. 29.10a"-b *dāta artā xšaθramca ... yā hušitiš rāmamca da'at* > 48.11a"-b *artā ... xšaθrā ... hušitiš* and 48.11c" *rāmam da'antai*, which (29.10) the hoped for action by Mazda Ahura, i.e. granting Dominion with Rightness, whereby one may establish good dwellings and peace, is shifted to 48.11a"-b) the pasture-providing Proper Thought and to (48.11c) future benefactors; cf. 48.6a-b, where the "esteemed" Proper Thought is invoked in connection with the Cow's granting good dwellings (*hušaiθma*).

48.10d, 'the bad rulers of the lands with their intellect' is textually to be equated with (32.14) the *kawis* who (in league with the *karpan* priesthood) entrap their intellects through their complicity in ordering the destruction of the Cow. By contrast, it is (48.12) the 'saviors of the lands' who, through their hearkening of the divine proclamation (*sanha-*) will be the 'expellers (*ha(m)maistārah*, root *miθ*) of fury' (*aišma-*)—closing the ring begun at 48.7a', 'let fury (again *aišma-*) be tied down'. Concatenation of 48.12 which follows 48.11, Proper Thought, characterized by good dwellings and (pasture). The last stanzas recapitulate the combination of themes found in the central stanzas: (48.6) Under the auspices of Proper Thought, the Cow will establish good dwellings and (48.7) fury will be incapacitated (tied down by the bonds of the ally of the divine entities). Implicit is a relationship between the Cow and (46.3) 'Bulls of the days' who are 'the intellects of the 'saviors' (*saušyant-*), who await the advent of the person who will expel (*miθat*, root *miθ*) the false preacher(s) of the land(s) (46.4b"-c' ... *dahyauš*...

dužzu'āh = 46.1c dahyauš yai sāsārah drugwantah, cf. 48.10c-d yā ... karpanah ... yā-cā ... dušššaθrā ['bad rulers' = *kawis*] ... dahyūna'am). For the latter relationship 'Cow' and 'Bull(s)', one may, applying Schmidt's decoding of the symbolism, compare the collocation of *dayanāh* 'envisionments' and *xratu-* 'intellect' in 48.4, although in the latter instance the 'intellect' is that of *Mazdā*. 48.3b-c indicates a person may be holy (*swanta-*, cf. 48.7c") and be knowing the hidden proclamations (*sanha-*, cf. 48.12c") through his intellect, like *Mazdā* himself.

Now for *yauš dā-*, *yauždā-*: I reject the consensus view¹⁸ which takes *yauš*, as a neuter for 'whole(some)ness, perfectedness, purification', the precise cognate of Vedic *yós* (*yóh*) 'well-being (or the like)', and related to Lat. *iūs* 'law, judgment' and *iūrāre* (denom. vb. from *iūs*) 'to declare solemnly, to swear'.

From an (Indo-)Iranian viewpoint, however, Ir. *yauš* is formally identical to *yauš* Gathic genitive of *āyu-* 'vitality, life, lifetime, age' (43.13d' *dargahya yauš* cf. 31.20b' *dargam āyu*), representing a PIE paradigm nom. *Aóyu*, gen. *Ayéus* etc. As will be discussed presently, for Av. *yauš*, which functions as a direct object of the verb *dā* (similarly Vedic *yós* with *dhā* etc.), one may still trace the original genitive function; moreover, for both *yauš* and *yós* the meaning 'vitality' is basic. By contrast, Lat. *iūs* is remote semantically, and, in view of OLat. *iouestod* probably = *iūstō*, formally different, and assignable (with Uhlenbeck) as an *-es/-os- n. 'that which is binding' to PIE root **yew* (Vedic *yāuti* etc.) 'to bind, attach' (not 'to fit!'); cf. perhaps the ritual gesture of *iūrātio*, laying hold of a sacred object.

I propose that in OAv. *yauš dā-* (> *yauždā-*), *yauš* goes back to a partitive genitive, the entire phrase meaning, with an external object in accusative, 'to make something partake of vitality'. This amounts to 'to impart vitality upon something'. In Indic, *yós*, perceived as the direct object of *dhā*, had become a neuter noun, no longer part of the paradigm of *āyú-* which, for its part, developed an analogical gen. *āyór*. This renominalization must have taken place early enough for *yos* to pass into obsolescence, surviving in Vedic only in two ways:

(1) It serves as the base of Vedic *yóšan-*, *yóšā*, *yóšanā*, *yóšit* 'young woman' (whose vitality would be manifest in her suit-

¹⁸ See the references to Dumézil, Benveniste, and Kellens in Schmidt 1975: 3, n. 6).

ability for childbirth; note the lack of a masculine counterpart term), and

(2) in the formulaic pairing *śam yōh* or *śamca yōsca*, together obj. of *dhā* or other verbs of presentation, or as subject of *bhū* 'be' etc., where *śam* is root-stem 'activity' from root *śam* = *κἀμνω* 'to exert energy, to labor', cf. YAv. *θamnah-* 'activity, attending to, solicitude', Khwar. *'rθm-* < 'to become awake' < **fra-θam-* 'to become active' (Schwartz); taken from *θam* are YAv. *θātar-* 'solicitous' (Gershevitch) and Chr. Sogd. *θty'q* 'consolation' (Sims-Williams); for EIr. dialectal *θ* for expected *s*, cf. Khwar. *θyd* = Pers. *saxt*.

I explain the frequent YAv. meaning of *yaoždā-* 'ritually to hallow or purify' as a specific development of 'confer vitality'. It is based on the idea of 'the holy' as that which is viewed as having vital energy (as against inertness and death). This idea is illustrated by Greek *ἱερός*, which in Homer can still mean 'lively, energetic' (like the Vedic cognate *iśirá*, which is also a divine epithet), and characterizes water, fish, and the resolute power called *μένοσ* (cf. Vedic *mānas* with *iśirá*). Similarly, Av. *spənta-* (< *swanta-*), translated by Pahl. *abzōnīg* 'incremental, increasing', is from the root represented by Indo-Iranian *śū* 'to swell, to be strong' > 'to bring weal, benefit, salvation'; the precise Balto-Slavic cognates (Lith. *šveñtas* etc.) mean 'holy', whereas the latter terms refer to things which inherently have sacred energy, YAv. *yaoždā-* refers to a ritual operation whereby this holiness is conferred or renewed upon an object, or the object (or person) is "purified", i.e. redeemed from contamination by dead or corrupt matter.

From the viewpoint that *yauždā-* has the basic meaning 'to make partake of vitality', we may now reexamine a Vedic-Avestan correspondence which will return us to the Gathic data. Among the formulaic Vedic prayers for healthy progeny, addressed to various divinities, *RV* 6.50.7 is directed to the waters: *apo ... dhāta tokāya tānayāya śam yōh* 'Waters, establish energy and vitality for the bodily offspring'. The use of the verb *dhā* with (*śam*) *yōh* paralleling *yaoždā-* may mark the archaism of its address to the Waters, especially since it is to the Avestan goddess, representing the Waters and thus presiding over fertility. According to *Yt* 5.2, 5.5, *Anāhitā* 'imparts vitality to the semen of all males ... to the wombs of women for birth (*zqθāi*); cf. *Yt* 5.5, of milk in the breasts of women. For the close connection of

**yauš* with vitality for childbirth, cf. above on Vedic *yóṣan-*, *yóṣit* etc. 'young woman'.

The foregoing relationship between *yauždā* and *zəθa-/zanθa-* 'birth' brings us to 48.5-7:

48.5 b' aramatai
 c *yauždah martiyāi api zanθam wahištā*
 d' *gawai wrzyatām tām nah hwarθāi fšuyah*

48.6b" brxθai
 c *at ahyāi artā mazdah urwarāh waxšat*
 d *ahurah ahauš zanθai parwiyahya*

48.6b-d 'O Proper Thought,
 Thou vitalizest the best things for mankind; may
 also (vitalized) birth-giving be effected for the
 Cow. Thou tendest Her for our nourishment.

48.7b"-c O Esteemed [Proper Thought],
 Mazdah Ahura shall make the plants grow for Her
 at the birth of the original(ly planned) existence.

48.6 *hwarθāi* is paralleled in its spiritual sense by 34.11, which corresponds to 48.6-7 also with its collocation of *aramati-*, *uta-yūti-* plus *tawiš-*, and *waxš-*. The Cow, i.e. the good Envisionment, is to receive vitalization for giving birth (cf. *gaw- ahī-* 'the pregnant Cow') to "the best things"; and just as this Envisionment is meant to nourish humanity, so are "plants" which Mazdā is to grow (*waxšat*) as fodder for the Envisionment. A reciprocal relationship is shown by the concatenation with 48.1d" *waxšat* and obj. 'laudation [for Mazdā] at the time of salvation (*sawāiš*) [when Rightness will win over Wrong]; this salvation will be brought in by the saviors, 48.12 (concatenation of 48.1d at *tai sawāiš* with 48.12a at *tai ... saušyantah*) who will be 'the expellers of fury' (48.12d" *aišmahya* concatenating with 48.7a" *aišmam* in a similar context). The intellects of these saviors are the "bulls" which will impregnate the "Cow", i.e. the good Envisionment. [See p. 93, top].

The passage 44.9-10 parallels 48.5 in its collocation of *yauš dā-* with *cisti-* *aramati-* and *wahištā*; a parallel with *aišma-* at 48.6a' and concatenatively, at the finale 48.12c", follows from the above-noted concatenation of the central stanza :

44.10(c) *gaiθāh artā frādait* ‘would further the flocks ... with Rightness’ and the finale: *gām ... aišmāi dāta ... nait hīm *īzan artā wāstram frādahai* ‘deliver the Cow to fury ... (and) are not eager to further her and her pasturage with Rightness’, which also links ‘Cow’ with *dayanā* ‘envisionment’ occurring in both the central stanzas 44.10-11 as well as the preceding 44.9 (whose position parallels the centrality of *dayanā* in Y 48, with both connected to a stanza-final castigation of *aišma-*).

For the rest of this study, I need cite in Y 44 these verses:

44.9b *kaθā mai yām yauš dayanām da’anai*
c yām hudānuš patiš sahyāt xšaθrahya
d" θwāwans

44.10b *tām dayanām yā hāta’am wahištā*

44.9b-d “How shall I vitalize that envisionment of mine, which the master of dominion, such as Thou art ..., would proclaim as that (envisionment) of a benefactor?”

44.10b that envisionment which is the best one for those that exist ...?”

It seems to me likely, from what was noted above on *yauš dā-*, that the reference to vitalizing a cow’s giving birth serves as model (via the symbolism Cow = Envisionment) for “vitalizing” or “enlivening” envisionment, 44.9, on which Gathic basis YAv. *yaozdā-* could have the objects, attested alongside *daēna*, *aṅhuuā* ‘consciousness, mental state’, and further *uruuan-* ‘soul’, but this cannot be proved.

In any event, if my interpretation for 48.5c(-d) is correct, i.e. the verb *yauzdāh* has as object *wahištā* ‘the best’, then the statement here, that the vitalization of the Cow for giving birth is among “the best things” for mankind, is more closely paralleled by 44.9b and 10b, according to which the Envisionment to be vitalized (for Zarathushtra) is “the best (Envisionment) for those that exist”, against assumption that *yauzdāh* is a noun whose adj. is *wahištā*. I shall support my interpretation of 48.5c *yauzdāh ... wahištā* through an analysis of 46.18(-19), for which it should first be noted that 44.9a-b *yām yauš dayanām da’anai* is immediately qualified by a phrase (44.9c-d) *sahyāt*

... Ōwāwans which corresponds precisely to 44.1c" Ōwāwans sahyāt 'one like Thee would proclaim'.

I construe 46.18-19 as follows:

46.18a yah mahya yauš ahmāi az-cit wahištā
 b mahya ištaiš wahū caišam manahā
 c astanh ahmāi yah nāh anstāi dadīta
 d mazdā artā xšmakam wāram xšnaušamnah
 e tat mai xratauš manahas-ca wiciθam

46.19a yah mai artāt haθyam hacā waršati
 b zaraθuštrāi yat wasnā frašatamam
 c ahmāi miždam hanantai para'ahum
 d manahwištāiš mat wiswāiš gāwā āzi
 e tā-cit mai sans tu'am mazdā waidištah

46.18 'Whoever would, for me, deliver the things of vitality (or: vitalize the best things), to him do I assign [the best things] in my power with Good Mind, (but) enmities [do I assign] to him who [would deliver us] unto enmity, O Wisdom (,) with Rightness(,) gratifying Your wish. This is the decision of my intellect-craft and my mind.

46.19 Whoever, in accord with Rightness, would truly effect for me, (who am) Zarathushtra, that which is numinously most splendid, to him, who merits it, [do I assign] a prize of future existence, together with all (things/persons) known in the (?divine) mind: the mated pregnant Cow. Thou, Wisdom, (art) most knowing; Thou proclaimest to me these very things.'

These last two, 46.18-19, are concatenated with both the first two stanzas and the central stanzas of Y 46. We shall see that the connection between 46.18-19 and the central 46.10 is important for the interpretation of the former stanzas. Together with correspondences between first and last stanzas, e.g. the quest for and success in having the power (ištī-) of Good Mind (resp. 46.2e and 18b), and Zarathushtra's knowledge vis-à-vis Mazdā's (waid-, resp. 42a and 19e), there are statements of reciprocity within the opening and closing stanza-pairs, and between

the stanza-pairs opening and closing stanza-pairs. With stem *xšnāuš-* 'to gratify (through institutional exchange relationships)': (46.1c) Zarathushtra, not gratified (through patronly hospitality), cannot (46.1c) gratify *Mazdā* (cultically); but, having acquired patronage (and power), Zarathushtra can (46.18d) gratify *Mazdā*'s will through requitals benign (46.18a-b) and (46.18c) malign, *anstanh ... yah ... anstāi dadīta* 'hostilities for him who would deliver [us] to hostility', which contrasts with 46.2d *yat fri'ah fri'ai dadīt* 'which a friend would grant to a friend' (*fri'a-* *'intimate' being frequently associated with *xšnau(-š-)* in reference to hospitality). Reciprocity (positive and negative), hospitality, and patronage are found again at 46.9-11, within which we have the themes of reciprocities between patron, poet-priest, and divinity in the poem's central stanza:

46.10a *yah wā mai gnā wā nā wā mazdā ahura*
 b *dāyāt ahauš yā tū waista wahištā*
 c *artim artāi wahū xšaθram manahā*
 d *yans-ca haxšāi xšmāwata'am*
 e *fra tāiš wiswāiš cinwatah fra'ā prtum*

46.10 'Who(ever), man or woman, O Lord Wisdom, would give me the things of existence which Thou knowest as best, Reward for Rightness, dominion with/via Good Mind, and whom I shall bring into association with those of Your kind, with all those shall I cross the Decider's Bridge.'

Leaving for later the evidence for 46.19a-c *yauš ... dadīta* as 'would vitalize', with *yauš* as synchronic accusative, I note some of the correspondences between 46.10 and 46.18(-19). Thus 46.10a-b *yah ... mai dāyāt ahauš ... wahištā* is essentially parallel to 46.18a-c *yah mabya yauš ... wahištā ... dadīta* 'whoever would bring me the best things of life', whereby *yauš* 'of vitality', as synchronic genitive, semantically parallels *ahauš* 'of existence'. The latter word, however, has its formal correspondent in the reciprocity 46.19c" *para'ahum* 'future existence' as a 'prize', *miždam*, cf. 46.10c' *artim* 'reward', with eschatological context, 46.10e 'the Bridge of the Decider', with *cinwat-* 'deciding, discriminating' concatenating with cognate 46.18c" *wiciθam* 'decision' etc. Cf. *wi ci-* 'decide, discriminate between' 46.17d' *wi cinaut*, 15b *wi cayaθa*, and 5d'

wicirah, all expressing the central theme of discerning between good and evil. Finally note 46.10b' *tū waista* 'Thou knowest': 46.19e" *tu'am ... waidištah* 'Thou (art) most knowing'.

The syntax of 46.18 is remarkably complicated and is characterized by overlapping clauses, with the predicate verbs *caišam* 'I assign, promise' and *dadīta* 'would bring about, deliver, give (over)', each of which has two different subjects in contrastive meanings (one referring to allies and the other to enemies) and, in respective reciprocities, two different objects, one of which, *wahištā* 'the best things', is the object not only of *dadīta*, but also of *caišam*, and has two different dependent genitives, *yauš* 'of vitality', and *mahyāh ištaiš* of (= in) my power'. The results of this elaborate syntax may be diagrammed: (see diagram A)

In 46.19, which repeats the *yah ... ahmāi* 'who ... to him' from 46.18, the missing verb may be supplied from 46.18b" *caišam* 'I have promised'. This indicates that the two stanzas 46.18 and 46.19 (the parallelism between which is marked by 46.18a' *yah mabya*: 19a' *yah mai*; 46.18e' *tat mai*: 19e' *tā-cit mai*; and the m- w- pattern of initials at 46.18e" and 19e") are also an expanding syntactic continuum. We have seen that 46.18-19 form a block of ideas with correspondences in the single stanza 46.10. 46.10(a)-b as *yah ... mai ... dāyāt ahauš yā tū waista wahištā*, in fact equatable with the entire span of 46.18-19, 18a *yah mabya yauš ... wahištā ...* 18c" *dadīta ...* 19e *tā-cit ... tu'am waidištah*, whereby 'the best things of existence' (specified at 46.18c-19d) are declared to be 'those (things) which Thou knowest most (art most knowing)'.

It is seen that 46.18-19 abounds in ambiguities and multiplicities in syntax, as well as in the vocabulary, e.g. *dadīta* 'would deliver, bring about, plot, give over to, present' etc. root *dā* 'set, establish' and 'give'; *manahwista*- 'known/ found/ gotten in/by the mind' (cf. 48.2d" *wistā* with 48.2a" *widwāh* 'knowing' and 48.3a *waidamnah* 'getting' with object *wahištā* 'best things'). This makes it likely that 46.18a-c *yauš ... wahištā ... dadīta* is intentionally ambiguous, both 'would bring (about) the best things of vitality' and (with *yauš* as synchronic direct object) 'would vitalize the best things'.

It is these 'best things' which are further the object of *sans*, which I take as 'Thou proclaimest', i.e. from root *sanh* 'to proclaim', and not from root *sand* 'to appear'. It has been seen from analysis of the syntax and construction of 46.18-19 that the

'best things' are both what is to be vitalized (by patronage for Zarathushtra) and what Zarathushtra promises in return, the first being tantamount to (46.19b) production of 'what is numinously most splendid', and the second (46.19c-d) 'a reward of future existence to him who merits (root *han*) it, with all things known to the [?divine] mind: the mated (paired) pregnant Cow'.

Leaving the last item for last, I cite two Gathic parallel texts as confirmation of these interpretations:

32.7b-c (which begins the backwards recycling 46.19-6 as the consecutive phraseological source of 32.7-16) has *sanhatai* 'is proclaimed' followed by *tū ... mazdā waidištah ahi* 'Thou, Wisdom, art most knowing', to which as preface 32.6b has *hātāmarnai ahura waista manahā* 'O Accounter of merits (*hāta*- 'merited, earned' from root *han*, < 46.19c" *hanantai*), Thou knowest, O Lord [Wisdom], the best things with Thy mind' (or, 'with Best Mind'; for the ambiguity cf. 30.2a with 30.4c), then 32.6c" *sanhah* 'proclamation'. The foregoing passages in turn clarify, as evidence for 46.18-19, the significance of 44.9a-b 'how shall I vitalize that Envisionment (*yauš dayanām da'anai yām hudānauš patiš sahyāt xšaθrahya*) which the Master of Dominion (i.e. *Mazdā Ahura*) would proclaim (*sahyāt*, root *sanh*) as that of a beneficent (patron)?' and 44.10b *tām dayanām yā hāta'am wahištā* 'that Envisionment which is the best of/for those that/who exist', or '... of things merited', cf. 32.6b' *hāta-marnai* noted above, and within Y 44, 18b and 19b *miždam han-* 'earn a reward' (44.19b *miždam hanantai* = 46.19c *id.*). Note also the tautometric compositional similarity 44.10c' *mahyāh cistaiš* (c" *θwā ištīš*): 46.18a' *mahyāh ištaiš*.

It remains to discuss 46.19d *gāwā azī*, which I translate as 'the mated pregnant Cow'. The phrase consists of the dual of *gaw-* 'bovine': unqualified, 'cow'; qualified as male, 'bull, ox', and *azī-* 'pregnant'. Schmidt boldly translated the phrase as 'the bull and the pregnant cow'. As Schmidt's later defense of this interpretation makes explicit, the phrase may be analyzed as a pair of bovines, one of which is a pregnant cow, an elliptic construction paralleled by Vedic dual phrase. For Schmidt, then, *gāwā azī*, the associative pairing (I would say "mating") of cow and bull, represents the complementary joining of envisionment (*dayanā*) and the active or creative "triggering" intellect (*xratu-*). In support of this controversial analysis of Schmidt, I shall supply some further evidence which dovetails with Schmidt's discussions. For this I shall again draw upon the par-

allel contacts of passages, and the symmetrical construction of the Gathic poems.

I shall proceed from 46.19a"-b": *haṭyam ... waršati ... yat wasnā frašatamam ... para'ahum* 'truly (*haṭya-*) will accomplish (root *wrz* 'to effect') (that which is) numinously the most splendid (*fraša-*) thing', which bears the reward (46.19c") of *ahu-* 'existence' (in future). This collocation occurs, again in last stanza, in two variants, at 34.15 and 50.11.

At 34.15, we have, prefaced by (34.15a) 'So do Thou tell me, Wisdom, the best (things), words and deeds' *mai wahištā ... wauca*, cf. 46.19e *tā-cit* [= 46.18a" *wahištā*] *mai sans*), the concluding hemistich (34.15c") *frašam wasnā haṭyam da'ah ahum* 'mayst Thou truly make (root *dā* 'establish, create, accomplish' = root *wrz*) existence numinously splendid'. The juxtaposition of 34.14b" *gauš wrzanai azi'āh* 'in the enclosure of the fertilized Cow' and 34.14c" *xratauš ... wrzanā* 'through the community of intellect' (the latter identifiable with 34.13b' *daināh saušyanta'am* 'the envisionment of the saviors'), whereby we have the "coupling" of envisionment and intellect, would have its symbolic equivalent in 46.19a-c (paralleling 34.15c") collocated with 46.19d" *gāwā azi*. The latter phrase (which is collocated at 46.19d with *manahwistāiš* 'known (etc.) by the mind'), juxtaposed with 46.18e *xratauš manahas-ca* 'of intellect (and mind)' gives the combination of *gaw-* and *xratu-* just seen at 34.14b-c (so too 28.1c).

All the elements shared by 46.19 and 34.11 are found again in the final stanza 50.11:

50.11b *dātā ahauš ardat wahū manahā*
c *haṭyāwarštām yat wasnā frašatamam*

50.11b-c 'May the Creator of existence further the achieval, through Good Mind, of the true accomplishment of that which is numinously most splendid.'

Notably, 50.11c *dātā ahauš* 'the Creator of existence' closely echoes, in concatenation with precise positional resposion, the central phrase 50.6c' *dātā xratauš* 'the Creator of intellect'. Now, it is important again to observe the relationship of the material in the final stanza to that of the penultimate stanza. Among the deeds which Zarathushtra means to accomplish

(50.10.a' warša'ā, root wrz, cf. 50.11d' haθyāwarštām), we find:

50.10b yā-ca wahū cašmān arjat manahā
c raucāh hu'anh asna'am uxšā airuš

50.10b-c 'and the things one will be worthy to
have in vision, the lights of the sun, the
dominant (?) bull of the days.'

To this corresponds, via concentric concatenation,

50.2a kaθā mazdā ranyaskrtīm gām iš(s)ait
b yah hīm ahmāi wāstrawatīm stai usyāt
c ržjīš artā parušu *hwarpisyasu
d" ... dāθam dāhwa

50.2a-d "How, O Wisdom, should one seek the
joy-bringing Cow, he who would wish her
pastured for him, as he lives properly, with
Rightness, amidst many sunbeams?²¹.... Do
Thou accept the lawful person.'

At 50.10b' cašmān 'in the eye, in (a) vision' practically amounts to 'in envisionment', and indeed 50.2 explicitly focuses on the Cow. The two stanzas are semantically complementary: 50.2 'seek, look for': 50.10 'deserve having in vision'; 50.2 'sunbeams': 50.10 'sun' and 'light'; and, most importantly, 50.2 'cow' and 50.10 'bull' which are here (and cf. further below on 46.3 and 46.9) "mated" by concatenation.

These statements of Y 50 contrast closely with those in 32.10, according to which the evil-doer 'professes that the Cow and the sun are the worst things to see with his (evil) eyes' (and/or 'professes the worst things in order to see the Cow ...', and/or 'professes that the worst one will see ...'), 'treats lawful ones as wrongful' (and/or vice-versa), dāθanh drugwatah dā-dāt, cf. 50.2d" dāθam dāhwa 'accept the lawful one', again with dāθa- and root dā-; and 'overturns the pasture'. The com-

²¹ -pisyant- 'sunbeam'; cf. my remarks in Fs. Humbach (1986: 382). The spelling pišiasū is due to the words arəžajīš and pourušū in the same line.

plementarity of the Cow = Envisionment with *xratu-* 'intellect' is shown by the preceding stanza, 32.9, which, like 32.10, has in its first hemistich *srawāh mrndat* 'ruins words/ repudiation'; here the ruination (committed by falsely speaking priests through their utterances) extends to the 'intellect of life' (32.9a" *jyātauš ... xratum*). The themes of Cow, vision, and intellect are interwoven in the ensuing stanzas: 32.12b" *gauš ... mrndan jyātum* 'they ruin the life of the Cow'; 32.13b"-c their greed keeps them from the sight (*darsāt*) of Rightness; 32.14 they entrap their own intellects as they order the Cow to be killed.

Now, 32.9-14 shows some phraseological and thematic dependence on 46.2-4: 32.9a' *dušsastiš* cf. 46.4c' *dužzu'āh*; 32.9a" *jyātauš*: 46.4d" *id.*; 32.9a" *sanhanāiš xratum*: 46.3b *sanhāiš ... xratawah*; 32.9 *ištīm ... wahauš manahah*; 46.2e *wahauš ... ištīm manahah*; 32.9c" *grzai* (and 32.13b" *jigrzat*): 46.2c' *grzai*; 32.12c' *wrnai*; 32.13b' and 46.3b' *ahauš* (with contrastive context, destruction vs. preservation); and 32.13c" *pa'at artahya*: 46.4a' *artahya ... pāt*). Within this setting, 32.10 is the bridge between the bovine symbolism of 46.3-4 and that of 50.2/10.

The most important correspondence here is between 50.10c" *asna'am uxšā* and 46.3a" *uxšānah asna'am* 'the bulls of the days' (called at 46.3b"-4a' *waždranh ... gāh* 'the dray bovines'), which, as Schmidt noted (1975: 8-9), is equated with 46.3c" *saušyanta'am xratawah* 'the intellects of the saviors'. But the relationship of 46.3-4 is of even further interest for 50.2/10, for the concatenative pairing of 50.10c (*asna'am*) *uxšan-* 'the bull (of days)' and 50.2 *gaw-* 'Cow' is paralleled by the concatenation of 46.3a" *uxšan-* (*asna'am*) and 46.9d *gaw-* (in the phrase *gauš tašā* 'fashioner of the Cow'). This latter concatenation requires explanation.

In 46.2-10 I trace a complete early poem of Zarathushtra, composed before he has acquired his chief patrons, and recomposed, later on, via mention of his patrons, as the present Y 46, with the addition of 46.1 and 11-19 (the entirety concatenating concentrically with as stanzas paired sequentially from each direction and pairing in the central stanza 46.10). 46.2-10 shows concentric concatenation (similarly 32.1-13, 49.4-11, and sections of other poems, attesting a preliminary stage of composition), and, in addition, completion shown by concatenation of central to both outer stanzas (thus also 28.1-8, with 1c" and 4a" *ru'ānam*, and 5a' and 8a' fourth syllable *θwā*). The conca-

tenations in 46.2-10 are: 2a' & 10b" *waid-* perf. 'know'; 3a" *uxšanah* & 9d" *gauš* 'BOVINE'; 4a" & 8d" root *pā* 'to keep back'; 4c" & 8b" *šyauθnāiš* 'with actions'; 4d" *jyātauš* & 8d", 9a' *jyātaiš* 'from life'; 5a" & 7b" root *d(a)r* 'to hold'; 5c" & 7b' *drugwant-* 'wrongful one'; 6a" & 5a" *ay-* 'come'; 6c-d & 5c" *artāwan-* 'righteous one' vs. *drugwant-* 'wrongful one'; 6b' & 7b' *drugwāh* 'wrongful one'; 6e' & 7e" *dayanā-* 'envisionment'; 6d" & 2d" *bis fri'a-* 'intimate, friend' (with reciprocity); 6c" & 10b" *wahišta-* 'best'; and 6e" & 10b' root *dā* 'to establish'.

ADDENDUM

The proto-poem 46.2-10 further illuminates the bovine symbolism of Y. 29. As remarked above, there are close connections between these two poems. 46.7 parallels Y 29 in that in both the speakers (in 46.7 Zarathustra, in 29.1 the Cow's soul) ask what custodian they have other than Mazdā Ahura. The respective passages have word-play involving the root *drz* 'to foster, clasp tightly'.

In 29.1 the object of *mā hišāya* 'has tied me up' is intentionally ambiguous, *drz-* 'a fetter' or root-stem 'brashness'. In 49.7 *mā did(a)ršata ainahai*, the verb is again intentionally ambiguous: While both amount to 'wishes to seize me for violence', *didaršata* may go back to either root *d(a)r* 'to hold' (cf. 46.5 *drīta* nd 46.4 *darθrāi*) or to root *drz* 'clasp tightly'. A variant word-play is shown by comparing 46.7b"-c *did(a)ršata ainahai* ... *θwahnāt āθras-ca*, with its derivative (which expresses the idea of 46.8, violence turned against its inimical perpetrator):

34.4 *tai ātrm ... dršta'ainaham*, 'Thy Fire ... having visible (root *drs*) violence [to the enemy]' (cf. 34.4b" *ciθra'awaham* 'having clear help [to the supporter]' and 50.5d *abidrštā ... awahā* 'with visible help' (collocated with *zasta'išta-* as at 34.4), or '... having violence seized securely' (root *drz*), or even 'having violence which is boldly undertaken' (root *drš*, cf. 29.1b!).

46.7 has an even more substantial relationship to Y 29. 46.7 and its continuation 46.8, with which it forms a tight lexical and semantic pair, lead to 49.9, where 'the Fashioner of the Cow, when he was seeking (*išanti*, temporal locative absolute) me', refers to 29.2 (seq.). Furthermore, 46.7 and 29.1c both, just after the question of custodianship, have an appeal, using an imperative verb, for Mazdā Ahura to make the answer manifest. In 46.7 Zarathushtra concludes, 'declare *fra wauca*) this marvelously skillful accomplishment to my envisionment (*dayanā-*), while the Cow's Soul concludes, 'so appear/proclaim (*sansta*) to me with good pasturage!'. Here again 29.1 shows word-play: *sansta* 'proclaims', root *sanh*, cf. 46.7e *fra wauca* 'declare' and 46.19e *sans*; or 'appear', root *sand*. As request to the divine entities, 29.1c 'appear' has its concentric correlation in the last stanza, 29.11 'Where are Rightness, Good Mind, and Dominion? ... Now come down to us'. This request refers to acknowledge-

ment or recognition (*pati zāna-*) of gifts in reciprocity (hospitality/patronage/cult).

This relationship between first and last stanzas of Y 29 is paralleled *in parvo* by the relationship between 46.7 ('What protector ...? Declare to my *dayanā*') and 46.9 (hospitable acknowledge [*caiθ-*] and the search by the Fashioner of the Cow, as per Y 29). In overlap with these similarities, the first, central and final stanzas of the proto-poem 46.2-10 compare with 29.1 and 29.11. In 46.2 Zarathushtra complains (root *grz* as at 29.1) of his powerlessness, and requests that *Mazdā Ahura* offer him support as 'a friend to a friend', *fri'ah fri'ai*. In 46.6 *fri'a-* is defined, in a dualistic context, in terms of righteous reciprocities, as established for the primordial envisionments, *dayanā-*. 46.10 states the reciprocities for hospitality/patronage given to Zarathushtra. In 46.2 and 6 *fri'a-* compares with 29.5 *fri'namnā*, 'giving and thus hoping to gain friendship' describing the prayerful attitude of the souls of Zarathushtra and the Cow.

Specifically, this pair are together described as being *ustānazasta-* 'with outstretched hands', a stance quaintly odd for a cow, but normal for a petitioning priest, as Zarathushtra indeed describes himself in 28.1. Here he entreats the divine entities for actions of the Holy Spirit, whereby he (Z.) may gratify both the intellectual drive (*xratu-*) of Good Mind and the Cow's soul (perhaps through the "mating" of both the Cow becomes *azī*, 'pregnant' [cf. 29.5 with 34.13-14 and 46.18e and 19d]??). Note that in 28.4-5 Zarathushtra expresses his desire to raise up (**arai*) his soul to search for and see Rightness, and then Good Mind and the Lord Wisdom). It may be concluded from the comparative analysis of 46.2-10 with Y 29 that in Y 29 Zarathushtra and his *dayanā* (cf. 46.7) are transcosmically elevated in a vision, and in Y 29 are spoken of as the souls of Zarathushtra and the Cow. This conforms to Schmidt's decoding of "Cow" as the good *dayanā*, and "the Fashioner of the Cow" as the Holy Spirit.

POST-GATHIC REFLECTIONS OF BOVINE SYMBOLISM

For the symbolism of the Cow as the good *dayanā*, evidence is found in the development of the latter term as *YAv. daēnā*, designating the form which appears to the soul after death and represents an individual's earthly conscience and outlook. The usual post-Gathic description of the form which the *daēnā* of the

righteous person assumes is first attested in the Avestan *Haḍōxt Nask* 2.7. According to this text, at the end of the third night after death, the soul of the righteous appears amidst plants and receives fragrances; after the soul wonders about the marvelously perfumed breeze it is smelling, the *daēnā* of the righteous man appears to him in the form of a beautiful fifteen year old maiden. Prof. Schmidt (1975: 22) has pointed to the Vedic parallels: “a bridge to be crossed and the reception of the departed soul by a maiden or maiden”, and the celestial nymphs who receive the soul, *Mānasī* ‘consisting in thought’ and *Cākṣuṣī* ‘consisting in sight’ (in the late Vedic *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*) have names reminiscent of that of *Daēnā* ‘(en)visionment’ and *Cista* ‘cognition’, who is the ‘likeness’ (*upamana-*) of *Daēnā*; cf. also the Vedic nymph *Pratirūpā* ‘likeness’.

Now, an alternative conception of the eschatological *dayanā/daēnā* is found in *Bundahišn* 30.5-6 ed. Anklesaria, p. 201, 1-14:²²

(5) *pas barend agar ān ruwān ō hamāg kē
ahlaw kē-z druwand agar ahlaw andar rāh ayg-
iš gāw-kirb ō padīrag rased frabiḥ purr pēm kē
ruwān aziš padēxih ud carbih rasēd. dīd kanīg-
kirb hukirb ī ... 15 sālag ... kē ruwān padīš šād
šāyēd. dīd bōstān-kirb ō padīrag rased purr
walg purr āb purr mēwag ... kē ruwān aziš ur-
wahmenišnīh ud padēxmenišnīh rased... hast
būm ī wahištīg hast kē ān ruwān yak pursed
ka-š padīrag bawed pursed ku tō kē hē ... padīš
ēdōn awēšān yak yak passox gōwend an ham
ahlaw dēn ī tō kunišnīt warzīd ...*

Then they bring forth the souls of those who are righteous and those who are wrongful. If the soul is righteous, the shape of a cow, plump, full of milk, comes to receive it on the road, from which (shape) the soul gets comfort and fatness. Then, the shape of a maiden of beautiful form ... fifteen years old ... whence the soul can be happy with it. Then, the shape of a garden, full

²² I thank Mr. Farrokh J. Vajifdar for reminding me of the location of this passage.

of leaves, water, and fruit ... comes to receive it, whence the soul may get bliss and comfort from it. This is the paradisiac land ... Among those souls, there is the sort who asks of that which comes to receive, "Who are thou ...?" And they answer each of such (souls), "I am, O righteous one, the *daēnā* of the actions which you performed"

Here, instead of the maiden (who is preceded by plants and fragrances), the *daēnā* takes three forms, first a cow, then a maiden, and then a paradisiacal garden. The *Bundahišn* passage must be based on a conservative tradition which reflects, perfectly and indisputably, what we have seen from the Gathic evidence in confirmation of Prof. Schmidt's thesis: Cow = *dayanā* 'Envisionment'.

Schmidt (1975: 20) has impressively supported his hypothesis by pointing to Yt 13.99-100, in which Vištāspa is said to have led the fettered (*hitəm*) Zoroastrian Religion (*daēnā*) out of its fetters (*hinuiβiiō*) and to have enthroned it, thriving and honored with cow (*gəuš*, taken as 'milk') and pastures; here we have not only the *daēnā* with bovine imagery reminiscent of Y 29, but also the detail of its being fettered (*hitā-*, *hinu-*, cf. 29.1 ā *hišāya*, root *hā(y)* 'to fetter'). We have here one of the many variations (in this instance, with *daēnā* in reversed equation for cow) of the Indo-Iranian myth of a hero liberating (a) stolen and imprisoned cow(s), which is the counterpart of a myth of a heroic/divine cattle rustler (attested e.g. by Mithras as βουκλόπος θεός, as against the Avestan myth of Mithra as liberator of the cow). As touched upon by Schmidt (1975: 20), at Yt 10.84-86 it is Mithra who seeks freedom for *aša-*, and leads the cow out from its captivity.

A further variation of the myth is found in the Vedic tale of Indra's opening of the Vala Cave and release of the cow (Dawn). Professor Schmidt, an expert on this myth, mentions a number of Gathic resonances (1975: 21). Among the details, I would stress that *dhī* 'vision' (and *rtā* = *aša-*) are liberated in the Vala myth; we may accordingly posit a form or forms of this Indo-Iranian myth as the germ of Zarathushtra's symbolism of Cow = Envisionment in Y 29 and elsewhere.

In the foregoing tribute to Hanns-Peter Schmidt, I hope to have given a fitting indication of the fertile new pastures he has provided for further research.

APPENDIX:

Y 29, Y 27.13, Y 33, AND GATHIC
SPATIAL SELF-REFERENTIALITY

Zarathushtra's maintenance of 27.13 as sacred text separate from Y 29 resulted in ambiguity here in the meaning of *ratuš* ('judge' or 'judgment'); with *ratuš* taken as 'judgment', the subject of *wari'ah* 'to be chosen' would be taken as Mazda Ahura. An echo of the original meaning of 27.13 is detectable in another final stanza, 33.14, in which Zarathushtra declares that, as a gift, he offers (33.14b' *dadāti*, cf. 27.13b' *dazdai*) the primacy of Good Mind's action (33.14b, cf. 27.13b 'the world's action of Good Mind) to Mazda (line-end 33.14b" [*wahauš*] *mazda'ai*; cf. line-end 27.13b" [*ahauš*] *mazda'ai*, along with Dominion (33.14c" and 27.13c' *xšaθram-ca*). The reference of Y 33 to 27.13 (and Y 29) is further shown by the first stanza of Y 33, which again has ambiguous *ratu-* 'judge(ment)'. Proceeding from the ms. J₅ with *ratuš* as against K₅ with *ratūš*, we avoid the need for emendation and also arrive at 33.1a-b' *yaθā ... ratuš* paralleling 27.13a (*aθā ...*) *yaθā ... ratuš* and 29.2b" *kaθā ... ratuš*. It is possible that in 33.1 the ambiguity of *ratuš* is intentional; thereby the word may be translated 'model, plan' or 'judgment', as per Schmidt (1985 *ad loc.*), but also 'judge', as follows:

33.1a *yaθā aiš iθā waršatai yā dātā ahauš*
parwiyahya
b *ratuš šyauθnā razištā drugwatai yat-ca*
artāunai

33.1a-b Just as (he does) via these (rituals?), so
shall the judge, with the straightest action,
bring into realization the things which are
(comprised by) the laws of the primal
existence for the righteous one as well
as the wrongful one

The phrase *waršatai yā ... šyauθnā*, with middle voice, is paralleled in detail by 51.1c *šyauθnāiš mazdā wahištam tat nah nū-cit waršānai* 'That (thing), the best, shall I now bring into realization for us', where the context is (51.1b") *antar carati* (loc. absol.) 'at the time of interceding' (as priest)' 33.1b" *dātā*.

ahauš parwiyahya 'the laws of the primal existence (the final requitals revealed by Zarathushtra's vision of the beginning of things, see esp. 43.4-5) is phraseologically based on the (incompletely preserved) 46.15, in which the personal ability to judge the law-abiding and the lawless is associated with 'the primal laws of Ahura'. Zarathushtra's self reference in 33.1 would accord with the first-person emphasis throughout Y 33 on his priestly role in warding off evil and strengthening the good dominion of Mazdā. The priestly role is not in disagreement with that of a *ratu-*, if one understands *ratu-* in its etymological sense as 'one who embodies regularity/regulation'; cf. the later meanings cf. YAv. *ratu-* as 'assistant priest' (alongside *zaotar-* 'chief priest') and also 'ideal representative, norm' or the like.

I shall now argue that *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* 'the judge/regulator with the straightest action' as a self-designation is further corroborated by the agreement of this phrase with others in Y 33, simultaneously as extended epithets of Zarathushtra, and as "oral anagrams" for the name *zaraθuštra-*. 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* compares with 33.6a' *yah zautā artā rzuš* '(I,) who (am) the invoking-priest straight with Rightness'. Note also the shared verb *wrz* 'to bring to realization', 33.1a' *waršatai*: 33.6b" *wrzadyāi*, the latter verb referring to this priest's duties, the *wāstriyā* 'pasturing'; cf. 33.3b"-c *widans ... θwaxšahā gawai ... wāstrai* 'providing zealously for the Cow ... on the pasture'. This in turn recalls 29.2b"-c *gawai ratuš ... wāstrā θwaxšah*. 33.6a' *zautā artā rzuš* continues 33.5a"-c *sraušam zu'ayā ... xšaθram ... artāt ā rzuš paθah* 'I shall invoke ... hearkening and dominion ... along the paths which are straight in accord with Rightness'.

33.1 and 33.5 are interconnected through the final stanza, 33.14, which, as "signature" verse, also links their contents to the name Zarathushtra. The stanza states: 'As a gift, Zarathushtra (14a' *at rātām zaraθuštrah*) offers the primacy (14b' *dadāti parwatātām* concatenating with 33.1a' *dātā ... parwiyahya*) ... of Good Mind (cf. 27.13, with *ratuš* as subject) ... and hearkening and dominion' (*sraušam xšaθram-ca* as at 33.5a'-b'). Thus the phrase locating the priestly action of 33.5a'-b', i.e. 33.5c' *artāt ā rzuš paθah* 'along the paths straight with Rightness', the phrase continuing and concentrating the data of 33.5, i.e. 33.6a' *yah zautā artā rzuš*, as well as 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā*, would not only be linked, in the structure of Y 33, to the

“signature” *zaraθuštra-*, but if 33.1a' *ratuš* means ‘judge, regulator’, they would also express aspects of Zarathushtra’s self-defining functions. It is remarkable that, in addition, all three phrases compactly contain various combinations of the phonemes of the name *zaraθuštra-*. For the technique of scrambling the sounds of a targeted word (or name) within other words, see Schwartz 1998, pp. 3, 168-69, and 180 n.3. The name *zaraθuštra-* at the exact center of Y 50 (50.6b”) is surrounded at 50.5b-7b by words containing the scrambled sounds of this name. I have suggested that *zaraθuštra-* ‘having old camel(s)’ is alluded to by the juxtaposition 44.17-18 *zaram ... uštram*, *Studia Grammatica Iranica*, Festschrift für Helmut Humbach, ed. R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjærvø, München 1986, pp. 377-379.²³ The quasi-anagrammatization of *zaraθuštra-* in 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* would support Zarathushtra’s self-identification as a *ratu-* (‘judge’), just as the quasi-anagrammatization at 33.5c-6a would name the *zautar-* as Zarathushtra.

The latter stanza, 33.7, returns us to Y 29. I first present the comparable portions of 33.7 and 29.11:

33.7a ā mā idwam wahištā ... mazdā
 b artā wahū manahā ... yā sruyai parah
 magaunah
 c āwiš nāh antar hantu ... ciθrā rātayah

29.11a kudā artam wahu-ca manah
 b yužam mazdā ... mazai magāya pati zānta
 c nū nāh awar ... ahmā rātaiš yušmāwata'am

Both stanzas are concerned with an epiphany of Mazdā, Rightness, and Good Mind, in connection with the patronage [b" *maga(wan)-*], and that there be manifest the gift(s) (c" *rāti-*) for the worshipers (and probably the divinities): ‘us’. In c' we have the parallel postpositional phrases, 33.7c' *nāh antar* ‘amidst/between us’ and 29.11c' *nāh awar* ‘down to us’. The latter phrase more fully amounts to ‘come Ye down to us here on

²³ Subsequently, in 1992, Humbach, *Gāthās* II, p. 159, expresses his opinion that 44.17-18 *zaram ... uštram* alludes to Zarathushtra’s name, but while I presented evidence for *zara-* ‘old age’ ~ **zarant-* ‘old’ in **zarat-uštra*, Humbach maintains Bartholomae’s *zara-* ‘goal’, based on OInd. *hāryati* ‘delights in, enjoys, craves’, a comparison I had dismissed on grounds of meaning and word-formation.

earth', cf. MP 'wr 'come!' and 29.7c" ī dāyāt awa marti-yaibyah 'would give these things down to mortals'. 33.7c" rātayah 'gifts', for its part, concatenates with the opening of the final stanza, 33.14a' rātām 'gift (acc.)'.

The emphasis which the latter concatenation gives to 33.7c" rātayah is increased by the location of the word at the precise midpoint of the poem (a position whose prominence is shown also by 50.6b" and 28.6b' zaraθuštra-), and by the adjective ciθrāh 'clear, bright'; cf. also 33.7c' āwiš 'conspicuous, patent', and further 33.7a" *darsat 'visibly' (referring to wahištā 'Best Ones', which, like its encryption at 33.7c" may also be taken as 'best things', tantamount to 'gifts'). I suggest that the latter elements were intended to "spotlight" rātayah in its *situation at the midpoint of the poem*, which location was marked by a (cryptic) iconic function of antar 'amidst', and that 33.7c (nāh) antar ... rātayah is the more elaborately foregrounded counterpart to the finale 29.11c (nāh) awar ... rātaiš, with 'down' marking the end of the poem. The comparison of 29.11 and 33.7, with their self-referential allusions to relative location in the poem, constituting representations of spatiality, are important both for the cognitive as well as the stylistic aspects of these poems.

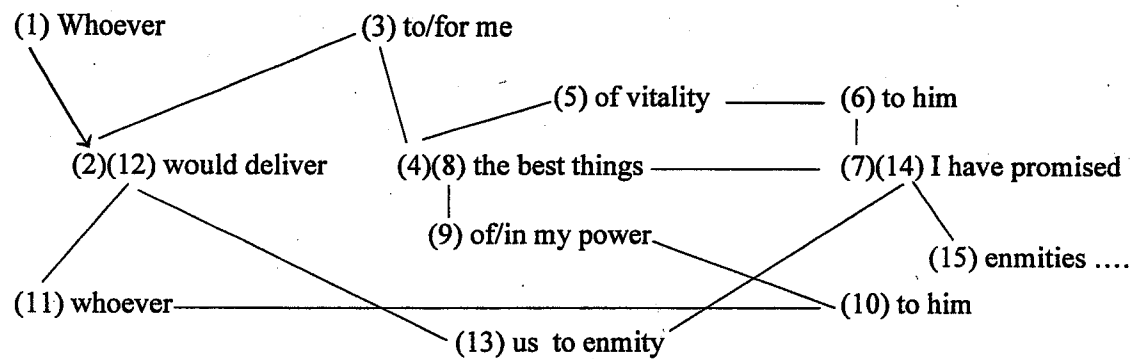


Diagram A

CHAPTER 11

Zu avestisch *aša-*

Alberto Cantera

Im Gegensatz zu ai. *ṛtá-* (n.) "Wahrheit" zeigt die avestische Entsprechung *aša-* angeblich Vollstufe in der Wurzel. In der Tat kommt av. *°arta-* in Komposita vor: *dājītarəta-* und *anarəta-* (gegenüber ai. *ánrta-*). Die fehlende Übereinstimmung in diesen zwei so engverwandten Sprachen wird noch dadurch kompliziert, daß im Avestischen auch die schwundstufige Form in den Eigennamen der Söhne Zaratuštras *astunətarəta-* und *uxšīiatəra-* vorkommt. Chr. Bartholomae (1886: 46) faßte das avestische Wort *aša-* nicht als eine exakte Entsprechung von ai. *ṛtá-* auf, sondern führte diese Form auf **árta-* zurück.¹ Hundert Jahre später erklärte K. Hoffmann (1986: 166) die abweichende Form des avestischen Wortes, indem er auf ein wohl etabliertes Verfahren der indogermanischen Wortbildungslehre zugriff: **árta-* und ai. *ṛtá-* stehen in demselben Verhältnis zueinander wie ahd. *kind*, lat. *genitus* < idg. **géh₁-to-* zu altnord. *kundr*

¹ Wie wenig überzeugt von dieser Erklärung er selber war, zeigt die Tatsache, daß er sie weder im *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie* noch im *Altiranischen Wörterbuch* aufnahm. In der Tat vermied er in diesen Arbeiten die Erklärung dieses Wortes zweifellos absichtlich. Einerseits sind die Angaben zu *aša-* im *Altiranischen Wörterbuch* recht uneindeutig: die altindische Entsprechung *ṛtá-* wird ja nicht einmal erwähnt. Andererseits ist es auffällig, daß auch im *Grundriß*, wo der Ursprung von av. *š* und genauer das Problem der abweichenden Betonungen im Avestischen gegenüber dem Vedischen besprochen werden, gerade das bekannteste Beispiel, d. h. *aša-*, nicht herangezogen wird.

“Sohn”, got. *airpa-kunds* “erdgeboren”, lat. *gnātus* oder ai. *márta-* zu *mrtá-* “tot”. Dieselbe Erklärung dieses Nebeneinanders wurde in demselben Jahr von E. Tichy (1986: 96) geliefert, wobei sie bemerkte, daß dieses Nebeneinander im Indoiranischen kaum nachweisbar ist. Dies führte sie dazu, **árta-* als ein morphologisches Relikt anzusehen. D. h. sowohl das vedische *ṛtá-* als auch ap. *ṛta-* wären Neurungen, die das ursprüngliche *árta-* ersetzt hätten.

Angesichts der Tatsache, daß im Avestischen der Anlaut *ə* nur vor *n*, *m*, *u* und *r* belegt ist, und nie vor *š*, ist nun nachzuprüfen, ob wir genug Evidenz besitzen, um av. *aša-* auf *árta-* und nicht auf *ṛta-* (urir. *árta-*²) zurückzuführen. Innerhalb des Avestischen haben wir angeblich weitere Stützen für die Rekonstruktion einer Form **árta-*: jav. *anarəta-* “unwahrhaft” (Y. 12.4) gegenüber ai. *ánrta-* und *dəjīṭ.arəta-*, falls man die Deutung dieses Wortes von Chr. Bartholomae (1904: 609) und K. Hoffmann (1996: 840 und Anm. 9) annimmt.³ Aber die oben erwähnten Eigennamen *astuuat.ərəta-* und *uxšīiat.ərəta-* liefern nicht nur den Nachweis einer weiteren Form, die auf **árta-* zurückzuführen ist, sondern scheinen sogar eine Gleichung *aša-* = *ərəta-* vorauszusetzen. Wie schon Chr. Bartholomae (1904: 215) bemerkte, ist dieser Name eine Kunstbildung zoroastrischer Theologen in Anlehnung an Y.43.16 *astuuat ašəm hiiāt...* (s. J. Kellens 1974: 209 Anm. 7; A. Hintze 1994: 371). Trifft das zu, muß man daraus schließen, daß wenn *aša-* in der Fügung *astuuat ašəm* den Akzent verliert, es dann als *ərəta-* erscheint.⁴

K. Hoffmann (1986: 167) versucht diese Formen als einen arachotischen Dialektalismus zu erklären⁵. Das einzige Argu-

² Iir. *r* ist schon im Uriranischen zu *ər* geworden (s. A. Cantera, im Druck).

³ Jedoch ist diese Deutung, wie wir später zeigen werden, sehr unwahrscheinlich

⁴ Es wundert also nicht die Behauptung von E. Pirart (J. Kellens-E. Pirart 1988: 76): “**rt* initial est écrit *aša-* dans *aša-* et *aši-*”.

⁵ Eine scharfe und wohlbegründete Kritik der sprachlichen Argumente der “arachotischen” Theorie hat X. Tremblay (1996: 104 ff.) geliefert. Völlig unbegründet ist jedoch die Kritik an A. Hintze (X. Tremblay 1996: 130). Nach X. Tremblay würde A. Hintze die Erhaltung von *ṛt-* im *astuuat.ərəta-* als einen arachotischen Dialektalismus erklären wollen. Gleich danach belehrt uns der Autor über die bekannten Regeln für den Übergang von *-rt-* zu *-š-*. Leider hatte die Autorin nicht die Erhaltung von

ment dafür ist die Verbindung der Saošiiants mit dem Hamūn-See (ähnlich schon M. Boyce 1975: 293). J. Kellens (1974: 209) nimmt die Übereinstimmung der schwundstufigen Form **ərta-* mit ap. *arta-* (s. u.) ernst und schließt daraus, daß der Mythos von *astuuat.ərta-* auf Spekulationen westlicher Theologen beruht. Für A. Hintze (1994: 372) sprechen die Verbindung der Saošiiants mit Südostiranischer Lokalitäten und das Vorkommen dieser Namen im Frawardīn-Yašt für eine Lokalisierung im Ostiran und für ein gewisses Alter dieser Namen. Deswegen vermutet sie mit K. Hoffmann, daß hier ein arachotischer Dialektalismus vorliegt, und daß die schwundstufige Form **arta-* eine Isoglosse des Arachotischen mit dem Südwestiranischen darstellt. Unter diesen Umständen bietet sich eine Überprüfung des iranischen Materials auf der Suche nach weiteren Stützen für die Existenz einer iranischen Form **arta-* und nach dem Nachweis einer vermutlichen dialektalen Distribution der Formen **arta-* und **ərta-* an. Dabei werde ich auch die *ašauuan-* Formen berücksichtigen, da sowohl das av. *ašauuan-* als auch das ai. *rtāvan-* zeigen, daß diese Formen den Anlaut mit *aša-* bzw. *rtā-* mitteilen.

Das ap. *<a-ra-ta->* ist nach dem Zeugnis des Elamischen, wo dieses Wort ausnahmslos mit *<ir-da->* oder *<ir-ta->* wiedergegeben wird, zweifellos als *arta-*⁶ /*artal* zu lesen: *artācā* (XPh 34, 42, 45), elam. *ir-da-ha-zi*, *artāvā* (XPh 40, 46), elam. *ir-dama-* usw. (s. K. Hoffmann 1986: 167)⁷. Im Mittelpersischen kommt das Wort **arta-* oder **ərta-* außer in Komposita und Ableitungen nicht vor. Aber wo es vorkommt, zeigt der Anlaut immer⁸ die Schreibung *<'lt->* bzw. *<'rt->*: Pahlavi *ardā* *<'lt'>*, *ardāyih* *<'lt'yh'>*, *ardaxšīr* *<'lhšdl'>* bzw. *<'lhšt'>* (s. D. N. MacKenzie 1971: 11; H. S. Nyberg 1974: 30); manichäisch Mittelpersisch *'rd'w*, *'rd'yjh*, *'rdβ'n* (s. M. Boyce, 1977: 14);

-rt-, sondern die Schwundstufe der Wurzel als einen arachotischen Dialektalismus erklärt.

⁶ Nach dem Hoffmannschen Transliterationsystem (s. K. Hoffmann 1976: 627 Anm. 8).

⁷ Die Wiedergaben im Griechischen durch ἀρτα- haben selbstverständlich keine Aussagekraft, da im Griechischen ir. **ər-* durch ἀρ- wiedergegeben wird (s. R. Schmitt 1978: 31).

⁸ K. Hoffmann (1986: 168) verzeichnet eine abweichende Schreibung *'wrt-* in *'wrtwhšt*. Diese Form ist jedoch ein Lehnwort aus dem Avestischen, wie das Vorhandensein der Gruppe *-št-* zeigt (dazu s. u.).

Inschriftenmittelpersisch 'rt'w, 'rt'dyhy, 'rtw'n, 'rthštr, 'rthštrprry (s. Ph. Gignoux 1972: 17). Auch im Parthischen ist nur die Schreibung <'rt- > für den Anlaut bezeugt: manichäisch Parthisch 'rd'w, 'rd'wyft, 'rd'wyftyg (s. Boyce 1977: 14) Inschriftenparthisch: 'rt'wypy, 'rtbnw, 'rthštr, 'rthštrhšnwm, 'rthštrpry, 'rtstwnk, 'rtwršt (s. Ph. Gignoux 1972: 47).

Nach K. Hoffmann (1986: 168) stellt diese Schreibung zweifelsohne die Lautung /ard-/ aus urir. *art- dar. Die Entsprechung von ap. *arta-* hätte nach diesem Autor eine Schreibung <'wrt-> oder <'yrt-> ergeben. In der Tat wird inlautendes urir. *ər* im Mittelpersischen zu *ur* im labialen Kontext (z. B. phl. *murw* "Vogel" **mərǝγa-*, av. *mərəγa-*, vgl. ai. *mṛgá-* "Gazelle"), sonst zu *ird* (z. B. phl. *kirb* "Körper" <**kṛpa-* av. *kəhrpa-* "Gestalt").⁹ Uns interessiert aber nur anlautendes *ər-*, und hier sind die Verhältnisse anders. Wo immer im Pahlavi anlautendes *ur* <'wr-> erscheint, kommt in der folgenden Silbe ein labialer Laut vor: *urwāhm(an)* <'wrw'hm(n)> "freudig" <**ərūāōman-* <**ərūādman-* <urir. **urājman-* idg. *urēHǵmon-*, vgl. av. *uruuāsman-*, *uruuāzəman-*¹⁰; phl. *urwar* <'wrwr> "Pflanze" <urir. *ərūarā-* < idg. **h₂r_hu₃érah₂-* (s. EWAia I 229);¹¹ phl. *ul* <'wl> "gerade" <*urir. *ərduá-* < iir. **rHdh₃uá-*, av. *ərəδβa-*, ai. *ūrdhvá-*;¹² auch *urwāz-* <**urāj-* "sich freuen", aber dieses Wort muß ja ein Lehnwort entweder aus dem Avestischen oder aus dem Nord-westiranischen sein.¹³ Als Lehnwort aus dem Avestischen ist *urdwahišt* aufzufassen. Hingegen ist der Anlaut 'yr

⁹ Zur Behandlung der Liquida s. Chr. Bartholomae 1925: 17 ff.

¹⁰ Obwohl es bisher nicht erkannt wurde, zeigt das Pahlavi dieselbe Anlautsmetathese wie das Jungavestische (nicht aber wie das Altavestische), nämlich **urV* → *ərūV-* (s. A. Cantera, im Druck 2).

¹¹ Zu den zahlreichen Problemen, die dieses Wort bietet, s. A. Cantera (im Druck 2). Der angebliche Schwund des Laringals wurde bisher nicht überzeugend erklärt. Jedoch wird er in A. Cantera (im Druck 1) als eine lautgesetzliche Entwicklung interpretiert. Meiner Meinung nach wird unbetontes (C)RHC, wenn die Liquida unbetont ist, lautgesetzlich zu (C)ərC, das im labialen Kontext mit dem uriranischen Ergebnis von (C)RC übereinstimmt.

¹² Die Erklärung des Laringalschwunds ist identisch zu der von av. *uruuarā-*.

¹³ Die Belege aus dem manichäischen Mittelpersischen sind fast dieselben: 'wrw'hmy "Freude", 'wrw'hmygr "Freude machend" und 'wrwr "Pflanze", 'wl "gerade".

bzw. *'yl-* weder im Pahlavi noch im manichäischen Mittelpersischen als Entsprechung eines urir. anlautendes **ar-* belegt.¹⁴

Die Frage ist nun also, ob anlautendes *'r/l* im Mittelpersischen und im Parthischen nur für *ar-* aus urir. **ar-* steht, oder auch anderen Ursprungs sein kann. In der Tat haben wir genug Indizien, um behaupten zu können, daß anlautendes *'r/l* nicht nur *ar-* aus **ar-* darstellen kann, sondern auch ein anderes kurzes *i*-ähnliches Vokal. In der Inschrift des Šābuhr I in der Ka'ba des Zoroaster entspricht gr. IRDOUAN dem Imp. *<'rtw'n>* und dem Iprt. *<'rtbnw>*. Daraus geht deutlich hervor, daß die Aussprache eher */ərdawān/* o.ä. war. Die Aussprache */urdwahišwt/* oder */ərdwahišt/* für die Schreibung phl. *'ltwhšt'* und mmp. *'rdywhšt* geht aus der Schreibung *'wrtwhšt'*¹⁵ und aus der neupersischen Form *ordibehešt* hervor. Eine weitere Evidenz liefert auch der Vergleich des Phl.-Tagesnamens phl. *'lt* neben mmp. *'yrd'*¹⁶ für av. *aši-*. Es dürfte also nicht ernsthaft bezweifelt werden, daß der Anlaut *'rd-/lt-* in Pahlavi, Manichäischmittelpersischen, Inschriften mittelpersisch, Parthisch und Inschriften-Parthisch */ərd-/*¹⁷ o.ä. darstellen kann¹⁸. Demzufolge ist das

¹⁴ Alle Schreibungen *<'yr->* bzw. *<'yl->* stellen nur *ē* aus verschiedenem Ursprung dar: *ēr* "unten" *<*adari, av. aḍari* (s. H. S. Nyberg 1974: 9), *ēr* "Held" *<*arija-, av. airiia-* (s. H. S. Nyberg 1974: 71), *ērang* "Irrlehre, Fehler" *<abi-ranga-* (s. H. S. Nyberg 1974: 72), usw. Die einzige Ausnahme ist der Tagesname mmp. *'yrd* neben phl. *'lt*. Wahrscheinlich liegt hier eine Umfärbung nach dem *i* der darauffolgenden Silbe, da diese Formen wahrscheinlich auf **arti-* zurückzuführen sind (s. u.).

¹⁵ K. Hoffmann (1986: 168) verzeichnet z. B. folgende Stellen: GrBd. 14.9, 22.10, 14, 24.12, 35.8; s. auch Dk.7.2.19 [M 604.91 *'rtwhšt* ist zweifellos ein Überlieferungsfehler für *'wrtwhšt*, da sonst die Form *'ltwhšt* lauten würde].

¹⁶ H. W. Bailey 1943: 3 verzeichnet auch eine Schreibung *<yl>* in GrBd.24.15, die wohl auf eine Aussprache *ird* o.ä. hinzudeuten scheint.

¹⁷ Die genaue Aussprache dieses Anlauts ist nicht genau zu bestimmen. Einerseits dürfte man annehmen, das ein altes im Pahlavi im Anlaut wie im Inlaut zu *ir* geworden ist, wenn der labiale Kontext die Entwicklung zu *ur* nicht bewirkt hat. Diese Annahme ist jedoch unwahrscheinlich. Erstens zeigen die Lehnwörter aus dem Mittelpersischen oder aus dem Parthischen, daß, wenn kein *μ* in der darauffolgenden Silbe vorkommt, die Aussprache eher zu *-a-* als zu *-i-* tendiert: Imp. *<'rtw'n>*, Iprt. *<'rtbnw>*, arm. LW *artavan*, gr. Ἀρτάβανος: **arta-μazdah* (vgl. av. *ašauuazdah-*), arm. *Artavazd* "Name eines Königs", gr. Ἀρταουάσδης, lat. *Artavasdes, Artoasdes* ... (s. H. Hübschmann 1897: 29 ff.). Hingegen

wahrscheinlichste, daß die mittelpersischen Formen mit ap. *arta-*/*arta-*/ unmittelbar verwandt sind, und nicht mit einem von K. Hoffmann für die Erklärung dieser Formen erfundenen medisch **arta*-¹⁹ (so schon E. Tichy 1986: 96).

Außerhalb des Westiranischen ist auch kein sicherer Nachweis einer iranischen Form **arta-* zu finden. Die sogdischen

erscheint inlautendes *-ir-* aus *-r-* im Armenischen immer als *-er-*, z. B. arm. *kerb*, phl. *kirb* < **k̄pa-* oder arm. *hrašakert*, phl. *frašegird*, av. *frašo.-kərati-*, usw. Eine Ausnahme hierzu bildet eine Reihe von Wörtern, die angeblich aus einem nordwestiranischen Dialekt entstammen, wo *r* nicht zu *-ir-*, sondern eher zu *-ar-* wurde (s. G. Bolognesi 1960: 25 ff.). Zweitens wäre die Graphie mmp. *ʾyrd* nicht zu verstehen, wenn die übliche Aussprache des anlautenden aus *r-* entstehenden Vokals nicht *i* wäre. Jedoch ist sie leicht zu erklären, wenn man davon ausgeht, daß ein sehr kurzes Vokal **ə* durch den Einfluß des darauffolgenden *i* zu *i* < 'y-> wurde: *ird* aus *ərti*. Hingegen, wenn ein *ɥ* in der darauffolgenden Silbe vorkam, dann wurde dieses Vokal zu *u*, weshalb die schon mehrmals erwähnte Schreibung *ʾwrtwhšt*.

¹⁸ Ein weiterer Beweis dürfte auch der Dēwname phl. *arš* < 'lš> sein (z. B. Dk.9.30.4-5 [M 829.1 ss]; PY.31.5, usw.), das aus aav. *ərəši-* "Neid" entlehnt ist. Dagegen wäre aber einzuwenden, daß phl. *arš* < 'lš> aus dem unbelegten jav. **ərəši-* entlehnt sein könnte, so daß die Graphie <'l> hier nicht notwendigerweise aav. *ərə-* darstellt.

¹⁹ In der Tat gibt es gar keinen Grund für die Annahme der Formen *arta-* und *ártāyan-* im Medischen. Wie schon K. Hoffmann (1986: 180 Anm. 14) bemerkt, beweist das akkad. *arta-mar-zi-*, das zweifellos eine medische Form neben ap. *artavardiya-*, elam. *ir-du-mar-ti-ya-* wiedergibt, gar nichts, weil akk. *ar-* im Anlaut systematisch für die Darstellung von av., *ar-* benutzt wird, z. B. ap. *artaxšaça-*, elam. *ir-tak-šá-áš-šá-*, akkad. *ar-tak-šat-su* (s. R. Kent 1953: 171). Vielmehr haben wir Anzeichen, daß auch im Medischen das hier behandelte Wort **arta-* lautete. In der Tat finden sich in den elamischen Tafelchen zahlreiche Namen mit medischen Lauterscheinungen, die jedoch **arta-* und nicht **arta-* bezeugen: *ir-da-pir-za-na-*, *ir-da-su-iš-da-* (**ardazušta-*), usw. Die Annahme von K. Hoffmann, in diesen Namen sei die nordwestiranische Form **arta-* durch die südwestiranische Form **arta-* ersetzt worden, hat gar keine Berechtigung. Sie ist rein spekulativ. Die Argumentation von K. Hoffmann läuft ja in Kreisen: das Mittelpersische setzt nach ihm eine Form **arta-* voraus; da die ap. belegte Form nach Auskunft der indirekten Überlieferung **arta-* lautet, kann die Vorform von mp. *ard-* nur medisch sein; das widerspricht aber den Nachrichten der indirekten Überlieferung, die zweifellos eine medische Form **arta-* bezeugen; deswegen sieht sich K. Hoffmann gezwungen, die in der indirekten Überlieferung tatsächlich belegten medischen Formen als persisch aufzufassen.

Formen B, M, C 'rt'w (C 'rtw) "fromm, erwählt" (av. *ašāuan-*), B, S 'rt'wsp'y "fromm" (av. *ašauasta-*), M 'rt'wxwšt, S 'rt'γwšt (phl. *urdwahišt*, av. *aša- vahišta-*), usw. (s. B. Gharib 1995: 1483-1497, 1501) können sowohl auf **árta-* als auch als **árta-* zurückgeführt werden, weil im Sogdischen anlautendes **ər-* als *r* erscheint (s. I. Gershevitch 1954: § 154)²⁰. Auch das ossetische I *ard*, D *art* "Eid" kann sowohl eine Vorform **árta-* als auch **árta-* voraussetzen, da anlautendes *ər* in beiden ossetischen Dialekten *ar* ergibt, wenn keine weitere Silbe folgt, z. B. D *arcæ*, I *arc* "Speer" < *ršti-*, ai. *ršfi*, av. *aršti-*²¹; I, D *mard* < *mərtá-* (s. F. Thordarson 1989: 461)²².

Da außerhalb des Avestischen weder in Ost- noch in Westiranisch der Nachweis einer Form **árta-* aufgebracht werden konnte, stellt sich wohl die Frage, ob auch av. *aša-* nicht auf **árta-* zurückgeführt werden sollte, was ja von der Übereinstimmung des gesamten Iranischen mit dem Altindischen nahegelegt wird. In der Tat haben wir Indizien genug, die dafür sprechen²³. Wir haben schon gesehen, daß das Lehnwort aus dem Avestischen *'ltwhšt* gelegentlich *'wrtwhšt* geschrieben wird und im Neupersischen als *ordibehešt* erscheint, so daß es mit Sicherheit im Pahlavi als *urdwahišt* zu lesen ist²⁴. Daraus geht

²⁰ Man beachte, daß sowohl I. Gershevitch als auch B. Gharib diese Formen von **arta-* ableiten.

²¹ Zur av. Form s. K. Hoffmann-B. Forssman 1996: 91.

²² Das albanische $\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\beta\delta\alpha = \epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ bietet keinen Auskunft über den urir. Anlaut (s. R. Bielmaier 1989: 241).

²³ Falls die Vermutung A. Panainos (1990: 146), daß Yt.8.59 *ašāuuō* urir. *a-rtā-uan-* "impious" fortsetzen könnte, stimmen sollte, hätten wir hier noch einen Nachweis der Lautung *-arta-* und nicht *arta-*. Jedoch ist die Annahme dieses Autors aus mehreren Gründen nicht aufrechtzuerhalten. Erstens hätten wir vor *r-* oder *ərə* wohl die Vorsilbe *an-* erwartet und nie *a-*, also die tatsächlich belegte Form *anašāuan-* (Yt. 10.138, V. 16. 18). Panainos Vermutung wäre einzig durch eine Erklärung der Lautung der Vorsilbe durch den Laringal zu retten: iir. *ŋ-Hrta-*. Jedoch scheitert diese Erklärung in Anbetracht z. B. von *anaša-* "nicht gemahlen", das auf iir. *ŋ-HrHta-* zurückzuführen ist. Und zweitens schließt der Ausgang *-ō* des N.Sg. eine solche Deutung des ganzen Wortes aus.

²⁴ Diese Pahlavi-Form ist ein Lehnwort aus dem Altavestischen, wie die Erhaltung der Gruppe *-rt-* zeigt (s.u.). Ins Pahlavi (und auch in andere iranische Sprachen) sind zahlreiche Lehnwörter aus dem Altavestischen eingegangen. Pahlavi-Formen wie phl. *fsuyans* <*pšwrynš*> (av. *fsuiiqs*), das obwohl nur im Jav. belegt, nur Aav. sein kann, s. J. Schindler 1982:

hervor, daß im Altavestischen die Lautung der als *aša-vahišta*-überlieferten Fügung doch **śrta váhišta*- bzw. **úrta- váhišta*- war. Oben wurden auch die Namen *astuuat.ərəta*- und *uxsiiat.ərəta*- herangezogen. Sie zeigen ja die schwundstufige Form **ərta*-. Die Tatsache, daß av. *astuuat.ərəta*- eine Kunstbildung nach Y.43.16 *astuuat ašəm hiiāt ...* ist, spricht dafür, daß wenn *ašəm* den Akzent verliert, automatisch zu *ərəta*- wird.

Den endgültigen Beweis davon, daß av. *aša*- wenigstens im Altavestischen *śrta*- o.ä. lautete, hat meines Erachtens die Entdeckung eines *ašəm vohū* in der sogdischen Überlieferung geliefert. I. Gershevitch (in N. Sims-Williams 1976: 75-82) hat in den zwei bis dahin dunklen Anfangszeilen des Fragmentes Nr. 4 der British Library das av. Gebet *ašəm vohū* entdeckt. Die Identifizierung ist unleugbar:

187) oder phl. *sōšyans* <*swšyyyns*> (av. *saošiiqs*) sind aus dem Altavestischen entlehnt (s. A. Cantera im Druck 2). Ein weiteres Lehnwort aus dem Altavestischen, das häufig nicht als solches erkannt wird, ist das Grundwort des Abstraktum phl. *ahlāyih*, d.h. **ahlāy*. Die Existenz von *ahlāyih* setzt das Vorhandensein des unebelegten **ahlāy* voraus. Phl. **ahlāy* geht zweifellos auf av. **ašāuua* (mit *ā*) gegenüber *ahlaw*, das auf *ašāuua* zurückgeht. Phl. *ahlāyih* erweist also, daß im Avesta eine heute unbelegte Form **ašāuuā* vorhanden gewesen ist. Dies war wahrscheinlich in altavestischer Zeit der Fall. Die tatsächlich belegten aav. Formen *ašāuuā* usw. sind wahrscheinlich durch jav. Einfluß umgestaltet (s. A. Cantera im Druck 2).

Eine abweichende Erklärung der Form **ahlāy*, die vielleicht die Erklärung von E. Tichy (1986) retten könnte, wäre phl. *ahlāy* als ein LW aus dem G.Sg. *ašāunō* aufzufassen. In diesem Fall wäre das Nebeneinander von *ahlaw* (< N.Sg. jav. **ahraça*, *ašāuua*) und **ahlāy* (< G.Sg. jav. *ahrāynah*, *ašāunō*) als Casus rectus neben Casus obliquus zu deuten. Es wäre jedoch der einzige Fall im Pahlavi, wo sowohl aus einem Casus rectus als auch aus einem Casus obliquus ein Lehnwort entstanden ist.

Die Erklärung von phl. **ahlāy* als eine Entlehnung aus dem Altavestischen ist auch nicht ganz einwandfrei. Wie wir eben gesehen haben, war die Lautfolge *-rt-* im Altavestischen immer noch erhalten, so daß ein LW aus dem Altavestischen identisch mit der ererbten Form *ardāy* sein sollte, d.h. *ardāy* <aav. **artāya*. Die Tatsache, daß diese Form im Pahlavi als **ahlāy* erscheint, spricht meines Erachtens dafür, daß die Einführung der jav. Aussprache ins Altavestische allmählich geschah. Die Vorform von phl. **ahlāy* kam in der Persis an, als die Aussprache *hr* von *-rt-* in die Rezitation des Altavestischen schon eingedrungen war, jedoch nicht die Kürzung von *ā* in der Lautfolge *-āya*-.

aṣəm vohū vahištəm astī *uštā astī uštā ahmāi*
 [wrt]m w—γštm yšt'y wšt' ywšt'y 'štw γm'y—
hiiaṭ aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm
 —t wrt'y 'γšt'y rtm

I. Gershevitch hielt den sogdischen Text für eine von dem avestischen Gebet unabhängige Litanei, die ein uriranisches Gebet fortsetzen würde. Aber die ererbten Formeln, die in zwei oder mehr Sprachen als solche Formeln aufbewahrt sind, umfassen niemals mehr als zwei oder drei Wörter. Ererbte Formeln können also keineswegs einen so langen Text ergeben. Deswegen hat sich in letzter Zeit die These durchgesetzt, daß hier das avestische Gebet *aṣəm vohū* vorliegt, aber nicht in der westiranischen Überlieferung, wie das Avesta, das wir sonst kennen, sondern in der sogdischen Überlieferung (s. X. Tremblay 1996: 101 Anm. 5, J. Kellens 1998: 485 Anm. 58; A. Hintze 1998: 155; A. Cantera 1998: cxxix ff.).

In der sogdischen Version ist die Entsprechung von *aṣəm* einmal ergänzt und einmal *rtm*. Deutlich ist die Entsprechung von *aṣāi*, nämlich *wrt'y*. I. Gershevitch hat diese Schreibungen als *urtāi* und *urtam* gedeutet. Meines Erachtens ist jedoch die unterschiedliche Schreibung nicht bedeutungslos. Da *wrt'y* auf Konsonant folgt und *rt'y* auf Vokal, sind wir hier wahrscheinlich vor einer Sandhi-Erscheinung in der östlichen mündlichen Überlieferung des Avesta: */hiaturtāi vahištāirtam/*. Jedenfalls ist hieraus eine Aussprache */ərta/* oder */urta/* für *aṣa-* im Altavestischen zu schließen²⁵.

Wenn *aṣa-* im Altavestischen für */ərta-/* oder */urta-/* steht, wie erklärt sich dann die tatsächlich belegte Form *aṣa-*? Meines Erachtens ist *aṣa-* bloß eine jungavestische Form, die auch in der Rezitation des Altavestischen eingedrungen ist. Es ist aufgrund

²⁵ A. Hintze (1998: 155) versucht, die Hoffmannsche Auffassung von *aṣa-* zu retten. Für sie müßte die Form *wrt'y* "misspelt" sein und *rtm* sollte */artam/* darstellen. Letzteres ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, wenn wir von einer Wiedergabe im Sogdischen eines mündlich tradierten Textes ausgehen, wo die Wortgrenzen nicht deutlich sind: *'γšt'y rtm* wäre dann eine Graphie für */(ə)xuštāirtam/*. Die Vermutung einer fehlerhaften Graphie im Falle *wrt'y* ist jedoch völlig *ad hoc* und unberechtigt.

zahlreicher Indizien wahrscheinlich, daß im Altavestischen die Lautfolge *-rt-* in allen Stellungen erhalten geblieben war. Dafür sprechen einige Lehnwörter im Pahlavi aus dem Altavestischen wie *urdwahišt* <'wrtwhšt>²⁶, sowie einige Lehnwörter ins Sogdische²⁷ wie der Eigenname *'rtyxw* für av. *aši- varj'hī-* oder *'rt'xwšt* für av. *ašōiš vanhuiia* in der Fügung *'rt'xwšt rwc* "der 25.Tag des Monats" (s. B. Gharib 1995: 1495, 1496), oder auch *'rtwx(w)št rwc* für av. *ašahe vahištahe* in der Fügung *'rtwx(w)št rwc* (s. B. Gharib 1995: 1489-1490). Den endgültigen Beweis haben wieder die Schreibungen *'wrt'y* und *rtm* im "sogdischen" *ašam vohū* gebracht. Dementsprechend ist die Lautentwicklung *-rt- > -'hrt- > -'hr-* in die jungavestische Zeit zu versetzen. Nachdem dieser Lautwandel vollzogen wurde, entwickelte sich die anlautende Gruppe **šhrt-* oder **šhr-* zu *ahr*, das irgendwann nach dem 4.Jhr. u.Z. zu *aš-* wurde²⁸. Dieses Lautgesetz gilt also für *aša-* und weitere Ableitungen davon: *ašāuan-* (ai. *rtāvan-*), *ašaiiā-* "Verrichtung der Pflichten der Wahrheit" (vgl. ai. Adv. *rtayā*)²⁹, *ašaiia-* "gemäß der Wahrheit handeln" (ai. *rtāyā*)³⁰.

²⁶ Das Msogd. Lehnwort aus dem Westiranischen *mrδ'spnd* (s. I. Gershevitch 1954: 20) könnte auch der Nachweis eines Phl.- oder partischen Lehnwortes aus dem Avesta **amurdaspand* neben dem üblichen *amahraspand* sein.

²⁷ Auch im Sogdischen sind mehrere Lehnwörter aus dem Altavestischen belegt, z. B. (')*zrw'* [= aav. **zruuā*], *fšy'ws* [= aav. *fšuiiqs*, nur im Jav. belegt]. Es wundert nicht, daß die Lehnwörter aus dem Altavestischen ins Sogdische weitgehend mit denjenigen ins Pahlavi übereinstimmen (s. Anm. 24). Diese Lehnwörter sind in beide Sprachen in jungavestischer Zeit eingedrungen. Die Lehnwörter aus dem Altavestischen sind also Wörter, die wegen ihres besonders heiligen Charakters in jungavestischer Zeit weiterhin in ihrer altavestischen Form benutzt wurden. Die Anzahl dieser Wörter hat sich allmählig reduziert, und während einige altavestische Formen im uns bekannten Jungavesta erhalten geblieben sind, wurden andere Wörter, die am Anfang der jungavestischen Zeit immer noch in der altavestischen Form benutzt wurden, später durch die entsprechenden jungavestischen Formen ersetzt.

²⁸ Diese Erscheinung ist mutatis mutandis mit dem Wandel aav. *ərəš*, *ərəž-* zu jav. *arš-*, der teilweise in die Rezitation des Altavestischen eingedrungen ist (s. K. Hoffmann-B. Forssman 1996: 91), zu vergleichen. Ein wichtiger Unterschied ist, daß dieser Lautwandel nicht nur im Anlaut stattfindet, während der hier postulierte nur für den Anlaut gilt.

²⁹ Chr. Bartholomae (1904: 244) hat ein Adverb *ašaiia* angesetzt, das unter anderen die Stellen V.3.15, 34 und 35 erklären sollte. Er vergleicht

Die dann zu rekonstruierende Form urir. **árta-* wäre identisch mit ai. *rtá* aber mit substantivierender Akzentverschiebung, vgl. ai. *síta-* "Furche" oder *ásta-* "Heimat, Heimwesen" aus idg. **ṛsto-*, Substantivierung von **ṛstó-* "zurückgekommen" (s. AiGr. II, 2, 584).

Dadurch könnte auch av. *aši-* "Belohnung" erklärt werden. In der Tat scheint mmp. 'yrd "25. Montag" (s. Chr. Bartholomae 1925: 53; D. N. MacKenzie 1971: 11; K. Hoffmann 1986: 169) eine schwundstufige Form **arti-* vorauszusetzen. Für die Erklärung dieses Nebeneinanders von *aši-* und mmp. 'yrd greift K. Hoffmann (1986: 169) auf dialektale Varianten: **arti-* liegt in av. *aši-*, phl. 'lt und mmp. 'rd³¹ vor, die wiederum eine medische unbelegte Form **arti-* fortsetzen würden, während mmp. 'yrd die Entsprechung der echtaltpersischen Lautform **erti* darstellen sollte. Nach K. Hoffmann gehen **arti-* und **erti-* auf verschiedene Ablautsformen zurück, wofür er folgende Flexion rekonstruiert: N.Sg. **arti-š*, G.Sg. *rtái-š*. Diese Lage wird durch die Form *ārəitīmca* in P. 39 kompliziert. Der Vergleich von P. 39 *xšnūitīmca ārəitīmca viiād<ā>sca paiti.z<a>nt<a>iiasca* mit Y.60.2 *xšnūtasca ašaiiasca viiāxaibišca paiti.zantaiiasca* erweist *ārəitīmca* als eine Variante von *aši-*, und deswegen wird es übli-

damit ved. *rtayā* (RV. 2.11.12), das anscheinend als Adv. fungiert. Diese Annahme ist wohl irrig. V.3.34 ist parallel zu V.3.35: V.3.34

yaṭ bā paiti spitama zaraθuštra aiṅhā zəmə naire ašaone vərəziiāt ašaiia daḍāiti

V.3.35

yaṭ bā paiti spitama zaraθuštra aiṅhā zəmə naire ašaone vərəziiāt vaṅhuiia nōiṭ daḍāiti

Während in V.3.34 *ašaiia* allein steht und als Adv. gedeutet werden könnte, wird es in V.3.35 vom Adj. *vaṅhuiia* begleitet. Also kann *ašaiia* kein Adverb sein. Es ist eher ein Inst.sg. zu einem Stamm *ašaiiā-*. Für das ved. *rtayā* hatte man schon einen Stamm *rtayā-* vermutet, wovon *rtayā* ein adverbial gebrauchter inst. sg. sein sollte (Grassmann 1873: 286).

³⁰ Im Vedischen sind zwei Varianten dieses Verbums belegt: *rtāyá-* und *rtāya-*. Die zu erwartende denominative Bildung ist *rtāya-*, während *rtāyá-* aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sekundär ist (s. S. Jamison 1983: ***). Deswegen ist anzunehmen, daß das avestische Verb ein weiteres Beispiel der Kürzung von *a* in der Lautfolge *-āia-* darstellt.

³¹ Hier muß noch einmal betont werden, daß diese Schreibungen doch auch **ərd*, *ird* o.ä. darstellen können.

cherweise in ⁺*araitīmca* verbessert (s. Chr. Bartholomae 1904: 192 f.; H. W. Bailey 1943: 3; Jamaspasa-Humbach 1971: 246; J. Narten 1986: 246). Für Jamaspasa-Humbach ist ⁺*araitīmca* die wegen der durch das enklitische *-ca* verursachten Akzentverschiebung erwartete Form (< **artīmca*). K. Hoffmann setzt dem mit Recht entgegen, daß die zahlreichen Gegenbeispiele, wo *-ca* angehängt wird und trotzdem *š* und nicht *rt* vorkommt, diese Erklärung unwahrscheinlich machen. Deswegen schlägt er vor, P. 39 ⁺*araitīmca* als ein Lehnwort aus einem Dialekt, wo **arti-* unverändert blieb, aufzufassen. In Frage würde nach ihm das Medische kommen. Es wäre jedoch das einzige nachweisbare Lehnwort aus dem Medischen ins Avestische. Meines Erachtens liegt hier eher eine altavestische Fügung **xšnūitīmca araitīmca viiādāasca* vor. Die altavestische Form würde nach dem Vorhergesagten wohl **arati-* lauten, aber in der Rezitation hat man diese Form in **arati-* nach dem Einfluß von jav. *aši-* umgestaltet. In Y.60.2 wurden die aav. Formen durch die jav. ersetzt.

Wenn die bisher vorgebrachte Erklärung von *aša-*, *ašāuan-*, *ašaiiā-*, *ašaiia-* und *aši-* stimmt, bleiben dann die Formen aav. *dājīr.arəta-* und jav. *anarəta-* unerklärt. Jav. *anarəta-* ist ein *hapax legomenon* (Y. 12. 4) und dürfte sein anlautendes *a-* aus jav. **ahra-* bzw. **ahrta-* o.ä. gezogen haben. Schwieriger ist jedoch die Erklärung der altavestischen Form. Auf Analogie zu greifen ist hier nicht möglich, weil nach meiner Hypothese *aša-* im Altavestischen **šrta-* lautete. Nach der üblichen Auffassung dieses Wortes stellt aav. *dājīr.arəta* (jav. *jīr.aša-*) ein Kompositum von **dājīr* (= ai. **ksīt-* "verderbend")³² und *arəta-*, Variante

³² Die etymologische Deutung des Vordergliedes war lange Zeit ziemlich bestritten. Chr. Bartholomae (1904: 609) stellte es zum Verb *iyā-* (Präs. *jinā-*) "hinschwinden" (vgl. auch *ajiamna-* "unversieglich"). Dieselbe Verbindung nahm auch T. Burrow JAOS 79 [1959] 255 f. an, der das av. Verb mit ai. *ksināti*, gr. *φθίνω* "schwinde, komme um" verglich. Für diesen Autor war das Vorderglied *dājīr* (bzw. jav. *jīr-*) mit ai. *ksitá-* "erschöpft, vermindert" (vgl. ai. *áksita-* und gr. *ἄφξίτων* "unversieglich") zu verbinden. Dieser anziehenden Erklärung stand aber eine Schwierigkeit im Weg, die sie einer wenn nicht allgemeinen, doch sehr verbreiteten Ablehnung aussetzte. Die althergebrachte Gleichung av. *γžar-* "fließen, strömen" (*γžara-* ai. *ksāra-*; *γžaraiia-* = ai. *ksāraya-*; *γžarə.γžara-*) mit ai. *ksar-* und gr. *φθειρω* führte zur Überzeugung, daß die avestische Entsprechung der idg. Lautfolge, die im Ai. *ks-* und im Gr. *φθ-* ergab, *γž-* war (s. J. Schindler 1967: 198; M. Mayrhofer AÖAW 119 (1982) 252

von *aša-*, dar; daher die Übersetzungen wie "schwindende Wahrheit habend" (K. Hoffmann-B. Forssman 1996: 100) oder "oppressors of the truth" (H. Humbach 1991:1.193), usw. Unabhängig von der etymologischen Deutung des Vordergliedes sind fast alle Gelehrten mit der Analyse des Kompositums der orthoepischen Diuaskuase einverstanden. Alle trennen dieses Wort *dājīṭ-arəta-*. Trotzdem erhebt sich die Frage, was *dājīṭ-* bzw. *jīṭ-* sein sollte. Ausdrücklich haben sich meines Wissens nur K. Hoffmann-B. Forssman (1996: 101) ausgesprochen: sie vergleichen aav. *dājīṭ-* mit dem Wurzelnomen ai. *ksīt-* (vgl. *spatna-ksīt-* "Nebenbuhler verderbend"). Dies scheitert daran, daß Wurzelnomina, die als Nomina agentis fungieren, im Indoiranischen als Vorderglied nicht vorkommen dürfen (s. J. Wackernagel 1905: 174). Das gilt besonders für Wurzelnomina mit *t*-Erweiterung, wovon wir weder im Ṛg-Veda noch im Avesta kein einziges Beispiel haben.

Deswegen ist ja die Analyse von T. Burrow (JAOS 79 (1959) 260 E) vorzuziehen, der *dājīṭ.arəta-* als **dājīta-+arəta-* analysiert (so auch ziemlich unentschieden J. Kellens-E. Pirart, TVA II, 262). Die Bedeutung dieses Kompositums wäre dementsprechend "der eine hingeschwundene Wahrheit hat" o.ä. Wir

und EWAia 1 428). Dies war wahrscheinlich der Grund, warum K. Hoffmann (1986: 180 Anm. 9) eine alte Etymologie von Walde-Pokorny übernommen hat. Er stellt av. *dājīṭ-* und *ajīamna-* usw. zur indogermanischen Wurzel **g^hejh₂-*, die sowohl von gr. βίᾱ als auch von ae. *ā-cwīnan*, mhd. *verquīnen* "hinschwinden" Rechnung tragen sollte. Jedoch ist die Verbindung von T. Burrow durch eine weitere Gleichung bekräftigt. Dieselben Lautverhältnisse wie aav. *dājīṭ.arəta-* neben av. *jīṭ.aša-* zeigt auch aav. *dājāmāspa-* neben jav. *jāmāspa-* EN. Der Vorderglied dieses Namens ist mit Sicherheit (trotz der Bedenken von M. Mayrhofer, zuletzt EWAia 1 430) mit ai. *ksāma-* "versegt, ausgedörrt" zu vergleichen (s. T. Burrow JAOS 79 [1959] 260 f.). Die ai. Wurzel *ksa-* "brennen" ist nach T. Burrow mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit sekundär aus der Wurzel **d^heg^h-* (ai. *dah-*) "brennen" entstanden (s. nun LIV 115 E), so daß hier noch einmal die Lautfolge **d^hg^h-* im Avestischen als *dāj-* bzw. *j-* fortgesetzt wird. Man beachte, daß in K. Hoffmann-B. Forssman (1996: 100f.) die Hypothese von T. Burrow akzeptiert wird (so auch u.a. R. S. P. Beekes 1988: 78).

Das verbleibende Problem der unterschiedlichen Behandlung der idg. Lautfolge **d^heg^h-* im Fall von av. *γžar-*, ai. *ksar-*, gr. φθείρω versucht R. Lipp (LIV 190 f.) zu entgehen, indem er diese Wörter auf idg. **g^hg^her* zurückführt.

haben sogar einen metrischen Hinweis, daß diese Analyse des Kompositums die richtige ist. Das Hemistichion Y.53.9b *aēšasā dājīr.arəta* ist nach der allgemeinen Auffassung unterzählig: erwartet werden sieben Silben, doch sind hier nur sechs zu zählen. Wenn wir jedoch das Vorderglied als *dājita-* ansetzen, dann wäre das Kompositum viersilbig und der Vers siebensilbig: iir. *djita-Hrta-*, aav. *djita'ərta*³³.

Wir haben, wie ich glaube, genügend Indizien, die dafür sprechen, daß av. *aša-* nicht urir. *ərta-*, sondern vielmehr *řta-* bzw. **řta-* (vgl. ap. *arta-/ərta-* und ai. *rtá-*) fortsetzt. Av. *aša-* ist meines Erachtens eine jungavestische Form, deren Aussprache auch in die Rezitation des Altavestischen eingedrungen ist. In der Tat ist die Entwicklung von urir. *-rt-* zu *-hrt-* und dann *-hr-* o.ä. mit Sicherheit erst in jungavestischer Zeit vollzogen worden, wie aus einigen Lehnwörtern aus dem Altavestischen ins Pahlavi und vor allem aus dem "sogdischen" *ašəm vohū* hervorgeht. Im Anlaut wurde die resultierende Lautfolge *šhrt-/šhr-* o.ä. zu **áhrt-/áhr-*. Die einzige Form im gesamten iranischen Bereich, die ein uriranisch **arta-* vorasuzusetzen scheint, ist das jav. *hapax legomenon anarəta-*, das wahrscheinlich das *a-* aus dem positiven **áhra-* oder **áhrta-* gezogen hat.

³³ Dies ist nicht der Fall im anderen Beleg dieser Form, nämlich Y.53.6d, aber wie Kellens-Pirart, TVA I 93 bemerkt haben, "il semble qu'un cafouillage de transmission embrouille le schéma métrique de la sixième strophe et rende inanalysables les hémistiches cc'c'd". S. auch TVA III 271 f. Die Lesung von *dājīr.arətibiiō* als fünfsilbig macht diesen Vers überzählig.

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CHAPTER 12

Gōhr Ī Asmān: a Problem in Avestan Cosmology

William W. Malandra

The substance of the sky, that is, the vault of heaven is not treated in any systematic detail in the Avesta. Only Yašt 13.2-3 contains significant information, where Ahura Mazdā tells Zarathustra:

2. *āṇhąm raya x^w arənaṇhaca*
wīdāraēm zaraθuštra aom asmanəm
yō usca raoxšnō frādərəsrō
yō imąm ząm āca pairica
bwāwa maṇayən ahe yaθa wīs aēm
yō hištaite +mainyu.tāštō
handruxtō dūraēkaranō
ayaṇhō kəhrpa x^w aēnahe
raucahinō aoi θrišwa

3. *yim mazdā waste waṇhanəm*
stəhrpaēsəṇhəm mainyu.tāštəm
hacimmō miθra rašnuca
ārmaitica spəntaya
yahmāi nūiṭ cahmāi naēmanąm
karana pairi.waēnōiθe.

2. Through their (the Frawašis) opulence and glory,
I support, O Zarathustra, yonder heaven,
which is above, shining (and) bright,
which is all around this earth,
as it were, like a bird (brooding on) an egg;

which stays, fashioned by (Spanta) Manyu,
firmly fixed, with distant limits,
in the form of shining metal
glimmering over the thirds;

3. which Mazdā wears as a mantle,
decorated with stars, fashioned by (Spanta) Manyu,
in company with Mithra and Rašnu
and Spantā Aramati;
of which the two borders of the sides
are not visible to anyone.

As interesting as this may be, it does not appear to be particularly problematic at first glance. Nevertheless, two interpretations have entered the scholarly literature which have distorted our understanding of Avestan cosmology, and which need to be examined critically. The first concerns the word *frādərəsra-*. Chr. Bartholomae, correctly I think, assigned the meaning ‘hervorleuchtend, strahlend.’¹ I. Gershevitch, arguing that this meaning “ill agrees with the basic meaning of *darəs-* ‘to see’,” proposed that the word meant rather ‘transparent, *perspicuus*.’² The implication of such a meaning is that the vault of heaven is something one can see through. However, that was never intended by Avestan cosmologists, for whenever *frādərəsra-* is employed in Avestan it immediately follows *raoxšna-* ‘shining’ with which it forms a hendiadys. The second interpretation of Yt. 13.2-3 requires a more extended critique.

In his still invaluable *Zoroastrian Problems*, H. W. Bailey³

¹ *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, 1015.

² *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 218. In fact, the connection with seeing is not remote, since sight was thought to be essentially connected with light issuing from the eyes, as is clear from Yt. 10.107 *srīra dadāiti* [for **diḍaēiti*] *daēmāna dūrāt. sūka dōiθrābya* ‘with a far-shining glance he looks (around) with his eyes,’ according to Gershevitch’s own translation. Note also, that the horses in Yt. 10.68 are ‘without shadows’ (*asaya*) not because they are ‘transparent’ (*frādərəsra*), but because they are divine beings who do not cast shadows (cf. the passage from the Nala and Damayantī episode of the *Mahābhārata*, familiar to every beginning student of Sanskrit, in which Damayantī distinguishes Nala from the gods because, *inter alia*, he is *chāyādvitīyah*).

³ *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford,

treated a number of crucial problems found in the corpus of texts written in Pahlavi during the all too brief period of Zoroastrian revival during the ninth century in Iran, at a time when the Good Religion had experienced its eclipse by Islam for nearly two centuries. It was Bailey's purpose to explicate positions taken by Zoroastrian thinkers of the time in respect to certain problems such as the nature of man (*mardōm*), the concept of *farrah*, the transmission of sacred tradition, and cosmology. He dealt with the latter problem in a chapter entitled "Asmān" (the Sky), in which, among other matters, he investigated the problem raised in the texts concerning the substance of the sky (*gōhr ī asmān*). His investigations established conclusively two points and suggested a third, upon which this study will focus.

What Bailey established was that there were inherited from the ancient Avestan tradition two ideas about the substance of the sky. The first is, that as a matter of etymology of the Old Iranian term for sky *asman-* means simply 'stone' and that this was understood by the Pahlavi writers where they state that its substance is 'stone' (*sag*) and more specifically "of all stones the hardest" (*ī hamāg sagān saxttom*).⁴ Apparently related to this was the notion already suggested by Zarathuštra in the Gathas, that the sky is studded with jewels. Thus, whereas in Y. 30.5 Zarathuštra speaks of the "most beneficent Spirit who wears the hardest stones" (*mainyuš spāništō yā štraoždīštāng asānō wastē*) the commentator understood "the beneficent Spirit (Ohrmazd) ... when he donned the hard stone, the sky too ..." (*mēnōg <ī> aḡzōnīg ... ka-z-aš ān ī saxt sag niḥuft asmān-iz ...*); and this provided the basis of the paraphrase in *DkM* 829.15ff: "the sky is My garment ... which was created through that the stone, superior to every stone, that is, it is decorated with all jewel(s)" (*asmān man ast wastarg ... kē pad ān sag abar harwisp sag bē dād ēstēd kū-š hamāg gōhr andar pēsīd ēstēd*). The second idea inherited from the Avesta (Yt. 13.2) is that the sky is made of "shining metal" (*aom asmanam ... ayaḡhō kāhrpa x"āēnahe*), where the Avestan phrase *x"āēna- ayah-* appears in Pahlavi as *x"ēn āhen*: e.g., *GrBd* 221.14 "the sky ... (made) of the substance *x"ēn āhen*" (*āsmān ... az gōhr ī x"ēnhen*), or *GrBd*. 77. 11 "Mt. Usidam that is (made) of *x"ēn āhen*, the substance of the sky (*usidam kōf ān ī az x"ēn āhen kē gōhr ī asmān*).

1943/1971, pp. 127-139.

⁴ DD #90.

cloud.' Indeed, the Pazand text has *āβgīna* of which the Skt. *kācaratna* 'glass jewel' is a translation. However, the spelling of the Phl. may just as well be a corruption of an original **ābīg* 'watery'. Compare Av. *aβrā upāpā* (Yt. 14.41) and note that the regular Phl. gloss of *upāpa-* is *ābīg*.

GrBd 36.5 has *asmān bun gōhr ī* 𐭪𐭥𐭩 *ayoxšust* 'the basic substance of the sky is -- metal'. And *GrBd* 18.5 says of the *asmān* that it is of *xⁿēn āhen ī ast gōhr* <ī> *almāst ī* 𐭪𐭥𐭩.⁹ As one can imagine, only through a supreme effort of orthographic gymnastics was Bailey able to get from these two spellings to his restored *MY'kynk* where *MY'* is, of course, the ideogram for *āb* 'water'. Basically, the argument rests on his contention that occurs as a mistake for 𐭪𐭥𐭩 in the Mss. However, the lone example he cites invites a different explanation. At *GrBd* 35.13 one finds 𐭪𐭥𐭩 for the correctly spelled 𐭪𐭥𐭩 *azrawēd* of TD1. Rather than a confusion of letters, what we have here is the scribe of TD2, perhaps following his copy, defectively writing the ideogram 𐭪𐭥𐭩 as phonetic *az*, that is, *M<N>lwpyt*'. Compounding the difficulty of Bailey's orthographic analysis, are readings of the passages in question. Turning first to *GrBd* 18.5, R.C. Zaehner clearly showed¹⁰ by comparing *GrBd* 112.15ff., this word is *ZKR/nar/* 'male' in contrast to the earth and water which are *mādag* 'female.'¹¹ A close reading of the second passage, *GrBd* 36.5, reveals further difficulties. The word in question is absent from TD1. In TD2 the word occupies a large space at the end of the line. I wonder if it is not a scribal error, perhaps motivated by 𐭪𐭥𐭩 in 1.6. Thus, it is probably a phantom word. Placing greater weight on the authority of TD1 (31.3-6), the entire passage should be read: ... *čē ayōxšust awestārīh az asmān asmān bun-gōhr ī ayōxšustēn u-š winnārišn az anagrān anagrān anagr-rōšn mān ī zarrēn* <ī> *gōhr-pēsīd ī ul tā gāh ī amahr-spandān paywast ēstēd kū pad ēn hamkārīh dēwān andar ēβgādīh ayōxšust wany nē tuwān bawād* '... since the firmness of metal is from the sky [the basic substance of the sky is metallic] and its arrangement is from the Infinite (Lights) [the abode of the Infinite (Lights), also known as] Infinite Light, is golden, adorned

⁹ TD1 𐭪𐭥𐭩. The idea that steel was the specific metal of which the sky was made is also stated in the Dād. Mēn. Xr. 8.7 (*asmān az gōhr ī xwēn āhen kard ēstēd čiyōn almāst-iz xwānēnd*).

¹⁰ Zurvan, Oxford, 1955, p. 307.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

with jewels, (and) is connected up to the station of the Amahr-spands, so that through this collaboration the demons will not be able to destroy metal in the Assault.]’ Surprisingly, Zaehner¹² did not see the problem of accepting Bailey’s reading *gēn* here, but rejecting it as *GrBd* 18.5.

To my knowledge, a spelling of *āβgēnag* with the ideogram does not occur in a clearly written form anywhere in Pahlavi.¹³

The *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādīstān ī Dēnīg* 46.4,¹⁴ speaking about the creation of the sky states that *asmān az sar bē brīhēnīd u-š gōhr az 𐭠𐭡𐭣 spēd*, ‘He created the sky from his head, and its substance is of white --?--;’ and this is repeated (46.8) *asmān gōhr 𐭠𐭡𐭣 spēd <ud> rōšn u-š rōšnīh az ān ī xwaršēd* ‘the substance of the sky is of white and light --?--, and its light is from that of the sun.’ Here the spelling 𐭠𐭡𐭣 could well be read *kyn*’ for **kynk* shortened from **pkynk*, as Bailey argued. Even though SogdB attests **sp’ytk*’ **pkynch*’ ‘white crystal’ (*Dhy* 207), the context is the contemplation of Buddha images, not the substance of the sky. Further, there is a problem within Zoroastrian cosmology; for *GrBd* 100.9 (cited above) specifies that ‘glass’ issued from Gayōmard’s fat (*az pih*), while ‘lead’ issued from his head (*az sar*) and ‘steel’ from his arms (*az bāzā*). Apparently the *Rivāyat* was drawing on the ancient tradition of the Urmensch’s head being used to form the vault of heaven, while ignoring the more specific identification of the *Bundahišn*. Be that as it may, with the demise of Bailey’s other attributions of *āβgēnag* as the substance of the sky, the restoration of 𐭠𐭡𐭣 as <MY>*kyn*<k> is hardly compelling. *PRDD* 49.6 may give a clue to the correct interpretation. Here the subject is the miraculous edifice, the Kangdēz, specifically its seven walls (*parisp*), as follows: *u-š parisp ī fradōm sagēn ud ān ī didīgar pōlāwadēn ān ī sidīgar āβgēnagēn ud ān ī čahārom asmēnēn ud ān ī pamjom zarrēn ud 6-om karkēhanēn ud ān ī 7-*

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

¹³ *DkM* 206ff. talks about a garment that is red and --?--: *ān ī suxr ud 𐭠𐭡𐭣 paymōzan*. Here Bailey wanted to restore **MY’kynk*, cautiously cited Zaehner’s reading *āβgōnag/MY’gwnk*’ ‘blue’ (*BSOS* 9, 1937-39, 304, 314), which seems preferable to me. Differently H.S. Nyberg *Manual of Pahlavi I*, Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 92, 93 who emends 𐭠𐭡𐭣 > K’SKYN’/k’āskēn/ ‘lapis lazuli’.

¹⁴ Edition B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913, p. 128. Bailey’s emendation was adopted by A.V. Williams *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Copenhagen, 1990, pp. 161, 277.

om yākand, 'its first wall is of stone and its second of steel, its third of glass and its fourth of silver and its fifth of gold and (its) 6th of calcedony and its 7th of ruby.' Of the substances enumerated only two end in °*kyn*' (179). Since, as noticed above, *sag* 'stone' is a well-established notion of the substance of the sky among the Pahlavi commentators, is it not safer, in terms of textual criticism and of semantics, to emend *PRDD* 46.4 and 8 to *]عور /*sagēn*? Accordingly, I suggest reading the passage *u-š gōhr [az] sagēn spēd* 'its substance is of stone, white,' and *asmān gōhr sagēn spēd* 'the substance of the sky is of stone, white.'

In summary the problem is this: the only certain cases of *āβgēnag* are in the metals lists where the word is written fully phonetically. This is not to deny the possibility of a crystal sky, as will be seen shortly in another connection.

In any case, whether or not one accepts 'crystal' as a substance of the sky, it seems clear that there were diverse notions in ninth century Zoroastrianism regarding the sky's composition. As far as I can tell Bailey never went so far as to assert that the idea of a crystal sky was part of Avestan cosmology; all he intended to do was to expose the cosmological problem from a ninth century C.E. perspective. Thus, the disposition of these texts need not, and in my opinion, ought not be taken as a sure guide to Avestan texts composed 1000 years earlier. Mary Boyce has argued in various places,¹⁵ that because in the *Bundahišn* crystal is categorized as a metal, one can reconcile the apparent incongruity of Yt. 13.2 where the stone *asmān* is 'of the substance of shining metal', by supposing that crystal was understood in the Avesta as a shining sort of metal. It turns out that Bailey's choice of 'crystal' to translate Pahlavi *āβgēnag* led Boyce to suppose that what was meant was rock-crystal rather than the more obvious 'glass'. The only reason that *āβgēnag* is classified with other metals in the *Bundahišn* is that glass is produced through a process of smelting.

Those familiar with Professor Boyce's ideas concerning

¹⁵ E.g., *A History of Zoroastrianism* I, Leiden, 1975, pp. 132-3, 207ff., followed by M. Schwartz *Cambridge History of Iran* 2, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 642-3. Note the parallel which Schwartz draws between *xwēn āhen-āβgēnag* and *almās* 'steel; diamond.' In the metals lists cited above, however, the place occupied by *almās* in one list is taken by *pōlāwad* on the other.

Zarathuštra's place in history will recall that a crucial element in her reasoning that Zarathuštra and his community were essentially stone-age people with only a confused notion of the distinction between stone and metal objects they may have received in trade, is the role played by crystal.¹⁶ As matters now stand, the idea, that in the Avestan world-view, the vault of heaven could be regarded simultaneously as both stone and shining metal because its true substance was crystal, will have to be abandoned.

Nevertheless, there does remain the fact that in Yt. 13.2 the *asman* is "of the substance of shining metal". Reason should dictate that something cannot be stone and metal at the same time. The problem is, however, that we are not reading texts prepared by systematic theologians, rather by priestly poets who drew upon what appears to be heterogeneous traditional lore. Avestan and Old Persian use of *asman* for the sky indicates the notion of a stone vault arching over the earth. Yet, Zarathuštra also seems to have visualized the sky as a cloak worn by the Most Beneficent Spirit, a cloak of the "hardest stones".

The fluidity of images used to describe the sky is not peculiar to ancient Iranian literature. The idea of the sky being made of shining metal has a close analogue in the biblical concept of the *רקיע השמים*, where the expanse of heaven is basically conceived on the analogy of a hammered metal bowl over the earth.¹⁷ But this hardly exhausts the images used for heaven. The psalmist could say that God "set a tent in the (heavens) for the sun" (*שם אהל בהם לשמש*; 19:5) or suggest that the heavens are God's garments that wear out (103: 26-7). Then, of course, there is Ezekiel's extraordinary vision of the four fantastic creatures, of the wheels and the throne with God's Presence. What is noteworthy in the present context is that he saw a semblance of a "רקיע like wondrous ice spread out over their heads" (*הננורא נטוי על ראשיהם מלמעלה רקיע כעין הקרח*; 1:22), that is, the heads of the creatures. And above the expanse he saw the semblance of a throne like sapphire and upon the resemblance of the throne the semblance of a man (1:26). The problem word is *קרח*. In all contexts this word means 'ice, hail, frost', but here, in Ezekiel 1:22, some translators have 'ice'¹⁸ while others have

¹⁶ *Zoroastrianism*, Costa Mesa, 1992, pp. 53f, 117f.

¹⁷ See L. Koehler/W. Baumgartner *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament*, IV, Leiden, 1990, p. 1203, with literature.

¹⁸ E.g., M. Greenberg *Ezekiel, 1-20*, Garden City, 1983, p. 38 (without

'crystal',¹⁹ reproducing, it would seem, the ambiguity inherent in LXX's κρυστάλλου which could mean either 'ice' or 'crystal'.

I have offered these biblical parallels to Iranian cosmological concepts for several reasons. First, I think it is likely that the Avestan tradition of the sky being of the substance of shining metal may be more intelligible if we imagine it as hammered metal work,²⁰ though I do not in any way wish to argue that the two concepts are historically connected. Secondly, I merely want to show that it is too much to expect that an ancient poetic tradition like the Avesta would show theological consistency in matters of cosmology. And finally, for the sake of completeness, I wanted not to obscure the possibility that a cosmology could include crystal as a possible substance of the sky. However, it should be clear that even if Ezekiel's קרקר is crystal, it cannot be used as an argument to support claims of a crystal sky in Iran.

comment).

¹⁹ E.g., Koehler/Baumgartner, III, 1064 following W. Zimmerli *Ezekiel* I, Philadelphia, 1979, p. 87 (without comment).

²⁰ As a shield (*magind*)? See above.

CHAPTER 13

Iranische Personennamen bei Aristoteles

Rüdiger Schmitt

Im Zusammenhang mit den Vorarbeiten für eine Gesamtdarstellung der „Iranische(n) Namen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.“, die im Rahmen des von Manfred Mayrhofer initiierten und von der Kommission für Iranistik der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegebenen „Iranische(n) Personennamenbuch(es)“ erscheinen soll, hat der Verfasser dieser Seiten vor einigen Jahren auch die „Onomastica Iranica Platonica“ untersucht (Schmitt 1996a). Bei Platon und in den pseudo-platonischen Schriften fanden sich iranische Namen erwartungsgemäß nur in kleiner Zahl. Hätte nicht die notwendig gewordene ausführlichere Behandlung der Namen Ζωροάστρης (für [avest.] *Zarathuštra-*) und Ὠρομάζης (für [altpers.] *Auramazdā-*) den dort verfügbaren Platz weitgehend beansprucht, wäre am besten auch gleich das wenige für Aristoteles bezeugte iranische Namenmaterial mit betrachtet worden. Diese Einzelstudie über die iranischen Personennamen bei dem Stageiriten – sie finden sich vornehmlich in den *Politica*, *Oeconomica* und einer Passage der Schrift *De mundo* – soll hier nun separat folgen.

Das iranische Sprach- und Namengut (vgl. auch Anhang I) wurde aus dem Index von Bonitz 1870 erhoben, aber selbstverständlich für jede Belegstelle in den maßgebenden Ausgaben überprüft. Dabei sind in Anbetracht der primär iranistisch-onomastischen Zielsetzung der Untersuchung Echtheitsfragen (etwa bei *De mundo*) von vorneherein ausgeklammert worden, da auch Texte, die Aristoteles abgesprochen werden müssen,

doch genuine antike Quellentexte darstellen. Gerade die eine längere Passage *Mu.* 398a10–35, die für den iranistischen Namenforscher eher belanglos ist, enthält nämlich Sachaussagen, die von erstaunlichen Kenntnissen und Einblicken in die inneren Verhältnisse des Achaimenidenreiches und am Königshof während der Blütezeit um 500 v. Chr. zeugen und deshalb Interesse verdienen, obwohl diese Schrift wohl mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend jünger ist, keinerlei histori(ographi)sche Absichten verfolgt und die hier gemeinte Passage den Charakter eines Gleichnisses hat, für das sich die Quellen nicht identifizieren lassen, auf denen es fußt (vgl. Anhang II).

Aristoteles selbst läßt genauere Kenntnis des Perserreiches vermissen und zeichnet kein geschlossenes Bild von Alt-Iran. Wo er in seinen Schriften¹ auf Iranisches explizit oder implizit zu sprechen kommt, fußt er auf griechischen Quellen, vornehmlich auf den Werken der Historiker von Herodot bis auf seine Zeit. In aller Regel sind es nämlich nur beiläufige Erwähnungen und bloße Anspielungen auf Fakten, die er bei seinen Lesern als (aus eigener Lektüre von Herodot usw.) bekannt voraussetzt. Man muß sich dabei aber immer auch vor Augen halten, daß die östlichen Ioner und die anderen kleinasiatischen Griechen zwei Jahrhunderte lang Untertanen des Großkönigs waren und somit ein wesentlicher Teil der griechischen Welt insbesondere mit den in Sardeis und Daskyleion residierenden Satrapen unmittelbar zu tun hatte. Daher sind auch alle iranischen Personennamen schon von jenen Quellen her bekannt, zum Teil allerdings nur in leicht abweichenden Formen. Eine kurze Diskussion ist aber in jedem Falle angebracht:

Ἀνάχαρις: Der aus Herodot 4, 76, 1–77, 1 (vgl. 4, 46, 1) bekannte angebliche Skythe von königlichem Geblüt, der weitgereist und wegen seiner Klugheit gerühmt war, wird *APo.* 78b30 nur beiläufig in einem Beispiel für eine Deduktion genannt; und

¹ Die zitierten (pseudo-)aristotelischen Schriften werden in üblicher Weise abgekürzt (und nach der Bekkerschen Seiten- und Zeilenzählung zitiert): *APo.* = Analytica posteriora; *Ath.* = Atheniensium respublica; *EN* = Ethica Nicomachea; *HA* = Historia animalium; *Mete.* = Meteorologica; *Mir.* = Mirabilia; *MM* = Magna Moralia; *Mu.* = De mundo; *Oec.* = Oeconomica; *Pol.* = Politica; *Rh.* = Rhetorica; und *Fr.* = Fragmenta (nach Rose 1886 [= R.³]).

in *EN* 1176b33 zitiert Aristoteles zustimmend ein Apophthegma des Anacharsis: παίζειν ὅπως σπουδάζῃ „[scil.: man müsse] spielen, damit man sich auch mit ernstesten Dingen befassen kann“. – Da die von Herodot behauptete skythische Abstammung nicht unbestritten ist (bietet doch schon Herodot selbst zwei verschiedene Versionen von Anacharsis' Geschichte) und da sich der Name nicht plausibel aus dem Iranischen erklären läßt, ist der Gedanke nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß es sich um eine griechische Bildung handelt (vgl. im einzelnen Schmitt 1996a, 83 f.). Die dort vertretene Hypothese, daß Ἄνα-χαρσις gut griechisch sein könne, von *ἀνα-χαίρω gebildet wie ἐπί-χαρσις von ἐπι-χαίρω, läßt sich im übrigen dadurch stützen, daß es, wie Bechtel 1917, 26 gezeigt hat, eine ganze Reihe griechischer Männernamen gibt, die mit solchen komponierten Abstrakta auf -σι- gleichlauten. Die morphologische Parallelform und die semasiologischen Entsprechungen dürfen aber nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß die Basis, das Verbum *ἀνα-χαίρω unbezeugt ist.

*Ἀριοβαρζάνης wird *Pol.* 1312a16 erwähnt als Beispiel für das Opfer eines Anschlags (durch seinen Sohn Μιθριδάτης; vgl. unten) aus Geringschätzung (καταφρονεῖν) und Gewinn-sucht (διὰ κέρδος); es handelt sich um den in der Endphase des Großen Satrapenaufstandes nach Xenophon, *Kyroupaideia* 8, 8, 4 von seinem Sohn verratenen Satrapen Phrygiens, der 366 v. Chr. von Axtaxerxes II. abgefallen war. – Der auch sonst bei Xenophon (*Hellenika* 1, 4, 7; 5, 1, 28; 7, 1, 27; *Agesilaos* 2, 26^{bis}) und später zahlreich belegte Name, der auch latein. *Ariobarzanes* zugrunde liegt, gibt altiran. (nicht-pers.) **Ariya-brz-ana-* „die Arier [d. h. Iranier] groß werden lassend (o. ä.)“ wieder, ein Kompositum mit Nomen agentis auf *-ana- (ganz geläufigen Typs) als zweitem Bestandteil (vgl. Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954, 180 f. § 81α). Diese Form wird später durch parth. *rybrzn* /Arya-barzan/² der Nisā-Dokumente fortgesetzt (vgl. Schmitt 1998, 183 D.1). Die altpersische Entsprechung **Ariya-brd-ana-* – denn auszugehen ist von der Wurzel idg.

² Dadurch werden früher erwogene Rekonstrukte wie **urzana-* oder **urzāna-* (vgl. Bartholomae 1895–1901, 169; Justi 1895, 517) hinfällig. Sonstige etymologische Spekulationen (v. a. über ein anderes Vorderglied) dürfen auf sich beruhen.

**b^herg^h* – dürfte in elam. *Har-ri-bir-tan-na* der Persepolis-Tafeln vorliegen (vgl. Mayrhofer 1973, 156 Nr. 8.472; Hinz 1975, 39^{bis}; zur Form jetzt Hinz-Koch 1987, 634).

**Ἀρτάβαζος*: Der in *Oec.* 135lb20 genannte Feldherr ist der 362 v. Chr. eingesetzte Satrap Phrygiens, der vor allem aus Diodor 15, 91, 2 ff. u. ö. bekannt ist; nach Aristoteles zog er während des Großen Satrapenaufstandes gegen einen Söldnerführer namens Charidemos aus Oreos (Euboia). – Der seit Herodot in dieser Form bezeugte Name spiegelt nach Überzeugung des Verfassers (vgl. insbesondere Schmitt 1979, 145 f.) altiran. **Rta-vazdah-* „durch Rta Gedeihen habend, dem ta Gedeihen verschaffend (o. ä.)“³ wider, da zur Zeit der Übernahme des Namens ins Griechische, also spätestens zu Herodots Lebenszeit, griech. ζ nur für iran. *zd*, nicht für iran. *z* eintreten konnte. Im übrigen läßt sich der Ansatz eines solchen Namens nicht nur durch späteres **Ἀρταουάσδης* usw., latein. *Artavasdes*, elam. *Ir-du-maš-da* und armen. *Artawazd* stützen, sondern vornehmlich auch durch eine authentische altiranische Belegform, nämlich avest. *Aša-uuazdah-* (vgl. Mayrhofer 1979, I/24 Nr. 43); diese ist ihrerseits der indoiranischen Dichtersprache verpflichtet, wie der Vergleich mit der gvedischen Textfigur *vedhā rtáśya* zeigt.

Das Tüpfelchen auf das i setzt aber die ganz deutliche innergriechische Variation zwischen **Ἀρταουάσδης*, **Ἀρταουάζης*, **Ἀρταβάσδης*, **Ἀρταβάζης*, **Ἀρτάβαζος* sowohl in der epigraphischen wie auch in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung. Diese Formenvielfalt ist nur durch die Probleme erklärbar, mit denen Griechen zu den unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten der Übernahme jeweils konfrontiert waren, wenn sie versuchten, das dem eigenen Lautsystem und zunächst jedenfalls dem ionischen System fremde iran. **u* und die Lautgruppe iran. **zd* angemessen wiederzugeben. Demgegenüber vermögen die Befürworter einer Rückführung von **Ἀρτάβαζος* auf altiran. (nicht-pers.) **Rta-bāzu-* „(mit) Rta's Arm“⁴, also mit altiran. (avest.) **bāzu-*

³ Die Übersetzung von altiran. **vazdah-* durch „Gedeihen“ schließt sich dem Vorbild des Jubilars an, der in Y. 49, 10 altavest. *vazdahā* entsprechend durch „mit ... Gedeihen“ übersetzt hat (vgl. Schmidt 1968, 178).

⁴ Diese bewußt ambivalente Wiedergabe stammt von Werba 1982, 51.

„Arm“ (entsprechend altpers. **bādu-* [unbezeugt] und ved. *bāhú-* < indoiran. **b^hāj^hú-*), keinerlei eindeutige Entsprechung hierzu in der sonstigen Nebenüberlieferung, geschweige denn in authentischen iranischen Quellen als Stütze beizubringen.

**Ἀρταπάνης* wird *Pol.* 1311b38 in einem Beispiel für einen Mordanschlag „aus Furcht“ (διὰ φόβον) erwähnt; die v. a. bei Ktesias – die Photios-Exzerpte aus seinen *Persika* bieten aber die Namensform **Ἀρτάπανος* – ausführlich (F 13, 33–14, 34 J.⁵) erzählte Geschichte konnte Aristoteles als bekannt voraussetzen, wenngleich sie offenbar in verschiedenen Versionen kursierte: Artapanes hat (so Aristoteles) Xerxes I. ermordet aus Furcht vor der Anschuldigung, dessen ältesten Sohn Dareios ermordet zu haben. Nach Ktesias dagegen habe Artapanos gegenüber Artaxerxes dessen älteren Bruder Dareios des Vaternordes beschuldigt. Und andere bieten wieder andere Lesarten. – Der Name reflektiert offensichtlich altiran. **Rta-pāna-* „durch Rta Schutz habend, unter dem Schutz des Rta stehend“ – **pāna-* ist Nomen agentis auf **-ana-* (vgl. oben zu Ἀριοβαρζάνης) von der Wurzel indoiran. **pā* „schützen“ –, wie es daneben auch in elam. *Ir-da-ba-na* und lyd. *Artabāna-* (bezeugt nur im patronymischen Adjektiv *Artabānalid*, ntr.) vorliegt. Dies ist von griech. **Ἀρτάβανος* (und Konsorten) strikt zu trennen⁶, für das man von altiran. **Rta-bānu-* „den Glanz des Rta habend“ auszugehen hat (vgl. ausführlich Schmitt 1980, 199–203, mit reicher Lit.). Die Basis, auf der der Ansatz **Rta-pāna-* fußt, hat sich seither dadurch verbreitert, daß aus den Nisā-Dokumenten parth. *ṛtpn* /Arta-pān/ hinzugekommen (vgl. Schmitt 1998, 179 B.1) und wohl auch altindoar. *Atapāna-* auf einem Brāhmī-Siegel etwa des 1. oder 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (vgl. Mukherjee 1984, 9 f.) hier anzuschließen ist.

**Ἀστυάγης*, der von Kyros d. Gr. beseitigte Meder-König, wird *Pol.* 1312a12 gleichfalls als Exemplum vorgeführt, und zwar für einen Anschlag eines Heerführers gegen den Herrscher

⁵ Die Belege im einzelnen: p. 464, 15. 19. 23. 24. 26; 465, 1. 3; ferner F 13, 24 p. 462, 18 (*Ἀρτάπανος ὁ Ἀρτασύρα παῖς*); F 13, 27 p. 463, 10 (*Ἀρτάπανος* als 10.000-Mann-Führer bei den Thermopylen).

⁶ Bei Dandamayev 1987, 646 f. sind beide Namen und ihre Träger jedoch immer noch in eins zusammengeworfen.

aufgrund des Vertrauens in die eigene Machtposition (διὰ τὴν δύναμιν) und des geringen Risikos; Kyros habe nämlich eine geringschätzigste Meinung gehabt über des Astyages Nachlässigkeit in der Machtausübung und seine Schwelgerei (διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξηργηκέναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφῆν). Worauf Aristoteles hier fußt, ist unklar, da die Berichte über Astyages und Kyros, die man bei Herodot und Ktesias liest (der im übrigen, aber, soweit bekannt, als einziger die Namensform *Ἀστυίγας verwendet), kaum irgend etwas gemeinsam haben. – Die Namensform *Ἀστυάγης ist allem Anschein nach in beiden Bestandteilen (Ktesias' *Ἀστυίγας dagegen nur im ersten) an griechische Wortstämme angeglichen worden, an ἄστυ „Stadt“ bzw. Formen wie ἄ-αγής < *ἄ-φαγής „unzerbrechlich“ oder ἐν-αγής < *ἐν-ἡαγής „schuldbeladen“ usw., zu denen auch anthroponomastische Zeugnisse hinzukommen. Ein Grieche kann also sehr wohl und wird wahrscheinlich *Ἀστυάγης als „Städtebrecher“ o. ä. verstanden haben.

Für die Feststellung des altiranischen Originals sind deshalb die ktesianische Form *Ἀστυ-ίγας und neubabylon. *Iš-tu-me-gu* aus der Nabū-nā'id-Chronik von größerem Gewicht. Hierauf stützt sich der übliche Ansatz von altiran. (med.) **Ršti-vaiga-* „die Lanze schwingend“ (vgl. ausführlich Werba 1982, 82 f., mit Lit.), der wurzelhaft auch mit dem Männernamen jungavest. *Vaēžiiaršti-* bzw. korrekter *Vīžiiaršti-*⁷ übereinstimmt. Eine genauere Diskussion erfolgt im Rahmen einer gegenwärtig vorbereiteten größeren Abhandlung über „die iranischen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons“⁸.

Ἀυτοφραδάτης wird *Pol.* 1267a32. 36 im Zusammenhang mit der Belagerung der Stadt Atarneus (bei Pergamon) erwähnt, die er beim Kampf gegen Euboulos um 360 v. Chr. beabsichtigt, dann aber aufgegeben hat, nachdem dieser ihm die Erwägung nahegebracht hatte, daß ihm bei einer Belagerung höhere Kosten entstünden als bei einer Abstandszahlung an ihn (Euboulos). – Der Name dieses Satrapen von Lydien, der bei der Nieder-

⁷ Diese Form ist als Handschriftenvariante erhalten geblieben (vgl. Mayrhofer 1979, I/98 f. Nr. 384).

⁸ Diese Studie wird in Fortsetzung von Schmitt 1978 als Band 2 der *Iranica Graeca Vetustiora* erscheinen.

schlagung des Großen Satrapenaufstandes eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat, ist aus Xenophon, *Agesilaos* 2, 26 bekannt (vgl. ansonsten u. a. Diodor 15, 90, 3). Daß auch bei diesem Namen der Anlaut im Griechischen umgestaltet worden und hier griech. Αὐτο- für etwas dem Griechischen Fremdes substituiert ist, wird zur Gewißheit durch zwei lykische Inschriften, die allem Anschein nach die gleiche Person nennen: Das Felsgrab mit der Inschrift TL 61 ist „unter der Herrschaft des *Wataprddata*“ (Zeile 2: *ẽñẽ χñtawata Wataprddatehe*) errichtet worden, und auf der Inschrift TL 40 des sog. Payawa-Sarkophags, den man um 380–370 v. Chr. datieren will⁹, ist, allerdings teilweise ergänzt, *Wat[aprdd]ata χssadrapa Pa[rz]a* „*Wataprddata*-, der persische Satrap“ (TL 40d, 1 f.) erwähnt (vgl. Schmitt 1982a, 382; 1982b, 26 f. Nr. 26, mit älterer Lit.; ferner van den Hout 1995, 112 Anm. 26). Auch Münzprägungen eines OATA, d. h. wohl *Οατα[φραδάτου] wurden mit ihm in Zusammenhang gebracht (vgl. Alram 1986, 104 Nr. 314; aber auch, recht zurückhaltend, Harrison 1982, 399–402 u. ö.). Als iranische Ausgangsform ergibt sich daraus altiran. *Vāta-fradāta*- „vom Wind(gott) hervorgebracht/gefördert“, und dies wird dadurch gestützt, daß später, im 2.–1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. auf Münzen aram. bzw. mittelpers.¹⁰ *wtprdt* /*Wāt-fradāt*/ als Name mehrerer Dynasten (Kleinkönige) von Fārs begegnet (vgl. Alram 1986, 168–180 Nr. 533–548, 560–567, 623–626).

Δαρείος, der große Achaimenidenkönig (Dareios I.), während dessen Regierung das Reich seine Blüte erlebte, wird mehrfach als historisches Beispiel erwähnt: *Rh.* 1393a33, weil er zuerst die Herrschaft über Ägypten gesichert hat, bevor er den Hellespont überquerte; *MM* 1212a4. 6 als Muster eines ‚guten Freundes‘. In *Mete.* 352b28 wird Dareios I. im Zusammenhang mit den mehrfachen und immer wieder (auch von ihm) aufgegebenen Versuchen des Baues eines Kanals vom Roten Meer zum Nil genannt, in *Mir.* 834a3 (= *Fr.* 263 R.³) wegen Trinkgefäßen

⁹ Von welchem Zeitpunkt an Autophradates Satrap von Lydien war, ist strittig: hierzu vgl. neustens van der Spek 1998, 242 Anm. 3, der dieses Problem im Zusammenhang mit der Unterwerfung des kyprischen Salamis aufgreift.

¹⁰ Wahrscheinlich von Wātfradāt III. an (bei Alram 1986 Nr. 560 ff.) wird man mit mittelpersischer statt aramäischer Schrift- und Sprachform rechnen müssen.

(βατιάκαι), bei denen man nur durch den Geruch habe feststellen können, ob sie χαλκαῖ ἢ χρυσαῖ „aus Stahl/Eisen(?) oder Gold“ seien. Bloß der Name wird genannt in *Mu.* 398a11 (vgl. Anhang II), ferner in *Pol.* 1311b38, hier aber bezogen auf den gleichnamigen Sohn des Xerxes, der dem Anschlag des *Αρταπάνης (vgl. oben) zum Opfer fiel. – Der Name, ein typisch ‘programmatischer’ Thronname, ist bei den Griechen seit Aischylos geläufig und gibt augenscheinlich eine kürzere Form wieder als das im Altpersischen inschriftlich bezeugte, fünfsilbige *d-a-r-y-v-u-š* /*Dāraya-va.uš*/ „das Gute festhaltend/ewahrend (o. ä.)“, das eine der dichtersprachlichen Phraseologie entstammende Wendung der Art, wie sie in *ṛgved. vāsūni dhar* „Güter/Schätze festhalten/bewahren“ vorliegt, zu einem verbalen Rektionskompositum verschmilzt.

Neben dieser ‘Langform’, die auch in elam. *Da-ri-(y)a-ma-u-iš*, babylon. *Da-a-ri-ia-a-muš/-mu-uš*, *Da-ri-a-mu-uš* usw. und aram. *dry(w)hwš*, vielleicht auch in griech. Δαρειαῖος (wiederholt bei Ktesias, ferner Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2, 1, 8. 9) widergespiegelt wird, stehen aber in ebenso weiter Verbreitung auch kürzere Formen: elam. *Da-ri-ya-u-(ú-)iš*, *-hu-iš*, babylon. *Da-ri-mu-šu*, *Da-ri-im-muš* usw., aram. *drywš*, *drwš*, ägypt. *trjw(h)š*, lyk. *Ñtarijeus-*, – und eben griech. Δαρειός (vgl. für das Gesamtmaterial u. a. Mayrhofer 1979, II/18 f. Nr. 26; Werba 1982, 141–153; Schmitt 1996a, 85 f.). Sie sind also Wiedergaben einer schon inneriranisch verkürzten Schnellsprechform, die infolge haplogischer Dissimilation zu **Dārayauš* geführt hat (vgl. v. a. Schmitt 1978, 25 f.; 1990 passim). Weiterhin ist diese ‘Kurzform’ wahrscheinlich auch noch indirekt greifbar durch den in der Persis zu lokalisierenden Ortsnamen Δαριαύσα bei Ptolemaios 6, 2, 12, der nach aller Analogie auf einen Personennamen **Δαριαυς*, also altpers. **Dārayauš* schließen läßt (vgl. Schmitt 1990, 197 f.).

Δατάμης ist in *Oec.* 1350b16 statt des handschriftlich überlieferten Διδάλης zu lesen¹¹, da dasselbe Strategem von Polyainos, *Strategemata* 7, 21, 1 für den kappadokischen Satrapen

¹¹ Die Emendation stammt schon von dem frühen Aristoteles-Herausgeber Johann Gottlob Schneider; sie ist nicht zur Kenntnis genommen bei Bonitz 1870, 193b und Justi 1895, 83b.

Δατάμης¹², der den Großen Satrapenaufstand ausgelöst hat, erzählt wird: er hat sich, da er seine Söldnertruppen nicht bezahlen konnte, einen listigen Plan ausgedacht, um sie durch leere Versprechungen erst einmal hinzuhalten. – Der Name ist in dieser Form seit Xenophon bezeugt¹³; er gibt wie latein. *Datames* altiran. **Dātama-* wieder, das auch dem in Persepolis bezeugten Namen elam. *Da-(ad/ud-)da-ma* (und wohl auch aram. *dtm*¹⁴) zugrunde liegt. Dies ist als ein zweistämmiger Kurzname (nicht Kosenamen) **Dāta-m-a-* zu einem komponierten Vollnamen zu erklären, dessen zweiter Bestandteil mit *m-* anlautete: In Frage kommt hierfür in erster Linie altiran. **Dāta-miθra-*, wie es in aram. *dtmtr* bezeugt ist (vgl. Schmitt 1978, 38, mit Lit.) und in volksetymologischer Umbildung wohl auch in altindoar. *Dat-tāmitra-* im Mahābhārata vorliegt (vgl. Mayrhofer 1990).

Ζωροάστρης, der Name des ostiranischen Religionsstifters, ist für Aristoteles (*Fr.* 34 R.³) indirekt nachweisbar durch die Angabe von Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 30, 3, daß Aristoteles ebenso wie Eudoxos (von Knidos) geschrieben habe, daß *Zoroastres* 6.000 Jahre vor Platons Tod gelebt habe. – Der Name ist zuerst für Xanthos den Lyder bezeugt, wohl die sog. „*Magika*“ innerhalb seiner *Lydiaka* (FGrHist 765 F 32 p. 758, 8 J.); und er kommt auch in Platons (hinsichtlich seiner Authentizität umstrittenem) *Alcibiades Maior* vor (*Alc.* I 122a1). Griech. Ζωροάστρης weicht von der im Iranischen geläufigsten Form, die zuerst in avest. *Zarathuštra-* vorkommt, in mehrfacher Hinsicht ab; diese Form kann der griechischen Normalform nicht zugrunde liegen, die ihrerseits an griechische Wörter anklingt, neben der sich aber später vereinzelt auch noch genauere Wiedergaben finden. Avest. *Zarathuštra-* wirft etymologische Probleme auf, die nach wie vor ungelöst sind, obwohl spätere, mitteliranische Belege auf leicht abweichende Grundformen zurückgehen. All diese Probleme sind erst kürzlich von Schmitt 1996a, 93–98 ausführlich diskutiert worden, so daß sie hier nicht

¹² Die ausführlichste Quelle über Datames ist die Biographie über ihn von Cornelius Nepos; hierzu vgl. neuerdings Sekunda 1988.

¹³ Der bei Aischylos, *Persai* 960 überlieferte Name Δοτάμας wird traditionell damit gleichgesetzt; er ist offenbar an griech. δοτός „gegeben“ assoziiert (vgl. Schmitt 1978, 38).

¹⁴ Zur Lesung des persepolitischen Siegels PTS 20 vgl. neuerdings Lemaire 1989, 148.

erneut *in extenso* aufzurollen sind. In Stichworten läßt sich die dort vertretene Deduktion so zusammenfassen: Altiran. *Zara-uštra- (mit nordwestiran. *zara- „alt“ [statt ostiran. *zarat-] und *uštra- „Kamel“: also „mit alten [bzw. alt werdenden] Kamelen“¹⁵) → griech. *Ζαρα-όστρ(ης), mit Metathese zu *Ζαροάστρ(ης), was erleichtert ist durch die Assoziation an ἄστρα „Sterne“; daraus Umbildung durch formalen Anschluß an *Ωρομάζης/ *Ωρομάσδης zu Ζωροάστρης.

Gershevitch 1995, 19–24 (dessen Ausführungen seinerzeit nicht mehr in die Diskussion mit einbezogen werden konnten) geht ebenfalls von *Zara.-uštra- aus und kommt über *Ζαρώστρης, Metathese zu *Ζωράστρης und (so S. 24ab) Einschub eines -o- zu Ζωροάστρης. Aus gräzistischer Sicht ist allerdings die Annahme eines solchen Einschubs von -o- *ex nihilo*, durch den in ganz unerhörter Weise eine zusätzliche Silbe und ein Binnenhiat geschaffen werden, nicht akzeptabel, zumal da sie gekoppelt ist mit der Assoziation des eher seltenen und in seiner Gebrauchssphäre beschränkten Wein-Epithetons ζωρός „kräftig, unvermischt, feurig“.

Καμβύσης: Dieser Königsname des älteren Kyros-Sohnes (König 530–522 v. Chr.) wird nur einmal, in *Mu.* 398a11 (vgl. Anhang II) ohne spezifische Angaben genannt¹⁶. – Der Name ist seit Herodot bezeugt und entspricht altpers. *k-b-u-j¹-i-y-*/Kambūjiya-, das auch in elam. *Kán-bu-zí-ya*, babylon. *Ka-am-/Kám-bu-zi-ia* usw., aram. *knb(w)zy* usw., ägypt. *knb(w)d* usw. vorliegt (vgl. Mayrhofer 1979, II/23 Nr. 38; Schmitt 1996a, 86 f. und ausführlich Werba 1982, 204–207). Werba hat diese Grundform als *Kambu-jiya- „mit wenigen Sehnen (bzw. Bogen)“ ver-

¹⁵ Der Alternativvorschlag, der mit verbalem Vorderglied *zarat- „treibend“ oder „fördernd“ rechnet, ist jedoch nicht völlig auszuschließen.

¹⁶ Beiläufig sei bemerkt, daß das bei Bonitz 1870, 361a verzeichnete Lemma Καμβύση, fem. hiermit nicht das mindeste zu tun hat und im übrigen völlig entfallen muß: Aristoteles nennt *Fr.* 561 R.³ (aus einem Scholion zu Pindar, *Olympia* 9, 86) eine Tochter von Ὀποῦς, dem König der Eleer, Καμβύσην (mit den Varianten Καμβύσιν, Καμμύσιν); die richtige Lesung ergibt sich aber wohl aus Plutarch, *Quaestiones graecae* 15 (294E), wo Ὀποῦς als Sohn von Λόκρος und Καβύη bezeichnet wird.

stehen wollen (S. 205 f.), verbindet sie also mit altpers. **jyā-* = avest. *jiiā-* = ved. *jyā-* „(Bogen-)Sehne“. Allerdings bleibt das angenommene Vorderglied altiran. **kamb-u-* „wenig“ völlig hypothetisch und auch die semasiologische Motivation eines solchen Namens unklar.

Die angesichts der graphischen Polyvalenz von altpers. *k-b-u-jⁱ-i-y-* und dessen möglicher Lesung als /Kambaujiya-/ theoretisch denkbare und oft auch tatsächlich erwogene Verknüpfung mit dem Volks- und Landesnamen altindoar. *Kamboja-* eines Volkes aus dem nördlichen Indusgebiet wird durch die griechische Wiedergabe des Königsnamens mit -u- (statt -ω-) widerraten. Sie unterliegt wohl auch insofern historisch-chronologischen Bedenken, als eine Benennung *„Fürst/ errscher der Kambojas“ für die frühe Achaimenidenzeit schwerlich zu rechtfertigen ist. An dieser negativen Einschätzung ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, daß im koptischen Kambyses-Roman der Name Kambyses volksetymologisch als „Memme, Feigling“ gedeutet wurde, was man als Brechung eines solchen Namens mit der von Harmatta 1971, 7 für **Kambaujiya-* vorgeschlagenen Interpretation als „of small strength, weak“ zusammenbringen wollte (vgl. Mayrhofer 1989, 183). Dieser Vorschlag ist aber wohl noch weniger fundiert als der von Werba (vgl. oben), da zu den semasiologischen auch noch schwere, den Wortausgang betreffende morphologische Bedenken hinzukommen.

Κύρος: Der Begründer des persischen Weltreiches der Achaimeniden, Kyros II. (550–530 v. Chr.) wird in den *Politica* zweimal als Beispiel genannt: zum einen *Pol.* 1310b38 als einer jener Könige, die ihren Staaten oder Völkern gute Dienste zu leisten imstande waren (δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν), nämlich indem er die Perser vom Joch der Meder befreite¹⁷, zum anderen *Pol.* 1312a12 als putschender Heerführer, der den **Ἀστυάγης* (vgl. oben) seiner Herrschaft beraubt hat. Vorausgesetzt wird hier, was das Wirken des Kyros betrifft, ganz offenbar die Kenntnis von Herodots Werk, dem auch der Name in dieser Form verdankt wird. – Κύρος ist seit Herodot die

¹⁷ Aristoteles gebraucht hier das Verbum ἐλευθεροῦν, so wie Herodot 1, 127, 1 in gleichem Zusammenhang sagt: Πέρσαι ... ἐλευθεροῦντο „die Perser ... befreien sich“.

im Griechischen geläufige Form; sie reflektiert ebenso wie elam. *Ku-rāš*, babylon. *Ku(r)-raš/-ra-āš* usw., aram. *krš*, bibl.-aram. *kwrš*, hebr. *Kōreš*, ägypt. *kwrš* zugrundeliegendes altpers. *k^u-r^u-u-š* /Kuruš/ (vgl. Schmitt 1978, 26–28; 1996a, 87 f.; Mayrhofer 1979, II/23 f. Nr. 39). Der altpersische Name wird in neuerer Zeit, anders als früher, mit Kurzvokal in der ersten Silbe angesetzt (als /Kuruš/), weil nur eine solche Lesung die später bezugte 'genauere' griechische Form *Κόρος* (*Etymologikon Magnum* p. 530, 8) mit -o- als Wiedergabe von iran. *u erklären kann. Damit wird es umgekehrt notwendig, die Normalform *Κύρος* mit -ū- als Umgestaltung zu erklären, die auf volksetymologischer Anknüpfung an die Sippe von griech. *κύριος* „Herr“ (mit) beruht (vgl. etwa Schmitt 1978, 27 mit Anm. 29).

Hinsichtlich der Namendeutung, die übrigens schon antike 'Etymologen' beschäftigt hat – Ktesias F 15, 51 p. 470, 3 J. leitet den Namen *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου* „von der Sonne“ ab, also anscheinend von altiran. **h₁uar* (= avest. *huuarš*) –, neigt man heute meistens der Verknüpfung mit altindoar. *Kuru-* zu. Dies ist im Mahābhārata bekanntlich der Name des königlichen Ahnherrn des *Kuru-* Volkes. Diese beiden Namen bzw. diesen offenbar schon indoiranischen Namen hat Karl Hoffmann (vgl. ausführlich Werba 1979, 16–18; 1982, 225–229, wenngleich dessen Hinweis auf die Schilderung von Kyros' Verhalten vor der Schlacht durch Xenophon [S. 16 f.] keine größere Bedeutung beizumessen ist) als **k₁u-ru-* „der (die Feinde [im Wortgefecht vor dem Kampf] schmäht/ erniedrigt“ analysiert, d. h. als Nomen agentis von der Wurzel indoiran. (und idg.) **ka₁u* „erniedrigen, demütigen“, die oft auch in got. *hauns* „niedrig, verachtet“, *haunjan* „erniedrigen“, althochdeutsch *hōnen* „(ver)hōhnen“ usw. gesucht wird. Demgegenüber erscheint die Rückführung des Namens auf ein postuliertes altiran. **kuru-* „jung; Junges, Kind“ morphologisch nicht ausreichend fundiert und deshalb eher unwahrscheinlich.

An Hoffmanns Bedeutungsansatz hat der Jubilar sicher zu Recht kritisiert (vgl. Schmidt 1987, 357), daß Hoffmann nur faktitive Bedeutung anerkennen will; er selbst rechnet dagegen mit einer Grundbedeutung „to be, become, feel small“, die bei Einbeziehung von Wörtern wie mittelpers. *kwik* /kōdak/ „jung,

klein“ usw.¹⁸ unleugbar und wohl auch für ved. *káva-* (vorliegend in dem Bahuvrīhi *á-kava-* und dem Präfix *kávā-* „ein wenig“), wenn als „Kleinheit“ verstanden, völlig ausreichend ist. Schmidts Ablehnung der *Kuru*-Deutung als „humiliator of the enemy in the verbal contest“ (S. 357 f.) nur deshalb, weil „humiliation“ als Konnotation der Wurzel **kaṃ* nicht nachweisbar sei, ist dagegen allzu kategorisch. Einer solchen (in Belegen auch noch greifbaren) Bedeutungsnuance bedarf es jedoch gar nicht, da man in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht gar nicht von Demütigung, Schmähung oder bewußter Erniedrigung sprechen sollte. Es geht wohl eher darum, daß der Kämpfer seinen Gegner 'klein, schwach reden' will.

Μιθριδάτης, der Sohn des Satrapen *Αριοβαρζάνης (vgl. oben), wird *Pol.* 1312a16 erwähnt als Exemplum eines Anschlags aus Geringschätzung und Gewinnsucht; der Vorgang ist aus dem Schlußkapitel von Xenophons *Kyroupaideia* (8, 8, 4) bekannt, wo der Name auch erstmals in dieser Form Μιθριδάτης vorkommt (während für Herodot und Ktesias die Schreibung Μιτρα-δάτης, für Xenophons *Anabasis* Μιθρα-δάτης überliefert ist). – Ungeachtet der unterschiedlichen Wiedergaben liegt hier der reichstens bezeugte Name altiran. (nicht-pers.) **Miθra-dāta-* „von Mithra gegeben“ vor. Wie an anderer Stelle näher ausgeführt wird, ist dieser Name am ehesten zu verstehen als ein 'Kälendername' mit der speziellen Nuance „von Mithra als Genius des 16. Tages (im alten zarathustrischen Kalender) gegeben“. Derselbe Name ist auch widergespiegelt in babylon. *Mit-/Mi-it-ra-da-a-tú/ti* usw., hebr., aram. *mtrdt*, demot. *mtrtt* sowie (durch griechische Vermittlung) latein. *Mit(h)ridates* usw.; und er ist fortgesetzt durch parth. *mtrdt* /Mihrdāt/ (samt griech. Μειριδάτης, Μιραδάτης, latein. *Meherdates*, armen. *Mihrdāt* usw.) und mittelpers. *Mihrdāt* (vgl. Schmitt 1998, 175 und 181 C.13). Bemerkenswert ist an der aristotelischen Form im Vergleich zu den früheren griechischen Belegen einzig die Vokalschwächung des Kompositionsfugenvokals iran. **-a-* zu *-i-*, die wohl auf einen in unbetonter Silbe reduzierten mittleren

¹⁸Ob altpers. *s-k-u-θ-i-* /skaṃθi-/ „schwach, kraftlos“ und einmaliges *š-k-u-θ-i-* /škaṃθi-/ „dass.“ (beide als Antonyme zu *tunuvant-* „stark, kräftig“) sowie parth. *škwḥ* /iskōh/ und mittelpers. (i)škwḥ /i)škōh/ wirklich hier anzuschließen sind, mag dahinstehen.

Zentralvokal [ə] weist (vgl. Schmitt 1979, 144 f.). Die einschlägigen Belege für diese Erscheinung aus älterer Zeit – vor allem die Zeugnisse des Griechischen und der keilschriftlichen Quellen – bedürfen übrigens dringend der Sammlung und umfassender detaillierter Auswertung.

Ξέρξης: Dareios' I. Sohn und Nachfolger (König 486–465 v. Chr.) wird gelegentlich in der üblichen Weise als historisches Beispiel benutzt, so *Rh.* 1393b1 dafür, daß er (wie zuvor schon Dareios) gegen die Griechen nichts unternommen hat, bevor er sich nicht der Herrschaft über Ägypten versichert hatte, und *Pol.* 1311b38 als Opfer eines Mordanschlags „aus Furcht“, nämlich durch *Ἀρταπάνης (vgl. oben). Die weiteren Belege des Namens erwähnen den Großkönig aber auch nur beiläufig oder gar zufällig: *Mu.* 398a11 (vgl. Anhang II) und 398b4 als einen der bekannten Perserkönige der Blütezeit im Rahmen des in *De mundo* eingeschalteten Gleichnisses; *Ath.* 22.8, weil Xerxes' Zug gegen Griechenland der Anlaß dafür war, allen Ostrakisierten die Rückkehr zu erlauben; *Fr.* 70 R.³, weil Aristoteles in dem verlorenen Dialog *Περὶ ποιητῶν* erwähnt habe, daß Empedokles auch ein Gedicht über Xerxes' Übergang über den Hellespont (τὴν τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν) geschrieben habe; schließlich *Rh.* 1406a7 bei dem Tadel des Gebrauchs von γλωτταί, obsoleten Wörtern, mit dem Beispiel, daß Lykophron (der Sophist) Xerxes πέλωρον ἄνδρα „einen ungeheuerlichen Menschen“ genannt habe. – Der Name ist seit Aischylos und Herodot geläufig und einer der zahlreichen Reflexe von altpers. *x-š-y-a-r-š-a* /Xšaya-ršā/ „über Helden herrschend“: babylon. *Ḫi-ši-'ar-šá/ši*, *Ḫi-ši-(i-)ar-ši/šú*, *Ak/Aḫ-ši-ia-ar-šú* usw., aram. *ḫšy()rš*, *ḫšyrš*, bibl.-aram. *šwrwš* („*Ahašwērōš*“), ägypt. *ḫšj(,)rš*. Ebenso wie die griechische Form Ξέρξης, die zunächst aus älterem *Ξέρσης assimiliert ist, weist auch elam. *Ik-še-ir-(iš-)šá*, das wohl etwa /Kšerša/ meint, auf eine im gesprochenen Altpersischen verkürzte zweisilbige Form *Xšairšā, vielleicht auch eine bereits monophthongierte Form *Xšēršā, die weiter auf *Xšayaršā zurückgehen wird (vgl. Schmitt 1978, 29 f.; 1996a, 88 f.; Mayrhofer 1979, II/31 Nr. 66). Die (jedenfalls im späteren Altpersischen eingetretene) Monophthongierung und die (natürlich früher anzusetzende) Verkürzung von viersilbigem /Xšaya.ršā/ (mit Hiatus) zu dreisilbigem /Xšayaršā/, die dadurch nahegelegt werden, sind offenbar der altpersischen Umgangssprache zu-

zuschreiben, – so auffällig die Häufung von solchen lautlichen Erscheinungen, die der Schriftsprache fremd sind, gerade bei diesem Namen auch sein mag. Eine Reihe von Fragen, insbesondere hinsichtlich der genauen Zwischenstufen auf dem Weg von altpers. /Xšaya.ršā/ bis zu Ξέρξης, lassen sich bei diesem Namen allem Anschein nach vorderhand nicht klären. Sicher ist auf der anderen Seite jedoch, daß latein. *Xerses*, das neben *Xerxes* bezeugt ist – natürlich wiederum dank griechischer Vermittlung –, nicht die für das Griechische angenommene Zwischenstufe *Ξέρσης (vgl. oben) stützen kann. Es handelt sich bei *Xerses* vielmehr um das Resultat einer innerlateinischen Lautentwicklung, nämlich jenes Wandels, der vorliegt in Perfekt *farsī* (< *fark-s-ī) zu *farc-īre* „stopfen“ oder in *ursus* „Bär“, das zunächst auf vorlatein. *urksos zurückgeht (vgl. Huyse 1992, 170 f.).

Φαρνάβαζος; offenbar der aus Thukydides 8, 6, 1. 2 usw. bekannte Satrap von Phrygien, Sohn des Φαρνάκης (vgl. unten), der HA 580b7 überhaupt nur zur genaueren Charakterisierung seines Vaters genannt wird. – Der Name ist zuerst bei Thukydides belegt (vgl. Schmitt 1983, 84 f.; 1993, 388), aber durch verschiedene daskylitische Satrapen, die so hießen, bei griechischen Autoren des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. gut bekannt. Er reflektiert einen komponierten 'Vollnamen', dessen Vorderglied der in onomastischer Verwendung geläufige Stamm altiran. *farnah- „Ruhm(esglanz) o. ä“ ist und dessen zweites Element -βαζος ebenso beurteilt werden muß wie der Ausgang von *Αρτάβαζος (vgl. oben) und den anderen Namen dieser Art¹⁹. Da im Altiranischen offenbar -ah-Stämme (< idg. *-es-/os-) im Kompositions-vorderglied fakultativ zu -a-Stämmen umgebildet werden können – so wie nach Ausweis von Κλεό-βουλος (von κλέος), Κυδó-νικος (von κύδος) und vielen anderen auch im Griechischen –, ist das Original somit anzusetzen als altiran. *Farnavazdah²⁰, wie es auch georg. *Parnavaz* und (hieraus

¹⁹ Deshalb sind früher vorgetragene Alternativvorschläge, nicht nur die von Schmitt 1983, 85 referierten, überhaupt nicht weiter zu verfolgen.

²⁰ Anders versteht den Namen Werba 1982, 394, nämlich als *Farnah-bāzu-, fragend übersetzt als „Arm (: Stütze) des Farnah“.

übernommen) armen. *P'ārnawaz* voraussetzen (vgl. Bielmeier 1994, 35 f.). Zu übersetzen ist dieser Name als „durch Farnah Gedeihen habend, dem Farnah Gedeihen verschaffend (o.ä.)“, wenn nicht einfach eine rein mechanische Zusammenrückung zweier Namenelemente ohne Rücksicht auf deren Bedeutung vorliegt. Kompliziert wird die Belegsituation nur durch die aramäische Münzlegende *prnbzw*, die zwar gegen ein Kompositionshinterglied **vzdah-* und für **bāzu-* zu sprechen scheint, aber durchaus von der griechischen Form, und zwar in dem auf Münzen üblichen Genetiv (also *Φαρναβάζου*), abhängig sein kann und in diesem Fall keine eigenständige Beweiskraft hätte (vgl. Schmitt 1983, 85). Es gilt dabei ja auch die ganz besonderen Umstände dieser Münzmission zu berücksichtigen, daß nämlich Pharnabazos einerseits Satrap der Daskylitis war, andererseits diese Münzen aber in Kilikien geprägt wurden, also außerhalb seines eigentlichen Herrschaftsbereichs und offenbar im Zusammenhang mit einer speziellen militärischen Unternehmung.

Φαρνάκης, der Vater des phrygischen Satrapen *Φαρνάβαζος* (vgl. oben) – selbst zur Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges Satrap in Daskyleion –, wird *HA* 580b7 im Zusammenhang mit Mauleseln/ Maultieren (*ἤμιτόνοι*) erwähnt, die es zu seiner Zeit in Phrygien gegeben hat und deren gegenwärtige Nachkommen für Aristoteles den Beweis dafür liefern, daß diese Kreuzungsprodukte sich untereinander doch von selbst vermehren. – Der Name ist im Griechischen seit Herodot belegt und kommt darnach insbesondere auch auf kleinasiatischen Inschriften häufig vor, bevor er (speziell als beliebter Sklavename) in römischer Zeit noch weitere Verbreitung erlangt hat. Er gibt altiran. **Farna-ka-*, Hypokoristikum zu den Komposita mit altiran. **farnah-* „Ruhm(esglanz) o. ä“ als erstem oder zweitem Bestandteil wieder. Eine solche Form ist auch in anderen Zweigen der Nebenüberlieferung reichstens repräsentiert, und zwar in elam. *Bar-/Pir-na-qa*, *Bar-na-ak/ik-qa*, *Pa-ir-na-(ak-)qa* usw., babylon. *Par-na-ak-ka*, *Par-/Pa-ar-nak-ku*, *Pa-ar-na-ak*, *Par-nak(-ki)*, aram., hebr., palmyren. *prnk* und latein. *Pharnaces* (vgl. Mayrhofer 1973, 214 Nr. 8.1282; Hinz 1975, 94 f.; Schmitt 1983, 75 f.). In mitteliranischer Zeit findet sich ein Fortsetzer offenbar in sogd. *prn k(k)*, zu dem als weitere Ref-

lexe noch armen. *P'ārṅak* sowie altindoar. *Phaṅaka* auf einer Brāhmī-Inschrift hinzukommen (vgl. Sims-Williams 1992, 63).

Anhang I: Iranisches bei Aristoteles (außer Personennamen)

Anhangsweise seien, zur Erleichterung einschlägiger Studien, die übrigen Iranica der (pseudo-)aristotelischen Schriften jedenfalls noch aufgezählt. Sie sind wohl ohne Ausnahme auch bei anderen Autoren belegt und insofern nicht auffällig. Ethnonyme (samt Ableitungen): Ἀραχωῖται, Βάκτροι (samt -ιος, -ιανός), Βουδινοί, Γελωνοί, Ἰνδοί (und -ικός), Μῆδοι (samt -ία, -ικός), Πέρσαι (samt -ίς, -ικός), Σαυροματ-* (nur -ικός), Σκύθαι (samt -ία, -ικός). – Choronyme: Ἀρμενία, Νισαί-* (nur Νισαῖος wegen der berühmten Pferde). – Toponyme: Ἐκβάτανα, Σούσα. – Hydronyme: Ἀράξης, Βάκτρος, Βορυσθένης, Εὐφράτης, Ἰνδός, Τάναις, Τίγρις, Ὑπανίς, Χοάσπης, Ὠξός. – Thalassonyme: Εὐξεινος (antiphrastisch für Ἄξεινος), Ὑρκανία (θάλαττα). – Theonyme: Ἀρειμάνιος, Ὠρομάσδης. – Appellative: ἀρτάβη (Hohlmaß), βατιάκη „Trinkschale“, μάγοι „Mager“ (samt -εία), μάρτις (Flüssigkeitsmaß), μαρτιχόρας (indisches [Fabel-]Tier), σατράπης „Satrap“ (samt -εία, -εύειν, -ικός).

Anhang II: De mundo 398a10-35

...οἶον ἐπὶ το μέγα-
λου βασιλέως ἱστορεται. Τὸ <γὰρ> Καμβύσου Ξέρξου τε καὶ
Δαρείου πρόσχημα εἰς σεμνότητος καὶ ὑπεροχῆς ὕψος μεγα-
λοπρεπῶς διεκεκόσμητο· αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ, ὡς λόγος, ἴδρυτο
ἐν Σούσοις ἢ Ἐκβατάνοις, παντὶ ἀόρατος, θαυμαστὸν ἐπέ-
χων βασιλείον οἶκον καὶ περίβολον χρυσῷ καὶ ἠλέκτρῳ
καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἀστράπτοντα· πυλώνες δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ συνε-
χεῖς πρόθυρά τε συχνοῖς εἰργόμενα σταδίοις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
θύραις τε χαλκαῖς καὶ τείχεσι μεγάλοις ὠχύρωτο· ἔξω
δὲ τούτων ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι διεκεκόσμητο,
οἱ μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα δορυφόροι τε καὶ θεράποντες,
οἱ δὲ ἐκάστου περιβόλου φύλακες, πυλωροὶ τε καὶ ὠτακου-
σται λεγόμενοι, ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς
ὀνομαζόμενος, πάντα μὲν βλέποι, πάντα δὲ ἀκούσι. Χωρὶς
δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι καθειστήκεσαν προσόδων ταμίαι καὶ στρατη-
γοὶ πολέμων καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ δῶρων τε ἀποδεκτῆρες τῶν
τε λοιπῶν ἔργων ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰς χρεῖας ἐπιμεληταί. Τὴν
δὲ σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, περατουμένην Ἑλλησπόν-
τω μὲν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν μερῶν, Ἰνδῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς
ἔω, διειλήφεσαν κατὰ ἔθνη στρατηγοὶ καὶ σατράπαι καὶ
βασιλεῖς, δούλοι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἡμεροδρόμοι τε
καὶ σκολοὶ καὶ ἀγγελιαφόροι φρυκτωριῶν τε ἐποπτῆρες.
Τοσοῦτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κόσμος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φρυκτωρ[ι]ῶν,
κατὰ διαδοχὰς πυρσευόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐκ περάτων τῆς ἀρ-
χῆς μέχρι Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα γι-
νώσκειν αὐθημερὸν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καινουρούμενα.

„wie es für den Großkönig berichtet wird. Denn der Prunk von Kambyses, Xerxes und Dareios war in großartiger Weise ausgerichtet auf höchste Würde und Majestät; denn er selbst – so heißt es – residierte in Susa oder Ekbatana, unsichtbar für jedermann, und besaß einen wunderbaren Königspalast und Hofbezirk, der von Gold, Elektron und Elfenbein glänzte. Zahlreiche aneinandergrenzende Torhallen und Vorhöfe, die viele Stadien voneinander entfernt lagen, waren durch ehernen Türen und hohe Mauern gesichert. Außen davor standen die ersten und tüchtigsten Männer bereit, die einen als Leibwache und Hofstaat um den König selbst, die anderen als Bewachung jedes einzelnen

Hofes, die sogenannten Torwächter und Horcher²¹, auf daß der König selbst, der Herr und Gott²² genannt wurde, alles sehen (und) alles hören könne. Außer diesen waren andere eingesetzt als Schatzmeister (wörtlich: Verwalter der Einkünfte), als Kommandanten bei Kriegszügen und Jagden, als die Geschenke in Empfang Nehmenden und als solche, die je nach Bedarf die sonstigen Dienstleistungen besorgten. Das ganze Reich Asiens²³ aber, das im Westen vom Hellespont, im Osten vom Indus begrenzt war, hatten Heerführer, Satrapen²⁴ und Könige nach Stämmen aufgeteilt, Untertanen²⁵ des Großkönigs²⁶, (dazu) Eil-

²¹ Hinter den „Horchern“ (ὠτακουσται) verbirgt sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der Titel altpers. *gaušaka-, der mittels Suffix -aka- als Nomen agentis von der Wurzel iran. *gauš „hören“ abgeleitet ist (vgl. Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954, 149 § 48aα). Ein solcher Titel wird vorausgesetzt durch aram. gwšk- /gōšak/ „Horchler, Lauscher“; des weiteren ist er für die mitteliranische Periode bezeugt in manich.-sogd. γωšy /yōšē/ „Spion“ sowie zu erschließen aus dem parthischen Lehnwort armen. gowšak (← parth. *gōšak) „Informant, Spion“ (vgl. Hinz 1975, 105 f.). Es ist dies nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus dem vielschichtigen Problemkreis der bei den Griechen berüchtigten „Augen“ und „Ohren des Königs“.

²² Der Gott-Charakter des Perserkönigs ist bei den Griechen zum Topos geworden: als erster bezeichnet schon Aischylos, *Persai* 643 Dareios als Περσῶν Σουσιγενῆ θεόν „der Perser aus Susa gebürtigen Gott“. Gleichwohl entbehrt dies jeder faktischen Grundlage und somit aller Berechtigung.

²³ Der Begriff „Asien“ beruht ebenfalls auf griechischer Vorstellung; ein auch nur entfernt anklingendes Gegenstück ist in achaimenidischen Quellen nicht bezeugt. Der Gebrauch von „Asien“ quasi als Synonym für „Perserreich“ ist seit Aischylos geläufig; es genüge ein Verweis auf *Persai* 763 f. ἐν ἄνδρ' ἀπάσης Ἀσίδος ... ταγεῖν „daß ein (einzig) Mann über ganz Asien herrsche“.

²⁴ Die Titel „Satrap“ ist im Altpersischen als x-š-ç-p-a-v-a /xšaça-pā-vā/, Stamm xšaça-pā-van- bezeugt und daneben in vielfacher Brechung unterschiedlicher Ausgangsformen reflektiert. Den griechischen Formen – neben normalem σατράπης stehen vereinzelt σαδράπας, ξαδράπης und ξατράπης (samt der auf Verlesung beruhenden Variante ζατράπης) – liegt altiran. *xšaθra-pā- „die Herrschaft/das Reich schützend“ zugrunde: vgl. ausführlich Schmitt 1976.

²⁵ Griech. δοῦλος, für das sich eine Reihe einschlägiger Belege findet, charakterisiert „Untertanen“ des Perserkönigs ungeachtet ihrer Stellung: In dem inschriftlich aus Magnesia am Mäander erhaltenen sog. Gadatas-Brief Dareios' d. Gr., der aus einer aramäischen Vorlage übersetzt ist

boten, Kundschafter, Boten und Beobachter von Feuersignalen²⁷. Dermaßen (wohlgeordnet) war dieses System, vornehmlich das der Feuersignalposten, die einander im Wechsel Signale sandten von den Grenzen des Reiches bis nach Susa und Ekbatana, daß der König selbigen Tages alles erfuhr, was in Asien Neues geschah.“

(vgl. Schmitt 1996b), bezeichnet δοῦλος den genannten Γαδάτας, einen regionalen Beamten unklaren Ranges; in späterer Zeit heißt bei Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2, 5, 38 Kyros d. J. δοῦλος seines Bruders, des Großkönigs Artaxerxes II.; und hier in *De mundo* ist der Gebrauch offenbar auf Vasallenkönige ausgedehnt. Inhaltlich hat man in δοῦλος die Entsprechung von altpers. *bandaka*- „Gefolgsmann, Vasall“ zu sehen, wenn man Dareios' Sprachgebrauch in der Bīsūtūn-Inschrift zugrunde legt, denn dort werden zwei Satrapen (Dādršiš in Baktrien DB III 13, Vivāna in Arachosien DB III 55 f.) und eine Reihe seiner Generale ausdrücklich *manā bandaka* „mein Gefolgsmann“ genannt.

²⁶ Griech. ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς gibt genau aipers. *xšāyaθiya vazrka* „großer König“ wieder, das erste Element der mehrteiligen offiziellen Königstitulatur, die in den königlichen Inschriften von Dareios I. an bezeugt ist. Die Lautform des Adjektivs erweist, daß dieses Wort – und damit der Titel als ganzer – aus dem Medischen übernommen ist. Letztlich ist der Titel „großer König“ aber mesopotamischer Herkunft, denn er findet sich schon etwa vom 14. Jahrhundert v. Chr. an in Babylonien und Assyrien; zu den Medern ist er wohl, wie manches andere, durch Vermittlung der Urartäer gekommen.

²⁷Die Termini φρυκτωρός „Feuersignalwächter/-posten“ und φρυκτωρία „Feuersignal(gebung)“ kommen zuerst bei Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 590 bzw. 33, 490 vor. – Wieweit diese Nachricht der historischen Wahrheit entspricht, also ob im Achaimenidenreich optische Nachrichtenübermittlung durch Feuersignale und über Relaisstationen tatsächlich in diesem Ausmaß praktiziert wurde, läßt sich definitiv nicht klären.

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CHAPTER 14

Continuity and Innovation in Middle Persian Onomastics¹

Carlo G. Cereti

The first important study on Iranian onomastics dates to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Ferdinand Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, published in 1895, spans the Old, Middle and New Iranian periods, reporting also names found, among others, in the Arabic, Armenian, classical, and patrological traditions. Though obviously superseded by more modern literature, and at times not completely trustworthy, it remains to the present day the more complete repertory of Iranian names.

In 1969 Manfred Mayrhofer founded at Vienna's "Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" a "Kommission für die Ausbereitung eines Iranisches Personennamenbuch"², with the aim of covering all different domains of Iranian personal onomastics. To the present day various volumes of this gigantic work have been published, covering Old Iranian onomastics, as found in the Avesta, in Old Persian inscriptions as well as in various secondary sources and, but only very partially, Middle Iranian.³ A number of important volumes based on primary sources are being prepared, such as those devoted to the

¹ The present paper is based on the material gathered for the volume of the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* on Zoroastrian Middle Persian names (FWF Project P12546-SPR).

² Today Kommission für Iranistik, which is directed by Prof. Heiner Eichner.

³ Mayrhofer 1979, Gignoux 1986, Alram 1987, Schmitt 1982, Huysse 1990.

Manichaean names found in the Turfan texts, to the Zoroastrian names found in Pahlavi literature, and to the names found in Persian epic literature, mainly represented by the *Šāhnāme*. To these one must add a few fascicles discussing the names found in non-Iranian traditions.

There can be no doubt that the most important discovery for Old Iranian onomastics was that of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, brought to light in the thirties but published, only in part, in 1969,⁴ and containing almost 1900 names, the great majority of which were Iranian. The importance of this discovery can be fully understood by comparing the markedly lower number of personal names found in Old Iranian primary sources: 422 in Avestan and only a meager 66 in Old Persian.

The study of this material was begun by E. Benveniste in 1966 (Benveniste 1966), set forth by I. Gershevitch in three fundamental articles appearing in 1969 and 1970 (Gershevitch 1969a, 1969b, and 1970), and systematized first by M. Mayrhofer and R. Schmitt (Mayrhofer 1973), and then, with the addition of a few anthroponyms taken from other sources, by W. Hinz.⁵ A further cornerstone of Old Iranian onomastics are the fascicles dedicated to Avestan and Old Persian names published by Mayrhofer respectively in 1977 and 1979.⁶

Middle Iranian has known no thorough analysis as is the case for Old Iranian, since the various corpuses involved are vaster and, at least in some cases, less well known. To the present day, Western Middle Iranian proper names are rather better known than those found in Eastern Middle Iranian.

The one author who has most contributed to the knowledge of Middle Persian onomastics in recent years is Ph. Gignoux who, thanks to his year long study and publication of Middle Persian epigraphical texts—inscriptions, seals, bullae and ostracas—has gathered an impressive number of personal names, 1099 of which he has already published.⁷ Gignoux' volume con-

⁴ Hallock 1969, previously 114 texts from the Persepolis Treasury had been published by Cameron (1948).

⁵ Hinz 1975. Further literature in Mayrhofer 1973: 11ff. and Gignoux 1979: 35ff.

⁶ The fascicle on Avestan names of the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* (IPNB) was first published in 1977 and then once more made available, bound together with the fascicle on Old Persian and the general indices in Mayrhofer 1979.

⁷ Gignoux 1986, a number of names attested in WMIr. epigraphic

stitutes the basis for S. Zimmer's "Zur sprachlichen Deutung sasanidischer Personennamen" (Zimmer 1991), which systematizes Middle Persian onomastics, setting it in its natural Indo-European heritage. A few years later, in 1994, at a conference held in Vienna for the 25 years of the "Kommission für Iranistik", W. Sundermann read a paper under the title "Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer" (Sundermann 1994), where he described the wealth of personal names transmitted by Manichaean Central Asiatic texts. These names are both Western (Middle Persian and Parthian) and Eastern Iranian (Sogdian). The Parthian economic documents excavated at Nisa, in today's Turkmenistan, contain a number of personal names and represent the most important onomastic source for the Arsacid era (Diakonoff/Livshits 1977 and 1998). The first person to turn his attention to these names was D. N. MacKenzie who, in 1986, devoted an article to this subject. Work on Parthian onomastics has been vigorously taken up in recent years by R. Schmitt who first published an extensive and detailed study where he both systematized the analysis of Parthian onomastics and re-assessed many of the previously published names (Schmitt 1998), and then studied a second group of names only recently published by Diakonoff and Livshits (Schmitt 1999 and Diakonoff/Livshits 1998).

Eastern Iranian languages are, from the point of view of onomastics, less well known. No specific work exists on any of the four main Eastern Iranian languages attested in the Middle Iranian period, i.e. Sogdian, Khotanese and Tumshuqese, Khwarezmian, and Bactrian, though Sogdian onomastics is relatively better known than those in the other languages. D. Weber in 1973 devoted a very dense article to Sogdian names belonging to different traditions, mainly taken from Manichaean and Buddhist texts, from the Mount Mugh documents and from the Ancient Letters.⁸

A major breakthrough was achieved with the discovery—while building the Karakorum Highway—of an impressive number of short inscriptions—673 published to the present day—along the upper Indus in north Pakistan. These inscriptions—or

sources were already published in Gignoux 1972. Very important is also his typological study which appeared in 1979. A second fascicle for the IPNB has already been announced.

⁸ Weber 1972. Sogdian onomastic material had previously been gathered by Ikeda (1965).

rather graffiti—contain mainly personal names and are for the great majority written in Sogdian.⁹ They have been published by N. Sims-Williams in two separate volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, the second of which contains not only a complete Sogdian glossary, but also a detailed formal analysis of the names and of the underlying onomastic system.¹⁰ Also recently Ph. Huysse has published a useful methodological introduction to Iranian anthroponomy (Huysse 1999).

Having sketched the essential details of the history of the studies on Iranian onomastics, let us now turn to the different name types as attested in Old and Middle Iranian and to their attestations in Middle Persian Zoroastrian (Pahlavi) onomastics, more properly the topic of the present contribution.

Compounds are the norm in Old as well as Middle Iranian onomastics. We have examples of possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhi), determinative compounds (Tatpuruṣa), attributive compounds (Karmadhāraya), governing compounds and copulative compounds (Dvandva).¹¹ Middle Iranian presents both inherited compounds and younger formations.¹²

Bahuvrīhis are probably the more widespread of the above mentioned compound types. In the Persepolis Tablets they are represented by names such as *Zitrašbada* (**Ciθra-spāda*-) “With a brilliant army”, *Pirriyašba* (**Friya-aspa*-) “With lovely horses” and *Mi-ra-par-na*, (**Vīra-farnah*-) “With the *farnah* of a man”. Avestan examples are YAv. *Pourušašpa*-, name borne by Zoroaster’s father, to be analyzed as *puruša-aspa*- “Owning gray horses”; *Paršaṭ.gu*- interpreted by Mayrhofer (1979:I:68),

⁹ With the exception of two Middle Persian, two Parthian, and twelve Bactrian.

¹⁰ Sims-Williams 1989 and 1992; see also Sims-Williams *apud* Bemmann-König 1994:24 and Fussman-König 1997: 62ff.

¹¹ Compare with different nuances Mayrhofer 1973: 279ff., Gignoux 1979: 69ff., Zimmer 1991:112ff., Sundermann 1994: 255ff., Sims-Williams 1992: 34f., Schmitt 1998: 176ff. Names discussed in the following pages, unless otherwise specified, are taken either from the above mentioned texts or from Mayrhofer 1973 and 1979, Gershevitch 1969a, Gignoux 1986, MacKenzie 1986, Sims-Williams 1992, Schmitt 1998 and 1999. Pahlavi (Zoroastrian Middle Persian) names will appear in a forthcoming fascicle of the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, prepared by the present author.

¹² For a list of inherited names in MWIr. Inscriptional texts see Zimmer 1991: 124ff.

on the basis of OId. *přsad-aśva-*, as “Owning spotted bovines”; and *Vīštāspa-* (v. infra).

The same type is attested in the various Middle Iranian traditions taken into account here. In epigraphic texts such a type is found in the name *Tahmāsp* “Owning valiant horses” as well as in the clearly inherited name *Mihrabān* < OIr. **Miθra-bānu-* “Endowed with the splendour of *Mihr*”.¹³ According to Sundermann (1994:256f.), in Manichaean texts only two certain examples of Bahuvrīhi can be found; these are: WMIr. *Mihr-pādār* “Having Mithra as protector” and Pth. *Wižīd-nām* “Bearing a chosen name, or: Who has chosen his name”. Possible Parthian examples found in the Nisa ostracas are, *Artapān* “Having the protection of *Ṛta*”, *Humay* and *Humāyak* “Whose prestige is good” and *Mihrfarn* “Having the *farn* of Mithra”, but synchronically possibly also *Ōgtanūk* “Having a body of strength”, comparable to NP *xoršidēhr* “having a face like the sun” *xoršidgun* “having the colour of the sun”.

In Sogdian, Bahuvrīhi compounds are found in names such as *ršndys* “resembling *Rašn*, lit. having the appearance of (the god) *Rašn*” or *st’sp* “possessing a hundred horses”.

Examples of this kind of compounds in Pahlavi are very frequent. A number of ancestors of *Frēdōn*, belonging to the *Āθβiān* family have compounded names with *gāw* “bovine” as second member, cf. *Bōr-gāw* “Owning reddish cows”, *Spēd-gāw* “Owning white cows” etc.¹⁴ Inherited names of this kind are *Pōrušāsp*, deriving from the already mentioned YAv. *Pourušāspa-*, *Pētyarāsp*, probably calqued from an Avestan **Paitiāra-aspa-* “Owning warlike horses”, and the name of Zoroaster’s royal protector, *Wištāsp* “Owning loose, unbridled horses”¹⁵ attested both in YAv. *Vīštāspa-* and OP *Vištāspa-*.

Determinative compounds are attested in the Persepolis tablets especially in names of the *Devadatta-/Θεόδοτος* type attested already in the Rigveda (3, 53, 15) in the epitheton *jamádagnidatta-*. Clear examples are *Irdadda* (**Ṛta-dāta-*) “Given/created by *Ṛta*”, *Bakadata*, *Bakdadda* (*Baga-dāta-*) “Given by *Baga*”, attested in WMIr *Bgd(‘)d*, as well as *Par-*

¹³ According to Gignoux (1986:127) masculine, but considered feminine by Zimmer (1991:121).

¹⁴ The lineage of *Frēdōn* is discussed in Cereti Forthcoming.

¹⁵ This name was thoroughly discussed by Szemerényi (1949-50), and Narten (1964: 28f.); further literature in Mayrhofer 1979:I:97.

nadadda (**Farna(h)-dāta-*) “Given by *Farnah-*” found also in inverted form in *Da-tap-parna*, and *Tiridata* (**Tīri/a-dāta-*), “Given by *Tīr*”. Avestan names are: YAv. *Ātarādāta-* “Given by *Ātar*”, continued by MP *Ādur-dād*, or *Ātarapāta-* “Protected by *Ātar*” continued by the very popular MP *Ādurbād*.¹⁶

This kind of names is very popular in Middle Iranian as attested by examples such as IMP *Yazdagird* “Made by god”, *Yazdān-dād* “Given by the gods”, *Mihr-āfrīd* “Created or blessed by Mithra”, etc. Manichaean texts present names such as MP *Šāhryār-zāde* “Son of the ruler”, Pth. *Radn-frazend* “Offspring of the jewel” and Sogd. *Vaγ-anūt* (By’nwt) “God’s support”. Arsacid Parthian attestations are **Ātardāt* “Given by Fire”, *Bag-dāt* “Given by God” and *Gōdāt* with the peculiar meaning of “Given by the Bovine”, *Mihr-buxt* “Saved by Mithra” and *Kōf-zād* “Born in the mountains”. Forms such as *Byyδβ’r* “Gift of God”, *’xwrmzdδ’t* “Given by *Ohrmazd*” and *xsrōmyw* “Tiger of the empire” are found in Sogdian.

Various examples can be found in Zoroastrian Middle Persian; see, among others, *Baxt-āfrīd* “Given or Blessed by Fate”, *Ādurdād* “Given by Fire” *Māhdād* “Given by *Māh*”.¹⁷ Examples of inverted *Tatpuruṣas* are *Bōxt-Anāhīd* “Saved by *Anāhīd*” and *Dādohrmazd* “Given by *Ohrmazd*”.¹⁸ The inverted *Tatpuruṣa* seems to be a (Middle) Iranian innovation (Zimmer 1991:113). Determinative compounds have been very productive in Middle Persian; however, names such as *Wuzurgbūd* “Who has become

¹⁶ Both are found in inscriptional Middle Persian as well as in Pahlavi.

¹⁷ Names of the type of *’twr’bwcyt* and the doubtful *k(w)štn’bwcyt*, both found in Pahlavi texts, can be read in two ways. Gignoux has interpreted the second member of the names such as *Ādurbōzīd* *Baxt-bōzīd*, *Farrox-Dārāyā-bōzīd*, *Mihr-bōzīd*, and *Vālān-bōzīd* as a secondary PPP of the verb *bōxtan*, *bōz-*, which could either derive from an ancient **bou-jiyata-* or be a Middle Persian construction. (Gignoux 1986 passim). However, Humbach, in his review of Gignoux’ book has correctly underlined that such a PPP is never attested and that Henning (*apud* Bivar 1968: 678) had proposed the reading *Vālān-bōzīd* “Save Vardanes”. Moreover, Humbach remarks that *bōzēd* can be both 2nd pl. and 3rd sg. providing, in the case of *Vālān-bōzēd* both the meaning “Save Vardanes” and “Vardanes saves” (Humbach 1987:70f.). Thus it seems probable that *Ādur-bōzēd* and *Kuštān-bōzēd*, should be considered phrase-names rather than *tatpuruṣas*.

¹⁸ On the diffusion of inverted compounds in Iranian onomastics, see i.a. Mayrhofer 1973:280 and Gignoux 1979:69f.

great, Who was great" and *Mard-būd* "Who has become a man" attested in IMP both as *Mard-būd* and as *Būd-mard*, are probably better understood as deriving from synchronical syntagmas.

Attributive and appositional compounds are rare in the older stages of the language. Such are *Ušakaya* found on the Persepolis Treasure tablets and comparable to GA. *huš.haxi* "Good friend" and YA. *Auruasāra* "Brave chief", if a personal name at all (cf. Mayrhofer 1979:I:26). In Middle Iranian this type is relatively more common and has been identified by Sims-Williams in Sogdian names such as *'rwmyw* "Brave tiger", *δxz'tk* "Male child", and *xwrmyw* "Sun-tiger" (Sims-Williams 1992:34). Sundermann (1994:256) has seen possible *Karmadhārayas* in names such as *Āzād-vām* "Noble splendour",¹⁹ a combination of Western Iranian and Sogdian elements, Sogd. *Nawē-māx* (nw'ym'x) "New moon", WMIr. *Nēw-Mānī* "Brave Mānī" or WMIr. *Šād-Ohrmezd* "Happy Ohrmazd".²⁰ Furthermore, he has identified a group of names defined as "appositionell verbundene Substantiva" as WMIr. *Mīhr-šāh* "King Mīhr", WMIr. *Purr-māh-Yazād* "God Full-moon" – but also *Yazad-Māh* "God moon"²¹ and WMIr. *Sīsīn-wispuhr* "Prince Sīsīn"²², to which one may compare Pahl. *Šagr-Gušnāsp* "Lion Gušnāsp". Further examples are to be found in IMP in names such as *Friy-Ohrmazd* "Beloved Ohrmazd",²³ and possibly also *Friy-Zar-Māh-Gušnāsp* "Beloved Zar-Māh-Gušnāsp",²⁴ and *Anōšagzād(ag)* "Born immortal".

Burz is often found in compounds and it can be interpreted either as a divine name or simply as an adjective "lofty, exalted" (Zimmer 1991:128). Although in at least one case, *Burz-dād*

¹⁹ Less probably a *Bahuvrīhi* "Having noble splendour" on the model of YA. *pouru.x'arənah*.

²⁰ Though theoretically this name could also be explained as "Who makes *Ohrmazd* happy".

²¹ Although it would also be possible to interpret it as "Having the Moon as god", a *Bahuvrīhi* belonging the RV type *śisnádeva* "having the penis as god" (Wackernagel 1905:275).

²² Sundermann 1994:253f., who underlines the existence of inverted *Karmadhārayas*.

²³ Differently Gignoux 1986:87: "aimé (par) Ohrmazd", but possibly also "Who has *Ohrmazd* dear". On *Friy* see also Sundermann 1994:258.

²⁴ Differently Gignoux 1986:88, and Zimmer 1991:145 "*Gušnāsp* mit dem lieben alten Mond".

"Given by *Burz*", it is surely a divine name, a number of other occurrences can be interpreted either as *Dvandvas* composed by two divine names or, less probably, as *Karmadhārayas* "the high/exalted X", cf. *Burz-Ādur*, *Burz-Ādur-Husrāw*, *Burz-Anāhīd*, *Burz-Mīhr*, *Burz-Gušnasp* (name of a fire) etc. Two names: *Burz-āzād* and *Burz-weh* can be either interpreted as real, adjectival *Dvandvas*, respectively "Lofty and noble" and "Lofty and good" or, less probably, as inverted *Karmadhārayas*: "Best *Burz*" and "Noble *Burz*", the latter also as an "Exalted noble". Only three compounds present *Burz* as second member: *Gušnasp-dād--burz*, *Māh-burz* and *Ādur-burz*; the first should be interpreted as an inverted *Karmadhāraya* "Lofty *Gušnasp-dād*" while the other two could belong to both types.²⁵

Attributive compounds attested in Pahlavi are i.a. *Dādfarrox* "Created fortunate" found also in IMP, *Anōš-zād* "Born immortal", *Āzād-mard* "Freeman", *Burz--Ādur-Farr-bay* "Lofty *Ādur-Farrbay*"²⁶, *Nēw-Gušnasp* "Brave *Gušnasp*", *Nēw-Šābuhr* "Brave *Šābuhr*", and *Farrox-zād* "Born fortunate".

Governing compounds are attested both in the Old and Middle Iranian periods. Examples taken from the Persepolis Fortification tablets are: *Ba-rat-ka-ma-* (Med. **Barat-kāma-*) "Bringing, i.e. accomplishing the wish", to which compare Pth. *Barkamak*, and *Baraddumawiš* corresponding to the NS **Barat-vahuš* of the *u-* stem *Barat-vahu-* "Bringing the good".²⁷ Persian forms are *Mindaparna* corresponding to OP *Vi-i-d-f-r-n-h-** *Vindafarnah-* "Obtaining the *Farnah-*" to which one may compare YAv. *Vidaṭ.x'arenah-*. Interesting, but uncertain is the name *Irtammintaš* interpreted by Gershevitch (1969a:194) as **ṛta-vinda-* "Finding the Truth" and comparable to the names reported by Sundermann in Manichean texts. Avestan attestations of this kind of compounds are i.a. the name of Zoroaster's eldest son YAv. *Isaṭ.vastra-* "Seeking pasture land", to an Avestan *aēš*, Old. *ES'* continued by Pahlavi *Isadwāstar*, as well as GAv. *Haēcaṭ.aspa-* "Sprinkling horses" (?) to Av. *haēk*, AId.

²⁵ Or as Bahuvrīhis of the Old. *yamā-średḍha-* "for whom Yama is, i.e. comes, first" type, cf. Wackernagel 1905:275.

²⁶ According to Zimmer 1991:113 *Karmadhāraya* built from two adjectives are an Iranian innovation.

²⁷ North Western and Eastern Iranian present the *ksáyad-vīra-* type of Vedic, while South Western Iranian presents the *φερέοικος* type, i.a. in *Dāraya-vau-* "holding firmly the good".

SEC (Iir **saik*). Here belongs also a number of personal names derived or analogous to YAv. *Uruuataṅ.nara* "Commanding men", whose first member is probably derived from $\sqrt{urat-}$, *ruat-* attested in Khotanese *parī-* "to command", ptcpl. *ree*, *rrund-* "King" and possibly in Sogdian onomastics (Sims-Williams 1992:42), cf. Old. *vratá-* "command, rule" (EWA II:594). Such are the following, all found in Pahlavi texts: **Urwadāsp*, "Commanding horses", obtained by haplology, belonging both to an ancestor of Zoroaster and to *Dahāg*'s father, *Uruuataṅnar*, written in Avestan letters and corresponding to the mentioned Avestan name, and *Uruuat.ga* also written in Avestan letters, in the surprising meaning of "Commanding bovines". The preservation of the -t at the end of the first member shows clearly that all these names are derived from Avestan, being either calques on Avestan forms or late analogical constructions. The Pahl. name *Fradāxšt* corresponds to a YAv. *Fradāxšti-* "Furthering peace", interpreted by Mayrhofer (1979:I:39) as a possible example of $\varphi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ cmp., but more convincingly derived by haplology, haplography, or as dialect form from **frāda(t).axšti-* by Kellens (1976: 60f.). According to Gignoux (1979: 71), this type of compound is rare in Middle Persian; he mentions only the names *Gundafarr* (<**Vinda-farnah-*), to which compare Pth. *Winda-farnak*, and the problematic patronymicon *Gundaxwārān*. In Manichean texts Sundermann (1994: 257) has found various types of governing compounds,²⁸ such are Sogd. *Δēn-frād* (Δynfr'δ) "Furthering religion" and WMlr. *Nox-dār* "Holder of the first rank". Arsacid Parthian examples are *Arya-barzan* "Elevating the Aryas", *Gōtarz* "Ox-crusher" from \sqrt{tarz} attested by Waxi *tarz*, Šughni *tōγgak*, *tōwjak* "chip", Old. TARH, *Mihrbōžan* "Satisfying, Serving Mithra", cf. Benveniste 1966: 108ff., *Windafarnak* and possibly *Artāwān* "Conquering with Arta". To this same group belong names such as IMP *Ādur-dār* "Possessing a Fire"²⁹ or Pahl. *Māh-ayār* "Helping *Māh*" and *Way-ayār*

²⁸ Here I have preferred to classify the cmp. with a PPP as second member under the *Tatpuruṣas* and, as admitted also by Sundermann (1994:250), cmp. with PPP as first member either among the *Bahuvrīhis* or the *Karmadhārayas*.

²⁹ Differently Gignoux 1986:33 who prefers to derive it from "*ātṛ-* et du suffixe -*dāra*", "qui garde un feu, qui a la charge du feu" or to think of an hypocoristic **Āṭṛ-d-ara-* from **Āṭṛ-dāta-*.

“Helping Way”.³⁰ Possibly also YAv. *Airiiāuuau-* the name of *Manuščihr*’s father known later as MP *Ēreč*, ENP *Ēraj*, belongs here, at least following Bartholomae’s (1904: 199) analysis as **arya-ava-* “Furthering the Arians”, to Av. *auu-*, Ved. *av-* “to help, to further”.

The interpretation of copulative compounds (*Dvandva*) in Iranian onomastics is disputed. The question has been vigorously raised by Gignoux (1979: 71ff.). In Avestan only two possible examples are recorded. *Mazdrāuuuayhu-* from YAv. *mazdra-* “wise” and YAv. *vayhu-* “good” (n. and adj.), has been interpreted by Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 49) as “Wise and good” and by Benveniste *apud* Duchesne-Guillemin as “Good through *Mazdra-*”. Similar is the name *Srīrāuuuayhu-*, derived from Av. *srīrā-* “beautiful” and interpreted as *Dvandva* by Duchesne-Guillemin “Good and beautiful”, by Benveniste as “Good through *Srīra-*”, while Schmitt (1998: 185) convincingly proposes “mit schönen Gütern” on the parallel of *Srīraoxšan-* “mit schönen Stieren”. Mayrhofer underlines that the second name (and with more difficulty the first) could theoretically be interpreted as a *Bahuvrihi* “mit schönem Gut” (Mayrhofer 1979:I:62 and 79, with literature). A number of possible *Dvandvas* found on the Persepolis fortification tablets are listed by Gignoux (loc. cit.) who distinguishes between the *Dvandvas* composed by two adjectives and those coupling two divine names, a type already attested in dual syntagmas in the Rigveda. The existence of the first type is difficult to demonstrate, but at least one name found in the Persepolis tablets can be so understood: *Rašdaxma*, at least if we are to believe Hinz’s interpretation (1975: 200) **Rāštaxma-* “True and Brave”, be it not a *Karmadhāraya*. As for the two Middle Persian names proposed by Gignoux, we have already seen that *Burz-āzād* “exalté et libre” (Gignoux 1986: 62), could alternatively be interpreted as a *Karmadhāraya*, while the etymology and meaning of *Burz-tagāy* are not assured.

Quite different is the question of those names which couple two divinities and are defined by Schmitt (1984: 328) as “Schein-Dvandvas”. They are attested very rarely, if at all, on the Persepolis treasure tablets, the only solid example being *Ir-damišša* (**Rta-miça-*) “*Rta* and *Mithra*”, which, however, has

³⁰ Possibly also nominal, respectively “Helper of *Māh*” and “Helper of *Way*”.

been interpreted differently by Gershevitch (1969a: 194; Mayrhofer 1973: 164 with literature). A possible YAv. example is *Ašāhura-* which, however, is basically a "Zitat-Name" (cf. Mayrhofer 1977: 13). Other examples listed by Hinz which, if correctly interpreted, seem convincing are Akk. *Ba-ga-mi-šu* (**Bagamiša-*) "God and Mithra", possibly a Bahuvrīhi "Having Mithra as god", and Akk. *Ḥar-ra-ma-ḥi-i'*, *Ḥa-ar-ma-ḥi-i'* (**Hvarmāhī*) "Sun and Moon", where the name for Moon would present a feminine *-i*-stem.

This type is clearly attested in IMP in an impressive number of examples such as *Mihr-Ohrmazd*, *Tīr-Māh*, *Xwaršēd-Māh*, *Ādur-Mihr*, *Mihr-Narseh*, *Zurwān-Māh*, etc. Similar is the case for IPth. where we find *Ātur-Mihrak*, *Mihr-Sāsān*, *Mihr-Xšahr*, *Rašn-Mihr* etc.³¹ Sundermann (1994: 256) reports names of the same type found in Manichaean texts: such are *Mihr-Wahman* and *Yišō-Wahman*, both Middle Persian. *Bārist-Xwaršēd* "Paradise and Sun" is interpreted by Sundermann (loc.cit.) as an "appellativische Paare", and *Wahman-Xwaršēd* "Wahman and Sun" as a proper name followed by an appellativum. Parthian names belonging to this type are *Ātar-Mihrak* "Fire and Mithra", *Dēn-Mazdak* "Religion and Mazda" *Frawart-Mihr(ak)*, *Tīri-Mihrak* and *Wahragn-Sāsān*.

As expected, these names are very common in Pahl. where i.a. the following are found: *Ādur-Māh* "Fire and Moon", *Ādur-Mihr* "Fire and Mithra", **Ādur-Narseh* "Fire and Neryosangh", *Ādur-Ohrmazd* "Fire and Ohrmazd", *Farrbay-Srōš* "(Fire) *Farrbay* and *Srōš*", *Māh-Ādur* "Moon and Fire", *Māh-Gušnasp* "Moon and (Fire) *Gušnasp*", *Māh-Husrav* "Moon and *Husrav*", *Mihr-Ādur-farrbay* "Mithra and Fire *Farrbay*", *Mihr-Ataxš* "Mithra and Fire", *Mihr-Narseh*, "Mithra and Neryosangh" *Mihr-Ohrmazd* "Mithra and Ohrmazd" and *Mihr-Xwaršēd* "Mithra and Sun". In the case of *Mardag-Pusānweh* two names not belonging to divinities have been juxtaposed.

No *Dvandvas* are found in the Upper Indus graffiti, since the only possible attestation *rywxns* has been interpreted by Sims-Williams (1992: 34) as a *Tatpuruṣa* "Strong through the Rich (god)" rather than as "Rich and strong".

Dvandvas composed by two divine names are thus mainly

³¹ A list of this type of names, both in Parthian and Middle Persian is found in Gignoux 1979:73f., see also Gignoux 1986 and MacKenzie 1986 *passim*.

confined to Western Iranian and in this context scantily attested in Old Iranian, but richly found in the Middle Iranian period.

Names relying on old poetic material and "Zitat-Namen" have been carefully described by Mayrhofer (1977:12ff.). Interestingly, some of the names that he has studied have survived in Pahlavi. Thus YAv. *Ašəm.yahmāi.ušta* a Zitat-Name taken from Y 43.1 appears in the form *Xamāiūša* in the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* while *Aγrāraθa-* "Having the chariot at the fore" – or be this awkward English "Having the chariot at the foremost place" –, shows Indo-Iranian roots, being comparable to RV 9,96,1 *ágre ráthānām*, and survives in Pahl. *Aγreraθ* and NP *Agriraš*. Another name inspired by an Avestan passage is *Astuuat.ərata-* derived from Y 46,6 *astuuat ašəm xiiā* "let Aša be made of bones" and continued in IMP *Astwadird*.³²

Possible "Satznamen" are MP *Yazad-āmad* "God came"³³ or Sogd. "γtz'k "A child has come" (Sims-Williams 1992: 34).

Uncompounded names are well attested at all stages of Iranian onomastics. Some of them, specifically those listed under the first two headings, are primarily simple names, while others are shortened from compounds. Often it is not easy to choose between these two possibilities.

Mayrhofer (1973: 280ff.) has identified various types of uncompounded names in Old Iranian. The first group is represented by what he calls laudatory names (lobender Namen) such as *Ak-še-na* (**Axšaina-*) "Dark", **Taxma-* "brave" implied by f. *Dakma* (**Taxmā*) as well as by the patronymicon *Dakmana* (**Taxmāna-*), *Šudda* (OP **Čuta-* for OIr. **Sruta-*) "Famous" etc. The same kind of names are found in Avestan, cf. *Taxma-*, *Sāma-* "Black", *Varšni-* "Male, masculine" and *Aršan-* "Man", if not abbreviated forms of compounds. IMP names belonging to this group are *Wīr* "Man", *Wēh* "Sage", *Nōg* "New" and *Pāb* "Dad"³⁴ are listed in Zimmer 1991:121ff. According to Sundermann (1994: 259), Manichaean texts concur with other Iranian

³² Cf. Zimmer 1991:113¹⁶. The form *Ādur-bād--Anōš* (loc. cit.) is not a Satz-Name, but should rather be interpreted as *Karmadhāraya* "Immortal *Ādurbād*" since spellings with [b] instead of [p] are attested also for the name *Ādurbād*, see Gignoux 1986:30f.

³³ But other possibilities are open, see Sundermann 1994:257.

³⁴ Names containing nouns designating some kind of animal are listed in Zimmer 1991:121ff.

evidence in preserving a far higher number of compounded names. However, he reports a few names which can be listed here. Such are WMir. *Nēw* "Brave", Sogd. *Wisāk* "Peace" and theriophorous names such as WMIR. *Warrag* "Ram" and Sogd. *Rōpās* "Fox". Simple names attested in the Nisa material are *Fradāt* "Created" to YAv. *fradāta-*, *Žīw* "Quick, Lively" cf. Elam. *Zi-ma-ak-ka*, Bab. *Zi-ma-ka-*' and Aram. *Zywk* (< **Jiwa-ka-*) all reported by Schmitt (1998: 192), and *Farnxwant* "Endowed with Farnah" attested also as *Farnaxw* and *Farn-xwantak* to which compare Sogd. *Prnxwnik*. The inscriptions of the Upper Indus preserve a number of short names such as 'n'xt "Anahita", kw'y "Giant", nny "Nanai" (Sims-Williams 1992: 35). This type of names is well represented in Pahlavi, where we have examples such as *Barzišt* "Lofty", cf. Av. *bərəzišta-*, *Pērōz* "Victorious", *Sāhm* "Black"³⁵, cf. YAv. *Sāma-* and NP *Sām*, and **Bitā*³⁶ "second", built on the parallel to *θrita-*, cf. Skr. *Dvitā-* and *Tritā-*. Theriophor names found in Pahlavi are *Sēn*, YAv. *Saēna-* and *Warāz* "Boar".³⁷

A second group present in Old Iranian is represented by names derived from ethnonyma and toponyma such as *Muzrya* (**Muzrya-*) "Egyptian", *Bariššā* (**Pārsa-*) "Persian", and *Yaunā*³⁸ (**Yauniya-*) "Ionian Greek". To the same type belongs the Avestan name *Tūra-* "Turanian". Similar names are found in IMP, such are *Xūzīg* "Elamite", in the old patronymic *Dahān* "Dahian", cf. OP *Daha-*, and possibly hypocoristica such as *Dāhōy* [sic] and *Māhōy* "Median". An example of this type found in the Nisa documents is *Sakān*, a patronymic built on OIr. **Saka-*. No ethnic name is reported by Sundermann. The Upper Indus graffiti preserve examples such as 'spcwβγnc "native of 'spcwβγm" (?), 'styx'nc "native of 'styx'n", kš'ykndč "native of the city Kish" (?). In Zoroastrian texts, ethnonyms are represented by *Asūrīg* "Syrian, Babylonian", *Tāj*, clearly related to *Tāzīg* "Arab" and *Tūr(a)*, YAv. *Tūra-* "Turanian", as well as in the names of the three sons of *Frēdōn*: *Salm*, *Tūč* (NP *Tūr* and *Tūraj*) and *Ērec*.

³⁵ Found also as *Sām* and possibly *Sāma* [s'mk], it builds a patronymic *Sāhmān*.

³⁶ Possibly a fem. *Bitī*.

³⁷ To this group can be assigned names derived from titles and appella-tiva such as MP *Šahrab* "Satrap" or Sogd. *štīkyn* "Bony".

³⁸ Ya-u-na-a, Ya-u-na, Ya-u-na-ya, Cf. Mayrhofer 1973: 252.

Finally, a third group of simple names is represented by short forms of compound names. Examples of this kind are particularly frequent. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets preserve names such as *Mitra* (**Miθra*-), short form to one of the many compounds containing the name of this divinity, *Tarma* (**Druva*-) to which compare Pahl. *Druwāsp* (OP **Druvāspa*-, YAv. *Druuāspa*-, name of a minor god) "Who makes the horses healthy" and *Minda* (**Vinda*-), cf. OP **Vinda-farnah*-. The Avesta contains names such as *Frauuā*-, possibly a short form to a name such as **Frauuā-aspa*-, as suggested by Pahl. *Frawāg*-, possibly a hypocoristic to the same name,³⁹ similarly YAv. *Tusa*- is possibly from **Tusāspa*- "mit lossprengenden Rossen"⁴⁰ and *Sauuāh*- "Powerful", either a short form to a compound containing this lemma or an original uncompounded name.⁴¹ If we turn to the Middle Iranian evidence, we find examples such as IMP *Farr* "Farnah", derived from one of the numerous compound names containing this lemma, such as *Farr-Bay*, *Farr-Mihr*, *Farr-Narseh* or *Gunda-farr*, *Sēd-farr* [sic], *Ardaxšīr-farr* etc; *Dād*, cf. *Dād-Ard*, *Dād-Farr*, *Dād-anōšag* or *Tīrdād*, *Wahmandād* and *Zurwāndād*; and *Burz* cf. *Burz-Ādur*, *Burz-Ādur-Mihrād*, *Burz-ātaxš* or *Māh-burz*, *Ādur-burz* and *Gušnasp-dād-burz*. Sundérmann (1994:259) mentions Manichaean names such as MP *Dōšist* "Most loved", MP *Raymast* "Well-living" and Sogd. *Zāḍak* "Son" attested also as elements of compound names. In the Parthian ostracas from Nisa we find *Frāt* which may be a short form of names such as **Frātafarnah*- or *Frātagaumā*-, *Barzan*, cf. *Arya-barzan* and *Mihr-barzan* and *Bōžan* taken from one of the many theophoric names where it is found as second member. Moreover, the Nisa texts present various forms shortened from theophoric names such as: *Mihr*, *Frawart*, *Rašn*, *Srōšak* and *Sāsān(ak)*. In Sogdian a number of nouns are found both as simple names and as parts of a compound; such

³⁹ Mayrhofer 1977:28^{134a} proposes a meaning "mit springenden Pferden" on the parallel of the Vedic syntagma *āsvā āplavante* "die Pferde springen [zu jemd.] hin".

⁴⁰ Mayrhofer 1973:28f. on the basis of RV 8, 50, 5 *ātyo nā tósate* "er sprengt los wie ein Renner".

⁴¹ On other shortened forms, such as Allegroforms (**Bag-dāta*- <*Baga-dāta*-> and names presenting an ellipse in the first or second member (**Baga-da* and **Ga-dāta*- <*Baga-dāta*->, see Mayrhofer 1973:281ff.

are *myw* "Tiger" (*'rwmyw*, *mywprmyw*, *prnmyw* etc.) and *prn* "Farnah" (*'zprn*, *y'nprn*, *'yprn* etc.) but also *kw'y* "Giant" (*wkw'y*), *'n'xt* "Anahita" (*'n'xtβntk*), and *nn* "Nana" (*nnk'*, *nnywc*, *nn'ny*; Sims-Williams 1992: 34 *et passim*).

Possible short names found in Pahlavi literature are *Rōšn* "Light, Luminous", though the chances that it be an original simple name are high, since the only fitting compound attested in Middle Persian is *Rōšnčašm*, *Farrox* "Fortunate", cf. names such as *Farroxburzēn*, *Farroxgyān*, *Farroxmard*, etc., and *Taxm*, YAv. *Taxma-* "Brave", probably a short form of names such as *Taxmurab*.⁴²

It is often difficult to decide whether a name should be considered a short form to a compound or an original simple name. However, some cases are clear. Names of female divinities borne by males (Sims-Williams 1992: 34) should be considered short forms just as names such as Pth. *Farnaxwant* can be safely interpreted as original simple names.

A great number of attested Old and Middle Iranian names are hypocoristica. This is not the place to discuss the many hypocoristic suffixes which are attested in Old Iranian and their survival in the various Middle Iranian languages (those interested are referred, specifically for Old Iranian, to Mayrhofer 1973: 285ff.⁴³). For what regards Middle Iranian languages, a detailed enumeration of these suffixes in Inscriptional Middle Persian, complete with references to their origin, can be found in Gignoux 1979:62ff., while a short elencation of hypocoristic suffixes in Sogdian is found in Sims-Williams 1992:34. Hypocoristica found in the Nisa documents are listed in Schmitt 1998:185ff. and 1999:128.

Hypocoristica can be built either on short names, the more common case, on compounds, or on hypocoristic roots.⁴⁴ Examples in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets are *Ir-da-ba-ya* (**Rtab-aya-* < **Rtabānu-*; cf. Schmitt 1972:76), *Harriyazza* and *Harrizza* (**Āryača-*) and *Dānakka* (**Dainaka-*, cf. MP *Dēnag*). Possible Avestan examples are *Frāčīia-* cf. YAv. *Frāčīθra-* "of ex-

⁴² Ultimately deriving from the Yav. syntagma *taxmō urupa azinauuā*, cf. Mayrhofer 1979:I:83f.

⁴³ See also R. Schmitt *apud* Mayrhofer 1973:287ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Daddama* (**Dātama-*) < **Dātam-* < **Dāta-miθra-*, Mayrhofer 1973:146 and 284. The term "hypokoristik Wurzel" was first proposed by Kuryłowicz 1968:347.

cellent lineage", *Aršīia-*, cf. *Aršan-*, and also OP *v-h-u-k-* (**Vahu-ka-*), hypocoristic to a name containing OIr. *vahu-* "good".⁴⁵ Hypocoristic names found in inscriptional texts, to mention only one for each type of derivational suffix, are: *Sēnag*, *Māhīg*, *Bōxtōg*, *Mazdēz*, *Kirmāy*, *Mihriy*, *Wīrōy*, *Kārin*⁴⁶ and *Dādēn* (Gignoux 1979:62ff. and 1986 *passim*). Parthian hypocoristica, as found at Nisa, are *Aršak*, *Ahurmazdik*, *Aspicak*, *Aspinak*, *Dēnič*, *Kārin*, *Mihrēn(ak)* and *Rēwān*. Sogdian hypocoristic names attested in the Upper Indus corpus are i.a.: *γyc'kk*, *γrck'*, *wrd'k(k)*, *nrck*, *cyrδc*, *δwt'yk*, *'rγ'yn*, *swynk* (possibly (pro-) patronymic), etc. (Sims-Williams 1992: 34f. *et passim*). Hypocoristic names are well attested in Western Iran, both in the Persepolis tablets and in the Middle Persian material, and the same seems to be true, at least to a certain extent, for Sogdian. They are, it seems, less frequent in the Avesta. A number of hypocoristic names are attested in Pahlavi literature; such are: *Mardag* "Man", *Bōxtag*, to one of the many names containing the PPP *bōxt*, *Syāmag* "Black", **Frāzya*, cf. YAv. *Frāčīia-* possibly to a hypocoristic root *Frāc°* derived from a name such as *Frāčīθra-* (Cf. Mayrhofer 1977: 17), *Ādurōg* (IMP *Ādurōy*, and *Ādarōg*) "Fire", *Burzōy* "Lofty, Exalted", *Mihrēn* to the divine name *Mihr* "Mithra" commonly found in compounds, and *Ēreč*.

Patronymics—often used as personal names—play an important role in Iranian onomastics. In Old Iranian (pro-) patronymics are regularly built through the suffixes **āna-*, **āyana-* and **i-* with *Vrddhi*.⁴⁷ In the Persepolis Fortification Tablets *Bake-na* (**Bagāyana-*) is possibly a patronymic to **Baga-*, so as *Bakiš* (*Bāgi-*). Patronymics in *-āna-* are particularly common, cf. *Dat-tana* (**Dātāna-*) patronymic to *Dāta-* and *Šakkana* (*Šakāna-*) to *Šakka* (**Šaka-*). Avestan patronymics are GAv. *Haēcaṭaspāna-*, said of the daughter of Zoroaster, to the name *Haēcaṭ.aspa-*, itself possibly a patronymic, cf. Kellens-Pirart 1988: 8), *Dānaiiana-* to a name **Dāna-* or *Dāni-*, and *Siiā-*

⁴⁵ On hypocoristica in Avestan see Mayrhofer 1973:14ff., on the reconstruction of *v-h-u-k-* as *Vahu-ka* see Schmitt, 1978: 46⁶⁶.

⁴⁶ The existence of **ina-* and **uka-* hypocoristic suffixes, suggested by Schmitt *apud* Mayrhofer, 1973:287ff., is doubted by Sims-Williams (1978:99), see more recently Schmitt 1983.

⁴⁷ Gershevitch (1969a.172) has proposed two further patronymic suffixes **āni-* and **iya-*, Mayrhofer (1973:283), accepts the first with caution and consider the examples of the second as hypocoristic names.

uuāspi- patronymic to **Siiāuuāspa-* “possessing dark horses”.

Western Middle Iranian builds patronymics in *-ān* (Pth. *-n*, MP *-’n*, *-n*) cf. MP *Pābagān*, *Šābuhrān*, *-agān* (Pth. *-kn*, MP *-k’n*, *-kn*), cf. MP *Pērōzagān* and *Šābuhragān* and *-īgān* (MP *-ykn*, Pth. *-ykn*), cf. MP *Sāsānīgān*, Pth. *Wardabedīgān*.⁴⁸ The Upper Indus graffiti show that by that time the Sogdians had given up the formation of patronymics through suffixes, in favour of constructions with BRY “Son”. However, the formal analysis of a number of names reveal possible instances of older Sogdian (pro-) patronymics. These are built through suffixes such as: *-(')'n(k)*, cf. *pyk’n*, *wrō(')n*, *dx’nk*, *pry’n’k*; *-(')yn(k)* cf. *prnyn*⁴⁹ and *-(')k’n(k)* cf. *kwš’nk’n* and *kwš’nk’nk*⁵⁰ (Sims-Williams 1992: 35).

In Pahlavi the regular (pro-)patronymic suffix is *-ān*, found in forms such as *Hwōwān*, *Pābagān*, and *Spītāmān*.⁵¹

Finally, a peculiar characteristic of Pahlavi onomastics should be mentioned. Pahlavi literature is basically a religious literature, based on the exegesis of the Avesta. Therefore it is not surprising that it shows a high number of Eastern Iranian forms in its onomastic repertory. However, Zoroastrian commentators went one step further. They incorporated in the texts Avestan words and names such as *Harδar* YAv. *haratar-* “guardian”, *Uruuataṭnar*, calqued on the YAv. name *Uruuataṭ.nara*, and forms presumably copied from the *Frawardīn Yašt* such as *Spəntō xratuuō* which appears as GDu. *Spəntō xratuuā* in Yt. 13.115, *Srūdō špādā* also appearing in Yt. 13.115 as *Srūtō.spādā*, or distortions of presumably Avestan names such as *Urugaδasp*.

⁴⁸ Classified by Gignoux 1979:42ff. under *-agān*.

⁴⁹ This suffix builds (pro-)patronymics and/or hypocoristics, cf. Sims-Williams 1992:45 and, among others, the above mentioned hypocoristic *δwt’yk*.

⁵⁰ Possibly an ethnic adjective, cf. Sims-Williams 1992:55.

⁵¹ Apparent **gān* patronymics, attested also in NP *Kašvādagān* and *Kavgān*, are found in *Xumbīgān* (YAv. *Xumbīia-*), *Boxtagān*, *Gēwagān* (?), however each of them can individually be explained as patronymica to an **ag* hypocoristic name. A fourth possible case, *Ādur-bādagān*, is a well known toponym. The construction with the *ežāfe* and a *-ø* morpheme, common in New Persian, is attested in late texts such as the *Rēwāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān* (REA 1.3): *Ādur-Gušnāsp ī Mihr-Ātaxš ī Ādur-Gušnāsp*, but also i.a. in the genealogy of the prophet Zoroaster listed among others in *Dēnkard* 7.2.70.

To conclude, the onomastic material found in Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts is quite similar, as expected, to that found in other nearly coeval sources. The main innovation common to Western Iranian, at least in its middle period, is represented by the presence of a high number of copulative compounds based on two divine names. Peculiar to Pahlavi literature is the high number of loans from Avestan, which is due to the exegetical and chiefly religious character of these texts, as could be shown by a study of the distribution of such loans. Moreover not only loans are found, but also veritable calques, at times distorted and often written in Avestan characters. Though different in forms and cause, this may be compared to the high frequency of Aramaic names found in the earlier Central Asiatic Manichean texts.

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Abbreviations:

Akk.: Akkadian

Aram.: Aramaic

Bab.: Babylonian

ENP: Early New Persian

GAv.: Gathic Avestan

IMP: Inscriptinal Middle Persian

IPth: Inscriptional Parthian

MP: Middle Persian

NP: New Persian

Pahl.: Pahlavi

Old.: Old Indian

OIr.: Old Iranian

OP: Old Persian

Sogd.: Sogdian

WMIr.: Western Middle Iranian

YAv.: Younger Avestan

CHAPTER 15

Once again upon Middle Persian **māzdēs*n

Antonio Panaino

In another article dedicated to the Av. compounds *māzda-iiasna-*, *māzdaiiasni-*, and *mazdaiiasna-* (Panaino, 1993),¹ I tried to show how the phonetic opposition between both the *vrddhi*-formations and the one without it (i.e., *mazdaiiasna*) was strongly preserved and carefully distinguished in the mss. tradition of the Avestan texts.² On the other hand, the language of the Pahlavi books apparently presents us only with the direct continuation of the *vrddhi*-stem, i.e., *māzdēs*n [m'zd(y)sn], while that of the Sasanian inscriptions apparently shows nothing but *mazdēs*n [mzdysn] (see also Parthian *mzdysn*).³ In addition, we have to recall that the *vrddhi*-stem *māzdaiiasni-* was a standard in Avestan when referred to *daēnā-* and *vīs-*.⁴

Now, how can we explain the fact that a sentence⁵ as (*Ny. I, 8*) *daēnaṃ vaṃ'hīm māzdaiiasnīm yazmaide* ("we worship the Good Mazdean Religion") was translated into Pahlavi as *dēn ī weh māzdēsṇān yazēm*, while the same Av. sequence (*daēnā-*

¹ See also Benveniste, 1970: 137.

² In the following contribution I will not present all the data concerning the *Nebenüberlieferungen* and those from the analysis of the Av. manuscripts I have already given in detail in Panaino, 1993.

³ See now Huyse, 1999b: 2-4; cf. Panaino, 1993: 142 and passim. We may also recall that Armenian *mazdesn* (<**mazdayazna-*) is not pertinent because this language does not preserve the phonological opposition between long and short *a*.

⁴ See Bartholomae, 1904: 1169-1170; *māzdaiiasna-*, also, *hapax*, is attested only with *vīs-*, "village, clan's domain" (*Y.12.2*); see Panaino, 1993: 138-140; Lankarany, 1985, passim.

⁵ See the discussion in Panaino, 1993: 143-144.

māzdaiiasni-) corresponds in Middle Persian Inscriptions to *dyny mzdysn*, i.e., apparently to *dēn mazdēs*? My answer was that the inscriptions simply present us with a sort of *scriptio defectiva*, i.e., without writing the *mater lectionis* of the long *ā* of the first syllable, which actually should have still been pronounced as a long vowel. In fact, it would be peculiar to imagine a shortening of the *vrddhi*-stem⁶ about the third century A.D. and a levelling of the different Av. compounds in favour of the form with a short *a*, while in a later time the opposite phenomenon appeared (i.e., the lengthening of the first syllable, indifferently if from *māzdaiiasni-/mazdaiiasna-*).

Another solution was to suppose the existence of two different dialect varieties, but this possibility seemed to me only theoretical and less advantageous in light of further examples of defective scriptures in the inscriptions; in particular we may also recall that on Sasanian coins we regularly find *mzdysn bgy*,⁷ a feature which can be ascribed, with regard to its palaeographical origins, to a monumental tradition. On the other hand, the presence in the famous inscription of Arabissos⁸ of a clear reference to the *daēnā māzdaiiasni-*, written *dynmzdysnš* (i.e., apparently with a regular O.Ir. nominative ending [-iš]), as the wife of god Bēl (who was associated with Ahura Mazdā or with Miθra), confirmed the existence of an epigraphic tradition where a later Old Ir. **māzdēsni[i]š* (<**māzdayasniš*) was engraved as *mzdysnš*. We can also note that in any case *māzdēs* appears to be a *lectio difficilior* with respect to the regular spelling of the name of Ahura Mazdā, systematically with a short *a* in *ma*^o (cf. also O.P. *auramazdā-*; Pahl. *Ohrmazd*). By force of the emphatic nuance represented by the *vrddhi* (which in fact strongly distinguished the appurtenance of the *daēnā-* and of the *vīs-* to the Mazdean religion) this stem resulted as more marked with respect to the simple *māzdaiiasna-*. For these reasons I supposed that in Middle Persian only the compound with *vrddhi* prevailed, suggesting that we should read as **māzdēs* also *mzdysn* of the inscriptions.

⁶ On the use of the *vrddhi* in later periods see already Henning, 1958: 44-45.

⁷ See the table of the "Obverse Legends" in Göbl, 1973; see also Göbl, 1983: 330.

⁸ Halévy, 1898; Lidzbarski, 1900-1902: 66-69; Reichelt, 1901: 53, 54; Donner-Röllig, 1968, II: 311, Nr. 264; 1971, I: 51; detailed bibliography in Panaino, 1993: 149.

In a very kind review of this work, Ph. Huysse (1999a:29), objects that it is not sure that in the first syllable a long *ā* was not always written, and, following a suggestion by P.O. Skjærvo, he proposes the opposite solution, “c.-à-d. que ce soit la forme mp. *mzdysn* etc. qui aurait d’abord été généralisée (cf. l’araméen) et que la forme ‘érudite’ à voyelle longue n’aurait été empruntée à l’avestique que dans un deuxième temps”.

This solution is theoretically possible but it faces the following objections:

1) The Manichaean Middle Persian presents only the *vrddhi*-form in the fitting sequence *dyn m'zdys*, i.e., *dēn māzdēs* (mss. M. 543,⁹ M. 729).¹⁰ Thus we cannot admit that the living language used by the Manichaeans presented the opposite trend with respect to that of the Sasanian inscriptions (and of the Sasanian coins), nor could we invoke in this very case the impact and prestige of the Avestan tradition. We have also to recall that the MMP spelling is not attested only in these two manuscripts, because it is well documented in some other unpublished mss., according to a reference given by Huysse (1999b, II: 4) after W. Sundermann. Thus we may assume that the *vrddhi*-stem was current also outside of the priestly Zoroastrian circles and that it was normal also in the common Middle Persian language (*dari*).¹¹

2) If the form *māzdēsn* of the Pahlavi books was only the fruit of an erudite spelling, based on the Avestan tradition, we should explain why the Zoroastrian scribes—who had not spoken Avestan for a long time—were so able in distinguishing, still after the so-called Vulgate manuscript, the opposition between *vrddhi*- and non-*vrddhi*- compounds in Avestan? We should also find a certain influence of the living language (i.e., *māzdēsn*) towards a levelling of the *vrddhi*-stems into a more simple form and not a radical distinction of the Avestan forms and a levelling of the living (?) *māzdēsn* into an “erudite” *māzdēsn*. That *māzdēsn* was

⁹ Müller, 1904: 79.

¹⁰ See Boyce, 1975: 149; text cqa, 1; 1977: 56. On Man. Sogdian *dynmzt'yzn βyyy*, i.e., apparently *dēn-mazdayazn βayi* [M. 140], which in any case is based on the Av. sequence *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*, see Panaino, 1993: 146.

¹¹ See Lazard, 1971; Gnoli, 1989: 161-163.

not an erudite form is confirmed not only by the Manichaean M.P. tradition, but also by the fact that the *vrddhi*-form was not uniquely attested in Avestan; on the contrary it was contrastively used with *mazdaiiasna-* (theoretically >*mazdēs*); thus it was not compulsory to follow such a pattern and avestising the Pahlavi language in favour of the *vrddhi*-stem. On the contrary we should thus find both forms: *mazdēs*n (< *mazdaiiasna-*) and *māzdēs*n (< *māzdaiiasni-* / °*na-*).

3) The suspicion that the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan texts was realised during the Sasanian period, and that it reflected a relatively older form of Pahlavi, as suggested by A. Cantera (1999), does not authorise the supposition that the Pahlavi stem (*māzdēs*n) was simply a secondary development; probably it was contemporary to that of the Sasanian inscriptions (and, later, of the coins). In addition, we may note that it would be peculiar to assume that the current Avestan designation for the appurtenance to the Mazdean religion (*dēn ī māzdēs*nān, *dēn ī māzdēs*n, *māzdēs*n *dēn*) was not well-known and that it simply remained on the level of the erudition of the scribes.

4) The inscription of Arabissos, to be dated between the end of the Achaemenid and the beginning of the Parthian periods,¹² shows only a graphical fact which needs an interpretation and does not automatically reflect a linguistic reality; in face of Avestan *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*, of MMP *dēn māzdēs*, of Book-Pahl. *dēn māzdēs*n, I do not think we should assume that *dymzdysnš* of Arabissos (which seems to reflect an Av. syntagmatic sequence)¹³ *sic et simpliciter* represented *dēn *mazdēsniš*, while it is more probable that we find here a defective writing of *dēn *māzdēsniš* directly coming from the parallel and corresponding sequence *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*.

5) The prudent remarks with regard to the actual existence or not of a *scriptio defectiva* of the first syllable in MPI, raised by Huyse, do not compel us to deny that, as already noted by Benveniste (1958: 39), the *mater lectionis* of Iranian words, as at-

¹² For the literature and the discussion about the date of the inscription see Panaino, 1993: 149-150.

¹³ See Benveniste, 1933: 29; cf. Zaehner, 1955: 155; Panaino, 1993: 149.

tested in Imperial Aramaic, were not written with the exception of the final syllable; on the other hand, the presence of defective spelling in MPI is a well known fact (see Back, 1978: 68-69), which Salemann¹⁴ openly attributed to an Aramaic model.

For all these reasons I still suggest that MPI *mzdysn* could not simply represent *mazdēsn* but probably *māzdēsn*.

¹⁴ Salemann, 1930: 34, par. 35 in note: "In the inscriptions the medial long vowels are often left, according to Aramaic custom, without any designation ...".

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CHAPTER 16

The Zoroastrian and the Manichaean demon *Āz*

Werner Sundermann

The indisputable fact that the Zoroastrian demon (Av.) *Āzi*, (MP.) *Āz* steadily increased in prominence and importance has been simply stated or described as a development within Zoroastrian demonology or as a consequence of the impact of Buddhism or Manichaeism on the Zoroastrian doctrine. It was Hanns-Peter Schmidt who recently pointed out that there is, notwithstanding this development, an essential identity of the Avestan *Āzi* and the Middle Iranian *Āz*, at least in so far as the activities of *Āz* as the demon of hunger, thirst, gluttony, avarice, and miserliness are concerned. For the aspect of sexual desire, which is absent in the meager Avestan references and which plays only a marginal role in the Pahlavi texts, the possibility of a Manichaean influence on the Zoroastrian doctrine was taken into consideration.¹

Prof. Schmidt's results, which also correct, modify or confirm some of my assumptions on the relation between the Zoroastrian and the Manichaean demon *Āz*, mainly those I had put forward in my article "Some more remarks on Mithra in the Manichaean Pantheon"², induce me to reconsider those aspects of the Manichaean *Āz* which can be compared with the Zoroastrian *Āz*.

That the Zoroastrian *Āz* is basically "hunger, thirst, gluttony", etc., and not sexual desire, that it destroys and causes death, has justly been underscored by Schmidt. His evaluation of the relation between the Zoroastrian and the Manichaean *Āz* follows Zaehner: "Zaehner hat den Unterschied zwischen der(!) zoroas-

¹ Schmidt 2000, pp. 517-527.

² Sundermann 1978, pp. 487-499.

trischen und der manichäischen *Āz* richtig beschrieben: bei Mani ist die sexuelle Begierde zentral, im Zoroastrismus die Gefräßigkeit und Habgier.³ This definition is correct for the Zoroastrian part but needs extension on the Manichaean side. The Manichaean *Āz* is no less sexual desire than it is gluttony and mortal destruction, so that the relation between the Zoroastrian and the Manichaean *Āz* is similarity rather than difference.

The aspects of sexual desire and gluttony of the Manichaean *Āz* are best illustrated by the myth of the creation of the first human couple by *Āz* or by her incarnations, the demon *Ašaqlūn* and the demoness *Nebrō'ēl*, which is now amply attested in several versions.⁴ What they all have in common is the tradition that the procreation of Adam and Eve by way of copulation was preceded by a cannibal act, an act of most ignoble gluttony: *Ašaqlūn* and *Nebrō'ēl* devoured the offspring of their fellow demons in order to amass in their bodies as much light substance of the World Soul as possible.

It is remarkable that Schmidt considers it possible that this Manichaean myth even inspired the Zoroastrian tale of the first human couple, *Mašya* and *Mašyāna*, who devoured their own children until Ohrmazd himself interfered and removed the sweet taste of the children from their parents' mind.⁵

When Manichaean texts list different aspects of sinful desire there appear "Unzucht" and "Diebstahl", "Raub, Begierde, Hurelei", and "die Unersättlichkeit des Mammons" side by side.⁶

Zaehner drew attention to the fact that the Zoroastrian *Āz* is instrumental in the decomposition and death of man, and he found confirmation in a famous passage of Ferdousi's *Šāhnāme*.⁷

³ Schmidt 2000, p. 521.

⁴ Théodore bar Koni, *Livre des Scolies* (recension de Séert) II, trad. par R. Hespel, R. Draguet (†), Lovanii 1982, pp. 236-237, text: Theodorus bar Koni, *Liber Scholiorum* II, ed. A. Scher, Louvain 1960, p. 317; Andreas, Henning 1932, pp. 198-201 = Hutter 1992, pp. 81-104; 56th *Kephalaion* in: [Polotsky, Böhlig] 1940, p. 138; W. Sundermann, Mani's "Book of the Giants" and the Jewish Books of Enoch. A Case of Terminological Difference and What it Implies, in: *Irano-Judaica* III, ed. Sh. Shaked, A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 45-47; for Augustine cf. E. Feldmann, *Die "Epistula Fundamenti" der nordafrikanischen Manichäer*, Altenberge 1987, pp. 16-21, 82-87.

⁵ Schmidt 2000, pp. 524-525.

⁶ A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia* I, zweite Hälfte, Stuttgart u.a. 1966, p. 287.

⁷ Zaehner 1955, p. 172.

Schmidt has shown that this is by no means a marginal effect of *Āz*, but that already in the *Vendidād* *Āz* appears as a “Dämon des Todes”.⁸ But a demon of death is the Manichaean *Āz*, too. M 805a /V/10/, a piece from Mani’s *Šābuhragān*, mentions h’n xyšmmrg ’z u ’wrzwg “that greed and lust, (filled) with the death of fury”,⁹ and many more texts speak of *āz* and *āwarzōg* together with *xišm*, the destructive fury. The three of them constitute the *mēnōgīh ī tan*, the demoniac spirituality of the body.¹⁰ How the destructive force of *Āz* works is well described in the Middle Persian cosmogonical text of “Mitteliranische Manichaica I”: “When the first man (*Gēhmurd*) and “the Female one of the Glories” (*Murdyānag*), the first male and female persons, began living on earth, then Greed (*Āz*) awoke in them, and wrath (*xišm*) filled them. And they started to clog up springs, to injure trees and plants, to rage on earth and become greedy. They have no fear of the gods. And they do not recognize these five Elements (of Light dispersed in the world), by which the world is ordered, and they torture (them) permanently.”¹¹

According to *Dēnkard* M, no. 357, *Āz* is the opponent of *xrad* “reason” (and *x’arrah*).¹² Mani claims in his *Šābuhragān*¹³ to teach “reason and gnosis” (*xrd* ’wd d’nyšn) and to redeem mankind from *Āz* and *Ahriman*.

The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* says that at the end of Zoroaster’s millennium mankind will worship *Āz* and *x’āstag* (possession).¹⁴ The Manichaean *Āz* misleads Adam and Eve to worship “greed and lust” (’z ’wd ’wrzwg pryst’nd) and to obey the demons.¹⁵

So there is a broad range of comparable facts, which is hardly fortuitous in the case of two religions that coexisted for centuries. The main difference seems to be that the Zoroastrian *Āz* is rarely sexual desire and that what points to sexual desire may be

⁸ Schmidt 2000, p. 519.

⁹ Sundermann 1981, p. 97.

¹⁰ Andreas, Henning 1933, p. 300, text M 9 II /R/15-16/. Mary Boyce called *Išmag* (the Parthian equivalent of MP. *Xešm*) “the active spirit of Hyle” (*BSOAS* 14, 1952, pp. 438-439).

¹¹ Andreas, Henning 1932, pp. 200-201; Hutter 1992, pp. 98-99. My English translation follows largely Klimkeit 1993, p. 234.

¹² Schmidt 2000, p. 520.

¹³ Andreas, Henning 1933, p. 307, text M 49 II /R/8-11/. On this fragment being part of the *Šābuhragān* cf. Sundermann 1981, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴ Schmidt 2000, p. 521.

¹⁵ Andreas, Henning 1932, p. 199; Hutter 1992, pp. 94-95.

explained as influence from the Manichaean side. This is Prof. Schmidt's convincing solution. I think, however, that this Manichaean influence on Zoroastrian mythology was greater than on Āz in particular if one accepts that the Zoroastrian figure of *Jeh*, the demon Whore, owes something, if not her very existence, to Manichaean influence. The Zoroastrian *Jeh* was Ahri-man's companion when he attacked Ohrmazd's world. *Jeh* is, as her name indicates, the personification of sexual desire. That this is so is confirmed by her foolish "desire for man".¹⁶ Ever since F. Cumont first pointed it out, this episode has been combined with a related myth ascribed to the Zoroastrians and handed down by Theodore bar Kōnai, who says that the seducer of the women (so instead of the Zoroastrian "whore") was no one other than the divine messenger *Narsē*. This episode was explained by Hans Heinrich Schaefer as a Zoroastrian borrowing from the Manichaean side, namely the myth of the seduction of the archonts.¹⁷ If that was so, the Zoroastrian *Jeh* may be explained as a substitute for the Manichaean Āz. And there are more features that both have in common.

Both the Manichaean Āz and the Zoroastrian *Jeh* become, so to speak, the target of divine seduction. The demon Whore is made, according to Zādsparam, "queen" and "chief" (*bān[ūg], sar*) of all the whore demons.¹⁸ The Manichaean Āz is "captain of the *Āsrēštār*-Demons" ('wy 'sryštr'n s'r'r').¹⁹ The *Bundahišn* reports that the demon Whore comforts Ahriman after his first defeat against Ohrmazd by telling him how she will damage and

¹⁶ Thus according to both versions of the *Bundahišn* (Zaehner 1955, pp. 355-360).

¹⁷ H.H. Schaefer, "Der iranische Zeitgott und sein Mythos", in: *ZDMG* 95(20) 1941, pp. 291-292. G. Widengren maintained the opposite position (*Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 305, n. 48) with reference to Zaehner 1955, p. 186 (not 168), n. 48, who, however, regarded the "zervanite" origin of the demon Jehas no more than a hypothesis. Widengren's own arguments, as developed in "Primordial man and prostitute: A Zervanite motif in the Sassanid Avesta", in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Sholem*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 337-352, are based, as I understand them, on linguistic and stylistic criteria of a translation language which are, in my view, not compelling.

¹⁸ Zaehner 1955, pp. 345, 351.

¹⁹ Andreas, Henning 1932, pp. 199-200, thus Hutter 1992, pp. 95-96, who translates s'r'r ad sensum as "Anführerin".

destroy the creation of Ohrmazd (just as the Manichaean *Āz* does). Ahriman then rises and launches another attack against the good creation.²⁰ The fourth Coptic *Kephalaion* says about *Āz*: “Sie, diese Hyle, die Ἐνθύμησις des Todes ist es, die veranlaßt hat den König des Reiches der Finsternis und seine Kräfte, sich zu erheben zum Krieg (πόλεμος) und zum Kampf gegen die Aeonen der Größe.”²¹

But why, one may ask, did the Zoroastrians need another demon of the *Āz* type? Was there not their own *Āz*, mentioned in the *Zādsparam* passage directly after the whore and so similar to the Manichaean figure? If we assume, with Professor Schmidt, that the Zoroastrian *Āz* was rather a male demon than a demoness and if we remember that the Manichaean *Āz* was certainly female,²² if we further accept Schaefer's view that the Zoroastrian demon *Jeh* would not exist without the pattern of the Manichaean *Āz*, then a possible reason could be that the Zoroastrians introduced into their pandemonium a female demon who corresponded more exactly to the cosmogonical role of the Manichaean *Āz*. To assume a Manichaean pattern of the Zoroastrian demon *Jeh* would easily explain the enigmatic appearance and disappearance of the *Jeh* demon in the course of the cosmogonical events. She makes, to put it in Zaehner's words, “dramatic and apparently inexplicable appearance” only in order to “dramatically fade away” before long.²³

If there is a semantic continuity of the Zoroastrian *Āzi*-/*Āz* concept, if there is also a broad range of identity of the Zoroastrian and the Manichaean *Āz* concept and if there are cases of Manichaean influence on the Zoroastrian *Āz* and the figure of *Jeh*, is *Āz* then another “Zoroastrian dilemma”? It is a dilemma for the modern scholar, I think, because we are not (yet) in a position to fix the time when and the way how *Āz* came to be a first-rate demon in the Zoroastrian lore. In my article of 1978 (not quoted by Schmidt), I had ventured the hypothesis that the promotion of the Zoroastrian *Āz* came about under Manichaean influence because *Āz* is attested as a leading eschatological combatant in Manichaean and in late-Sasanian Pahlavi texts.²⁴ But

²⁰ Zaehner 1955, pp. 355-360.

²¹ [Polotsky, Böhlig] 1940, p. 26, ll. 18-20.

²² Schmidt 2000, pp. 517, 525.

²³ Zaehner 1955, p. 183.

²⁴ Sundermann 1978, pp. 495-499.

this does not necessarily mean that the idea itself is a late one. I now think that I rashly disregarded in 1978 a passage in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* which says that in the end "Areimanus will bring a plague (λοιμόν) and famine (λιμόν)²⁵ and inevitably perish by them utterly and disappear".²⁶ If we may interpret Plutarch's "famine" as Āz (insatiable hunger is a characteristic of Āz), then the Zoroastrian Āz as an eschatological power would be attested already in the second century A.D. when Plutarch wrote, and that means before and independent of any Manichaean infiltration.

So far I have stressed some similar traits of the Zoroastrian and the Manichaean Āz. But there are of course also differences. One different detail may have possibly been the male gender of the Zoroastrian Āz (assuming it was not female).²⁷ A safer point is the relation of Āz in both religions to the fire.

Schmidt quotes as one of the oldest Zoroastrian texts mentioning the demon *Vidēvdād* 18, 19, 21, and 23, where the fire of the household (*ātar*) turns beseechingly to the master of the house, the cattle-breeding farmer and to the god *Srōš* (the adversary of Āz) asking for more firewood. "It is", the fire says, "as if Āzi snatches my vital power before my appointed span of life (ends)."²⁸ Here the greedy, voracious and devouring Āz, it seems, deprives the divine fire of its apportioned food.

Another kind of consuming fire bears the Avestan name *vohufriiāna*.²⁹ It lives, according to the *Bundahišn*, in the bodies of men and animals and consumes (*xwārēd*) water and food.³⁰ One of the medieval Zoroastrian texts in New Persian language, a version of the *'Ulamā-i Islām*, takes up this description as follows:

*wa digar dar tan-e ġānwarān ast o hame čizhā
xorad*

²⁵ λιμός is "hunger, great appetite, desire" (*Benselers Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1962, p. 480).

²⁶ Cf. my remark in Sundermann 1978, p. 496, n. 64.

²⁷ Cf. Schmidt 2000, p. 525.

²⁸ Schmidt 2000, p. 518 with n. 9.

²⁹ Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, col. 1433.

³⁰ *Zand-Ākāsīh. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, ed. B.T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956, pp. 156-159.

And another (fire) is in the bodies of [men and] animals, and it consumes everything.³¹

But a few lines further down the author contradicts his own words and states:

*digar ān ke porsidi ke dar rastāxiz čun āteš dar tan-e mā bāšad bi xoreš čun tawānad bud wa ġawāb ma 'lum ast ke xoršid az hame-ye ātešhā garmtar ast wa bi xoreš ast ma 'lum ast ke xoreš diw mixorad ke gofte āmad ke čand diw dar tan-e mardom montazeġ and porsid ke čun xoreš be tabā šod čun xoši bāšad ke čun āz o niyāz nabāšad be xoreš če hāġat bāšad čun druġ-e garmā nabāšad be sāye če hāġat čun druġ-e sarmā nabāšad be āteš če hāġat čun waran nabāšad be zan če hāġat.*³²

Again, about what you asked as to how, at the Resurrection, the fire which is within us will exist without food, the answer is: it is evident that the sun is hotter than other fires, but it lives without food. It is clear that food is eaten by the demon [Āz], as it is said that there are several demons intermingled in the body of man. It is asked: 'When there will be no food, how will there be any pleasure?' (It should be known that) when there are no (demons like) Āz and Nyāz (i.e., avarice and want), what need is there for food? If there is no *druj* of heat, what need is there for shelter? If there is no *druj* of cold, what need is there for fire? If there is no *druj* of lust, what need is there for women?³³

³¹ Text Unvālā 1922, p. 75, l. 2; translation Dhabhar 1932, p. 442. Text in [] is added from Barzu Kamdin's Collective Rivāyat, belonging to Ervad E.K. Antia.

³² Text Unvālā 1922, p. 75, ll. 3-7.

³³ My translation is based on Dhabhar 1932, p. 442. Text in [] is added from Barzu Kamdin's Collective Rivāyat, belonging to Ervad E.K. Antia.

In other words it is strictly speaking not the fire itself which consumes the food but its adversary, a demon who, as can be deduced from context and parallel text, is *Āz*. This amounts to a correction of the Zoroastrian doctrine and it goes against the Manichaean lore.³⁴

As regards Manichaeism, a close relation between *Āz* and fire can also be established but a complementary, not an antagonistic one. *Āz* is not the enemy of the fire, the fire is a manifestation of *Āz* herself. The demon *Āz*, says the "Sermon on the Light Nous", made the qualities *āz* "greed" and *āwarzōg*, which must be a synonym of *āz* guardians over the human body, and the "devouring fire" (Parth. *wxryndg 'dwr*) its supreme commander.³⁵ This fire is the vital power within the microcosmic bodies and arouses sexual desire.³⁶ But it is also the great fire of the macrocosm, which the "Sermon on the Light Nous" compares with the trunk of the dark tree of *Āz*.³⁷ The "Great fire" was enclosed in the beginning of the world in three ditches which surround the earth, but in the end it will get free and set the world ablaze.³⁸ Both kinds of demoniac fire (as opposed to the divine element fire, which also exists) are described in the Parthian fragment M 35,³⁹ and their voracious character is underlined. They are explicitly classed with the demon *Āz* in an informative passage of the Middle Persian *Kephalaia* text M 5750 /V/i/4-12/:

'wd pd 'mdyšnyh 'y "z šh r'h 'y mrg pyd'g bwd **
'dwr 'y (n)hwftg u 'dwr 'yg 'šq'rg 'w wrdyšn ** u
bwy 'wd 'sprhmg'n 'w whyšt

And at the coming of *Āz* three ways of death are re-

³⁴ M. Molé, who has translated the whole passage, stressed its agreement with the doctrine of Mazdak (Molé 1959, pp. 166-167).

³⁵ Cf. Sundermann 1992, pp. 62-63, 85.

³⁶ Cf. [Polotsky, Böhlig] 1940, p. 26, ll. 15-17.

³⁷ Sundermann 1992, pp. 74-75.

³⁸ Sundermann 1992, pp. 120-121.

³⁹ Henning 1943, pp. 71-72. —It is a widespread anthropological doctrine in late antiquity, perhaps popularised by the adherents of the Stoic philosophy, that the process of digestion is a kind of cooking food by an interior heating force, cf. e.g. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker. Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* III, Frankfurt a.M., p. 133. Such doctrines certainly come close to the Manichaean and Zoroastrian concept of the interior fire.

vealed, the hidden fire and the visible fire (both leading) to transmigration, and (good) smell and flowers to paradise.

In this text fire in man and fire on earth are taken as manifestations of *Āz* which lead to rebirth (by misleading man to doing sinful acts, consuming wine and meat, doing worldly work, etc.). But *Āz* contributes – surprisingly and of course unwillingly – also to the redemption of the human souls by “good smell” and “flowers”. I refer this statement to the genesis of the vegetable world from the semen of the celestial demons which they once shed when the Third Messenger appeared visibly in female shape before their eyes.⁴⁰ Later in history, when human kind undergoes transmigration, the plants become a favorite receptacle of the more refined human souls, who will be given the chance to return to paradise by way of the sacramental meal of the elect (and even immediately as the fine scent of the flowers?).⁴¹

A notable difference between the Manichaean and the Zoroastrian fire doctrine is that the Manichaean one is consistent while the Zoroastrian one is not. The *Vidēvdād* passage quoted above charges *Āzi* with depriving the fire of its apportioned food. The author of the '*Ulamā-i Islām* tries to release the sacred fire altogether from the imputation that it is hungry, greedy, gluttonous, and devastating. In the case of the '*Ulamā* I find some statements which are familiar to me from Manichaean texts too. The idea that the human body is divided into seven parts: brain, marrow of the bone, veins, nerves, flesh, skin, and hair,⁴² has comparable parallels in Gnosis and Manichaeism.⁴³ The idea that the four seasons are manifestations of demons and antagonistic enemies⁴⁴ has a parallel in a Manichaean New Persian text M 106 etc. that will shortly be published. So it is not impossible that the Zoroastrian author may have been familiar with the

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. H.-Ch. Puech, *Le Manichéisme; son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris 1949, p. 80.

⁴¹ Cf. W. Sundermann, “Who is the Light-NOYΣ and what does he do?”, in: *The Manichaean NOYΣ*, ed. A. van Tongerloo, J. van Oort, Lovanii 1995, p. 264.

⁴² Dhabhar 1932, p. 441.

⁴³ Cf. P. Nagel, Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht, in: *Studien zum Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus*, ed. P. Nagel, Halle S. 1979, pp. 70-71, 82-85.

⁴⁴ Dhabhar 1932, p. 442.

Manichaean lore, and that his apology of the fire was also directed against Manichaean adversaries.

I think Prof. Schmidt has proved that the idea of the Zoroastrian Middle Persian demon Āz may be understood from Zoroastrian premises as they are still traceable in the Avesta. But I think also that the *promotion* of the Āz owes something to Manichaean influence, at least within the limits fixed by Schmidt. It remains a task for the future to reconsider, in light of Hanns-Peter Schmidt's results, a possible influence of the Zoroastrian on the Manichaean Āz concept.

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CHAPTER 17

Gayōmard: King of Clay or Mountain? The Epithet of the First Man in the Zoroastrian Tradition

Touraj Daryaee

In the Zoroastrian tradition Gayōmard is considered to be the first man whose origin can be traced to the Indo-Iranian period.¹ By the time the Middle Persian texts were composed, Gayōmard had become both the first man and the first king attested in the *Šāhmāneh* of Ferdosī.² In this stage of development he also received an epithet which has become a matter of controversy. In several passages in the Middle Persian texts, he is known as *gilšāh* “Clay King,”³ while in other places, he is mentioned as *garšāh* “Mountain King.”⁴ From the Indic material there is nothing that tells us this figure is connected with a mountain or clay, nor does the Avestan material give any support

¹ K. Hoffmann, “Mārtānda und Gayōmart”, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, XI, 1957, pp. 85-113.

² Khaleghi-Motlagh has suggested that Gayōmard was considered a king by the time of the *Xwadāy-nāmag*, “Hamāse Sarāie Bāstān”, *Golranjhā-ye Kohan*, ed. A. Dehbāšī, Našr-e Markaz, Tehran, 1993, p. 33. However, in the *Bundahišn* (Anklesaria, p. 45) we see that Gayōmard was not only the first man but also the first king, see G. Widengren, “The Death of Gayōmart”, *Myths and Symbols Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, The University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 186; also T. Daryaee, “Kāve the Black-Smith: An Indo-Iranian Fashioner?”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 22, 1999, p. 12.

³ K. Jamasp Asa, *Aogāmadaēcā*, Wien, 1982, 85; G. Messina, *Ayātkār ī Žāmāspik*, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1939. 4.2; *Dēnkard* (Madan ed.) 29.1; *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Nyberg ed.) 95.16; Williams edition, 46.36.

⁴ *Aogāmadaēcā*, Pazand version, 85.

for either of these two epithets. In this essay it is intended to review the material pertaining to the epithet of Gayōmard and to come to a conclusion as to the conceptual evolution of these titles in the Zoroastrian world. I would like to dedicate this essay to my teacher and friend, Hanns-Peter Schmidt, who introduced me to the world of Ancient Iran.

A. Christensen preferred the title of *garšāh* which was supplied in the Pazand version of the *Aogāmadaēcā*. He believed that the mistake of *gilšāh* was based on the erroneous reading in the Middle Persian texts of the original epithet of Gayōmard, i.e. *garšāh*.⁵ To my knowledge no one has challenged this assumption in detail and the question has not been discussed adequately. Christensen's suggestion is supported by several Islamic sources, such as Bērūnī who states: "for this reason Kayumarth is called *kūšāh* < شاه کوه (Persian شاه کوه) because *کو* in the Pahlavi language means (Arabic) جبل 'mountain.'"⁶ Bal'amī supplies a more detailed explanation for the word:

They call him *garšāh* because the world was in ruins and he was alone in the cleavage of the mountain, and the meaning of *gar* is mountain and they call him the king of the mountain.⁷

This and other Islamic texts are the evidence in support of the "Mountain King" theory of Christensen. On the other hand, in the Middle Persian texts Gayōmard's title is written with the ideogram TYNA (Aramaic *tyn*) which clearly stands for *gil* "clay." Furthermore, in the Middle Persian texts he is always given the title of *gil* and never *gar* when mentioned. In some of the Islamic material, Gayōmard is also known as the "Clay King." Several authors give the following evidence: "They call him *gilšāh* and the meaning of it is king of clay."⁸ In *Mojmal tawārīkh*, it is stated: "In the compendium of names and titles,

⁵A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi*, vol. I, Stockholm, 1917; p. 45, n. 3; also M. Bahār, *Pajūhešī dar asātir-e Irān*, Āgāh Publishers, Tehran, 1375, p. 189.

⁶A. Bērūnī, *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, p. 142; also Tha'alibi, *Ghurar Akhbār*, p. 2.

⁷*Tārīkh-e Bal'amī*, ed. M.T. Bahar, Tehran, 1341, p. 14.

⁸Ibn Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. Reza Tajaddud, Tehran, 1366, p. 20; Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, BGA VIII, Leiden, 1894, p. 81.

the title of *Kayumarth* has been noted to be *gil*.⁹

Since we have evidence for both titles, how can we assign the correct epithet? I believe the answer lies in the Zoroastrian Middle Persian and Islamic texts themselves. In a passage in *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, one comes across a novel story of creation in the Zoroastrian tradition. According to this text, Ohrmazd, after establishing the three sacred fires, created humanity in this manner:

*uš mardōm az ān gil kēš gayōmard aziš kard pad šusr
ēwēnag andar ōy spandarmad hišt ud gayōmard az
spandarmad be brēhēnīd ud zād (čiyōn mahliḥ ud mahli-
yāniḥ rust hēnd).*

He (Ohrmazd) created man from that clay which Gayōmard was made from. He was set in the seminal form in Spandarmad (earth) and Gayōmard was created and was born from Spandarmad (earth) (as Mahliḥ and Mahliyanīḥ grew).¹⁰

Three different solutions have been suggested as to the origin of this account of creation. Zaehner long ago commented on this passage that it was very different from the story of creation as found in the *Bundahišn*, but believed the idea that Gayōmard was made from clay was a confusion on the part of the author. He further stated that “[t]hus it would appear that in the present text the phrase ‘from the clay from which Gayōmart was made’, which seems to make nonsense of the passage.”¹¹ He sought in this story the *Purṣua* story contained in the Rig-Veda (X.90) and so the influence of India on Persian thought. In order to do this

⁹ *Mojmal tawārīkh*, ed. M.T. Bahar, Tehran, 1318, p. 417.

¹⁰ *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān-ī Dīnīk*, ed. E.B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913, p. 136.11; Zaehner, p. 362; Nyberg, 95.16; A.A. Williams, “A Strange Account of the World’s Origin”, *Acta Iranica, Papers in Honor of Mary Boyce*, no. 25, vol. 2, pp. 683-697; idem, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1990, vol. 2, p. 75; Mir-Farkhrāi, *Rivāyat ī Pahlavī*, Tehran, 1367, p. 55.

¹¹ R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan; A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Biblo and Tannen, New York, 1955 (reprint 1972), pp. 136-137.

for the entire story, he had to make the section in which it is stated Gayōmard was made from clay as confusion and "nonsense." The second suggestion was made by Bailey who believed that the account of the creation was strange enough to have been influenced by foreign sources, but did not state the origin of these foreign sources.¹² The third suggestion is by Williams who has also dealt with this story of creation and argues that rather than seeing Indic influence in this story of creation, an "improvisation and extrapolation from orthodox Zoroastrian material within an otherwise orthodox account of the world's creation" took place.¹³

Zaehner's argument notwithstanding, I believe that Bailey and Williams were both correct. I would like to suggest that in this episode we have evidence of a *mélange* of Perso-Semitic creation myth. While the earlier Zoroastrian texts did not deal with clay as the substance from which the first man was created from, in this ninth century Middle Persian text we see the influence of the Islamic/Semitic tradition. At least in this report, the author must have been aware that in the Semitic tradition Adam was created from clay. It is not surprising that a subaltern religion such as Zoroastrianism at the end of late antiquity would become influenced by a new dominating tradition, specifically at the time when conversion to Islam was reaching its highest point. The Zoroastrian author(s) must have been aware of the Qur'anic statement found in the Sūra of An'ām (VI.2): هو الذي خلقكم من طين "He is who created you from clay."¹⁴ It is however, also plausible to assign this knowledge of the Zoroastrian priests from the Juedo-Christian contacts in the Sasanian or post-Sasanian period as another possible avenue of transmission. Then in this respect Bailey appears to have been correct in assigning a "foreign" influence on the creation story in the *PRDD*.

There is ample evidence that in the Islamic tradition when the authors discussed Gayōmard, he was equated with Adam or identified as Adam himself.¹⁵ Hartman has suggested this identi-

¹² H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problem in the Ninth Century Books*, Cambridge University Press, 1943, p. 121.

¹³ A.A. Williams, "A Strange Account of the World's Origin: PrDd. XLVI", *op. cit.*, p. 685.

¹⁴ al-Isfahani in fact calls Gayōmard ملك الطين, *Tajaddud, op. cit.*, ff. 20.

¹⁵ S.S. Hartman, "Les identifications de Gayōmart au temps islamique", *Syncretism, Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Cultural Con-*

fication may have had a Manichaeian origin, although he furnishes no evidence. It is also important to note that not all the sources agree that Gayōmard was Adam. Hartman also believes that the reason for which this discrepancy exists in our Islamic texts is that the Arabs were antagonistic toward this belief and only the Persian Muslim authors made this equation. He tries to seek a "nationalistic" reason for this division, focusing on the Shu'ūbiya controversy in the Abbasid period. He states it was the Arab authors who denied this equation and who were anti-Shu'ūbiya, and the Persian authors who were for such identification were pro-Shu'ūbiya. According to him the reason for this division was that both groups were trying to glorify their genealogy.¹⁶ He uses Goldziher's work as his source of reference for the Shu'ūbiya controversy which saw the Persian cause as a "nationalist" movement.¹⁷ Recent assessment of the Shu'ūbiya has changed some of the basic assumptions as to the nature of the debate during the Abbasid Period. This is because it appears that the controversy was not among the Arabs and the Persians, but largely among the Persians themselves, and there was no set agenda for the debates.¹⁸ Thus Hartman's suggestion is unlikely.

There is another possibility which is to look at the internal divisions within the Zoroastrian theologians of the late Sasanian and early Islamic period. The Zoroastrian Middle Persian sources are not the best place to look for these internal divisions, and it is usually the observers (Christian and Muslim authors) who can provide information in this matter. Mas'ūdī tells us that only a minority of Persians regarded Gayōmard as Adam.¹⁹ This statement in itself reflects divisions within the Zoroastrian com-

tact, *Meeting of religions, Syncretism held at Abo on the 8th-10th of September, 1966*, Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1969, pp. 268-276; examples include Ibn Athīr: وقد زعم أكثر علماء الفرس ان جيومرت هو آدم *Ta'rikh al-kāmil*, Cairo, 1303, p. 17; Tabarī, ان جيومرت هو آدم *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, vol. 1, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., Leiden, 1879-1901, p. 155; Ta'rikh-e Sīstān, ed. M. Bahār, 1314, p. 2; Ibn Balkhī, گبران او را آدم عليه السلام گویند *Fārsnāmeḥ*, eds. Le Strange and Nicholson, Tehran, Donyaye ketab, second edition, 1363, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

¹⁷ I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, London, vol. I, 1967, pp. 137-163.

¹⁸ R.P. Mottahedeh, "The Shu'ūbīya Controversy and the Social History of Early Islamic Iran", *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 7, 1976, pp. 179-180.

¹⁹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. ii, p. 105.

munity with regard to the identification. Then who were these Zoroastrians who accepted this idea? I think Williams' suggestion that this is an unorthodox account of creation is correct. I would like to suggest that it is quite possible that the Zoroastrians who accepted this teaching were the Gayōmarthiya²⁰ who were active in the early Islamic period and were in constant dialogue with the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sages.²¹ We know that they held Gayōmard in much esteem and as Sharestānī reports "and the Kayumarthiya say Kayumarth is Adam, may peace be upon him."²² Thus, it may be the Gayōmarthiya that in fact first propped up this story in the Zoroastrian circles, using Zoroastrian and Semitic ideas about man. This was done to better defend their position and make understandable the "first man" and his importance for them to their adversaries. The Gayōmarthiya held Gayōmard in high esteem (as their name suggests) and saw him as the original prophet, preceding even Zoroaster. Traces of this group may be found in other Middle Persian texts, such as the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, where the cosmic era is given as 7000 years.²³ In other Zoroastrian Persian texts we find that Gayōmard is equated with Adam. In the Persian version of the *Ayādgar ī Jāmāspīg* one reads "first kingship came to Gayōmard, i.e. Adam,"²⁴ and then Zoroaster was equated with Abraham.²⁵ This Perso-Islamic symbiosis may have caused the idea that the first man, i.e. Gayōmard was also born from clay. Then Tabarī's explanation for the title of Gayōmard as ملك الطين "clay king" is for the very same reason.²⁶

²⁰ It is difficult to state if the Gayōmarthiya were a distinct sect or school of thought or not. Molé had already pointed out this matter (1960-61: 14).

²¹ T. Daryae, "The Zoroastrian Sect of Gayōmartiya", *Jamshid Arbab Sorooshian Memorial Volume*, ed. C. Cereti, forthcoming 2001.

²² Sharestānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa al-nihal*, ed. R. J. Nā'inī, Iqbal Publishers, Tehran, 1373, p. 366.

²³ The 7000 year cosmic era was the belief of the Gayōmarthiya, Daryae, *op. cit.*, forthcoming 2001.

²⁴ *Darab Hormazyar Rivayat*, ed. E.M.R. Unvala, British India Press, Bombay, 1922, vol. II, p. 105; *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*, ed. E.B.N. Dhabhar, K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, 1932, p. 489. اول پادشاهی بگیومرث رسید یعنی آدم.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 245; trans. , p. 587.

²⁶ al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., Leiden, 1879-1901, vol. 1, p. 10.

This equation of Gayōmard with Adam is clear from other Arabic and Persian texts. For example Bal'amī states:

“They call him clay king (گل شاه) because he was created from clay and ruled over clay and his partner Hawa was also from clay.”²⁷

The reason Gayōmard may have been given the title of *garšāh* may be found in the Middle Persian texts. In Middle Persian, *gar* is written with the two letters gimel and lāmed. Now while *gil* is usually written in Middle Persian with the Aramaic ideogram TYNA, there are instances that the word is written without the ideogram, hence written in transliteration with gimel and lāmed as well.²⁸ The authors could have also easily made the mistake, hence the new title of *garšāh* was born. This may be the source of the confusion, where the readers in later time could not distinguish *gil* from *gar* and hence two stories sprang up over the epithet of Gayōmard. It is also important to note that the title of *garšāh* appears only in the Pāzand texts which suggest misreading of the Pahlavi versions of the text.²⁹

If we accept this hypothesis, then all the stories which are found in the later Middle Persian and especially the Arabic and Persian texts in regard to the first man's title must be regarded as a creation in the late Sasanian and early Islamic period. Then there was no precedence for this idea and due to the orthographical similarity of the two words and the ever increasing influence of Semitic ideas, especially Islam, these divergent stories came about. Consequently the myth was created that Gayōmard was made from clay as Adam had been. Of course others took on the tradition of *garšāh* which was not found in the Persian tradition, nor in the Semitic tradition. Both stories existed at the same time and proliferated among the later Muslim authors and both of the stories were elaborated upon by them. By the

²⁷ Bal'amī, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

²⁸ Sh. Shaked, “First Man, First King, Notes on Semitic-Iranian Syncretism and Iranian Mythological Transformations”, *Gilgul, Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, eds. Sh. Shaked et. al., E.J. Brill, Leiden, New York, København, Köln, 1987, p. 247.

²⁹ G. Messina, *Ayātkār I Žāmāspik*, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1939, p. 39 & p. 89.

time of *Aogāmadaēcā*, while the Pahlavi texts supplied *gilšāh*, the Pazand translation had supplied *garšāh* thus demonstrating the divergence in the Zoroastrian tradition. None of these traditions were original to Zoroastrianism, but the initial tradition of "Clay King" due to Semitic influence had brought about the epithet of "Mountain King" because of the mistake in reading the Middle Persian vernacular by some Zoroastrian priests.

Shaked has rightly stated that not only the story of Gayōmard's creation from clay has the feeling of the Semitic tradition, but also what becomes of the first couple, Mašyā and Mašyāne. Their mischievousness also causes the fall from the grace of Ohrmazd, very much similar to the story of Adam and Eve's fall from the grace of (Hebrew God).³⁰ Shaked believes that the development of the divergent accounts are the product of popular vs. orthodox Zoroastrianism and that they began to take place already in the Sasanian period.³¹ I believe that the development of "les mages semitisés" began in the Sasanian period, but it bore fruit in the early Islamic period. It is this period which saw the intense contact between the Muslim and the Zoroastrian intelligentsia. The author of the *Škand ī Gumānīg Wizār* specifically named the Muslim sect of Mu'tazila as their opponents.³² In fact most of the attacks on Judaism in the Pahlavi books are against the Islamic teachings which shared many traits with Judaism.³³ It is not clear how active or widespread the ideas of the Gayōmarthiya was in the Sasanian period, but there is evidence of their activity in the eighth century CE. Thus the real age of "les mages semitisés" was in the eighth and ninth centuries CE, when Islam had made its full impact on the intellectual life of Zoroastrianism and its doctrines.

³⁰ Shaked, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

³¹ Shaked, *op. cit.*, p. 252; for further discussion of the manifestations of the Zoroastrian religion in the Sasanian period among the elite and the masses see, Sh. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation, Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1994, pp. 97-98.

³² J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānīk Vičār, La solution décisive des doutes*, Librairie de l'université Fribourg, Suisse, 1945, 280-281, p. 146.

³³ *Idem*, "Jews and Judaism in the Third Book of the Dēnkart", *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 45-48.

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CHAPTER 18

The Missing Achaemenids

Richard N. Frye

In a brief tribute to Hanns-Peter Schmidt I beg indulgence for shortcomings of age, that instead of following my usual practice of relying on facts and details I allow speculation and impressions to dominate what follows. I hope that nonetheless it may arouse interest and lead to discussion.

The Kushans, one of the four great empires of the first two centuries of our era, were virtually unknown to Western sources. Only a few brief notices in Chinese, Armenian and Indian sources mention the name, with few details. Yet in the *Rajatarangini*, twelfth century chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, the rulers claimed descent from the great Kushan emperors, evidence of the importance of the latter. One can explain the loss of memory about the Kushans in an Indian context, but how to explain a similar situation in regard to the even greater and longer lasting dynasty of the Achaemenids?

If we take an arbitrary time at the end of the Sasanian Empire and the coming of Islam, both in Iran and in Europe the Sasanian dynasty which ruled Iran, and the Arsacids (*Ashkāniyān*) or Parthians their predecessors, in a vaguer manner for Iran, were known. The Achaemenid dynasty was recognized in the West, at least since Herodotus, but the name of the dynasty was completely forgotten in Iran. This at first glance seems strange, given the great efforts of Darius to propagate his version of Achaemenid origins as found in his Behistun inscription. Herodotus, who presumably obtained his information from Iranians or their subjects, accepted the version of Darius. At the same time, however, he reports some

opinions which suggest that some Iranians were not convinced of the veracity of the official report. For example, he tells us that Cyrus, while on a campaign in the east, suspected that Darius was plotting against him (I. 211). Further, he says that the Persians called Darius a huckster and Cyrus a father (III. 90), and Darius gives a defense of lying to obtain ones goal (III. 72). All of these reports indicate a dislike or mistrust of Darius among some Persians.

The controversy about his statement that he subdued all the rebels against him in one year has engendered much study and dispute. Suffice it to say that one can explain the "one year" only by considerable manipulation of events. Another remark is a subjective statement in regard to the inscription, that Darius protests overly much about the lie. And why he threatens anyone who might destroy the inscription, when he had the steps up to it, which were carved into the rock, smoothed so no one could use them later, implies a fear that someone might dispute the truth of his message. He took extraordinary measures to preserve and propagate his version of events, all of which raises doubts about the truth of his account. Admittedly all of this is conjecture, but one is only seeking to explain anomalies in the record we have. There are other considerations.

The statement of Darius that there were eight kings before him and he was the ninth is curious, because it means that the first king was Chishpish or Teispes, son of Achaemenes who was not a king. Then the former presumably divided his realm between his two sons, Cyrus I and Ariaramnes, and this division continued until Darius who became sole ruler. This statement implies that Vishtaspa, father of Darius, was a king at the same time as Cyrus II. Or is Darius stretching the meaning of "king", when Vishtaspa really may have been only a governor under Cyrus and Cambyses, his son? Furthermore, what was the position of "king" Arsames, who was still living at the time of the accession of Darius? Is it possible that Darius has pushed our credibility a bit too far?

Another curious matter is the genealogy of Cyrus II as reported in Akkadian records, where he does not go back to an Achaemenes but only to Teispes. Did he not know of Achaemenes while Darius did? The only Achaemenes we find in that period, other than the ancient one mentioned by Darius, was the son of Darius and brother of Xerxes. The names Teispes, Cyrus and Cambyses at the

outset strike one as different from Darius, Vishtaspa, Arsames and Ariaramnes, since the last four clearly are Iranian, and even Zoroastrian. Darius quite likely is a "throne name", which could be characterized as Zoroastrian in spirit. The last suggestion may explain the differences in names of the two lines of the family, but it is nonetheless strange. Cambyses may not even be an Iranian name. Yet Darius clearly wanted to attach himself to Cyrus, since he added inscriptions in the name of Cyrus on buildings at Pasargada. The propaganda efforts of Darius were formidable. Why did he need them?

Finally we have the admitted forgeries of the two gold tablets of Arsames and Ariaramnes, found in Hamadan, in which both are called "king of kings." Because of the incorrect forms of words in them it has been suggested that they were probably made towards the end of the Achaemenid Empire when the language had suffered breakdowns. They could have been written earlier, however, by a scribe or scribes who were not the same, or as competent, as those who composed the Behistun inscription, and who simply made mistakes. It is also curious that only in these forgeries do we find a genealogy like the one of Darius in his Behistun inscription. Later inscriptions of Darius, all of those of Xerxes and succeeding rulers, only speak of being the son of their respective fathers, and add the title Achaemenid. Who would think of forging such texts after Darius? The only monarch who needed such items to show legitimacy would be Darius. It is conceivable that Darius made a mistake in having them made to show his right to the throne. For if the fifth column of the Behistun inscription is correct in saying that Darius invented the Old Persian cuneiform script, then the tablets were obviously forgeries. It is possible, but unlikely, that they both are modern forgeries. All of the above is circumstantial, and no evidence for the veracity or mendacity of Darius, but put together it hardly reveals a picture of a scion of the royal family who overthrew an impostor and restored the rule of an empire to the beloved family of Cyrus. Let us assume that it was Darius who really was the impostor, who nonetheless not only restored but really built the Achaemenid Empire. Such a course of events is not unique in history, similar to Sargon of the Assyrian Empire. What might this tell us of the absence of the Achaemenids in the later history of Iran? A possible scenario would be the following:

The family of Cyrus was known and supported by most of the

populace, while his son Cambyses ruled briefly, and his bad reputation in history probable came from the Egyptians to the Greeks. At the death of Cambyses Darius was not the only claimant to the throne against Bardiya, who had pursued policies inimical to some in the empire, possibly to the followers of Zoroaster's doctrines, of whom Darius was one. The latter had officers and soldiers of the army of Cambyses who supported him, and he was able to kill Bardiya and defeat the other claimants to rule. He then invented the tale of Gaumata, the false Bardiya. Darius goes into detail in his inscription about the various rebels, as he calls them, and these are probably genuine events, for there was no need to change them, since people knew about them and could verify them. But many of his subjects needed to be conciliated, which required a propaganda campaign.

Did Darius invent the common ancestor Achaemenes, and so name his son to indicate the reliability of his genealogy? Or was the original Achaemenes a chief, or simply a nomad or peasant, who had no claim to fame or to lead, but only for producing a son Teispes who did? Was the Teispes of Cyrus the same as the Teispes of Darius in the genealogy? Doubts arise. Later rulers of the dynasty, which generally became accepted, seem not to have emphasized their descent in their inscriptions, for they had no reason to emphasize it.

The above reconstruction goes contrary to the usual explanation that it was only the conquest of Alexander and its aftermath which erased the memory of Iranians. The Parthians then substituted their version of an epic past in place of the actual history of pre-Seleucid Iran. Yet among the *frataraka* rulers of Fars the names of Darius and Artaxerxes were not forgotten, but seemingly the very name of the dynasty, and its founder, did not survive there. Is it possible that the actions of Darius, son of Vishtaspa, helped in the loss of the name of the Achaemenids?

Finally, we remember a position supported by some scholars in the past, that Vishtaspa, father of Darius is to be identified as Kavi Vishtaspa, patron of Zoroaster. To change a usual question, can we ask: is one borrowing from, or copying, the other, and which way? The epic tradition, as found in Firdosi's *Shāhnāmeḥ*, cannot resolve this question, but is it possible that the father of Darius was the first important political leader or official to convert to Zoroastrianism, and the religious tradition then put his name as the

patron of the prophet? Or is the explanation that the father of Darius took the name of the ancient patron of Zoroaster, a simpler and more likely scenario? In any case, I suggest that the two names Achaemenid and Darius may be connected to a loss of memory about the dynasty among later Iranians. One may protest that the name of the dynasty was difficult to pronounce, hence forgotten, but this would not apply to Cyrus. The indications, in my opinion, and they only are indications, point to doubts about the Behistun story.

CHAPTER 19

The Horse that Killed Yazdagerd "the Sinner"

A. Shapur Shahbazi

On several occasions Professor Hanns-peter Schmidt has contributed towards our understanding of Mithra's functions and his association with horses.¹ Thus when surveying the interpretations of Mithra's name and functions, he referred to the "wide-spread idea according to which the moral conduct of the king is responsible for the welfare of his country and people", and noted: "The keeping of treaties is an essential part of the king's obligations in order to ensure peace and prosperity."² In this Persian's tribute to him, Mithra's function as a divine judge who punishes a king who breaks his treaty with his people as well as horse symbolism associated with Mithra are demonstrated by an incident from Sasanian history.

Sasanian-based Arabic and Persian sources call Yazdagerd I (A.D. 399-421) "the Sinner" and describe him as an ill-tempered, oversuspicious, and tyrannical monarch who despised Iranians and favored foreigners. It is claimed that his ingratitude and cruelty greatly harmed "the people," and they sought divine retribution, which came in the form of an extraordinary horse which one day appeared, killed Yazdagerd with a kick, and then disap-

¹ "Mithras the Horseman and Revanta the Lord of Horses", in *Some Aspects of Indo-Iranian Literary and Cultural Traditions. Commemoration Volume of Dr. V. G. Paranjpe*. Editors: S. K. Chatterji, RN. Dandekar, V. Raghavan, H.-P. Schmidt, T. G. Mainker, S.N. Ganajdradkar. Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1977, pp. 132-157; "Indo-Iranian Mitra Studies: The State of the Central Problem," in *Études mithraïques=Acta Iranica 17*, Leiden, 1978, pp. 345-393.

² "Indo-Iranian Mithra Studies", p. 375.

peared.³ The story is given in the *Šāh-nāma* as follows: Astrologers had foretold that Yazdagerd “the Sinner” was fated to die at Sō Spring (*čašma-ye sō*) near Tūs in Khurasan. Accordingly he avoided that place. “When a King rules with injustice, all ills will return to him.” Thus, Yazdagerd “the Sinner” was afflicted with heavy periodic nose bleeding and was told by the grand priest (*mōbad*) to seek remedy by praying to God for forgiveness at the Sō Spring. The king did this and washed his face in the water of that spring and was healed. Pride betook him, however, and he boasted that it was his own good fortune—not divine intervention—which brought him succor. Thereupon a stallion of extraordinary beauty came out of “the sea (*daryā*)”, and vigorously resisted handling by any groom sent to capture him. Yazdagerd himself went forth and tamed the horse and saddled him, but when he was about to fasten the tail-piece, the horse kicked him so hard that he died instantly, and then the horse “disappeared in that blue water. No one in the world saw such a wonder.”

Tabarī (followed by other sources mentioned in n. 3) related that the people (*al-ra'īya*) were so oppressed by Yazdegard's unjust rule that “the magnate and grandees” (*al-ašrāf wa al-'uzimā'*, i.e., the *āzātān* and *vazurgān*) gathered around and complained about his rule and besought God to relieve them from his harsh rule. Then one day as the King was in his palace at Gurgān [Hyrkania], he saw a fine stallion approaching his gate, unsaddled and unaccompanied. This made people wonder, as it was out of the ordinary. Yazdagerd's grooms could not tame the horse but he himself could and was killed by his kick. The horse disappeared “and the subjects, relieved from him in

³ Tabarī, ed. J. de Goeje, I, pp. 849-50 (= tr. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, p. 77); Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma*, (Moscow ed.), VII, pp. 282-84; Tha'alībī, *Ghurār akhbār mulūk al-furs*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900, pp. 537-39; Pseudo-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, ed. A. Zaki Pasha, Cairo, 1914, pp. 163-64; Ibn Qutaibah, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Cairo, 1960, pp. 659-60; Eutychius, *Das Annalenwerk*, ed. and tr. M. Breydy, Lovain, 1985, p. 92 [Arabic], pp. 76-7 [tr.]; Anonymous, *Nihāyat al-'irab fī akhbār al-Furs wa al-'Arab*, ed. M.-T. Dānešpažūh, Tehran, 1375/1986, p. 256; Bal'amī, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.-T. Bahār, Tehran, 1341/1962, pp. 921-22; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, ed. G. Le Strange-R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1921, p. 74.

this way, exclaimed: 'This was God's doing and He willed this out of compassion for us.'

The Pseudo-Jahiz gives the story of Yazdagerd's death "from Persian books on history and royal accounts." The horse appeared while Yazdagerd held court, the kick and subsequent death occurred *in the palace*, whereupon people commented "this was one angel (*malak*) of God's angels which came down in the shape of a horse to cause Yazdagerd's death and rid the subjects of his injustice and the world from his atrocity." The Persian accounts (Bal'amī and Ibn Balkhī) also refer to the horse as a *ferešta* "angel."

Theodor Nöldeke was the first to see the true nature of the episode although he failed to understand the symbolism behind it:⁴

The account of the king's fabulous death is most closely tied to the description of his wickedness. It is found in Eutychius, Ibn Quataiba, and others in such a form that one sees they all are based on the same text, namely Ibn Muqaffa'. In Ferdowsī some details are given differently and poetically. That the poet had transferred the scene to the neighborhood of his hometown, Tūs, may have been on his own account.⁵ On the other hand, the appearance of the charger, a white horse, from a spring into which it then disappears as well, may have been an original feature which is made less colorful by Ibn Muqaffa'. But if one considers how clear and informed this tradition about the king is, then one becomes reluctant to believe in a naively created myth. I see rather a deliberate fabrication here. They could have murdered the hated king secretly in remote Hyrcania (Gurgān) and then propagated this story. That in Eutychius it is expressly stated that one did not want to raise a hand on the king lest violence against sovereigns would become a rule, sounds almost like self-incrimination. The troubles and quarrels over the throne which immediately fol-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 1 (cont. at p. 79).

⁵ More likely such were the doings of those who collected the prose *Šah-nāma* of Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ferdowsī's main source.

lowed Yazdagerd's death confirm the above conclusions.

This interpretation has received general acceptance⁶ but the true meaning of the story still remains to be explored. It is clear that the fable revolves around three concepts: an unjust king whose behavior was contrary to his pledge at coronation to safeguard the subjects and show benevolence to them,⁷ a horse which acted as the divine instrument of retribution, and the water which was the abode of that horse. All these accord admirably with Iranian beliefs about Mithra, the god of contract, the divine judge,⁸ and his special animal, the horse, and his close associate, Apam Napāt, the "Grandson of waters." Mithra the *hvaspō* ("possessing good horses"),⁹ the *vahmō-sandah* ("prayer-fulfilling")¹⁰ is "Lord of the land" (*daiṅhu-paiti*).¹¹ He is "the temporal and religious judge of living beings"¹² and the divine protector of Iranian lands.¹³ He is *xšaθrō-dā* "Kingship giver" and *x'arənō-dā* "bestower of [God-given] Fortune."¹⁴ He is responsible "for orderly political government" and makes or breaks kings.¹⁵ As the divine judge he punishes evil rulers.¹⁶ As the supreme authority over Iranian lands, "he pacifies (the countries) that are in turmoil".¹⁷ He oversees the administration of

⁶ A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1944. P. 273, and others.

⁷ On this see A. Sh. Shahbazi, "Coronation" in *EIr. VI*, pp. 277-78.

⁸ I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 35, 47, 53-223, 239, 240, 247f.; Sh. Shaked, "Mithra the Judge", *Jerusalem Studies of Arabic and Islam*, II, 1980, 1-31.

⁹ Mithra Yašt 76.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 25, cf. Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

¹¹ Mithra Yašt, 145 with Gershevitch, pp. 296-9. In Achaemenid Lycia this epithet was rendered as *Xšaθrpati* "Lord of the Realm," evidently in connection with Mithra (= Apollo) as the overseer of administration of the law, cf., M. Boyce-F. Grenet, *History of Zoroastrianism III, Handbuch der Orientalistik I Abt., VIII. Bd., 1. Absch., Lief. 2, Heft 2*], Leiden-Köln, 1991: 476-77.

¹² Mithra Yašt 92.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 109-111.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, 24ff, 60, *et passim*.

¹⁷ Yt. 13.94f.

the law, and the running of the realm, and he "mediates" i.e., judges between contesting parties.¹⁸ To him one prayed for health, safeguard against antagonists "and ability to strike back at enemies, ability to rout lawless, hostile opponents."¹⁹ The pacification of lands and enforcement of orderly policies Mithra conducted with help of his close associate, Apam Napāt ("Grandson of Waters")²⁰ who likewise "will further all supreme authorities of the countries, and hold down (the countries) that are in turmoil."²¹ The divinity Apam Napāt is thus another patron of authority and orderly government. Both Mithra and Apam Napāt are guardians of *x'arənah/farr* (Apam Napāt takes it to the bottom of the sea²² and Mithra keeps it in trust for good kings).²³ Apam Napāt was the deity to summon for help when the hour of need came (his exclusive epithet was *Zavanō-sū* "helping at summons"): "We venerate Apam Napāt, the exalted lord, the ruler, the king, who possesses swift horses ... who hears well when one prays to him."²⁴ The horse is the special animal of the Iranian sun god,²⁵ whom most identified with Mithra,²⁶ and the Iranians, like many other Indo-European peoples, re-

¹⁸ Details in Shaked, *op. cit.*, pp.2ff.

¹⁹ Mithra Yašt 94.

²⁰ For Mithra's association with Apam Napāt see Gershevitch, *op. cit.* pp. 27ff., 59ff.

²¹ Mithra Yašt 95.

²² Yt. 19.51; on the connection of Apam Napāt and *x'arənah* see more recently Olga M. Davidson's *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings*, Ithaca and London 1994, pp. 115-6.

²³ *Ibid.*, 51-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 52. See also Lommel, *Die Yāšt's des Avesta*, Göttingen-Leipzig, 1927, p. 181; Bartholomae, *AiWb*, col. 1669.

²⁵ See, among others, Herodotus I.215; VI.113; Arrian *Anabasis* IV.5, 35; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 3. 12, 24; Philostratus, *Life of Appolonius* I. 31; Quintus Curtius III.8, 11; Tacitus VI. 37); identified with Mithra (Plutarch, *Alex.* 30; Agathangelus, I. 110, 134).

²⁶ See particularly Strabo, *Geography* XI.14, 9. For the Sasanian period, see Christensen, *op. cit.*, 143-45. He quotes the words of a minister of Yazdagerd's grandson as follows [= Etlishe, tr. R.W. Thomson, Cambridge, MA, 1982, p.23]: "the sun illuminates the whole universe with its rays and provides nourishment for men and beasts by its warmth. For its even-handed liberality and impartial dispensation it has been named the god Mihr, for it has no deceit or incomprehension."

garded the horse as a divine oracle.²⁷ It is also remarkable, as Olga M. Davidson points out, that at the moment Apam Napāt seized the *x'rānah* and disappears with it into the sea, he is described as "possessing swift horses".²⁸ In the story of Yazdagerd's death the symbolism and the oracular nature of the horse are manifest in the version given by the *Šāh-nāma*: the magnates and clergy pray to Apam Napāt and Mithra to punish the evil king who has violated his pact with God to keep and respect his people (note that in reversing Yazdagerd's policy, his son Bahrām promises to faithfully observe his words and avoid breaking pledges²⁹) and the horse-Mithra's animal-takes away the king's symbol of legitimacy, the *farr*, and his life, and takes it to Apam Napāt by disappearing into the waters.

²⁷ G. Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran", *Studies in the History of Religions, Suppl. to Numen*, Leiden (1959), pp. 244, 255; O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* II, Leipzig (1929), p. 175.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁹ *Šāh-nāma* VII, p. 299, v. 618.

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CHAPTER 20

Approaches to the Study of Sasanian History

M. Rahim Shayegan

Es ist mir eine besondere Ehre die folgenden Zeilen dem hochverehrten Herrn Professor Dr. Hanns-Peter Schmidt, dessen Sinnen und Trachten Generationen von Altiranisten und Indo-logen zugleich angeregt hat, zu widmen und gleichsam dem innigen Wunsche, daß dessen schöpferisches Wirken weiterhin die Altiranistik beleben möge, Ausdruck zu verleihen.

1. Introduction

The present paper is not a survey on the state of Sasanian studies, but an attempt to offer some methodological approaches to the history of the Sasanian empire. Apart from a few exceptions, the critical apparatus has been left out of the present study. I intend to remedy this shortcoming and expose the extent of my indebtedness to the work of the many, whose findings are here indiscriminately interwoven with mine, in three forthcoming studies: *Sasanidica I: History and Mythos in Sasanian Iran*; *Sasanidica II: The Antecedents of Early Sasanian Political Ideology*; *Sasanidica III: Kawād and Mazdak*. In the following, however, I shall succinctly review some of the recent developments in Sasanian studies.

Scholarship in Sasanian history has advanced considerably in the last two decades, but while publications on Sasanian primary sources, that is, material culture and inscriptions, have noticeably increased in recent years, historical syntheses and historiographical treatises still remain scarce.

During the last decades, internationally conducted excavations have unveiled Sasanian settlements, abundant artifacts, and numerous royal and private inscriptions. In contrast to the epigraphic material, most of which had been critically edited and published by 1979, the results of the archeological excavations were made available only in the aftermath of the political crisis in Iran. The crisis, which brought about the standstill of international missions in Iran, compelled the archeological community finally to publish its material. As a result, *compendia* of Sasanian coins, seals, and bullae together with typological analyses and excavation reports of Sasanian settlements were produced or are still under preparation.

The publication of primary sources, however, has not generated any comprehensive history of the Sasanian empire. As a result, the standard reference book on the subject continues to be Arthur Christensen's *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1936). Since Philippe Gignoux' treatise on the state of Sasanian history in *Pour une nouvelle histoire de l'Iran sasanide* (1984), numerous studies have enriched our knowledge of Arsacid and Sasanian history, the impact of which, however, still remains to be assessed by a much needed *Forschungsbericht*.

Among works of synthesis encompassing the whole of the Sasanian history one has to mention the *History of Ancient Iran* (1983) by Richard N. Frye. This concise handbook focuses on patterns of continuity in the political history and social institutions of pre-Islamic Iran from the earliest time to the Arab conquest. Although the handbook does not aim at representing an exhaustive history of the Sasanian empire, it has nonetheless opened up new methodological grounds. The search for enduring social structures and mental archetypes throughout the ages, as well as the geographical extension of the Iranian cultural realm to the borders of China, Siberia, and South Russia, introduced structural analysis in ancient Iranian historiography and redefined the cultural horizon of Iranian history.

The Cambridge History of Iran (1983), which devoted two volumes to the history of the Seleucids, Parthians, and Sasanians, represents a *summa* of scholarship on Sasanian history in encyclopedic form. Unlike previous works, it includes studies of social and economic history, legal history, history of intellectual life and religious thought, history of art and literature, as well as the auxiliary disciplines of architecture, numismatics, and sigillography. Its main drawback, however, is the lack of cohesion

between its narrative and descriptive parts, that is the *chronicles of events* and the *structural analyses*. Therefore, it represents a *juxtaposition* of autonomous historical fields, instead of a *unifying synthesis*.

While Klaus Schippmann's *Grundzüge der Geschichte des sasanidischen Reiches* (1990) provides a thorough survey of archaeology and art history, the structural analysis of the state institutions, the religion, and the economy remains rudimentary. The reconstruction of the political history predominantly follows Christensen's work and fails to integrate into a single narrative Schippmann's otherwise rich archeological and art historical insights.

Josef Wiesehöfer in *Das antike Persien* (1994) covers much of the same ground as Frye's *History of Ancient Iran* but is concerned with a systematic synthesis (*systematische Zusammenfassung*) or structural history rather than a history of political events (*Ereignisgeschichte*). Despite the strength of the structural analyses, the postulate of continuity within the Iranian empires blurs the unique makeup of Sasanian institutions as it imposes an inevitable *Systemzwang* upon the social patterns and structures of power of the three Iranian empires, hence harmonizing them to the detriment of their respective singularity.

As far as methodological treatises on Sasanian historiography are concerned, Philippe Gignoux' *Pour une nouvelle histoire* represents the epitome of theoretical reflection on this subject. The treatise, which proposes fresh approaches for a new history, suffers nonetheless from several methodological shortcomings. The author, the driving force behind the publication of Sasanian sigillographic material, provides an evaluation scheme suitable only for narrative sources, which he, following the parameters of space and time, divides into *primary* (Iranian texts), *secondary* (non-Iranian texts) and *tertiary* (late Arabo-Persian texts) sources. However, this tripartition does not suffice as a theoretical frame for rigorous source criticism, for it takes into account neither archeological sources, to which, obviously, philological categories cannot apply, nor the *intentionality* of the sources, which can only be assessed by dint of the *internal critique*, for which the parameters of space and time are of marginal bearing. Another methodological inadequacy of Gignoux' treatise consists in the priority the author concedes to structural analyses (social, economic, and religious) to the detriment of political history (*histoire événementielle*), the rewriting of which, apart

from some rare cases, he deems to be unnecessary. It is, however, inconceivable that new insights into social and economic processes will remain without impact upon the reconstruction of political history, as they *both* constitute the indispensable ingredients for a *total history*.

Consequently, despite the publications of the past decades, Sasanian historiography is still in its infancy. It is, therefore, indispensable to seek methodological guidance in historical disciplines that have benefitted from developments in the social sciences, and have hence explored new theoretical grounds and opened up fresh historical approaches.

2. L'École des Annales

The conceptual frame of the proposed study relies on the methods and concepts of the *School of the Annales*. The Annales is responsible for a multi-disciplinary vision of history that not only draws from the social sciences the concept of *synchrony* (*longue durée*), but also emphasizes hitherto neglected historical fields, such as social, economic, and mental *histories*. Due to the prevalence, in the current leanings of the School of the Annales, of structural analyses and micro-histories to the detriment of political history and macro-history, a prevalence that has contributed to the fragmentation of history, I have returned to the paradigms of the founding fathers of the Annales, such as L. Fèvre (1942), M. Bloch (1994), and F. Braudel (1979 a, b), who defended the concept of a *total history*. Among the representatives of the new generation of the Annales, I have used the works of the medievalists J. Le Goff (1985) and G. Duby (1993) who legitimized the feasibility of a history of mental attitudes.

A total history of the Sasanians which follows the paradigm of the Annales will inevitably inherit some of their methodological ambiguities, which the following amendments hope to address:

First: Political and structural histories differ from each other not only in content and perspective, but also in their individual methods of inquiry. Whereas political history is *diachronic* and thus follows the succession of events like a film being played out, structural history must be studied within the framework of *synchrony* and thus represents snap shots, showing history in *suspended motion*. Structural history deals with underlying molds that last longer and resist the flow of time and the

peripeteiae of political events, hence giving the impression of relative immutability. The simultaneous use of two chronological and methodological frameworks (diachrony vs. synchrony) requires an approach that integrates these two perspectives (political and structural) into a *single, total, History*.

In order to introduce the notion of time into the structural analysis, one has not only to search for regularities and continuities in the description of social institutions, economic conditions, and mental attitudes, but also *consciously* look for discontinuities and ruptures within these structures, ruptures that may signify the emergence of a new paradigm. Such ruptures are reflected in the changes of the *royal titulature* as evidenced by the numismatic material. Since these changes represented the emergence of a new paradigm, I shall use them to divide the history of the Sasanians into four epochs: the *Šāhānate*, *Kayānate*, *Abzōnate*, and the *Xwarrah Abzūd* period, a division that will integrate some measure of temporality in the synchronic analysis.

Second: Political history is often treated as a superstructure reflecting vicissitudes at a deeper infrastructural level, where social and economic conditions, themselves subordinated to other historical realities, namely the mental and symbolic structures, are at work. It is this kind of history, viewed as a *linear, causal, chain* from mental and symbolic deep-structures via social and economic conditions to the events on the "surface" that should be replaced by one in which the prevalence of correlation between these historical forces and their *dialectic interplay* is recognized.

Third: Teleological and structural histories are incompatible. This means that, although the presence of a *telos* in history may provide a conceptual frame for fitting disparate histories into a total historical reconstruction, thereby giving them a unity otherwise missing in such constructions, yet this procedure runs the risk of imposing an *a priori* interpretation on historical phenomena and structures, forcing them into a specific conceptual frame and determining beforehand the outcome of the historical reconstruction. Although, I shall refrain from proposing any teleological conception, the possibility of uncovering a rationale in the interplay of these historical forces, as evidenced by the facts and not forced upon them by the fiat of a *teleological a priori*, cannot be ruled out.

3. Source criticism

While the *Annales* provides a conceptual frame for the proposed project, it does not offer any insights into the *methodical treatment* of the documentation upon which its elaborate historical concepts ultimately rely. In order to undertake the arduous task of critically scrutinizing and assessing *narrative* and *archeological* sources of the Sasanian empire, which remains a *desideratum*, one has to resort to the *critical-philological method* of representatives of the *Methodical (Scientific) School* and to the *hypothetico-deductive* approach of the *New (processual) Archeology*, enriched and supplemented by *post-processual* critiques.

For the critical scrutiny of *narrative sources* and *inscribed* archeological remains (coins and seals), I will apply the techniques of source criticism elaborated by historians such as J. G. Droysen (1875), E. Bernheim (1894), and Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos (1898), techniques that are not affected by the *Historicist conceptions* of their movement. Thus, the goal is to establish a complete inventory of all *written* sources, and, with the aid of the *critical-philological method*, to categorize and hierarchize these sources with respect to the parameters of *time, space, and intentionality*. As a result, a *qualitative chart* of all available narrative sources will emerge, which will considerably reduce arbitrariness in the selection of sources and in the ensuing historical interpretations.

Whereas the above techniques are useful for the critical scrutiny of *narrative sources* and *inscribed* archeological remains, they are ineffective when it comes to the comprehension of settlement patterns: e.g., the political organization of excavated sites, their administrative centers, their social structure and their economic specialization (irrigation patterns, farming techniques, craft specialties). In order to utilize the extensive archeological documentation that the excavation of Sasanian sites has produced in the past decades, an inventory of all archeological sites should be established as a first measure toward the critical assessment of the archeological data. The *New (processual) Archeology*, which focuses on manifold intrinsic processes at work within a society, amended by *postprocessual* critiques, which have stressed the importance of cognitive aspects (ideological and symbolic representations) of more complex societies, could

guide our approach in interpreting the archeological data of Sasanian Iran.

4. Roman History

The importance of studies in Roman history and historiography for the history of the Sasanian empire cannot be over-emphasized. Not only is Rome the imperial *Other* of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, and as such an unavoidable model for the study of imperial systems, it also exercised considerable influence on the evolution of the Sasanian state. Moreover, Roman history has a long tradition of studies pertinent to social, economic, and institutional history that is independent from the Annales paradigm, and thus, serves as a corrective to some of the excesses of the School of the Annales.

Among the numerous studies of the Roman empire that deal with social and economic histories one can mention the classical study of M. Rostovtzeff (1954) is an example of the extensive use of archeological material in the historical reconstruction of social and economic structures; the works of A.H.M. Jones (1992) and J. Bleicken (1989-94) have served as models for structural histories with an emphasis on institutional structures; and the works of R. MacMullen (1974 & 1992) and E. Badian (1958 & 1983) are exemplary studies of neglected domains of social history.

5. Periodization

The proposed history of the Sasanian empire will be divided into two parts: (1) the *early empire* (224-531 C.E.), and (2) the *later empire* (531-652 C.E.).

The partition of the Sasanian history into two parts is conditioned by the *historical caesura* announced already by the policies of King Kawād, which prompted the alteration of the hitherto prevailing equilibrium of power between the sovereignty and the nobility, an alteration that was consummated by Husraw I whose reforms profoundly changed the nature of the Sasanian state.

Furthermore, the history of both the early and the later empires will each be respectively arranged into two epochs that I have named, following the changes in the title of Sasanian kings as reflected on coinage, (1) the *Šāhān Šāh period* (*Šāhānate*) and

(2) the *Kayān period (Kayānate)* for the early empire; and (3) the *Abzōn period (Abzōnate)* and (4) *Xwarrah Abzūd period* for the later empire. The *Šāhānate* will extend from Ardašīr to Yazdgerd II (224-439), the *Kayānate* from Yazdgerd II to the end of Kawād I's reign (439-531), the *Abzōnate* from Husraw I to Husraw II (531-590), and the *Xwarrah Abzūd period* from Husraw II to the end of Yazdgerd III's rule (590-652).

The guiding principles of the present periodization, which is submitted for the first time in Sasanian scholarship, emulate those utilized in the past to partition the history of the Roman empire into the *Principate* and the *Dominate*. These epochs were forged by making allowances to the changes of the Caesar titlature that were conceived to be indicative of the mutation of historical paradigms; as a result the titles of *princeps* and *dominus* came to designate the Principate and Dominate.

Accordingly, each of the epochs delineated for the history of the Sasanian empire is characterized by a specific *leitmotiv* that bestows unity and coherence upon the multitude of events and structures (social, economic, and mental) which pertains to it. The key to the understanding and the criterion for the delimitation of these epochs are the hitherto neglected changes within the *royal titlature*, as illustrated by the legends of Sasanian coins. Radical changes in the royal titlature indicate vicissitude within ideological and political conceptions and possibly announce the emergence of new historical paradigms, the sum and substance of which I will submit below.

The numismatic evidence discloses only *four radical variations* in the royal titlature.

(1) From the establishment of the empire by Ardašīr I up to the reign of Yazdgerd II, despite minor alterations, the title of the Sasanian sovereigns was: *mazdēsn bay* [name of the sovereign] *šāhān šāh Ērān ud An-Ērān kē čīhr az yazdān*, "His Mazdayasnian Majesty [name of the sovereign] king of kings of Iran and non-Iran whose seed is from the gods." The title of "king of king of Iran and non-Iran," thus, represents the core of the Sasanian titlaturē during the *Šāhānate*; it also provides a definition of the royal function that characterizes the entire epoch.

(2) Under Yazdgerd II and up to and including Kawād I, the titlature changed considerably. The main constant of the *Šāhānate*, namely, *šāhān šāh Ērān ud An-Ērān*, disappeared entirely and was replaced by the title *kay*, which referred to a mythical and heroic age. The titlature—except for *Walāxš* and

Zāmasp—included the title *kay* after the king's name: *mazdēsn bay (rāmšahr) kay* [name of the sovereign], and later only [name of the sovereign] *kay*.

(3) It was during the reign of Kawād I that the next change in the titlature took place. Under Husraw I, the king was neither called *šāhān šāh*, nor *kay*. Only the king's name occurred, and beginning with his sixth year, it was followed by the term *abzōn* "increase": [name of the sovereign] *abzōn*.

(4) The next change in Sasanian titlature occurred under Husraw II, where the name of the sovereign was followed by the expression *xwarrah abzūd*: [name of the sovereign] *xwarrah abzūd* "increased is the (royal/epic) glory of/by [name of the sovereign]." However, Husraw II also occasionally used the term *abzōn*, as well as for the first time after the *Šāhānte*, again the term *šāhān šāh*—e.g. *Husraw šāhān šāh, xwarrah abzūd*—which was undoubtedly a consequence of his Byzantine policy, and may have reflected a conscious reference to the political program of his victorious predecessors from the *Šāhānate*: Šābuhr I and Šābuhr II.

6. The Four Ages of Sasanian History

Part I: The Early Empire

(1) The Šāhān Šāh Period (Šāhānate): The Age of Political Realism

(i) *Social and Economic Histories*

As part of the social and economic *histories* of the *Šāhānate*, I shall describe the conditions of social groups operating in the *rural* and *urban* milieus.

The division between *rural* and *urban* milieus, which particularly characterizes the social and economic *histories* of the *Šāhānate*, is also one between two co-existing socio-economic models: the *royal economy*, which administered the cities and their dependent rural areas, as well as the royal demesne; and the *seigniorial economy* that was based upon the exploitation of the nobility's landed estates by the peasantry. The royal economy, which was conceived as an antithesis to the seigniorial economy

and hence inherently urban, actively sought to promote urban manufacturing and trade in order to shift the economic balance to the cities to the detriment of the countryside. The promotion of the urban economy by the sovereignty increasingly involved the Sasanian state in international trade with India and China. This involvement protected indigenous markets for the royal urban clientele and safeguarded the economic regime upon which the strength of the Sasanian state rested.

(ii) *History of Mental Attitudes*

The political ideology of the Sasanians in their actions against Rome forms an important component of the history of mental conceptions during the *Šāhānate*. Indeed, the Sasanian offensive against Rome, which Romans considered to be motivated by the drive to revive the Achaemenid empire (*renovatio imperii*), was in reality an *interpretatio romana*, as convincingly exposed by some scholars. However, this "Roman interpretation" was caused by the effects of a contemporaneous Alexander imitation (*imitatio Alexandri*) in Rome, as evidenced among others by the third century emperor Alexander Severus, who, like other emperors before him, considered himself a second Alexander. Thus, the portrayal of the Sasanians as heirs to the Achaemenids was intrinsic to the *imitatio Alexandri* that called for the resuscitation of Alexander's former adversaries. In other words, the emergence of a second Alexander required a substitute for the Achaemenid empire, which, from Rome's perspective, was the Sasanian empire.

(iii) *Political History*

Throughout the *Šāhānate*, the sovereignty strove to establish a centralized, highly structured government. The major obstacle against this centralization policy came from the landed nobility. The foundation of a vast network of cities by the first Sasanian kings—notably Ardašīr and Šābuhr I and later Šābuhr II—which *de iure* belonged to the imperial household, served to introduce bastions of central authority throughout the empire and, thus, gradually to impose royal ascendancy over surrounding areas. Moreover, the sovereignty initiated the *royal economy*, which promoted trade and urban manufacturing within the demesne subject to its authority, with the aim of undermining the eco-

conomic power of the landed nobility. The urbanization process produced a new social group, the *urban clientele*, upon which the sovereignty depended in its struggle against the nobility. Furthermore, in order to protect the economic interests of its urban clientele, the Sasanian state was forced into warfare with Rome over the control of trade with the East. As a result, Persia's belligerence vis-à-vis Rome was not primarily motivated by ideological *stimuli*, i.e., Achaemenid reminiscences, but by the necessity to protect the economic interests of the urban clientele. Consequently, Rome's attempts to establish long-lasting commercial links with India and China, by circumventing Persian monopolies and prerogatives, inevitably prompted armed conflicts with the Sasanian empire that often re-established the *economic status quo*.

(2) The Kayān-Period (Kayānate): The Heroic Age

(i) *Social and Economic Histories*

During the *Kayānate*, the concentrated war efforts of Yazdgerd II and Pērōz against intruding Hunnic tribes on the north-eastern frontiers ravaged the state finances and prohibited imperial re-investment in the agricultural development of crown lands. Deficient agricultural investment, which judging from the decay of the irrigation system, prevailed since the reign of Šābuhr II, finally led to the reported famine caused by drought under Pērōz.

The drastic measures undertaken by Pērōz in order to relieve the populace of the immediate consequences of the famine consisted in tax exemption, distribution of state alimony, and recourse to the revenues of the nobility's landed estates. To remedy the causes of the famine, however, Pērōz initiated the foundation of numerous cities on a scale unprecedented since Šābuhr II—as the sigillographic evidence unequivocally demonstrates—with the intention to overcome the empire's economic deficiency by promoting urban manufacturing and international trade. The state's keen interest in promoting international trade can be seen from the fact that, during the *Kayānate*, Chinese-Iranian diplomatic relations experienced a new revival after an eclipse extending over three centuries. Although Yazdgerd II is to be credited with the dispatch of the first recorded Sasanian embassy to China (Northern Wei court) in 455, it was Pērōz who sent four of

the ten missions that arrived at the Northern Wei court from 455 to 522. The dispatch of four embassies by Pērōz within a period of 15 years is indicative, in my opinion, of the prevailing economic urgency that compelled the Sasanian state to intervene actively in the development of international trade. Furthermore, Pērōz was forced into armed conflict with the Hephthalites because they constituted a constant menace to the fluidity of international trade and commerce over land. Since the crushing defeat of Pērōz and the large ransom imposed on the state threatened to destroy whatever regime of economic regeneration Pērōz had imposed, a second, all-decisive, campaign was undertaken, which, however, ended with the death of the king and the temporary subjugation of the empire.

The effect of the king's death and the Hephthalite suzerainty was an economic depression that prepared the ground for the emerging social unrest under Kawād during the *Abzōnate*, an unrest commonly associated with the name of Mazdak.

(ii) *History of Mental Attitudes*

The reign of Yazdgerd II is the age in which the political perspective of the Sasanian empire, hitherto inclined towards the West, completed its shift towards the East. This shift, which had already begun under the reigns of Yazdgerd I and Warahrān V only to reach its climax under Yazdgerd II and his successor Pērōz, was caused by the arrival of belligerent Hunnic tribes on the empire's eastern borders. As a result of the empire's preoccupation with the East, the reception of eastern mythical and epic oral literature grew stronger. What is more, the warfare against Hunnic tribes must have evoked the mythical antagonism prevailing between the Iranian Kayanian (Av. *kauuaiti-*) rulers and their Turanian (Av. *tūiriia-*) foes, an enmity that is well attested in the Younger Avesta. Initially, under Yazdgerd II, the antagonism of Iran and its eastern foe, prompted the adoption by the Sasanians of the title *kay*, descendent of the same title (Av. *kauui-*), which the mythical kings of the Iranians who fought against the eastern Turanians carried in the Avesta.

I submit that this adoption was tantamount to the conscious projection of *mythos* onto history, to the superimposition of a narrative mold pertinent to *mythos* upon the reality of the Sasanian-Hunnic discord, so as to indicate that victory, a teleo-

logical inevitability in *mythos*, was bound to concur in *this* historical reality as well.

The defeat of imperial armies under Pērōz falling short of the promises of *mythos*, Sasanian historiography had recourse to an ingenious artifice to absolve the actuality of defeat as an ephemeral setback in an ultimately successful struggle. Indeed, the Avestan Kayanian cycle was reinterpreted during the *Kayānate* and the *Abzōnate*, and invested with episodes pertinent to the history of the *Kayānate*, with the result that not only Pērōz's two defeats, but also the flight of his son Kawād to the Hephthalites, his marriage with the Hephthalite king's daughter, as well as the birth of Kawād's son Husraw, were all integrated into the Kayanian cycle, as evidenced by the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia, the *Bundahišn*, and the Iranian national epic, the *Šāhnāme*. The integration of the aforesaid episodes into the Kayanian cycle served the purpose of blurring the contrast between history and *mythos*, in order to assure, despite the undeniable defeats of the *Kayānate*, a victorious outcome for history by subjecting it to the teleological dimension of *mythos*. In other words, the initial projection of *mythos* onto history, having not fulfilled its purpose of generating victory for history by emulating *mythos*, history itself was projected back into *mythos*, so as to benefit from the ultimate success which the teleologically predetermined framework of *mythos* offered.

(iii) Political History

The desolate financial condition of the empire did not prevent Sasanian sovereigns from waging war against Rome in order to obtain subsidies for a more devastating struggle against the Hephthalites. Indeed, in their endeavor to contain the Hephthalite danger, Yazdgerd II and Pērōz turned for subsidies toward Rome, with whom, since the peace treaty of 384-89, they were bound by a common defense agreement against nomadic intrusions from the Caucasus. Rome's refusal to provide financial assistance triggered the short war of 441-442 between Yazdgerd II and Theodosius II at a time when the latter was engaged in a campaign against the Vandals in the West. The financial burden of the preparations for the war against the Hephthalites was also the cause for the crisis of 464, as Pērōz requested financial support from Rome, which not only encompassed the annual subsidies, but also a substantial advance payment to carry his eastern

campaign against the Hephthalites. Initially, Pērōz overcame the famine caused by drought, which I assume was due to the decay of the complex irrigation system devised during to *Šāhānate*, and restored the empire's economic life. The economic revival consisted in the furtherance of urban manufacturing through the foundation of new cities, and the promotion of international trade relations by the fiat of diplomatic missions sent to China. As, however, the Hephthalites menaced to dominate the eastern trade, Pērōz responded with an expedition to the Hephthalite realm, which resulted in the defeat of the Sasanian forces and the capture of king Pērōz. The trauma of the Sasanian reverse, aggravated by the economic hardship inflicted by the loss of control over the eastern trade and the large ransom imposed on the Sasanians, undoubtedly gave rise to the perception that the Hephthalites posed a danger to the very essence of Sasanian sovereignty. I propose that the association of the Hephthalites with the mythical foes of the Kayanians, namely the Turanians, whose leader Frāsyāb (Av. *Fraŋrasiian-*) had, according to the tradition, repeatedly endeavored to recover the glory of sovereignty from the Iranians, generated, in the Sasanian imaginary, the perception that the Hephthalites were in search of the regal glory, that is, the mandate to preponderance in the East. That this possibility, which in the Sasanian imaginary arose through its pertinence to *mythos*, was also contemplated by the Romans who were concerned to preserve the hitherto prevailing equilibrium of power with their eastern neighbor, is, in my opinion, reflected in the extensive financial assistance accorded by emperor Leo toward the payment of Pērōz's ransom, and, possibly, toward the preparations of Pērōz's second Hephthalite campaign.

Part II: The Later Empire

(3) *The Abzōn Period (Abzōnate): Turmoil and Recovery*

(i) *Social and Economic Histories*

The social and religious upheaval associated with the *Mazdakite revolution* in the *Abzōnate* constitutes an important chapter of the Sasanian social history. This disruption, attributed to a certain *Mazdak*, was directed against the landed nobility, with the aim of enforcing communal access to *women* and property.

The policy of forced communal access to women by the Mazdakite movement was aimed at eroding the ideological foundation of the nobility's political entitlements, namely the "mystique of blood." Unable to subdue the nobility on the political battlefield, the sovereignty attempted to dilute its ranks by taking control over its progeny, thereby compromising the purity of noble lineages. This fierce act of collective abuse against aristocratic women was only possible through the manipulation of Zoroastrian law. This law provided for a man to hand over his spouse to another member of the community in terms of a *temporary marriage* (*stūrīh*), as an act of religious piety, albeit the "permanent" husband (*xwadāy*) retained any children born in the transient period. Thus, the Mazdakites coerced noblemen into acquiescing in the *temporary marriages* of their consorts, with the result that the ensuing offspring *legally* belonged to the nobility, but were *ideologically* unfit to assure the continuity of aristocratic lineages.

(ii) *History of Mental Attitudes*

As demonstrated by H. Gaube (1982), the very existence of Mazdak could amount to mere fiction. Although, contemporary sources, such as Procopius and Joshua the Stylite, account of Kawād I's zealous consent to the communal possession of women, no reference, however, is ever made to the person of Mazdak, who only occurs in late Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings and Islamic sources. Since, furthermore, the Islamic sources, which to some extent reflect the Iranian oral tradition, blame Mazdak—aside from having sought communal access to women—of having striven to *redistribute nobiliary estates and possessions* to the populace, a theme current in the oral tradition and frequently attributed to other evil-doers such as Gaumata (Bisitun) and Wahnām son of Tatus (Paikuli), there are grounds for considering Mazdak to be a literary fiction displaying the same misdeeds as the prototypical evil-doers of the oral tradition. I posit that engendering the fictitious character of Mazdak was a subterfuge fomented by Kawād I or Husraw I to cover the king's involvement in the movement he had instigated. By ascribing to the fictitious Mazdak the misdeeds Kawād I had perpetrated himself against nobiliary women, it (the fictitious Mazdak) also inherited the usual crimes attributed to prototypical evil-doers in the oral tradition, namely, the material dispossession of the no-

bility, which having served for decades as the basis of the "Mazdakite communism," now must appear to be without any historical merit.

(iii) *Political History*

At the dawn of the later empire, the sovereignty in its quest for a centralized state provoked a popular revolt, the Mazdakite movement, and directed it against the nobility. Once the continuity of noble lineages threatened and the nobility's political prerogatives jeopardized, king Kawād I dissolved and annihilated the instrument of his malicious policy, the Mazdakite movement, thus paving the way for his successor Husraw I to create a new social order. Husraw I achieved the transmutation of the nobility into a *noblesse de robe* by re-establishing the landed nobility and integrating it into an invigorated Sasanian state apparatus. Furthermore, Kawād I and Husraw I laid the foundation for a knighthood that, loyal to the royal authority, was recruited from among the selfsame offspring the Mazdakite revolt had generated, the landed nobility rejected, and which Husraw I collectively adopted as his *children*.

(4) *The Xwarrah Abzūd Period: Zenith and Fall of the Empire*

(i) *Social and Economic Histories*

Husraw I's social and economic reforms were the *conditio sine qua non* for Husraw II's policy of expansion, and by the same token the source of its failure. The subjugation of the landed nobility consequent upon the "Mazdakite revolution" had permitted the Sasanian state regularly to levy imposts and taxes, not only on royal demesnes, but on the totality of the empire's cultivated surface. The establishment by the crown of a military nobility, whose members were not only equipped, but also endowed with fiefs in return for military service, created a formidable, uniform, force accountable only to the sovereign. The dramatic increase of the state incomes, further enhanced by poll tax and large Byzantine indemnities under Husraw I, had created an economically powerful state that, for the first time in Sasanian history, had the financial means, as well as the military capacity,

to sustain a large scale campaign aimed at overpowering Byzantium.

However, the reforms that had dramatically enhanced the state's potency, proved to be also the cause of the empire's decline. The increasingly violent friction between the crown and the high nobility, further intensified under Ōhrmazd IV, and exacerbated under Husraw II, led to the deterioration of the traditional bonds between the nobility and the king, to the extent that members of the high nobility (*wuzurgān*)—such as Warahrān Čōbīn of the Mihrān family, and later Farrōxān Šahrwarāz of the Warāz family—dared to reach for the throne and thus to challenge the legitimacy of the Sasanian dynasty. Furthermore, the promotion of the lower nobility (*āzādān*) and the enfeoffment of the knighthood (*dēhgānān*) with the intention to establish an economically contented military class able to counter-balance the power of the high nobility, ultimately led to the *rapprochement* of the military aristocracy and the high nobility. With increased affluence the interests of the military class became akin to those of the high nobility which produced—as the examples of Warahrān Čōbīn and Farrōxān Šahrwarāz illustrate—the leaders under whom the military class served and with whom they shared a common *ethos*. I thus submit that although the military class had originally been intended to be a bulwark against the aspirations of the high nobility, it nonetheless contributed to the erosion of the royal power due to its increasing affinity with the high nobility.

(ii) History of Mental Attitudes

The *Xwarrah Abzūd period* is marked from the outset by the steady decline of Sasanian royal authority, which was heralded by the uprising of the commander Warahrām Čōbīn against his rightful sovereign Ōhrmazd IV. The legitimacy of the Sasanian royal house was grounded upon the conception that the nimbus of kingship, the *xwarrah*, was bestowed upon the house of Ardašīr and his progeny following Ardašīr's triumph over the Arsacids and the establishment of a new Iranian empire. The seizure of power by Warahrān Čōbīn was the first attempt by a grandee to challenge the nimbus of the Sasanian dynasty and,

thus, openly contest the inherited right of its members to rulership.

In order to prevent the accession of Warahrān Čōbīn, whose victorious campaigns had elevated him into an exalted position, whence he could defy the royal legitimacy, Husraw II was forced to overthrow his father Ōhrmazd IV, the principal object of Warahrān's enmity, and eventually consent to his assassination. However, his regicide failing short of preventing Warahrān Čōbīn from seeking the throne, Husraw II was forced to take refuge in Byzantium, whence he sat out to reconquer his empire with Byzantine troops in return for territorial concessions. I submit that the successful rebellion of Warahrān, having already severely diminished the prestige of Sasanian legitimacy, the regicide of Husraw II, and Byzantine intervention in Persia's internal affairs at Husraw's instigation, followed by territorial concessions, decisively shattered the nimbus of Sasanian rule, as illustrated by a further, long-lasting mutiny this time initiated by Husraw II's uncle Wistāhm.

I therefore propound that in order to elevate the Sasanian glory, Husraw II devised the bold project to overcome Byzantium, and by the same token, to resuscitate the Achaemenid empire, whose memory interwoven with epic elaboration subsisted since the *Abzōnate*. Husraw II's unprecedented territorial expansion was tantamount to the instauration of a *new empire* that, surpassing in glory even Ardašīr's founding act, invested the Sasanian legitimacy with a new mandate. The legend on Husraw II's coinage *Husraw xwarrah abzūd* "Husraw whose *xwarrah* is increased; Husraw, by whom the *xwarrah* is increased," in my opinion, unveils the king's political agenda of a *Sasanian renewal* subsequent to his seizure of power in Persia. What is more, the program of a *renovatio imperii* denotes the sway epic held over the imaginary of the *Xwarrah Abzūd* period, to the extent that historical reality was produced in conformity with the epic past. Thus, during the age of Husraw II, the memory of the Achaemenid dominion, which in the Sasanian imaginary was relegated to the realm of *epos*, drove the Sasanian empire to mobilize all vital forces for the sole purpose of recreating the epic past. In the *Xwarrah Abzūd* period, history reached out for epic, and by attaining it, lost its *raison d'être*; for this reason this period represents simultaneously the zenith and fall of the Sasanian empire.

Whereas the *Kayanāte* is the encounter of history with *mythos*, the *Xwarrah Abzūd* period is the encounter of history with a history relegated to the realm of *epos*; whereas the encounter with the *East* caused the reception of *mythos* by history, the encounter with the *West* brought about the ascendancy of *epos* upon history.

(iii) *Political History*

During most of the Sasanian empire the diplomatic and economic relations of Persia with Rome and later Byzantium, although primarily aimed at ensuring advantageous settlements for one party, were nonetheless concerned with maintaining an equilibrium of power between the two empires. This sense of equipoise, which often led to the recognition of one party's legitimate needs, mainly consisted in the payment by the Byzantine state of subsidies to Sasanian sovereigns in return for their efforts to defend common borders against foreign intruders. These subsidies, as long as they lasted, symbolized the mutual acceptance by the two parties of their respective, licit, claim to co-regency. In the late *Abzōnate*, due to the innumerable violations of the treaty's original terms by the Sasanian authorities, the Byzantine empire suspended the payment of regular subsidies to Persia, and Justin II even began to negotiate with the newly emerging Turcic power to form an alliance against the Sasanian state, which gave rise to a new chapter in the Roman and Persian relations. Henceforth, with the discontinuation of the subsidies, both empires adopted a confrontationalist attitude. This attitude, which first led to Justin II's thwarted campaign against the Sasanian empire in 572-73 and, later, to the first Roman intervention in the internal affairs of Persia by Maurice, finally caused the ill-inspired attempt of Husraw II to overpower Byzantium. I thus posit that the discontinuation of Roman subsidies, which up to Justin II warranted the interdependence between Rome and Persia, ultimately brought forth an attitude that henceforth sanctioned the opponent's downfall. Husraw II, by conquering, albeit ephemerally, all of Byzantium's eastern possessions, implemented this logic to the letter. It is only during the *Xwarrah Abzūd* period that Sasanian Persia, inspired by the ideal to restore its former glory, endowed with financial means to sustain a large scale invasion, and unconstrained by any delusion

of coexistence with Byzantium, waged its first *ideological war* with the Byzantine empire, but paid the price of this all-consuming extravagance with its disappearance, a few decades later, at the hands of the emerging Islamic power.

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CHAPTER 21

Suggestions on Decipherment of Two Series of Sasanian Sigillary Monograms

Siamak Adhami

It is a general rule that a written composition should be easy to read and therefore easy to deliver. This cannot be so where there are many connecting words or clauses, or where punctuation is hard, as in the writings of Heraclitus. To punctuate Heraclitus is no easy task, because we often cannot tell whether a particular word belongs to what precedes or what follows it.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1407b12-16

As anyone who has attempted to edit the texts written in any of the pre-modern Iranian languages indubitably knows, Aristotle's characterization of Heraclitean style is equally true of many of these compositions; in addition, the difficulties of punctuation are compounded by the task of identifying numerous undecipherable words and scribal errors. Needless to say, these difficulties grow exponentially when dealing with the inscriptions found on the rock-reliefs and the material culture dating from the Sasanian period (AD 226-651). As an integral part of the material culture from Iran of late antiquity, the decipherment of the inscriptions, the monograms on the seals, and their impressions, can serve as important sources of knowledge on various aspects of Sasanian society (Harmatta, 1967; Gyselen, 1989); among the reasons contributing to the significance of this type of primary sources is that they remain unaffected by the interpretations, omissions, and distortions of the later intermediaries.

While in the last few decades we have witnessed much progress in the field of Sasanian epigraphy and iconography (in par-

ticular see Gignoux 1975, 1978; Gignoux-Gyselen, 1982, 1987, 1989, 1992; Gignoux-Müller, 1977; Gyselen 1989, 1990, 1993, 1995), the more challenging study of the monograms found on the same seals has been a rather neglected field; the only scholars who in more recent times have concerned themselves with a number of these monograms have been the late J. de Menasce (1960) and R. Göbl (1971).¹ In the following pages an attempt will be made at reading two series of sigillary monograms in hope that it would further the efforts of those more fully devoted to the study of the field. In examining the two series here the seals and their impressions are taken from the diagrams of the relics found in Qasr-i Abu Nasr (Frye 1973), and whenever similar monograms are found in other published sources they will be noted.

I

The first series of monograms (Series I) is included in that group which an observer once defined as being devices perhaps originating "as cattle-brands amongst the nomadic Iranians" (Bivar, 1969: 28), while another described them as being "doubtful that they were ever 'read' or understood as forming names or words" (Frye, 1973: 54); a more recent student of the field has wisely limited her comments to calling them "monogrammes symmetriques" (Gyselen, 1995: 129). But it is exactly the symmetry of this series of monograms which, I believe, holds the key to their decipherment; this near perfect symmetry goes beyond geometric representation and is similarly observed in an alphabetical sense, as will shortly be explained:

If we visualize a geometrical plane (Diagram P), with a *y*-axis (the vertical line originating at ② and ending at ④; viz., ④ fluctuates along the lower part of the *y*-axis, as depicted on the Diagram but never violates the symmetry) and two *x*-axes (two horizontal lines such as ①—① and ③—③), we have what I consider to be the ideal model or the paradigm, if you will, of this series of monograms; in other words, positions ① and ③, located on the right side of the *y*-axis, have their mirror-images represented by ① and ③ on the left side of the same axis. The proposed order of reading, however, is: ①②③④③ (although the preferred sequence is counter-clockwise beginning on the right, due to the

¹ For an evaluation of the decipherments by de Menasce (1960) and Göbl (1971), consult Gignoux (1979: 186, nn. 6, 7).

symmetry, one can begin with ❶ on either the left or right side). Inevitably whatever Middle Iranian term corresponded to this six-letter paradigm and was carved by the engravers, *ought* to exhibit the same symmetry in the distribution of letters, i.e., the same letters in positions ❶—❶ and the same letters (but different from ❶) in positions ❷—❷; and surely there exists at least one such word which satisfies this vital prerequisite.

As for the series, even a cursory examination of the published catalogues reveals that the just described paradigm is found on a rather large number of seals (Gignoux-Gyselen 1982; 1987). On the first seal to be examined (Fig. D. 284) we can clearly identify two *alif* (ا), albeit inverted, in positions ❶ and ❶ on the upper *x*-axis; hence a word which, following the paradigm, reads: '❷❸❹❺ (ā❷ā❸❹❺). Analogically, we find two *rēš* (ر) in positions ❸ and ❸ on the lower *x*-axis. So far, we have a word which is spelled thus: '❷❸❹❺ (ā❷ār❸r). There are only two letters left to be deciphered, namely at positions ❷ and ❹, which we tackle next.

An examination of position ❷, at the apex of D.284, clearly evinces the letter *mēm*; *ergo*, we have a word which spells accordingly: 'm'❸r❹ (āmār❸r). The letter in position ❹, represented as three concentric and inverted "hearts" (♥), is the one whose identity has eluded us for the past few centuries. I believe the inverted "hearts", similar to their occurrences in Series II (*vide infra*), stand for *gimel*. When we put together all the identified letters, we have a rather familiar Middle Iranian word, i.e., *āmārgar* ('m'rgr < **hammāra-kara*) which satisfies the desired symmetry (two ā and two r around the *y*-axis); and as a person, he is none other than a "tax collector/fiscal agent", a functionary known throughout the Near and Middle East since the Achaemenid period (Greenfield, 1970: 180; MacKenzie, 1982: 925).

Unfortunately for us, the master engravers of the Sasanian period were not content with simply depicting the word in the easily recognizable manner just demonstrated. Rather, they introduced several stylistic modifications, including but not limiting themselves to the reorientation or even reshaping of the letters, while preserving the paradigm at all times; a few examples will prove illuminating:

In D.16 we observe two stylistic modifications: i) the letter *mēm*, similar to most of the specimens of the series, is represented as a crescent (D); and ii) *gimel*, instead of being depicted

as concentric “hearts”, now appears as two concentric circles along the length of the y -axis. The other four letters, the two *alif* and “r”, are shown as in the previous case.²

In summary, the suggestions offered are thus: there appears to exist a series of official monograms which is characterized by having six letters, i.e., two *alif*, two *rēš*, a *mēm*, and a *gimel*; these letters must, in turn, follow a specific symmetrical design as described above. If these suggestions prove to be correct and the reader finds them convincing, perhaps s/he would concur with the present author in placing this series of seals in a specific category which may be designated as “the Āmārgar” series.

Our sources on the Āmārgar seals, dating from the Sasanian period, are rather meager; however, the one important, contemporaneous reference to the seals of the fiscal agents is found in the early seventh-century Zoroastrian Law Digest, *Madīgān ī Hazār Dādestān*:³

MHD: 93.4-9: *ēk ēn kū muhr ī pad kār framān dāstan ān ī mōbedān ud āmārgarān fradom pad framān ī Kavād ī Pērōzān ud ān ī dādwarān fradōm pad framān ī Xosrow <ī> Kavādān; ka muhr ī mōbedān ī Pārs kand, mōbed nē pad nām ī mōbedih bē pad nām ī driyōšān jādag-gōwih xwānd nibišt; ud pad ān čim, abar muhr ī mōbedān ī Pārs im-gōnag kand ēstēd.*

One <point> is this: the authority to use (*pad kār ... dāstan*) the seals of priests and fiscal agents was first <introduced> by the command of Kavād, son of Pērōz, and that of judges first by the command of Xosrow, son of Kavād; when the seal of the priests of Pārs was carved, it was not <carved> in the name of the “office of the priesthood” but was inscribed with in the title called the “Advocacy of the Poor”; and for

² I believe D.3, 6, 16, 61 (not shown) are variants of this series. The following, belonging to other collections, may also be included here: Bivar, 1967: NG 7, NJ 3, NJ 4, NJ 5; and in Berkeley’s Gans Collection: 70.01, 70.03, 70.13, and 70.15.

³ The translation here differs from those offered by de Menasce (1963: 285-6), Shaked (1975: 213), Shaki (1978: 293, n. 46; 1989: 167), Macuch (1993: 596), and Anahit Perikhanian in her *The Book of A Thousand Judgements* (Costa Mesa, 1997: 215); on the various uses of the seals under the Sasanians, s.v. “*muhr*” and “*avišt*” in the Glossary of Perikhanian (*op. cit.*).

this reason, on the seal of the priests of Pārs it is carved in this manner.

This passage is of great significance for it connects the establishment of the office of "the advocates of the poor" as well as an apparent change in the authority of the fiscal agents⁴ with Kavād's and Xosrow's reforms in response to the Mazdakite rebellion, as already noted (de Menasce, 1963: 286; Shaki, 1978: 293, n. 46).

The absence of uniformity in appearance of the seals examined here can be explained on many levels; the choice of the patrons and the engravers should certainly be taken into account.⁵ But perhaps more importantly, the design variations observed on these official seals *may* be explainable by the fact that each seal was used as a means of identifying a particular fiscal agent with specific responsibilities and district. This fortuitous, symmetrical distribution of letters in *āmārgar* was fully taken advantage of by the talented engravers of Sasanian Iran and resulted in the production some of the most intriguing monograms ever carved.

⁴ This passage seems to tell us of a change in the nature of the authority (*framān*) in tax collection in post-Mazdakite era, i.e., from a concentration in the royal court to being delegated to the periphery or the local agents, hence the need for the new seals.

⁵ It is worth mentioning that *āmārgar* in these monograms is spelled with *gimel* (∇ or ◇) as is done in Book-Pahlavi (MacKenzie, 1971) and Syriac (Maricq, 1955: 276, n. 1). In the central inscriptions (not the monograms) of at least two of the seals (Frye, 1973: D.191, 209), as well as in the early Sasanian inscriptions (Gignoux, 1972: 15), however, the word is found with the "older" spelling using *k*, 'm'lkī (*āmārkar* < **hammāra-kara*-). Using this information, *perhaps* we can ascribe an earlier date than the 6th century to D. 191 & 209, in comparison to the monogrammed seals with *gimel* studied here.

It should also be noted that there are a number of post-Sasanian sources which may shed some light on the seals (Bivar, 1967: 29-34); another important source is Ibn Nadim's *Al-Fihrist* where he imparts some information on the writing systems of pre-Islamic Iranians. Among the various systems mentioned by him is Ar. *kastaj/kaštaj* < Pah. *gaštaj*. The *gaštaj* system, putatively, consisted of twenty four letters and was used in legal documents, legends of coins, parchments, and jewelry (Ibn Nadim, p. 23); for a review of other late, indigenous sources on Sasanian writing systems, see M.-T. Bahār (HS 1336), pp. 77 ff.

II

The second series (Series II) to be examined here also exhibits its problems with the same letters as above, a fact which had hindered the progress of the previous students of the field. The monogram on the series is comprised of three letters (e.g., D. 438, 92, 444). In D. 438, two letters of the triad are easily legible (from right to left): *m* (*mēm*) at the initial position and *w* (*wāw*) at the ultimate position. The letter in the middle position, depicted as horizontal "hearts", however, is another matter; the identification which suggests "*p*, *m*, or *t*" (Frye, 1973: 56) surely excites the imagination without satisfying any of our desires. Instead, these "hearts", too, should be identified as *gimel*, as was the case with the "hearts" in the *Āmārgar* series; consequently we have a three-letter word which is spelled: *mgw*: (*magw*) "priest", a word which is far more ubiquitous than *āmārgar* in the Middle Iranian corpus. The introduction of certain nuances and taking certain artistic liberties make the identification of the rest of the series somewhat more challenging, but surely not insurmountable.

The second seal of "the Magi series", as I am inclined to call it, is D.92. The first letter *mēm* is clearly identifiable; the *gimel*, represented as three concentric circles, is similar to D.16 of the *Āmārgar* series. The *waw*, having lost its apical hook, is depicted as two straight lines intersecting each other at a right angle (\perp); thus, we have *magw* "priest".

In conclusion it should be mentioned that the monograms examined here represent two of the least complex of the types and it is hoped that in the future we will be able to offer further suggestions on some of the more complicated ones.

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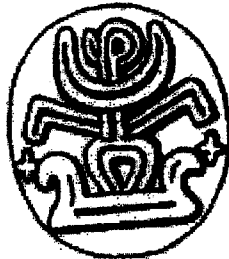
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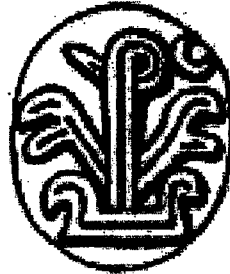
D.61



D.284



D.100



D.19



D.351

Series I

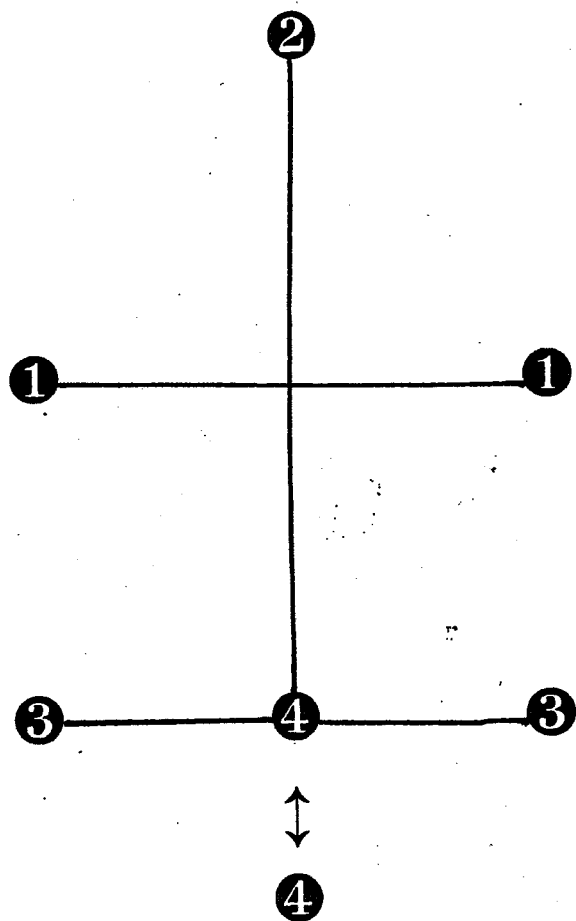
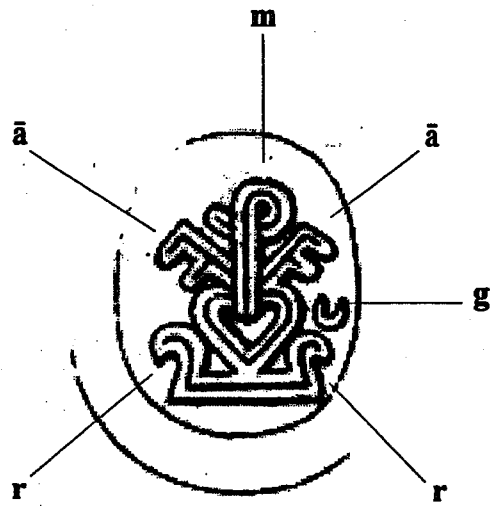
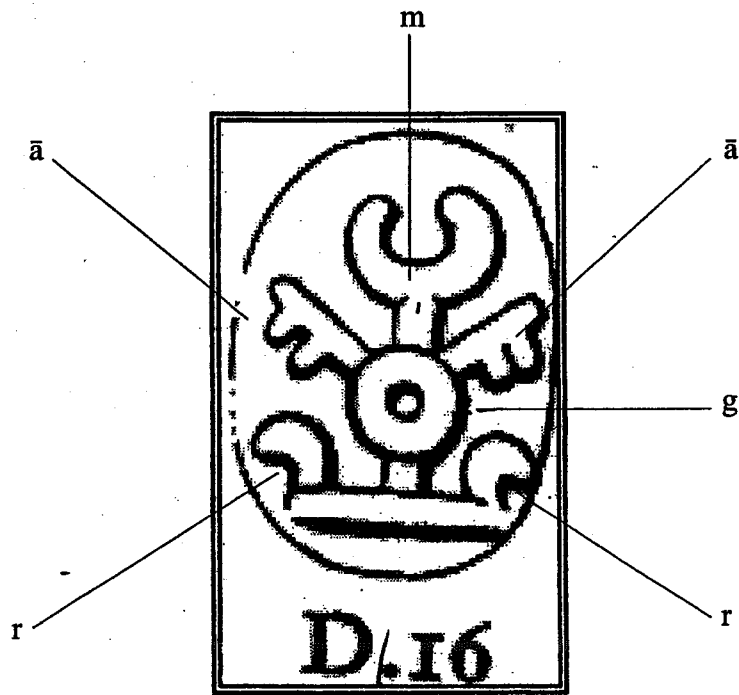


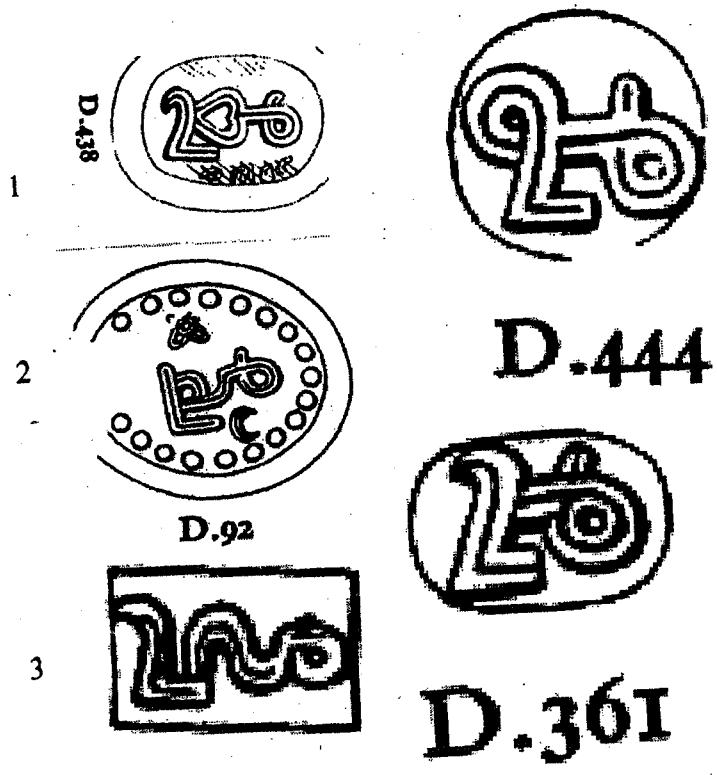
Diagram: P



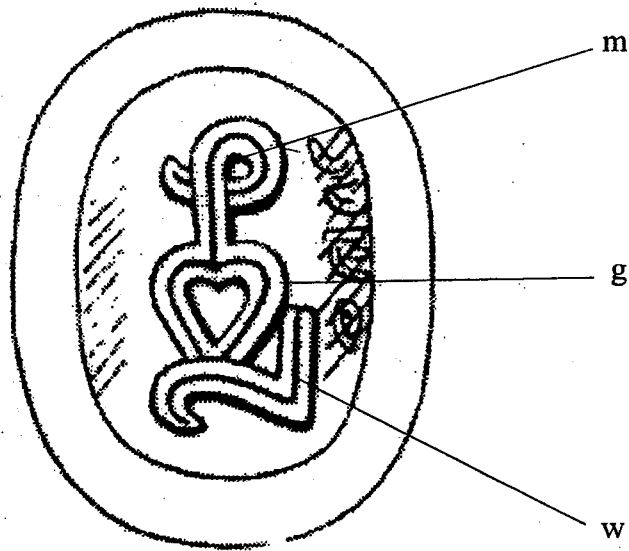
D.284



D.16



Series II



D.438

