ZOROASTER AND HIS WORLD
ZOROASTER
AND HIS WORLD

BY ERNST HERZFELD

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It will soon be two hundred years since Anquetil Duperron brought the first manuscript of the Avesta from Bombay and attempted a translation. Sir William Jones, in his famous letter of 1771, rejected this translation in the most sweeping way: "Si Zoroastre n'avait pas le sens commun, il fallait le laisser dans l'obscurité," and "l'Europe éclairée n'avait nul besoin de votre Zende Vasta, vous l'avez traduit à pure perte!" This short-sighted judgment retarded serious study for a long while. Today we judge l'Europe éclairée differently and likewise the great pioneer work of Anquetil Duperron.

In 1924, A. Meillet, in his *Trois conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta*, delivered in Upsala and published by the Musée Guimet, characterized our present attitude toward the Avesta thus: "Si l'on essaie de lire l'Avesta, on s'aperçoit immédiatement que la lecture en est impossible, pas un chapitre ne forme une unité, pas un morceau ne se suit d'un bout à l'autre. C'est une suite de fragments, à vrai dire, un champ de ruines . . . des ruines informes où ne se reconnait aucun ordre." These words are entirely true and imply that interpreting the Avesta is an eminently archeological task. He further said: "On ne peut traduire les gatha d'une manière sûre et complète," all one can do is "apporter des précisions." This remark refers to the gatha translation by Bartholomae, that of the Avesta by Wolff after Bartholomae; to the gatha translation, at that time incomplete, by Andreas and Wackernagel, later continued by Lommel. Lommel later gave also a translation of the yasht, and in 1929 Maria Wilkins Smith's *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas, together with text, translation and notes* were published in Language Dissertations, Linguistic Society of America.

Bartholomae still believed in the high antiquity and authenticity of the Avestic text with its confusing orthography, and it was Andreas who first saw that the Avestic script was late and that an archetype written in Aramaic script had existed before the invention of that script. He failed to perfect his discovery to its full import only because, impressed by the then newly found Turfan documents, he adopted the axiom that the "vollste Schreibung" among the countless variants of Avestic spellings was the decisive one. The Iranian inscriptive material shows on the contrary that the orthography was almost as
short and simple as the oldest known Aramaic. The schools of Heidelberg and Göttingen were very much opposed to each other, but their results resemble each other so much that Meillet could say: “Ce qui montre que la traduction de M. Bartholomae est en général correcte, c’est que la traduction ... que MM. Andreas et Wackernagel ont donnée ... s’en écarte seulement dans le détail. S’il reste beaucoup de passages obscurs, on peut dire que le sens général des gāthā est connu et qu’il y a maintenant accord entre les savants qui les étudient.” Yet the main reason for this conformity is that the translations of the school of Göttingen but rarely depart from the significations attributed to the roots and vocables in Bartholomae’s Wörterbuch.

Shortly after Meillet had formed his optimistic judgment, J. Hertel in his various writings advanced a totally different interpretation of the entire Avesta, which, though unacceptable in its entirety, was a great stimulus to further research. And again another, equally different interpretation was given in 1935 by S. Nyberg in his lectures Die Religionen des Alten Iran, delivered like Meillet’s conférences in Upsala, and published 1937 in Swedish, 1938 in German translation by H. H. Schaeder. In the introduction the author says: “1935 hatte ich bereits alle Fäden zur Lösung des Gatha-Problem in der Hand, aber der springende Punkt ... trat erst ins Blickfeld” during the printing of the book. “Die Lösung des Gatha-Problem bedeutet nicht weniger als eine vollständige Neuinterpretation der Texte,” a flattery difficult to surpass and challenge and one which I beg the reader to have in mind when reading the chapters here following.

When studying this latest Neuinterpretation and comparing it with previous ones, one sees soon that it is throughout based upon Bartholomae’s great Iranisches Wörterbuch, the indispensable instrument of all our studies. But this Wörterbuch, an amazing work, was a first attempt made when only a small part of the now available linguistic material was at the author’s hand, and semantics is its weakest side. In the preface to his Infinitives avestiques Benveniste says something to the effect that future Iranistic studies are bound to be in controversy with the Wörterbuch. Research has reached a phase where this only instrument has become insufficient and where a corrected form of Andreas’ theory of the Avestic archetype must be applied to it.

Behind this linguistic side of the problem arises that of the criticism
of the text. Meillet said "Qui vient tirer parti d'un détail du texte ne
le peut qu'à condition d'examiner en quelle mesure la traduction du
passage considéré repose sur des données positives et certaines." In
fact, text criticism of the Avesta is still as undeveloped as Biblical
criticism was in 1753 at the time of Dr. Astruc. Though nobody can
any longer maintain the unity of the text or deny that it is "un en-
semble de fragments que le hasard a conservés et que des rédacteurs
dénus d'art et de pensée ont mis côte à côte sans système," one goes
on translating the whole as it stands, applying text-critical schemes,
developed in editing classical authors, but unfit for this material. The
results only prove the bad condition of the transmitted text, and still
justify Sir William Jones' sweeping judgment. Thomas Huxley once
said: "Scientific method is common sense." Our task today is first to iso-
late "dans ce champ de ruines informes les fragments authentiques
dont l'intérêt est grand," and then to try to put the right fragments
together.

Only after overcoming these linguistic and text-critical obstacles
can historical criticism set in. With the exception of Meillet and Hertel,
most scholars share or cannot free themselves entirely from the old be-
ief that the gatha and the so-called older Avesta belong to a remote
antiquity and to an undefined or undeterminable eastern region, the
"home of the Avesta." For that reason they do not define the dialect
of the Avesta, but stick to the vague term "Avestic" which implies
nothing. Only Meillet accepted Tedesco's proof that Avestic is a
Median dialect. As to the period, nobody gives an exact date. Nyberg
goes to the extreme in "stating" that "in einem Volke dem die Ge-
schichte fehlt ... die ganze Frage nach der Zeit Zarathustras eigentlich
ohne Belang—without interest—ist," a most heedless pronouncement.
He himself does not doubt a stratification of the Avesta, that is a rela-
tive chronology, and all that is needed to convert a relative into an
absolute chronology is some synchronism. The gatha, though being
songs, odes, speak of real events and of acting personalities, a few of
them bearing names known also in historical sources. The legends
preserved in the yazht, too, reflect—though in legendary form—events;
they are full of names of persons, tribes, nations, places, of titles, politi-
cal and social terms etc. It does not require more than defining these
things to make history out of this until then prehistoric material.
The historical criticism of the Awesta therefore must consist mainly in the study of personal names, sociology, ethnography and topography. I began such studies long ago, under the title Zarathustra in Archeologische Mitteilungen I-II. The years that passed since have brought an unexpected addition to our knowledge of the periods and regions in question. And looking back, I feel that in spite of a great many errors and mistakes I was on the right road. In the following chapters I show to what ends those earlier studies have led me.

Seven years ago, Dr. Paul Tedesco read the first draft of this book—which since underwent considerable changes—introducing a uniform and readable transcription of the Gathic and Awestic words and texts. I shall not, as first intended, explain the mode of transliteration which to an Iranist will be transparent, to others of no use. In a few points I went beyond Tedesco’s advice and so I do not want to burden him with any responsibility, but only express my indebtedness for his help which in many places went far beyond this trivial task, and also for his severe criticism which made me consider and reconsider the complex problems many times.

Ernst Herzfeld

Cairo, October 1946
I. CHRONOLOGY:
The traditional date, Zoroaster 258 years before Alexander; preserved in the counting of years of a temple founded by Vištāspa; related to the Seleucid era when this era began about 300 after Zoroaster; worked into the older concept of a duration of the world of 9000 years, as 3000 of the world. After interruption by Hellenism restored under Ardashīr I with shortening: Ardashīr's accession in A.D. 226/7 = 3522 of the Sasanian world-era.

II. MEMORIAL DOCUMENT OF YT. 13:
The so-called “community-list” is part of the foundation document of the temple dedicated in about 527 B.C. by Vištāspa to the memory of Zoroaster; historical analogy: Ka'ba inscription of Shāhpuhr I. Among the 240 names of the document are several Persians and foreigners.

III. HOUSE SPITĀMA:
The Spitāma, a Median house, appear in the fifth century B.C. in the business documents of Murašū Sons of Nippur, bankers of Darius II and Parysatis, and at the same time in Ctesias. The Spitāma, chief of the clan, had married the daughter of the last Median king, Astyages; their son Spitakes, the “young Spitāma” is Zoroaster. After the conquest of Agbatana by Cyrus in 550, the heiress married Cyrus; their daughter Atossa was half-sister of Zoroaster. Bagabuxa, of the house of Vanhudātayana (YT.13), married to Amytis, daughter of Artaxerxes I, had a grandson Spitāma, which shows the relation by marriage between the three families. A sgraffito “Zarathushtra” on a Median tomb.—Seals of a late descendant “Zartušt ē Spitāmān, mōbaδ of Nihāwand,” about A.D. 500—Their country Ragā, the province of mod. Teheran.
IV. HOUSE NÔTARYA: 67

The family of Viṣṭâspa is called nôtarya, “those of the younger line” of Achaemenids, opposed to brzyâho, “those of the elder line.” Viṣṭâspa’s residence vis nôtarânâm, tôsa nôtarânâm, mod. Tôs è Nôdar near Mashhad, birthplace of Firdausî.

V. THRONE-NAMES: 89

In contrast to all older names, the three names of the Achaemenids, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, are religious devices of strictly Zoroastrian character.

VI. KAVI AND XŚAYAΘYA: 100

χśāyaθa > šāh is an office determined by a territory; ruler of a province; kavi is a rank, without territory, MP. vāspuhr, “heir of a vispati, chief of the clan.” The Median dynasty or Deiocids; Viṣṭâspa the nôtarya and the “bandva” of Zoroaster, both Achaemenids; the Vēhviya, later Geopothroi, and Zoroaster himself as Spitâma, are “kavi.”

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Vertical organization: family—clan—tribe—nation. Horizontal: hvêtu = nobility, aryaman = clients, vâstrya.śuyant = peasants, and slaves. The magi are clients, aryaman, but organized as “fictitious tribe” without landed property.

VIII. HOSPITIUM: 133

The IE. institution is proved in Iranian by the root √χśan = Gr. “xenos,” represented by Ir. χšaθram “giving hospitality” and “place of asylum”; χśanmanē “to take asylum, become a client”; fraχśnan “hospitality,” Gr. proxeneia. Also râda “patronus, hospes”; mantu “patron, guardian, advocate.”

IX. HOUSE HĂUGAVA: 162

Family of Zoroaster’s wife, the “Hăugavi,” a Persian family. Zâma.aspa, chief of the clan, and Fraša.uštra, father of the
Hāugavi, at the court of Vištāspa; Fraša-aspa, Gr. Prēxāspes, at the court of Cambyses, his son Aspačina at the court of Darius. The Hāugava give the exiled Zoroaster financial help and travel to the court of appeal of the great-king to obtain the revocation of Zoroaster's banishment. Damaspia, fem. of the family name, "zāmāspī," descendant in the fifth generation of Zāmāspa, marries Artaxerxes I. The family existed still under Shāhpuruhr I.

X. HVARNAH:
Old mythical notion, meaning "tyche, fortuna" as early as in the fifth century B.C., later "fortune-wealth."

XI. BANDVA AND GRAHMA:
Bandva = "relative by marriage, brother-in-law, stepbrother"; grahma = "favorite." The bandva of Zoroaster is Cambyses, the grahma of Cambyses is Gōmāta, the Pseudo-Smerdis. Zoroaster was indicted under jurisdiction of his brother-in-law Cambyses, and sentenced to proscription by the court of his hometown Ragā.

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Originally goddess of the earth; with Zoroaster symbol of agriculture, peasantry, and their typical virtue: obedience, patience. Etymology of the name.

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Pre-Zoroastrian god of social order. Several old songs collected in his yasht can be dated in the time of immigration, about 700 B.C., or of the Median empire between 612 and 550 B.C.—Zoroaster derived some fundamental notions of his doctrine from the cult of Mithra, transferring them to AhuraMazdāh.

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ADDENDUM
ZOROASTER AND HIS WORLD
I. CHRONOLOGY

"Es wird die Spur von Deinen Erdtangenten, nicht in Aenonen untergehn!"

The traditional date of Zoroaster is "258 years before Alexander." During the last decade new material has come to light which confirms the historicity of that number and elucidates the possibility of its tradition.¹

The oldest coherent notice of the theory of aeons in Iran is found in Plutarch, de Iside 47, on the authority of Theopomp, time of Alexander. The passage, often discussed,² runs: "According to the teaching of the magi, each of the two gods (Oramasdes and Areimianios), in turn, rules 3,000 years and is ruled 3,000 years; then they wage war another 3,000 years and destroy each the works of the other; finally Hades succumbs, and men shall be blissful (εὐδαιμονεῖς), neither needing food nor casting shadow. And the god who achieved all this will rest a while and relax."

Although this contradicts the Iranian concept of the omnipotence of AhuraMazdāh and the restricted power of Ahramanyuš—the designation "god" of the Evil Spirit alone contradicts—we are not allowed to interpret the passage differently: this was how Theopomp understood it; it must not be right.

The theory of aeons must have suffered in its long history many changes. The Mēnōk Xrat, Artavirāz Nāmak and the Armenian Eznik speak equally of an aeon of 9,000 years, the Gr. Bundahishn of a "pact" of 9,000 years granted by Hormizd to Ahriman. Ed. Meyer’s words (Christent. ii,70): "das Abkommen zwischen AhuraMazdāh und Ahriman kennt schon Zoroaster selbst, Y.30.4” rest upon an insufficient translation of the passage (see under ‘Yamā’). The theory contradicts the one which the Gr.Bdh. carries through, of an aeon of 12,000 years,

¹ Cf. AMI ii, 1930, and Orient. Studies Pavry, 1934. In amsos 3, 747-755, 1933, Jarl Charpen- tier gave a combination of old opinions, directed against Herbel's Zeit Zarathustral' in 1929 i. Important contributions are those of S. H. Taqizadeh in amsos 9, i 1937, Some chronol. Data rel. to the Sasanian Period, and ib. 9, 1939, Various Eras and Calendars of Islam. — H. S. Nyberg dealt with the subject in his Religionen des Alten Iran, 1938, under headline "Die Ansicht Herzfeld’s, Kritik an ihr."—Hildesgen Lewy’s Calendrier Persie in Orientalia 10, 1941, appeared after the present chapter was written; where the two overlap, the results agree. Therefore, I have shortened some parts and inserted references to that treatise.—Quotation “Nyberg” with page number in this book refer to the Religionen.

² e.g. Eduard Meyer, Anfänge des Christentums ii, 70.—Theopomp's Acmé was in 338 B.C.
6,000 of which lie before the gumčišn, the struggle of the world's history, and one must not try to reconcile the two.

The Gathas always speak of the course of the world under the poetical figure “apamam rvēsam, the last round of the race-course,” the last turn round the meta; yā-ahīl, the shout of victory at the passing of the goal, serves for the victory of the religion. This metaphor is one of the poetical conventions from Aryan antiquity, hence appears also in the Veda.

But it is more than a mere metaphor, it is the same concept. Already the tablets of Kikkuli of Mitanni, about 1380 B.C., describe the chariots driving nine times round the course, and at the races of GümišTepe near Astarābād the horses race nine rounds to the present day. Every round is one rvēsa, periodos. Hence the Aryan term in the Kikkuli tablets: “navartanē važ'anasaja, in nine rounds of the race-course,” also the name of the race-course in the Husrayah legend, Yt.5,50: “nava.fraθwrsā razurā, nine-rounds-forest.” The fragment of the Yama myth in Pahl.Vid.2,19: “prvyahača pasčēta hazahra.zimalhya θ'warso ās, and therewith the first millennium was a θ'warshah,” a finished section of the races, is taken into the Awesta from a pre-Zoroastrian stratum of the epics. In an old passage of Yt.13,57, the metaphor is applied to the motion of the stars, whom the fravarti show their course: fravazanti aθwano rvēsam nāšamnā.

The nine rounds of the races are the origin of the nine millennia of the world. This notion, not only pre-Zoroastrian but pre-Iranian, is pure myth, not mixed with mystics, astronomy or theology. The number 9 can be observed in the myths of all peoples of IE. language; there is no contact with Babylonian ideas. The 9,000 years are a juvenile thought: unimaginably far off.

Against Nyberg, 23, the chiliadic doctrine is not lacking in the Gathas and in the Awesta, and the fact that the Academy heard of it through a Chaldean pupil of Plato does not make the theory “West Iranian” as opposed to an “East Iranian” Awesta. A. v.Gutschmid had already recognized that the enigmatical statement of Eudoxus (407-357 B.C.),8 “Zoroaster lived 6,000 years before the death of Plato” (347

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8 Pliny hist. 30,1, from Eudoxus and Aristotle. Also Diogenes Laertius, proem, 2, after Xanthus Lydus, in a report on Plato's pupil Hermodorus. Diogenes, there, ascribes a gloss of Hermodorus to Xanthus himself.—Further in a scholion to the First Alcibiades. Cf. W.
b.c.), reflected somehow this Iranian doctrine. Although no tradition can ever have put Zoroaster and Plato into chronological relation, the words contain something genuine; they combine two thoughts: "Zoroaster shall reappear after 6,000 years" and "Plato is an incarnation of Zoroaster." Eudoxus may have heard this from his Chaldean fellow-student in the following form: "The Persians say, 6,000 years after Zoroaster a new Zoroaster shall appear, he has already appeared in Plato." The rationalistic Greek students calculated therefrom: Zoroaster lived 6,000 years before Plato. It was the time when the Greeks first heard of the high oriental antiquity and believed in astronomical figures. This explanation which implies the Zoroastrian doctrine of the messianic return is the only acceptable explanation of the number.

Zoroaster fitted the metaphor of the race-course and therewith the Aryan concept of an aeon of 9,000 years into his own picture of the world, and, in Y.43.5-6, makes AhuraMazdâh stipulate at the creation the returns men receive for their actions after the last round. He sees the history of the world as the contest of good and evil, culminating in the last judgment. Thereby he introduces an apocalyptic thought into a conception that was merely mythical. Certainly he used existing mythical elements as ethical symbols. Every thought is only a new interpretation of an older one. The well-considered dualism and the equation of light and good, darkness and evil, is his own, the struggle between light and darkness itself is a mythical thought.

But neither the date of the last judgment nor the beginning of the aeon is known. Therefore Zoroaster asks in Y.48.2: "Announce to me, AhuraMazdâh, thou who knowest what will come, will the pious conquer the impious yet before the atonement which is in Thy plan?" The notions of the end of the world and of the victory of the religion are connected as in early Christianity. Only when these thoughts become separated, after the death of the prophet, when the end of the world recedes into increasingly indifferent remoteness, the idea of messianic return can originate. Then, certain sayings find an eschatologic interpretation. In the "song to the sôšyant, the savours"—to be dated in the middle of the 5th century b.c., placed in Y.19,88f.—they

Jaeger, Aristoteles, 1923, 134ff., who admits a strong influence of Zoroastrian thoughts also on Aristotle.

* Cf. text under 'Last Judgment.'
are "the sōšyant and his companions," and in a not much younger passage inserted into Yl.13,128, their number is three: astvat.rta, uχšyat.rta, and uχšyat.namah. These names are philosophical abstractions. The first, derived from Gath. astvat rtam hiyāt!, signifies "rtam personified." Thoughts including all the ethics of Zoroaster cannot be pre-Zoroastrian. On the other hand, they are the origin of the attributes describing the essence of the Shiite Mahdī.

G. Messina, in Orientalia 1,173ff., tried to explain the "idea di aumentare il numero dei succorritori" by the "divisione dell' evo" and a "bisogno di parallellismo," with the effect that the "missione finale e definitiva" was reserved for astvat.rta, while a role without "effetto definitivo, ma solo temporario" devolved upon the others. A not-lasting success would be a palliative word for failure, and in Yl.19,89 the three come together, not in intervals of a thousand years, and that seems to me the original concept.

In the story of Prēxāspes, Herodotus mentions only the name of the main sōšyant, "Αστυάρτης," but the name 'Οξυάρτης, OP. "uχšya.rta, of a son of Darius II and brother of Artaxerxes II" shows that the triplication of Zoroaster as sōšyant was known to the Achaemenids about 420 B.C. This does not imply that the term of their appearance was fixed.

Already at Zoroaster's time, the old epic tales were considered as historical past, the length of which was likewise undetermined. In Y.32,8, he assails the myth of Yama. This figure characterizes the first millennium still in the latest shapes of the legend, with 762½ regnal years. But Vid.ii says (st.8): "Of the reign of Yama 300 winters [IE. expression for year] passed . . . . (12:14:) 600 winters, (16:) 900 winters passed," and every time the earth widens, to hold the increasing immortal humanity. And the fragment quoted above says: "herewith the first millennium was a βωρασάη, periodos of the race-course. As in Y.9,10, "a thousand years," a full millennium belonged originally to

6 Text: 'Αστυάρτης; Herodotus writes about 440, but projects the words into the time of Cambyses. Their character is so Iranian that he misunderstands them; they are genuine. The meaning is: If it is true that the dead shall rise after Astvat.rta's appearance, you may expect to see Smerdis again, else not.

6 In Athenaeus, 13,69After Phylarchus, 3rd cent. B.C.—Another brother bears the name 'Αρūσατης < rta[m](y)hmain]ulṭā, derived from the Rta(m)-vahu prayer.
Yama as first man and king. The beginnings of this mythical chronology go back to the time before Zoroaster.

Eudoxus' number "Zoroaster 6,000 years before Plato" proves that about 400 B.C. Zoroaster had already been fitted into the original aeon of 9,000 years as inaugurator of the fourth millennium. Thereby, beginning and end were fixed, and the mythical history was limited to the first 3,000 years, a feature which the epopee preserved to the very end. By inserting Zoroaster, at the same time, the mythical chiliadic system became a historical chronology. Since it contains the return of the prophet, one can call it apocalyptic, but the mythical foundation is otherwise unchanged. In the reappearance of the saviour, the last judgment, and the predetermination of reward and punishment it contains the germs of all later speculations. The old idea is clearly expressed in as late a text as the *Art.Vir.Nām*. 18, where the tortured soul of the sinner in hell says, "when three days and nights have elapsed: The 9,000 years are completed, and they will not release me!"

But Eudoxus speaks already of an aeon of 12,000 years, a system in which the place of Zoroaster would not be in 3,000, but in 6,000. The prehistory, there, begins with 3,000, and it is evident that the 3,000 years of creation or uneventful preexistence have been put before the 9,000, in order to reconcile the two systems. The original thought is still strong enough to prevent a reduction of the 9,000 years of history. Every millennium has received one zodiacal sign and symbolizes a month. This is no longer the Aryan race-course with its nine rounds, but the Babylonian "cosmic year," the thought of a civilization that looked back to a long past. The zodiacal signs, registered still as late as in the chronological chapter of the *Gr.Bdh.* 288ff., are an intrinsic quality of the system. The change is the effect of the contact between Iranian thoughts and Babylonian science during the Achaemenian epoch. And the attempt to convert the system, still mythical and unconnected with the present at Zoroaster's time, into a chronological one by assigning a fixed place in it to Zoroaster is evidently another effect of Babylonian science.

7 The first man Gayamart has no place in this old system. He was introduced only by the redaction of the epics at the Achaemenian period, reflected in Yt.5.19 and others, while Yt.13 agrees with the Gatha and the Vidēvāldā.

8 Not the first contact, as the study of the myths of Yama, Kanha, etc., reveal.
The system of 12,000 years is found, for instance, in the commentary to *Vid.2.20* (ed. Hosh. Jamasp 34,6ff.): "Ahuramazdāh kept this world in a spiritual existence, mēnōk-hastišn, for 3,000 years; for 3,000 years he kept it in material existence, gētih-hastišn, without antagonism, apatiyārak; 3,000 years passed from the coming of the contest to the coming of the religion; 3,000 years will pass from the coming of the religion to the last judgment, as is written." How long did the saint creation stay in spiritual existence?"

This catechetic question cannot have stood in any old part of the Avesta, and the exegetic answer has no authority. By making use of this question, detached from its context, the author tries merely to construe the much younger system into the old myth of *Vidēvdād* 2, to which it is foreign.—This is not at all the system of Theopomp, though both have 12,000 years.

But the same aeon of 12,000 years is explicitly presented in the chapter on the disasters befalling Iran (211,5; 220 ult.) and in the chronological chapter (238ff.) of the *Gr.Bdh.* The 3,000 years of spiritual and 3,000 of material preexistence, put before the 6,000 years of gumēčišn, "mixture," i.e. history of the world, are a mere doubling of the 3,000 years with which the aeons of 9,000 and 12,000 years had been equalized. But this entails the important change that now "history" is shortened from 9,000 to 6,000 years, and that the saviour, Zoroaster, is expected to return after 3,000 instead of 6,000 years.

This belief was dominant already at the time of Ardashīr I. *Dēnk.* b.III: "according to the religious rules more than five months shall never be intercalated at one time," as though this case had been known as a singular and maximal one. And at the regulation of the calendar, attributed to Zoroaster, but actually undertaken under Ardashīr I—by which Zoroaster shifted to the beginning of the tenth millennium—it was necessary, as H. Lewy (p.58s) has shown, to intercalate five months, "in order that the time would come back to the point where it was in the beginning," viz. that the beginning of the year would fall

9 až ān jāk pētāk sounds like "results from the passage," but means "as revealed by," yēxpātār gāp. The formula—as similar ones—introduces the text, the exegesis of which is reported, hence is no proof for the exegesis.

10 It was a mistake of mine when I formerly believed that there were two different ways of counting in the two chapters: the chapter on disasters neglects the transcendent 6,000 years and counts, after the manner of the Sassanian epoch, only the "millennia of history, hasūrak andar gumēčišn," as 1 to vi, not as vii to xii. Biruni does the same, see below.
again, as at the first day of creation, on the 1st Fravardin, the spring equinox. As long as there is time, a calendar is assumed to exist, even during the 6,000 years of preexistence of the world. But at the end of the world time ceases, eternity is timeless. Whether the preexistence was extended to 6,000, the return of Zoroaster reduced to 3,000 years at that occasion or earlier, is not clear. The system of Theopomp must not be reconciled with this one.

In Māh Fravartin, we find a different presentation. §§1-26: mythical prehistory from creation to acception of the religion by Vištāsp. §27: Eighteen good things come in 18 years to Xusrōy II Hormizdān, who is the only historical figure in the treatise. §28: appearance of Vahrām ē varžāvand from India, §29: of Pišyōthan ē Vištāspāh from Kangdiz, §30: of Xvaršētar ē Zartuḥšētan; the millennium of Zoroaster ends, that of Xvaršētar begins. §31: Sām kills Aždahāk and rules over the seven kišvar until KaiXusrōy appears, to whom he hands over the rulership. §32: KaiXusrōy rules 77 years over the kišvar with the sōšyant as mōbedān mōbed. §33: KaiXusrōy commits the kingdom to Vištāspāh, and the sōšyant the mōbed-ship to his father Zartuḫšētan. §34: AhuraMazdāh resurrects the dead. §§35-38: annihilation of evil. §§39-47: description of paradise.

The words of §27 “18 good things happened to Xusrōy in 18 years” furnish an exact date: the treatise is unaware of the change that came in the 19th year, A.D. 608, the first of the 20 years of war with Herac-lius. In 629 the emperor entered Jerusalem in state, with the reconquered cross of Christ; abu Šufyān was present and told Muhammad about it; in 630 the Muslims took Mekka.—Xusrau died in prison. Tābarī tells of a grandee visiting the king in prison: a quince, which the king had in his hand, fell down, rolled over the three brocade cushions of the seat and over the three rugs interwoven with gold, and came to rest at last, dusty, on the floor. When the grandee picked it up, dusted it off, and handed it back to Xusrau, the king said: “Throw it away! When a thing shall go downward, no planning will make it go up again; if it shall go upward, no planning is able to turn that course. These two things come in turn, in both cases all planning is in vain.”

Māh Frav. is composed before these events, in 607/8, that is—anticipating a result to be proved later—the year 904 after Zoroaster.
The treatise does not expect figures of disaster coming from the west, but figures of happiness coming from the east. The description is full of optimism: free from misgivings, it leaps from a happy present to a far and happier future.

The millennium of Zoroaster is followed by that of Uχšyat.rta. As in the Bahman yashh 7,2, this name is written ḫvršyṛt, and since he is called “son of Zoroaster,” the figure is mixed with ḫvarčīthr. The two other saviours, uχšyat.namah and astvat.rta, are not mentioned; ḫvarčīthr is the mōbadān mōbad of the millennium who hands over his office, at the morning of resurrection, to his father Zoroaster. The golden age of the heroes Sām, KayXusrau, Višṭāsp comes back; how one or two thousand years were filled with it, remains obscure. This is a picture entirely different from the one given in the Gr.Bdh. and the Dēnk., which therefore was not yet generally accepted, perhaps not yet established about A.D. 600.

In the Gr.Bdh. (213f. and 239f.) and in the Dēnk., Zoroaster is fitted into his millennium in such a way that it begins not with his birth but with the “matan ē dēn, coming of religion,” or the conversion of Višṭāsp, when the prophet was 30 years old.

The meaning of the thirty years is: In Yt.14,17 Vrthragna appears as “nar pančadasa, man of 15 years,” in Yt.14,27 as “vira rēvant, mature man, hoplite,” two shapes opposed like his appearances as Colt and stallion. The youth of 15 years, occasionally the maiden of 15 years (Had.N.2,9), are the well known ideal figures. viro, Lat. vir, opposed to it, is the ideal of the man of 30 years. In the eschatologic Vahman yasht 3,17, the prince with the armies of China and India comes to Balkh 30 years old. Christ, in Luke 3,23 is 30 years old. Natural as this number is, it is not a historical, but a mythic-schematical number.

The time between Zoroaster and Alexander is divided up, in Gr.Bdh. 239f., in the following way: “Višṭāspšāh, after accepting the religion, ruled 90 years; Vahman son of Spandiyāt 112 years; Humāy ē Vahmanduxt 30 years; Dāray son of Čihrāzāt 12, Dāray son of Dāray 14 years.” The sum not mentioned is 258 years. Then follow the 14 years of Alexander. This is the picture of the Achaemenian period of Iranian

11 Against John 8,57: “not yet 50 years old.” Cf. Tabari 1,711: “Yahyā b. Zakariyya [John the Baptist] met ʿIsā at the Jordan, who at that time was 30 years old.”
history as conceived in the epic, which clearly identified the Awestic and the historical Vištâspa. He and the three first figures are the residue of history in the legend; the last Dārāy comes from the Alexander romance. The 258 years between Zoroaster and Alexander, hence, are not the sum of traditional regnal dates, but these are a distribution of the existing number 258 over the known names of kings.

The thesis is: The *Gr.Bdh.* puts Zoroaster 258 years before Alexander; Biruni, *athār*, interprets this rightly as 258 before the aera Alexandri. 258 is not a mythical, but a historical date, fitted into the sytem of aecos. The problem is: how could such a date be transmitted?

S. H. Taqizadeh, in his second article, has introduced a new point into the discussion: in the history of Alexander in the *qânūn al-masʿūdi*, Biruni, after having discovered the difference between Alexander's accession and the Seleucid era, corrected the 258 years in 276 before the era, and in his lost work "On the mistake I made regarding the date of Alexander" he seems to have expressly apologized. Therefore S. H. Taqizadeh follows Biruni and regards the year of the death of Darius III, 331 B.C., as Alexander's accession, the term of the 258 years. But the only error in Biruni's deduction is that he believed the *Gr.Bdh.* equal to his own genius and knowledge. The Iranian tradition has preserved neither the date of Darius' death nor any date of Achaemenian history, and the number 258 cannot have been transmitted as interval between any event of that history and the life of Zoroaster. If the authors of the *Gr.Bdh.* had any knowledge of the era of Alexander, i.e. the Seleucid era at all, it began for them with the accession of Alexander, as all later dynastic eras begin with the accession of the kāstes. Biruni's first interpretation in that point was perfectly right.

But the case is more complicated than it looks. Wherever Biruni converts dates before or after the hidjra into Zoroastrian dates by means of the Seleucid era, he follows the Syriac, real chronology. But he knew—as the synchronism, soon to be discussed, in his *qânūn* proves—that the Sasanian Persians reckoned in an entirely different way. He can only have apologized for having made a mistake of 18 years when converting dates, before having knowledge of the true history, but this difference is not implied by the Zoroastrian reckoning: for
the Zoroastrian sources 258 before Alexander means 258 before the Seleucid era.

Nyberg 33, calls “gerade die Zahl 258 in hervorragendem Masse apokalyptisch.” It rouses his suspicion that it is related to the Seleucid era instead of the history of Alexander. In mazdayasnian tradition Alexander’s name would always be connected with his Iranian campaign, especially the destruction of Persepolis. A date “before Alexander” would relate, in those sources, to the time where he made Persepolis go up in smoke.

That 258 is a date relating to the Seleucid era is the point to be proved; no era is mentioned, and 258 is only the not mentioned sum of the unauthentic single numbers in which the interval between Zoroaster and Alexander is divided. I believe I know all records concerning Persepolis: in Greek tradition it occurs but rarely, mostly hidden under the name Persai, in Iranian tradition not at all. The exact date of its destruction—whether before or after the Indian campaign—is not mentioned even in the surviving Greek literature. And Iranian sources speak of Persepolis only in Muhammedan times when identifying the mythical var of Yama with Takht i Djamshid. Iranian tradition refers no fact by the preposition “before” to the reign of Alexander; the distinction between accession and era was entirely unknown; the real meaning of the name “aera Alexandri” was scarcely understood by the Greeks themselves.

The Iranians, an eminently historical nation, have never developed any historiography. The historical knowledge the Sasanians had of the Achaemenids came to them through bellettristic literature like the romance of Alexander or books like Esther and Daniel. But historical tradition lingers in names like Guštâsp, Vahman, Dârâ, Spandiyât, Ardašîr, Sâsân, Humây and others. If Mithradates the Great, who, as proved by H. Lewy, introduced the calendar in about 120 B.C., resumed in 111 B.C. the title of the Achaemenids with the program of restoring the empire, and if Ardašîr I, who introduced the Sasanian calendar, took just the coins of this Arsacid restaurator as model for his coinage, there must have been some historical knowledge outside the literary tradition. This is even more true for the reminiscence of facts of the religious history.

p.34: “Dass man bei dem vollständigen Fehlen aller einheimischer
Geschichtsüberlieferung der Jahreszahl '258 vor Alexander' auch nur die geringste Bedeutung beimessen könnte, ist ganz ausgeschlossen."

Things so emphatically "excluded" are usually right, otherwise, why the pathos, and, in this case, why the long discourse that the number "nachträglich konstruiert und in einem Augenblick rückwärts errechnet sein müsse, als man zu einem bestimmten Augenblick unter Verwendung der im Orient allgemein gängigen [here no longer "suspicious"] seleukidischen Aera ankündigte, Zarathustras Millennium erreiche sein Ende, der Erlöser werde oder sei schon erschienen."

On their coins and the Awramān parchments the Arsacids use the Seleucid era, although they had one of their own which they used in Babylonia beside the Seleucid. But the Sasanians never used the "allgemein gängige" era, because to them Alexander was the incarnation of Ahriman, cursed wherever his name is mentioned, and it would have been impossible to reckon by the "era of the cursed Alexander."

On their coins they employ the traditional counting of regnal years, but under a special form: "Fire of ΝΝ, year Χ," because a new fire was lighted at each new accession. The inscription Περσ.B has "month Tir, year 48 of Shāhpuhr II, day Hormizd"; Περσ.Α only "month Spandamet, year 2 of Shāhpuhr II." The triple date of the Bishāpūr inscription, which had been interpreted by A. Christensen12 and corrected by H. Lewy, runs "in the month fravaršīn of the year 58, year 40 of the Ardashīr fire, year 24 of the Shāhpuhr fire, king of fires,"18 that is the year A.D. 266.—Only a little older are the signatures on the wall paintings of the synagogue of Dura on the Euphrates, dated in various months of the year 14 and the first of the year 15 of Shāhpuhr I, hence A.D. 256-257. The Ka'ba inscription of Shāhpuhr I speaks (Pahl. I.17) of the šoy 'trv vrhr'ν, ΠΟΛΛΑ ΠΥΡΕΙΑ ΓΟΥΑΡΑΘΡΑΝ, founded in the whole empire, and then of the special purpose of the inscription, the foundation, after the victory over Valerian, of five fires named after the king, the queen, and three sons: "πτη ΛΝ 'τν ν Π'ςνμ—Π'Ν ΛΝΗ Λβ'ν ν ΠΤΝμ—ΕΙΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΙΝ, for the memory and the perpetuation of the name [soul] of. . . ."

The name "Varhrān fire" for such memorial fires is not strictly

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12 In Gharshman's article Rev.As. x, 1937, 127.
18 Not "roi des prêtres" as in the edition.
Zoroastrian, but pre-Zoroastrian, and goes back to the Median period, when the dynastic fires were dedicated to Vṛthragna as colt and as stallion (see under 'Dēva' and 'Architecture'). The Gr. Bdh. uses the term also for the fires founded by Viśtāspa in the neighborhood of Tōs, viz. ādar farnbag and ādar burzēnmihr, and says "There are many Varhrān fires, every single one founded by a sovereign, dēhpat. . . . However great their number and different their names, they are all reckoned as Varhrān fires. Though many were extinguished under the domination of the Arabs, many still exist today, every one of them founded at the accession of a dēhpat." The expression of the Bīshāpūr inscription, "King of Fires" distinguishes the fire of the ruling king from those of his predecessors. Darmesteter translated a similar passage in the Bahman yashī "Le feu Bahman est roi, il n'y a qu'un roi par pays," and quoted from a Rivāyat: "the fire is called dahypet, every dahyu, province, shall have one only." The reason for the decline of the fires is the same as of the auqāf in Islam: the ruin of their endowments caused by political vicissitudes.

Such fires founded by Cyrus and Cambyses were the OP. āyadana, Gr. iacōvia (rendering Med. *ā)yazana), which, according to Beh. §14, the magus Gōmāta destroyed and Darius restored. These old fires shall become decisive for our problem.

The date of the Bīshāpūr inscription, confirming Nöldeke's chronology of the Sasanian period, is A.D. 266, 40 after the coronation of Ardashīr in 226, 24 after the coronation of Shāhpūr in A.D. 242. The date 58 relates to 208, year of the death of Volagases IV, in which, according to the Chronicle of Arbela, began "the war of the Medes and Persians against the Parthians." One may call 208 the beginning of the de facto reign of Ardashīr I, but it is not the epochal year of the dynasty, 226 according to the Syriac chronicles, the year in which the last generally recognized Arsacid, Ardavān V, was killed in battle against Ardashīr. In that year Ardashīr founded his fire, and this counted 40 years since its foundation, when the fire of Shāhpūr counted 24. The years are counted through, the fire of the founder of a dynasty, hence, counts the years of the epoch. If temples counted their years, the preservation of a historical date connected with the

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religion is entirely possible. Assertions like "die Erhaltung ist unmöglich, weil es keine Aera und dem ähnliches gab" are wrong. The number 258 is "preserved," not "subsequently construed."

The inscriptions of the Caucasus limes at Darband are at variance with all other Sasanian inscriptions: "in the year 700." This date looks enigmatical, for, the Ardashir era came to an end by the Muhammedan conquest shortly after its year 400.

It is again the great Biruni who solves the riddle. He says—a remark often quoted—that Yazdegird I, whose first regnal year was A.D. 399 or 710 Sel., lived about 970 years after Zoroaster. In connection therewith he says, a fanatic, ibn abi Zakariya, appeared in 319 H., 1242 Sel., 1500 p.Zor. He reached these synchronisms under the assumption—for which he later apologized—that the traditional date of Zoroaster was 258 years before the Seleucid epochal year 311 B.C. If one puts in the corrected date 329 B.C., ibn abi Zakariya is no longer 1500 p.Zor.—This date was not a number transmitted, but calculated as a curiosity by Biruni, and he must have given it up when correcting himself: there is nothing remarkable in 1518. Besides, according to Sasanian reckoning it would be 1229 p.Zor. Nor can one infer from Biruni's calculation that Yazdegird believed to have come to the throne in 970 p.Zor. In Sasanian reckoning the year A.D. 399, 173 after Ardashir's coronation, was not at all 970 p.Zor. The Māh Frav. reveals the belief that in the year 19 of Xusrau II, i.e. A.D. 608, the end of the millennium had not yet come, though it was not far away.

Mas'ūdi says, tanbih 98ff.: "The Persians and other nations are greatly at variance regarding the chronology of Alexander, a fact many people forget." G. Messina has dealt with this subject in Orientalia I. Mas'ūdi starts from a prophecy of Zoroaster, a "religious and political secret: after 300 years the empire shall be shaken, the religion shall remain; at the turn of the millennium empire and religion shall perish!" On the strength of this prophecy, Ardashir—whom Mas'ūdi, following Syriac chronology, imagines to have lived about 300 + 51x, hence 81x (instead of 522) years after Zoroaster—is said to have shortened the duration of the preceding Arsacid period from 500 and odd to 260 years, as it were, in order to delay the doom. This motive is naively wrong: the faked dates could never have given to the people, from
whom the prophecy was kept a secret, the illusion that the catastrophe was still far away. Mas'ūdi ends his discourse: "By the way, the prophecy is found at the end of Ardashir’s testament: if it was not destined that the doom will come at the turn of the millennium ...;" 16 Ardashir’s möbad Tansar, too, mentions it in his letter to Māhgušnasp [quotation].” In the Tansar letter as preserved in ibn Ishandiyār, nothing is said about the shortening of the chronology. One assumes the letter to have been composed under Xusrau I who came to the throne according to real chronology in A.D. 530 + 317 Sel. + 258 Zor. = 1099 p.Zor., but according to Sasanian chronology about 250 years earlier. Neither at the time of Ardashir nor of Xusrau I was there any cause for a “millennium-mood,” and certainly Ardashir did not turn back the clock of time for fear of the end of the world. Darmesteter went rather far in saying that, from the wording of the letter, Ardashir seemed to have inaugurated a millennium, though this was in contradiction to the reckoning of the Gr.Bdh. What he actually inaugurated was the era, the calendar, and at that occasion the real chronology was fitted into the old interrupted system of aeons.16

For all these problems a synchronism brought to light from Biruni’s qānūn by S. H. Taqizadeh (Tosos ix, 1937, 133ff.) is decisive: “the correction of the zīj i šahriyārān, the astronomical lists, took place in the year 25 of Xusrau I, equal to 3851 of the Sasanian world era.” This date does not at all fall into the time of Xusrau I if one assumes Zoroaster as 258 years before the Seleucid era. By substituting the death of Darius for the Seleucid era and Shāhpur I for Xusrau I, Taqizadeh reached approximately the 25th year of Shāhpur. In fact, there is nothing to be changed; it is an entirely different, shortened reckoning which Taqizadeh indicated as possibility at the end of his discourse: the 25th year of Xusrau I, A.D. 555, is 329 after Ardashir’s coronation in 226. If it is 851 p.Zor., Zoroaster is placed 522 years before Ardashir’s coro-

15 The “testament,” wasāya i Ardāsīr, is quoted as source in a tale in ‘Afu’t’s Jawāni’ al-ḥikāyāt, and is the unmentioned source of a chapter of the ‘Uyūn al-akhlār.
16 Mas’ūdi’s “strict religious and political secret” contains a truth: such things belong to the esoteric knowledge of priestly astrologers and calendarmakers, Av. kēzā and ratugāt. The shortened reckoning entailed that for the Arsacid period there are two dating systems, represented by the total 260 in Firdausi, but 523 (or 513) in Tabari I,711. The small numbers are those of the Iranian, the big ones those of the Syriac tradition. The early Muḥammadan chroniclers double, for the sake of compensation, the series of the Ashkān by one of Ashghān, a theme discussed already by A. v. Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften iii, ii, 1861.
nation; 522 is the sum of the Zoroaster date 258 plus 264, the number of the duration of the Arsacid domination according to the shortened system.

*The epochal year of the Zoroastrian world era is therefore 296 B.C. or +15 Sel.*

From the qānūn synchronism follows that, when converting Sasanian dates from the Christian into Zoroastrian era, one must not add the 14 years of Alexander. That is only logical, because the Arsacids, as long as they used the era of Alexander, considered it to be a dynastic era, beginning, as later their own, with the accession of the founder. The synchronism proves definitely that the Iranians did not distinguish between "before Alexander" and "before the Seleucid era," and makes unnecessary a discussion of whether the year 258 really relates to 312/11 B.C.

When converting dates given in Christian era, one must put down Ardashir’s accession in a.d. 226/7 as 258 + 264 = 522 P.Zor., hence add 522—226 = 296 to the dates of the Christian era. From dates in the Seleucid era, 15 must be subtracted. As example: Yazdegird I came to the throne in 399 + 296 = 695 after Zoroaster, and not in 970.

This does away with Nyberg’s whole discussion of the “apocalyptic date of Zoroaster.” But he himself has furnished the documentary confirmation for our result: he has published it, without recognizing the importance and implications in the Darband inscriptions.13

The mutawalli of this construction is the amārkar, i.e. Arab. ‘āmil, subgovernor of Ādharbaidjān, and the most complete text contains the date “in the year 700.” Nyberg dates the inscriptions for “paleographic,” that means with unique documents “insufficient” reasons, in the 6th-7th centuries a.d., the period of Xusrau I and II. What then is 700?

Xusrau I, 531-579, built a limes against the Chionites in the east (cf. ami ix,149f.). *Gr.Bdh.*215: “anōšakrabān xusrav č kavātān ... avēšān xiyān kēšān aspatāk ē ērānshahr hamē kirt spōxīt vitarg bast ērānshahr apēbim kirt, Xusrau I repulsed the Chionites who made continuous inroads into Ērānshahr, shut the approach, and made Ērānshahr free of fear.” The gold coins of his years 31 and 34 which call him “gēhān

apēbīm kirtār, he who freed the world from fear” commemorate the completion of this limes.—The Ayātk.Zar. uses the expression “darband (= vitarg bast) of iron.”

Baidawī, nizām, attributes an eastern limes to Pērōz: “among his monuments is a wall 50 farsakh long on the “Tadjan (text: χυόνδ) between Ėrān and Tūrān.”—The Shahr.Ēr. §18, s. v. Koomish, connect the name of Yazdegird I with these buildings: “pa χvatóyīh ē yazdkirt ē šāhpūhrān krt andar? tchnd (var.l.tchvl) ēol vērōy18 pāhr[ak] ān ālak.” The paragraph is defective in style and grammar and apparently mutilated: tchnd is the name of the lower course of the Harēv rōd, river of Herat and Sarakhs, cf. Gr.Bdh. 86; misspelled χυόνd in the ms. of Baidawī. This Hyrcanian limes was situated “ān ālak, on the other side, beyond” scil. of the Caspian Sea, opposite Ėol and Vērōy. Ėol is Darband, Arab. Bāb al-abwāb, the pass between the Caucasus and the Caspian. Vērōy is Iberia. In the much damaged first lines of his Ka’ba inscription Shāhpūhr I mentions the region among the provinces belonging to him: Pahl. vyrvśn—’r.n—as far as the kpy ṭnr v ’l’n ntrv?n?x, Gr. Iebēpain Aλabanian eοs ΕΜΠΡΟΣΟΕΝ [K]Aj pρΟΥΕ . . . Kap ṭnr is kaf-kōh, the Caucasus, ntrv is ideogr., read “ālān pāhrak, watch of Ėlān.” The three Kartēr inscriptions have Pārs. (KiZ) ’lmny štr Armenia, v vlvčn [also in S.Mshh.] v l’ny . . . ’p’n [NiR.: ’p pr’č ’l.] ’tn’n bβ [the last words also in NiR. and S.Mshh.], i.e. “Armin šahr, vīrōchān, ārān,10 as far as the Gate of Ėlān.”

The Syr. Alexander romance renders vērōy pāhrag by Wirōparagh, Ioannes Lydos Bvɔpapag; Agathangelos (Arm.) Jurojpaḥak, Priskos frgm.31 ὰuropagαax. The limes was begun after the siege of Amida and the peace of Jovian (a.d. 359, 363) under Shāhpūhr II; it was destroyed by the Albanians in 450 and rebuilt with financial contributions of Marcianus (450-457); Levond reports that in 716 a foundation stone with inscription of Marcianus was discovered; in 464-466 the

18 For the reading cf. 19: Ėol ẓukān u vērōy ẓukān; and ibn Khurdādhbih 40f.:
contributions were subject of diplomatic negotiations between Iran and Byzantium.

According to their wording the inscriptions of Darband are not foundation but restoration texts, which do not refer to the first construction under Shāhpuhr II, but to the repairs and raisings made under Yazdegird. He ruled a.d. 399-420, or 695-716 p.Zor.; “in the year 700,” hence is a date in Sasanian world era, in agreement with Biruni’s qānūn synchronism: 700 p.Zor. is a.d. 404, the fifth year of Yazdegird.

Therefore, there is neither reason nor purpose “irgend ein Ereignis aufzuweisen, das gerade damals die apokalyptische Phantasie in Bewegung gesetzt hätte,” as Nyberg attempts, because he believes the year 401 to be the year of the “invention” of the date of Zoroaster. But one must go into one argument produced in this connection, in order to do away with another error (43): the “nahezu selbstverständlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Kalenderveränderung und Weltaltersspekulationen.” “Börsenspekulationen” would be more to the point.

The event is—cf. Nöldeke’s note to Tabari 78—that under Yazdegird the disorder of the calendar was regulated by intercalation of two months. The year is unknown. Nyberg chooses 401 as “angemessen für das grosse Schaltungsfest, eine Grossthat, die nicht schlecht zu der megalophrosyne passt, die Prokop ihm in seinen jüngeren Jahren nachrühmt.”

But the Sasanian calendar had to be regulated every 120 years by intercalating one full month; every 120 years the kings would have had megalophrosyne, and every 120 years the Sasanian “time and milieu” would have been “gesättigt mit astrologischen Spekulationen.” The last of these intercalations took place, according to Kušyār b. Labbān, astronomer of the 10th century a.d., under Xusraw I, according to Biruni, Chronol. 33, about 70 years before Yazdegird III, which would be not before 562. This problem has been fully stated by H. Lewy. But the exact date is known, for it is the very same controle of the zij—mentioned above—in the year 25 of Xusraw I, a.d. 555 or 3851 of the world era. The years a.d. 228, 348, 468 and 588 would be the regular leap-years. The intercalation to be expected 120 years after that of Xusraw was prevented by the Arab conquest. Biruni remarks that the interval between Xusraw’s intercalation and the preceding one
under Yazdegird exceeded the normal 120 years. There are cogent reasons to delay or to prevent an intercalation, namely money.

Disorder of the calendar is the chronic disease of oriental chronology. In an edict (A. Ungnad, *Babyl. Briefe* n° 14) Hammurapi says: "The year has a surplus. The new month shall be reckoned as Second Ulūl. And wherever the order has been given that the taxes shall arrive in Babylon on the 25th of Tašrit, they shall arrive on the 25th of Ulūl II." Ungnad remarks in *Maag* XIII, 1940, 21: "Die Schaltung hatte im wesentlichen rein praktische Gründe" and adds examples relating to the harvest of grain, dates, fulfilment of delivery contracts etc. It is not aeons and apocalypses that stand behind the "Schaltungsfest," but something that causes joy everywhere: a remission of taxes. For the calendar rules the payment of taxes, paid at the term of the new year, Med. nava sarda, later naurōz. At the Achaemenian period the term was the miḏrakāna, OP. bāgayadiš, the subject of the great tribute processions of Persepolis. Strabo 11,14,9: "Armenia . . . sent every year 20,000 colts for the mithrákina." Biruni, the mathematician, was interested only in the consequences for the chronology, but the people of the time only in the consequences for their purses: the intercalary months were free of taxes.

Under the Arsacids, one intercalation took place between A.D. 16 and 46, by which the Macedonian Xanthikos instead of Artemisios became coincident with the Babylonian Nisān. During the Abbasid period I know of two such shiftings, one under al-Mutawakkil, in 245 H. "from 21. iii to 21. rabi' 1 = 18. hazīrān = 20. ardvihišt," i.e. to 17. vi. 859 A.D., hence three months difference, cf. Tabari III,1448, ibn al-Athīr vii,57. In affairs related to taxes, the Arabs use the Persian term of payment and the Iranian solar year. The other intercalation was under al-Mu'tadid, from 21. iii to 21. vii, hence four months, cf. Taghriberdi 1,93 and A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* 1,279f. The calendar can only be corrected when the financial situation is a good one and when people think less than ever of the end of the world. Nyberg: "Mit allem Vorbehalt hinsichtlich der Einzelheiten glaube ich also die

23 Legends concerning the institution of naurōz are often quoted, e.g. that in the *Māh. Frav.* only one has attracted but little attention, viz. that in Yāq.1,669, story of the möbed of Kaskar, calling it naurōz i mihrādān.

Zahl 258 deuten zu können als einen integrierenden Bestandteil der Zarathustra-Apokalypse ... in Zusammenhang mit Yazdeird's grosser Schaltung entstanden. ... Die Zahl ist von gewisser Bedeutung für die Geschichte der sasanidischen Theologie. Mit dem geschichtlichen Zarathustra hat sie nichts zu schaffen." This is a verdict, but a "duḥrtriš, miscarriage of justice." Under Yazdeird, 699-717, p.Zor., when the finances permitted a great intercalation, this number has not been invented, it has not been computed at all.

In his discourse, Nyberg takes 288 as original number and 258 as arrived at by subtracting 30 years of life. He overlooked that 288 would be 600 B.C., a round mystical number. Theodorus bar Koni, end of the 8th century A.D., puts the birth of Zoroaster 628 years 7 months before the birth of Christ. That is a number transmitted by prophetic, apocalyptic literature, of the type of the Zoroastrian prophecy about Christ in the Book of the Bee, ed. Budge, transl.p.9. Any connection with the birth of Christ cannot be older than the 5th century A.D., and it is not possible that the Zoroastrian tradition had obtained its number 258 from a Christian source by the calculation 600 - 30 - 312 = 258. The number 258 in the Zoroastrian sources is only the not mentioned sum of years between Zoroaster and Alexander, and the idea of separating birth and public appearance by 30 years, following a mythical pattern, is an interpretation of the primary number 258 which did not distinguish between the two points of time. 258 + 30 + 312 = 600 is a coincidence; 258 + 311 = 569 B.C. is authentic.

There is still a trace of another reckoning. According to Firdausi, Vullers m,1499, Zoroaster had planted in memory of the conversion of Vištāspa, a cypress, in front of the fire-temple of Kishmar, district Turshiz in Khurāsān, inscribing on its stem "Guštāsp has accepted the Good Religion." According to the Dabistān (transl. Shea and Troyer 1,306-309) al-Mutawakkil had cut down the cypress in 232 H., for use in the Dja'fari palace, at Dja'fariyya, North-Samarra, when the tree was 1,450 years old. The caliph was murdered when the transport had reached the last stage before Samarra.22 I have seen, in Iran and

Afghanistan, many cypresses 500 years old, and in Northern Europe yews of almost a thousand years. The age is possible. The Muhammedan tradition does not record this act of al-Mutawakkil, but contains reports that make it all but probable. In 235 H. the caliph issued an edict against the ahl al-dhimma, including Zoroastrians, in which the pulling down of all recently built sanctuaries was ordered; in 239 H. the edict was repeated in severer form. In 241 he incorporated e.g. the old cathedral of Ḥimṣ into the Gr. Mosque there. But the order to build the Dja’fari palace was given only in 245 H.; the construction lasted no more than a couple of months, and on the new-year of 246 (8. 111.860) the caliph moved into the new town; he was murdered on the 4th of shawwal 247 (11. 111.861). The order to fell the cypress was not given before 245, and the execution and the transport may well have taken all that time. The date cannot be 232, year of al-Mutawakkil’s succession, but only 245 H., i.e. January-March A.D. 860, 1172 Sel. ²²

The 1,450 years of the cypress are the sum of 1,172 + 278. This number is between 288 for Zoroaster’s birth and 258 for the conversion of Vištāspa, but at the bottom of this reckoning is nothing but the same tradition: Zoroaster 258 years before the Seleucid era. It is inadmissible to reconcile the dates by assuming a reckoning in lunar years, not only because the Iranians never used them, but—a decisive point—because this system is not that of the Sasanian world era, in which the cypress, in the year 232 H. would have been 1,145, in 245 H. 1,158 years old. The small fault is not in 278 for 258, but in 1172: it is a counting of real years which equals 245 H. with 1192 instead of 1172 Sel., under the same presumption: “Zoroaster —258 Sel.” The computation cannot have been: 258 years before 331, death of Darius III, plus 20 years (epochal year of the Sel. era), plus 1172 = 1450, for the interval of 20 years between the death of Darius and the epochal year was as unknown as the two facts themselves. On the contrary, the Seleucid era was used in Khurasan, since the Arsacid calendar, in Seleucid era, introduced by Mithradates II about 120 B.C., remained in use in Khwārizm down to 1270 Sel. The number 258, here, appears in the

reckoning of the years of a temple, without the reduction peculiar to
the Sasanian world era.

The year 1000 of this era is equal to A.D. 704. In 635 (931 p.Zor.)
the Muslims conquered Ctesiphon; 642 (938 Z.) or little later was the
battle of Nihāwand; 674-676 (970-972 Z.) were the first advances against
Bukhārā and Samarkand, regions which were finally conquered in
711 (1007). That is the time in which the Bahman yasht 1,5 and 11,21
puts the end of the millennium, and Māh Frav. is still a hundred years
away from this end. At this time, hence, Zoroaster's prophecy ex eventu
in Mas'ūdī was conceived.24 The same thoughts lead to the emigration
of the Parsis into India, as K. Inostrantzev has shown.25

At the very same time the system of aeons, preserved in the Gr.Bdh.,
received its pessimistic-eschatologic character. The prophecy talked of
the downfall of the empire and the religion; here it becomes practically
the end of the world, by reserving the following two millennia for its
preparation by the two precursors of the third sōṣyant. This picture is
most unconvincing: why should one need an aeon of 12,000 years,
when 6,000 years are wasted on a preexistence, 3,000 on mythical his-
tory, and 2,000 on preparing the end, so that human history is actually
limited to one thousand years? In this system nothing is alive of Zoro-
aster's optimism, the final victory of Good over Evil, which can yet be
felt in Māh Frav. It is a new interpretation of the old doctrine, born
out of the time of calamity, the Muhammedan conquest, out of the
passionate hope for the end of the world expected to come at once, and
out of the equally passionate belief in the old doctrine: "The kingdom
of Heaven is near!"

24 A similar case: R. Hartmann, Eine islam. Apokalypse der Kreuzzugszeit, Schriften d.
Königsberg. Gelehr. Gesellschaft 1,3, 1924.
Hist. of the Persis, Bombay 1903, 1-9. According to the Qīṣa-i Saniān, the Iranians who
faithfully adhered to Zoroastrianism took refuge in Kohistan, between Khurasan and Kirman,
after Yazdegird's death in A.D. 651 = 947 p.Zor. A hundred years after, about 751, they
moved to Hormuz on the Gulf, where they stayed till 765 = 1061 p.Zor. In the year of the
foundation of Baghdad, they emigrated to Diw, and landed, 19 years later, in 784 = 1081
p.Zor. in Gujarat "guided by astrological prognostics." The waiting sojourn in Kohistan, hence,
lasted from — 50 to + 50 of the millennium, to the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty.
In this, a second prophecy concurs: a dream of Yazdegird III, after the defeat at Jalūlā in
A.D. 637/8 = 933/4 p.Zor., told by Tabarī: "The Arabs shall rule 100 + 100 + 100 + ... years." There the dream stops short. The year of the foundation of Baghdad brought the last
diallusion.
But Zoroaster's date, "258 before Alexander" is not affected by such thoughts and changes, and survives all of them untouched.

The resolution of these 258 years into regnal years of legendary Achaemenids can scarcely have been undertaken before Ardashir I. In Shahrār. Er. §1 we read: "Alexander burnt the Dēnkart (= Avesta) written by order of Vištāsp, which had existed under seven kings." A gloss explains the number of seven—recorded nowhere else—as seven mythical kings before Vištāsp, against all logic. The seven is a vague remembrance of the fact that there were seven Hystaspids. The archetype of the Shahrīhā ē Erān was composed for Kavāt, at the very end of the 5th century, and must have used an old form of the chiliadic system which contained "3,000 years prehistory, appearance of Zoroaster, seven kings reigning 258 years, Alexander 14 years." The scholars of Ardashir's time—if this filling of the gap in the Bdh. is theirs—could find out for the seven only five kings in the legendary material. Zoroaster himself stands at the beginning of the Achaemenid epoch, the Arsacids do not get more than half of their real domination, only a few years more than the Achaemenids, and only with the Sasanids real chronology begins.

The number 258 predicates when the prophet lived, and such facts are not quickly forgotten by oriental nations, even when illiterate. It appears in a system of acons and those who were in charge of it must have been the people that preserved the memory. The date known to Plato's Academy, "Zoroaster 6,000 years before Plato," shows that already about 400 B.C. Zoroaster had his place as inaugurator of the 4th millennium in that system, and that his return was expected after 6,000 years.

With this insertion of Zoroaster into the system and the limitation of the prehistory to the first 3,000 years, the chiliadic system had been converted into real chronology. The system requires the counting of years. Quintus Curtius 11.3.9 says, speaking of Alexander's time: "The magi had a year of 365 days," viz. beside the civil calendar. As in the Sasanian period, this was certainly connected with the system of acons.

One instance of priests counting the years of their temple in antiquity, just as in Sasanian times, we have come to know in the
“era of the cypress.” Another one is the number preserved by Herodotus 1,130 in the Median story of Harpagos: “Cyrus dethroned Astyages after 35 years of his reign, after 128 years of the Median rule, \( \pi\alpha\rho\varepsilon\varepsilon \ \eta \ \delta\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron \ \omicron \ \iota \ \Sigma\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\iota \ \eta\rho\chi\omicron\nu \), not counting the years of the Scythian domination.” The double date is in the style of the Bishapûr inscription: “year 58, year 40 of the Ardashîr-fire, 24 of the Shâhpuhr-fire.” The number 128 comes from a Median source (Harpagos is a Mede) and contradicts the artificial calculation followed by Herodotus in 1,102-106: “Dêlókes 52 years, Phraôrîtes 23; Kyaxâres 40, sênu têtoî \( \Sigma\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\iota \ \eta\rho\varepsilon\alpha\nu \), including the 28 years of the Scythians; Astyâges 35 years,” sum 2 \( \times \) 75 = 150, which would give 122 without the Scythians. With the words \( \pi\alpha\rho\varepsilon\varepsilon \) Herodotus tries to reconcile the variance of his two sources, but the 128 years were not meant to be interrupted by a span of 28 years. 150 is wrong, 128 is right. The end is the conquest of Agbatana in 550 B.C., Agbatana is the home of the record. In Agbatana stood the memorial fire of the Median ktîstes, the āsār kavâta-kân, which burned as long as the dynasty lasted. Its priests counted 128 years of their temple, 35 of the Astyages fire, when Cyrus took Agbatana. The Ardashîr fire, too, burned as long as the Sasanian dynasty lasted: Yazdegird III was crowned in this temple in A.D. 632/3 (406 p.Ard., 928 p.Zor.); its priests counted 40 years of their temple when the statue of Shâhpuhr I was made in Bishapûr; the priests of Kishmar counted 1,450 years when their cypress was felled.

The disturbed condition in which the chiliadic system is preserved in the \( \textit{Gr.\,Bdh.} \) is explained by the facts that the years were counted before Alexander, that Hellenism led to an interruption, and that under Ardashîr the gap was filled by calendaric-astronomical methods—whereby the strange shortening occurred.

The number 258 appears as interval between Zoroaster’s epiphany, the “matan č dên,” and Alexander’s accession, which was not preserved as a date by the Iranian tradition. One did not know that the Seleucid era was something different. The calendar-makers of Ardashîr I, in bringing down the epochal year of the Zoroastrian era from 569 to 296 B.C., bring down with it the year 258 p.Zor. from 311 to 38 B.C. as epochal year of the Seleucid era, without changing its signification.
This first dynastic era has not been introduced as such. Seleucus counted, as usual, the years of his reign, beginning with the year in which Alexander IV was defeated and murdered, and in which Seleucus returned to Babylon. The epochal year is \(312/11\); the variations of its beginning, \(1\). \(x.312\) in the west, \(1\). \(III.311\) in the east, do not affect the problem of its origin. During Seleucus’ last years, Antiochus I was co-regent with the full royal title. Seleucus’ death, \(32\) Sel. = 280 B.C., did not entail a change of protocol, and under Antiochus whose first year had never counted as year 1, one simply went on counting the years of Seleucus. In course of time, one must have realized that this was a new practical method, with the effect that Antiochus II in 51 Sel. = 261 B.C. consciously went on doing the same. Thus the first dynastic era originated. As a whole and in its varieties it received various names, like “Seleucid, of the Greeks, of the Babylonian astronomers,” but all of them are subsequently given, among them “aera Alexandri” and \(\alphaπo\ \tauης \ Αλεξάνδρου \ τελευτης\). It seems to me impossible that this last name could mean the era of Alexander IV, just as impossible as an era of the “cursed Alexander” with the Sasanians. The name supposes the belief that the era, the beginning of which was obscure, had been used since the death of Alexander.

“Zoroaster 258 years before Alexander” is an expression that can result only from “258 years before our era.” The Seleucid era was used by the Arsacids in Iran, where, of course, it passed as era of Alexander the Great. In the year 65 of this era, the Arsacids introduced their own dynastic era, which in Babylon was never used alone, but at the side of the Seleucid. The Sasanians, with their xenophobe tendencies, abandoned it, just as they renounced the title philhellen, and the occasion was the reform of the calendar under Ardashir I, A.D. 227/8, 539/40 Sel.

According to that old reckoning, the year 300 P.Zor. falls in the reign of Antiochus I, when people became aware of having an era. 300 P.Zor. would be 42 Sel., 270 B.C. Fifty years earlier Curtius attests the existence of a religious calendar, and 247 B.C. is the epochal year of the Arsacid era. Only as early as that, in about 300 P.Zor., hence in pre-Arsacid antiquity, the number 258 could be introduced into the chiliadic system. Under the dissolving influences of Hellenism, the

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counting of years stopped, but this fundamental number, the interval between Zoroaster and the Seleucid era remained. New materials allow us also to recognize how and where it was preserved.

The great temples counted their years, and one of them was the temple where the foundation-document was kept with the memorial list of Yasht 13, a document to be discussed in our next chapter. A headline calls this list "fravartayo of the purvyatkeša and nabānazdišta, souls of the first-faithful and next-of-kin," namely of Zoroaster and Vištāspa, and the fact that Zoroaster and his family precede Vištāspa and his relatives shows that the temple was founded by Vištāspa "for the soul of Zoroaster and for his own soul." The list of names is the last paragraph of the entire document, and was introduced into the yasht at the time of its first redaction, that means about 400 B.C. The priests who kept this document and recited the names by heart when celebrating the prescribed masses, counted the years of their temple and knew, at the time of Antiochus I, that Zoroaster had lived 300 years before.

Only the list of names is preserved, and only the discovery of names historically known among them can furnish means of dating the document. I anticipate here some results to be proved in the following chapters.

Among the sons of Vištāspa appears Spantadāta, who at his accession to the throne assumed the "throne-name" Dārayavahuš. That gives the terminus ante quem: before 522 B.C. A terminus post quem, with rather large margin, is 539, the year in which Cambyses was šar Bābili and not yet lieutenant in Iran. The proscription of Zoroaster from Ragā may have taken place already in 538. In the list he has three wives, one of them the Háugavī whom he married in exile, and by her he has a daughter, Purucistă, unmarried, hence not yet 16 years old. Some years must have passed between his banishment, the marriage, and the birth of the daughter. He has already a grandson bearing the same name as his son Rvatatnara (probably the second son), hence must have been at least 40 years old.—If 569 is the year of his birth, the terminus post quem would be 529, year of Cambyses' accession. Finally, Brzi.ṛštiš= Brzya, Smerdis, appears in the list.

According to Herodotus 11,65, Cambyses would have ordered Prexaspes to have Smerdis killed in prison, after the Egyptian cam-
campaign had started; when he received the news of the proclamation of the Pseudo-Smerdis the king at once returned. Herodotus tells the Prexaspes story during that return, and speaks wrongly of a non-existing “Syrian Agbatana,” product of a banal interpretation of the oracle of Buto: Cambyses killed himself in the real Agbatana. Thus it is possible that the date of Smerdis’ death was nearer to 523, but the greater probability is that he was killed when Cambyses started for Egypt. A list “for the souls, the memory” may contain names of deceased persons, as does the list in the Ka’ba inscription of Shâhpūhr I, but the first assumption would be that Smerdis was still alive when his name was put into the list. In that case, 525 is the terminus ant quem—a year in which Puruçistā was not over 12 years old, and the probable date of the memorial list of Yz.13 is limited between 528 and 526 B.C.

If the temple was founded in 527, it counted exactly 258 years in the year 300 p.Zor. (258 before Alexander plus 311 = 569 B.C. or 42 Sel.), the time when the Seleucid era had become established under Antiochos I. At that time the priests could say: “Remarkable that the year 300 of Zoroaster, who was born 258 years before the era we now use, is exactly the year 258 of our temple.” This number is a tradition, not a calculation. It does not affect our problem, but one may infer from the preservation of this date that such temples, at the time of Antiochus I, started to use two eras, as did the Arsacids a few years later.

The number 258 is a historical reminiscence, introduced into the chiliadic system at the Seleucid period and faithfully preserved to the end. No more than the date for the birth of Christ is it a historical date in the strictest sense, for the notion “pētākîh, epiphany” is a too indefinite one. The birth of a prophet—since the child is not born with its work accomplished—can never be exactly retained; the first public appearance, the success of which manifests itself only much later, is remembered only in rare cases. But that does not matter. The

37 Like Gr. epiphania and Arab. zuhūr, the word is used for appearance of stars, cf. the Syr. n.pr. ḫūwda “Christ has risen!”, and Gr. epiphanēs in royal protocols. In Hellenism, Ptolemy V., 190 B.C., is the first “epiphanēs, the god who appears to men in calamity”; then Antiochus IV., 175-164.—In Iran Xusrua 1 uses the title. In Islam, there are many malik al-zāhir; the title has an intense meaning in the case of the Fatimid caliph al-Zāhir, who followed, as a child, his father al-Jākîm after his disappearance, ghaiba.
late Avestic concept, expressed e.g. in Yt.13.93f., is, that “all waters, plants and animals of the good creation rejoice at the birth and shout: Thank God! the priest is born, he who is the Spitāma Zarathustra!” The Pahl. commentary to Vid.4.15 (on Ragā) likewise makes no distinction between birth and appearance: some codd. have “zrvšt mn zk yʾk ṭbvnʾt, Zoroaster was from that place (meaning: born),” another ms. has “pyʾʾk ṭbvnʾt, appeared from there,” same meaning. It is not only that the birth is the more naive and original conception —cf. the legends emanating from the birth of Christ—and that the appearance with 30 years is a legendary, though probable, pattern. The decisive point is that the name “matan ē dēn” or “acceptance of the religion” is a religious term which must of necessity be later than the fixing of the era. The distinction between birth and appearance is secondary. The analogy to “appearance” would be, in Christianity, the Jordan baptism as epochal year. From the historical point of view, there has never been a year, day or hour, in which Vištāspa became converted. This is a religious tint laid on events entirely neutral. What actually happened was that Vištāspa gave refuge to the proscribed Zoroaster. Such an act was not announced with trumpets, but kept as secret as possible. It seems that, at first, Zoroaster lived in concealment as a hermit at the farthest corner of Vištāspa’s province, on the mount Ušidam in the lake Kansavya. At any rate, the exact date of his reception by Vištāspa has been no more preserved than the date of his birth. The only real date known in later times was the foundation of the temple; this was attested by the document, to which the memorial list belonged. In that temple the number 258 was preserved.

The birth date allows forthwith a margin of ± 10 years. But in agreement with all that can be gathered about the prophet’s lifetime from the Gathas and the rest of the Avesta, it puts Zoroaster in the sixth century, about 570-500 B.C., and the time of his activity under the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius.

In uge 11,210ff. (1905) J. Markwart had calculated the years 489-486 B.C. as date of the “introduction of the mazdayasian calendar”; Nyberg²⁸ calculated 485 B.C. and calls (45) this date “das einzig sichere Datum der älteren Geschichte des Zoroastrismus.” The non-Zoroastrian

²⁸ Texte zum mazdayas. Kalender, Uppsala, Universitetets Årsskrift 1934.
magi would have induced the non-Zoroastrian Xerxes to introduce a
calendar of Zoroastrian coloring in order to give the king in the Zoro-
astrian dēva-notion a weapon against a revolt in Babylon! The Baby-
lonians use, before and after, their own religious calendar without
noticing the coloring of the names of the months used in Iran. The
revolt is imaginary, and Xerxes never introduced this “mazdayasian
calendar.” The last point is proved by the cuneiform tablets from
Persepolis which use, throughout, the Old Persian calendar. The
reasons adduced by Poebel in his first report on these tablets, for dating
them in the time of Artaxerxes I, were unconvincing and have now
been revoked in Cameron’s notice Darius’ Daughter:29 the 30,000
tables of the wall-archives are all from the time of Darius, years 12-28,
the 800 tablets from the “Communs archives” go from the 30th year
of Darius to the beginning of Artaxerxes’ reign. Down to about 460 the
Old Persian calendar was used and the officials were magi. H.
Lewy remarks as to the number 485: “Cette erreur s’explique du fait,
que M. Nyberg ignorait la réforme d’Ardashir et la différence fonda-
mentale entre les calendriers sasanide et pré-sasanide.” Of the various
theories about the date at which the mazdayasian calendar was in-
troduced, it is only what Taqizadeh calls “the second reform” about
441 B.C. that has a chance to be true. Obviously this reform is mazdayas-
nian, not Zoroastrian,30 and we shall see at the same time the maz-
dayasian redaction of the Awesta took place.

In “stating” that “in einem Volk dem die Geschichte fehlt,” “die
ganze Frage nach der Zeit Zarathushtras . . . eigentlich ohne Belang
ist, dass der rein chronologischen Frage hier die Bedeutsamkeit fehlt,”
Nyberg confounds “history” and “historiography”; that is what is

29 J. Near East. Stud. 1,2, April 1942.—The Persepolis tablets are about 30,000, 500 of
them in Aramaic, written in ink, the others in Elamite cuneiform. Only preliminary infor-
mation has been published, on the strength of which Nyberg says p.15: “Merkwürdigerweise
scheint das Elamische die eigentliche Sprache der Achaemeniden zu sein”; p.334: “Wir wissen
jetzt, dass die Verwaltungssprache der älteren Achaemeniden hauptsächlich elamisch war,”
und “das Aramæische war die Kanzleisprache für die westlichen, vielleicht für alle Teile
des Reichs.” These pronouncements are rash, contradictory and wrong.

30 This same opposition finds an expression in the twofold names of the calendar feasts,
Zoroastrian gāhāmīrā, mazdaistic-syncretistic naurāz and mihrāgān etc., H. Lewy, p.63f.,
comes very near the truth in recognizing in this opposition the expression of truly Zoroastrian
and Iranian-Mithraic conceptions. One better speaks of monistic- and polytheistic, or Zoroastrian
and mazdayasian; it is the unadjusted coexistence of pre-Zoroastrian and Zoroastrian designa-
tions in the mazdayasian syncrétism which prevailed since the time of Artaxerxes II. For
these terms see under ‘Fravarrān.’
lacking, not history. And the definition of the time of Zoroaster remains the central problem of Old Iranian history, history of religion, archeology and philology.

There is a historical criterion for the value of the traditional date, 6th century B.C.—In his Christentum ii,17, Eduard Meyer argues: "Der zweihundertjährige Bestand des Perserreichs ist ein Wendepunkt für die gesamte Religionsgeschichte überhaupt. Die nationale Gestaltung des staatlichen Lebens ist für westorientalische Welt begraben, damit die Religion von Staat und Politik gelöst. Das schafft den Individualismus und den Universalismus, die fortan den Grundzug aller Religionen bilden. Aufgabe der Gottheit ist jetzt nicht mehr, das einzelne Gemeinwesen, den auf besonderem Volkstum beruhenden Staat zu schirmen, sondern sie ist zu einer universalen, kosmischen Macht geworden, die sich nicht mehr an das Volk als ganzes, sondern an den einzelnen Menschen wendet. In den arischen Religionen treten diese Züge von Anfang an hervor."

What he says about the significance of the Persian Empire for the religious development of mankind is entirely true. He was one of the most passionate champions of the concept of the high antiquity of Zoroaster. I discussed the problem with him more than once, the last time a few days before his death, but I do not know what he meant by "von Anfang an," Zoroaster or still older phases? The gods of the Aryans in India fight for their worshippers, and in the pre-Zoroastrian passages of the yashts, the gods grant to the worshipping Iranians what they refuse to the worshipping enemies of the heroes: naïve and without a trace of ethics, entirely Homeric. The ritualism, too, the sacrificial and magic rites of the Old Iranian religion, against which Zoroaster fights like the prophets of the Old Testament, do not surpass the level of religious thought reached elsewhere.

Only the book of Job (about the end of the 5th century B.C.? ) comes near to the universal monotheism of Zoroaster with his ethical dualism—i.e. the answer to the question: whence comes evil, if God is good?—and with his complementary thought of eternal reward and punishment for the individual. There is a contradiction in the assumption that thoughts, which became possible in the rest of the world only under the Persian Empire, were possible 500-700 years earlier in the Aryan world. In Iran too, the universal conception of the deity, the
relation of the god to the individual man instead of to the group, and the replacing, connected therewith, of the cult by ethics, is only a consequence of the world-wide empire.

In *Christentum* 11,69, Eduard Meyer considers the passage in Plutarch, *de Iside* 47 (frgm.72) on the paradisiac condition after the defeat of Evil, Areimanios, where “all men, as μακάριοι, shall be one politeia, and shall all speak one language,” to be genuinely Zoroastrian, perhaps made known to the Greeks by Aristotle’s pupil Eudemus. But how could, about or before 1000 B.C., in the unhistorical region beyond Iran proper, such a notion be possible which clearly is the ideal all but materialized by the polyglot Persian Empire?, the χσαθραμ vispazanam, paruzanam, Akk. ša naphar lišānu gabbī “where all languages are spoken.”

The true cognition that the Persian Empire is the turning point in the history of all religions and brings the katharsis of religion itself makes a higher antiquity for Zoroaster from the beginning impossible. Starting on entirely different lines, Meillet came to a similar conclusion, *Trois Conf.* p.22: “La réforme religieuse ... suppose de grands mouvements historiques et sociaux. L’établissement d’un vaste empire, gouverné par un roi absolu, a été dans le monde indo-iranien un fait d’un type nouveau; il est sans doute résultat de ces mêmes mouvements auxquels est dûe la secte Zoroastrienne. Ce fait capital domine la question.”

The decades of the foundation of the Persian Empire in the 6th century B.C. are a terminus ad quem for Zoroaster. The allegedly “only safe term, before 485” is a mistake, inferred from wrong premises, and the traditional date, Zoroaster appeared 258 years before the Seleucid era, which determines his life between 570 and 500 B.C., is an intrinsically probable date.
The headline of the Fravardin Yasht is: "We worship the fravarti of the blessed first-followers of the law, rtāvan purvyā.tkēša, next-of-kin, nabā.nazdišta." This headline, unfit for the main part of the yasht, refers only to its smaller second half, §§87-145, the so-called "Community-list."

Already a cursory glance at that list, as it stands, reveals that instead of being a catalogue of the first followers only and the next-of-kin of Zoroaster and Vištāspa, it is rather, as §145 expresses, a list of "the fravarti of the whole world from the first man Gayamart to the last, the saviour, sōšyant." Even the fravarti of many animal species and other beings of the "good creation" are added. The original list of the community, thus, has been expanded to a list of humanity. This was done when introducing the document into the yasht, after the persons mentioned were all deceased "souls," and, since some of them belong to a third generation, at the earliest, three generations after Vištāspa, i.e. after the—strictly speaking—"Zoroastrian" period, at the period of Mazdaism.

Various materials were used for this expansion. In §§131-135, the mythical kings are inserted between the personal names of the genuine list; in §§136-138, a series of mythical heroes. The first of the kings and men is Yama, not Gayamart (of §145). The divergence shows that the filling material belongs to different periods. Hošyana is not yet one of the kings, as in other yashts, but ranges with the heroes in the next paragraphs. All other yashts present already the system surviving in Firdausi's form of the Shāhnāmah, where Hošyana, the Saka, opens the line of kings. Thus, the redactors of Yt.13 have preserved an archaic version of the epics, not affected by a redaction that was undertaken probably at the early Achaemenian period.

Nyberg 291: "Die Heroen des Fravardin Yt.13 gruppieren sich fast ausschliesslich um Ranha und Vourukaša, Jaxartes und AralSec. Es kann nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass dies geschichtliche Milieu die zoro-

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1 For this term see 'Social Structure.'
2 See under 'Fravarti.'
3 Definition of this term under 'Fravārī.'
4 For §§143-144, "fravarti of Ārya, Tūra, Sārīma, Sānā and Dāha" see under 'Anērān-Tūrān.'
astrische Urgemeinde in dem turischen Friyana-Stamm ist." The alleged Aral-Lake is the ocean, but neither this nor any local or geographical name appears in Yt.13, which is a "Lied ohne Orte." It contains the names of all kings and heroes, to the last, Vištāspa, the only member of the Urgemeinde among them. But they no longer "group themselves," for they are all dead, "fravarti, manes," and their "historical milieu" is according to §23 "tušnišad, the land of silence, Hades."

The sōşyan Astvat.rta, twice inserted at the end of §§110 and 117, and the three sōşyant in §128, and the whole §129 on Astvat.rta, belong no more to the first-followers and next-of-kin than do those kings and heroes, neither the preceding six names of the kršvar-iudices, two of which appear again in §121. Also the last three names, compounds in -fārī, of the list of women in §141 must be eliminated.

That means at the same time that everything which goes beyond the list proper is a commentary added when or after the list was inserted into Yt.13. Thus §§88-94 about Zoroaster, with exception of the name of his cousin Maṣyomāha, but including the glosses referring to him; the remark on the "apostle" Sēna Ahumstut in §97; the verses §§97-100 on kavi Vištāspa; those on the use of the name of the Hāvgava for magic purpose at the end of §104; a remark about Manthravāka in §105; a note to Aršya, father of Vanhu; at last §120, on the magic effect of the name of Yavišta Friyāna. At the best, some of these glosses show what the late Achaemenian Mazdaīsm thought about these figures.

After all these eliminations there remains an astonishingly well preserved list of probably exactly 240 names, 24 of them names of women. Of the male names sixteen are characterized, in §§125-126, as foreigners. Upon them three children follow, bearing the same name as their grandfathers with an "aparazāta, junior" added to it, and finally—not separated, as today, by the first kings and heroes—a list of women in §§139-141.

The only possible origin of this list is an authentic document of that high antiquity. Whatever one may think of the time and place of Zoroaster, this list which must go back to his own time is the rest of a document and must have had a purpose. Only when recognizing
that purpose can one give it its true historical value. H. H. Schaeder, in a letter, once compared it to the lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7, preserved by a fortunate chance. Those—almost contemporary—lists, too, represent documents and had a purpose, namely for administration. The mere existence of the list of Yt.13 ought always to have been a warning not to put Zoroaster into a period long before the known Iranian history. But if the list belongs to an early historical period, the original document could be written only in cuneiform, for one cannot assume Aramaic script on clay tablets or leather for Old Persian texts before Darius, on account of Beh.§70:

vašnā[. a]u"[ramaz]dā[ha]. i[-]. dipi[š]------
c.o."mi.n 4o.ra.mas.ta.na ʻu ʻtip.pi.me ʻta.i.e
-
-am. akunavam. patišam.
iki hu.t.ta ar.ri.ja.wa ʻap.po sa.ssa in.ne lip.ri ku.t.ta
ʻha.laʻt-uk.ku ku.t.ta ʻsu"-uk.ku
iya. [d]i.pi[---]. ʻnāma. āthahavāga.[---]iš[---] adā"[---]ā
ku.t.ta ʻhi.s ku.t.ta e.p.pi hu.t.ta
uta [ap]i[θ]i[ya. u]ta [---]tiya [---]ya. pai[š]ya. mā[m]
ku. ʻt.ta tal.li.k ku.t.ta ʻu ti.p.pa pe.p.ra.ka
pasāva. i[ya]m d"i.pi[m--]i?ma. [---]āvata. [-----]
me.ni ʻtip.pi.me am.min.ni ʻta.ji.o.s mar.ri.ta
antar dahyā[va. k]āra hama amāxamatā
ha.ti.ma ʻu ten.ge.ja ʻtas.su.p.pe so.pi.s

"By the grace of Auramazdā, I made (this?) writing in another fashion [only El.: in Aryan, as it had never been before]; as well on clay-tablets as on leather, and the name and the seal? was put (to it), and it was written and the writing was read off to me. Thereafter, this writing was sent everywhere into the provinces as I had ordered. The people. . . ."

R. G. Kent tried a restoration of the OP. text which I cannot accept because it does not take into consideration the more
complete Elamite text and its gloss; every restoration must be a retransliteration of the Elamite text.

OP. dipi is El. tippi, loanword from Sumerian, and means "script, writing," only accidentally "inscription" on rock, stone or other objects. Xerx. Van: "the stāna, El. s.ta-na, i.e. stela was prepared, but no 'writing' written on it"; there, the El. text has 'dipâ'; here tip.pi.me, which makes the meaning collective [cf. cunki "king," cunkime "kingship"], unmistakably so because the El. text says "as it had never existed before." The writing is done "taje.ikki, in a different fashion"; to this apparently OP. patišam corresponds, cf. Aw. patiša in Nīr.101 "differing, heterogeneous" and in Yt.19,58 "contrarius." The king speaks in the whole paragraph of a general innovation, not only of the special case of copying the Behistun inscription. The El. text does not need to repeat "in other fashion," as the OP. text repeats patišam in 90, because it glosses it by ar.ri.ja.wa—not an El. word, but transliteration of OP. "āryavā, in Aryan (language)," just as it glosses in §§62 and 63 Auramazdā by the illuminating "god of the Aryans, ʹna.p ar.ri.ja.na.m < OP. āryānām," gen.pl.—Thereby the language is determined as the same as the rock-inscription, and the innovation can only be the kind of script, tippime, and since the two materials are clay-tablets and leather, on which latter cuneiform was never used (while Aramaic appears on the tablets of Persepolis), the thing never done before was writing Old Persian in Aramaic script. A specimen of it is the fourth inscription on Darius' tomb, see Alt. Inschr. p.12, fig.6; another proof are the OP. words in the inscriptions of the three Artaxerxes in cuneiform, but transcribed from Aramaic spelling.

El. "Halat-ukku, on bricks, clay-tablets" assures the restoration of OP. a[g]ura[vā]. The signs corresponding to 'su₄, [-]a₃ v₄st₄[-]y[-] must hide the OP. word for leather, Mp. and Np. pōst. To El. "his, name" correspond the signs tran-

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8 Vid.3,20 and 18,10 Aw. pāt̄. (frā̂shā), Frh.Ér. (gen.) pāt̄ahe, Pahl. transl. pōst, meaning "sculp."—Aw. ֳ is the doubled ligature ֳ<a+ן, which went early out of use and which it replaces; whereas Aw. ֳ ֳ is a ligature of ֳ+ו. At the time of the invention of Aw. script, ֳ and ֳ, especially in ligatures, are no longer clearly distinguished. Thus the difference between Aw. pāta and OP. ֳp̄ t̄ is a graphic problem; the Aw. archetype had pət in Aram.
scribed by King and Thompson by n°m*, Kent h°m°; it must be OP. n°a m°. El. "tallik, was written" = OP. √piθ-, ni.piθ-, gives [ni- or a- p]i[θ]i[ya].—The last sentence, "thereafter," speaks of the copies of the Beh. inscription being sent into all provinces, as an example. The obscure verb amχmtə must mean "were able to understand" or "minded it in their hearts."

The introduction of Aramaic script made cuneiform soon go out of use, and the list of Yt.13 must have been transmitted by word of mouth only for at least 600 years, until it was first written down in Aramaic script together with the whole Avesta, unless one would assume that, at the time of Darius, an aide-mémoire had been noted in Aramaic. The names as we have them show clear traces of being based on a text in Aramaic script.

On the Ka'ba i Zardušt, a tomb-tower in front of the Royal Tombs and the sculpture of Shāhpuhr I at Naqsh i Rustam, is a trilingual inscription of Shāhpuhr, which solves the riddle of the list of Yt.13, and that is the importance, far surpassing its historical contents, of that inscription.

In the style of Assyrian foundation documents, thousand and more years older, in which likewise a long historical introduction occupies most of the space and the proper purpose is confined to the very last lines, the preface of Shāhpuhr's inscription is a detailed account of his victorious campaign against Valerian, which is symbolized in the triumphal sculpture opposite the Ka'ba. Only the middle lines, 21-23, deal with the special purpose, the foundation of five memorial fires. The expression is Pahl. pty ln ʾrvʾn v pʾšnʾm, Pārs. pʾʾn lnh lvbʾn v ptnʾm, Gr. ΕΙΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΙΝ, "for his own soul (memory), and for the souls of the queen ĀdarAnāhīt, and their three sons Hormizd-Ardašīr (later Hormizd I), Shāhpuhr Mešānšāh, and ʾyly-mzdysn-Narsahe (later Narseh)." To these temples endowments for sacrifices and singing of masses are given, to perpetuate the memory, and the "souls" of those whose names are

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* A stone fragment discovered in Babylon and the Pap.El. with a copy of the Behistūn inscription are documentary proof.
enumerated shall have part in it. The list of names of these souls fills the rest, ll.22-34.

Not the religious contents, but form and matter are the same as the dedication of stelae by the Elamite kings, e.g. ŠilhakInšušinak (about 1160 B.C.) “for his life, the life of Nahhunte.Utu, his wife, and the life of their sons HutelutušInšušinak, Šilhina.lamru.Lagamar, etc. etc. and her daughters Išni.karabbit etc. etc.” The list of names of Yt.13 is a link between the Elamite and the Sasanian lists, and establishes a tradition over more than 2,000 years. Shâhpurhr’s list has 135 names, mostly of men, but thirteen ladies of the royal house and a few little girls are among them. The arrangement is (1) some ancestors in straight line, beginning with Sāsān χvatāy, some more living members of the narrowest family, still more younger members, among them children with hypocoristic names, the future. Upon which follow in historical order the great number (2) of “those that were under Pāpak Šāh,” (3) “under Artaxšīr šāhanšāh,” (4) “under Šāhpurhr šāhanšāh.” The provisions are valid for the souls of them all. Inside these sections, the names are arranged according to rank and dignity; where the rank is the same, equal or similar names are often grouped together—for purposes of mnemonics; family names are borne only by the high aristocracy; besides, there are titles, among them e.g. the grand eunuch.

Comparing it with Islamic waqf inscriptions, which like this one are written on the walls of existing sanctuaries, and are excerpts of a document, the waqf-nāmah proper, deposited in archives, one can call the Ka’ba inscription a waqf, with such distinctions as required by the different cult. This is the notion which the Greek version of the inscription tries to express by ἐγγραφον τοῦ ἀσφαλίσματος τῆς τειμῆς. The masāṭīḥ al-‘ulūm rightly translate the Ir. term “rawānāgān”—i.e. pa-ravān of the inscription—by auqāf: the Sasanian institution is the origin of the Islamic one. At the Achaemenian epoch, the originals were clay tablets, as for instance some found in Susa, or stone tablets like the fragments of Darius’ tomb inscription discovered at Persepolis; also papyri.

The analogy between the Shâhpurhr inscription and the so-called “Community list” of Yt.13 is perfect. There, too, the majority of names

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*P. Scheil, Mém.Dél. Perse XI, 2155.*
are such of men, but ten per cent are names of women; in the Ka’ba
inscription they stand between the names of men, in Yt.13 they are
in a separate paragraph; all the women belong to the highest nobility,
with their family names added, most of them are married, but not all.
In both documents the names extend over three generations, with a
special group of children. The sequence is one of rank and dignity. In
Yt.13, Zoroaster and his next relatives take precedence even over Vištāspa and his family. Within groups of equal rank one observes the
same grouping of identical or similar names. Members of the same
noble families, distinguished by their family name which none but a
nobleman can have, are grouped together in both inscriptions, etc.

All persons in both lists are without exception high and highest
dignitaries and their relatives, in old language “χşayant, kavi and
hvētu.” The 16 “aryaman, clients,” form a kind of codicil in Yt.13. But
neither here nor there “commoners” are mentioned, “vāstrya,šşuyant
or hûti, peasants and laborers.” That changes the concept of the “first
community” considerably. This was not a community of people con-
verted or of the same religious conviction, but the clan and the clien-
tela of a vispatis and satrap who had espoused a cause and whose lead
all his clansmen, officers and clients were in duty bound to follow.

In spite of an interval of about 800 years, redaction and style of both
lists are the same, and it follows that the list of Yt.13 is taken from the
original of the waqf, the rawān-document, which was “made fast,
Arab. waqaţa or ḥabasa, OP. han.drang-, handraxta, han.dungā,”
when Vištāspa founded a memorial fire, with masses for the “souls,”
or “memory” of all persons named. The fact that Zoroaster and his
relatives rank before Vištāspa shows that Vištāspa founded the temple
“for the soul of Zoroaster and for his own soul,” but also that Zoro-
aster was a “homótimos, of equal rank” with Vištāspa (see under ‘Social
Structure’).

This was a temple like the one in which the cypress was planted.
Kishmar lies close enough to Tōsa, the residence of Vištāspa, for them
to be regarded as the same. But the legends of the great “aţayţ ē Var-
hrān or dynastic fires,” viz. the ādar χvarrah or farnabag on the rōštita
mountain, or the ādar burżênmihr of Rēvand, both quite near Tōsa
and Nishāpûr, ascribe their foundation likewise to Vištāspa, and just as
Shāhpuhr founded five, the grand vizier Mihrnarsch three fires—among them a “fire of the cypress, sarwistān”—Vištāspa may have founded more than one fire at the same time. Firdausi identifies the Burzēnmihr fire with that of Kishmar.

The reason for incorporating the memorial list just in Yt.13 was not an intrinsic connection of ideas, but a matter of form. The names were recited by the priests at the masses with “We pray for the souls of. . . .” No yasht offered so perfectly fitting an occasion as this hymn to the heroes and manes. Both are “souls,” the fravarti and the ruvan;8 only the Zoroastrian term “ruvan” had to be replaced by the mazdayasnian “fravarti”; even the genitive case is the original form of the list (except for some names written without inflection).

Though preserved in a yasht, the list is a gathicissimum. It has the value of an inscription on a ruin of its period. It is composed by order of Vištāspa for Zoroaster. All its names—and that means all the names appearing in the Gatha and those which passed over into the Avesta—are real and historical. The date of this document, between the years 529 and 522, probably in 527 B.C., has been discussed under ‘Chronology.’

The single names, therefore, are worth studying thoroughly. The following is only a beginning.

Among the brothers and cousins of Vištāspa is one ātarhvarnah. On the Persepolis tablet, dated “month ādukanīš, year 16 of Darius,” i.e. April 506 B.C., one (El.) par.na.k.ca, i.e. (OP.) hvarnaka, (Gr.) Pharnakes, transmits to the chief of the archives, (El.) ke.so.pat.ti.s, OP. gēθupatiš (Akk. gitepatu), the order of the king to slaughter a hundred sheep for (the celebration of the birth of) his daughter’s daughter, duχθrīš, Artystone (II). Cameron notes that the same Parnakka appears in a similar action on another tablet to which he opposed his seal: “Hvarnaka, son of Ršāma.” In 506, the well known Ršāma was the father of Vištāspa and grandfather of Darius, who was still alive in 522 B.C.—It is he who uses, on his gold tablet, for the first time the gentilic “hāxāmanisīya.” A son of Darius and Artystone (I) was called after him (Her. mi.88 and vn.69), evidently as the first great-

8 According to Benveniste’s etymology "ruvan<"urvan, to V var;," one should write urvan; the MMed. spelling is ‘rv’n, MPers. rvb’n.
grandson, possibly born shortly after Ršāma's death. Artystone (II) is certainly called after her maternal grandmother whom Darius loved so much that he had a golden statue made of her (Her. vii,69). The name Ršāma goes on in the Achaemenid family: Arsames, governor of Egypt about 420, bears the title vāsapūtra, vāsiapūtra, on a parchment from Elephantine. Hvarnakā, son of Ršāma, is a brother of Vištāspa and uncle of Darius. His name is a hypocoristic of a compound in -hvarnah. The ātar.hvarnah of Yt.13 is also a brother of Vištāspa; cf. the case of Pīšišyōtha, son of Vištāspa in Yt.13, and historic Pissouthnes, son of Hystaspes (II), under *Nōtarya.' The conclusion is: the full name of Parnakka-Hvarnakā was ātar.hvarnah, and the ātar.hvarnah of Yt.13 is the historical Pharnekēs. Combining therewith a remark of Diodorus 31, 19,1 he was the brother-in-law of his cousin Cambyses I, and is the Pharnekēs whom the kings of Pontus considered —unhistorically—as their ancestor. Pliny nh.33,151 tells of a silver statue of his.

Vistaroš in Yt.13,102 is gen. of the nom. "vis(a)taruš nōtaryāno," metrical formula of Yt.5,76. Wb. offers two unsatisfying Avestic etymologies, one of them: vi + vstar- "bed-maker." He is placed in the line: Zoroaster-Vištāspa-Vistaroš—several great families, to which correspond in the list of women, §139, Hāugavī-Hutōsā-Vispataruši-Frāni-Asabānā. The name, hence, is not a personal, but a family name, as are Frānya and Asabāna, and Vispataruši is a sister or daughter of Vistaroš. One must read *visataruš and *visataruši, Old Persian against Median "vispa.tarvan and vispatavarī, all-vanquisher."* Visataruši does not mean "the all-vanquishing woman," but "lady Visataruš, nēe Visataruši"; it is the fem. of the gentil. *visatarušya, derived from the nom. visataruš, like OP. hačāmānišya from the nom. hačāmāniś, and Zoroaster's patr. vivahuṣa from the nom. *vivahuš of vivahvah. These neologisms belong all to the very same period of the language, and OP. hačāmānišya is attested in the gold tablet of Ršāma just a few years before Gath. vivahuṣa and Yt.13 visataruši. The name visataruš follows in Yt.13 that of Vištāspa's brother (called "brother" already by Chares of Mitylene) Zarivariš, and precedes Spantadāta and other sons

*With OP. visa against Med. vispa, as in visadhyuṣ and *visaṇa (in El. visatana) against Med. vispazauna. -uš would be regular fem. of a stem in -vah, nom.m. -uš, but the gen.m. would be Aw. -ušo, not -ol. In OP., apparently, the -vah-stems had been transferred, from the nom. in -uš, into the u-class.
of Vištāspa; thus, he belongs to the generation of brothers and cousins of Vištāspa. In the Shāhnāmah the “nōtaryāno” became a “son of Nōdar” under the synonymous, equally OP. name Gustahm, Gr. ὑσατακχυμή < *visatahman “all-powerful.” This name does not come from the Avesta, but may well be an immediate tradition of the epics and actually the personal name of the man who was “the visatarušya, vispatiš of that clan.”

The second element of the name vanhu.štāta in 13,119 can be Med. dāta (Ar. ʿdhā-, in which ʿīθμμ and ʿδωμμ coalesce); that would make the name a syn. of vahyazdāta, name of the second Pseudo-Smerdis in Behistūn. But the name of the father is χφαδάτα, which does not mean “self-created,” but “well-born,” hence is OP. ḫvādāta = Med. ḫvāzātā, epithet of Ardvi in Yt.5,127 (Aw. vzan-, OP. ṣdān-, Gr. γίγνομαι). According to rules of IE. onomastics, names of sons and fathers contain identical elements; therefore vanhu.štāta is Old Persian, a synonym of the father’s name ḫvādāta, and corresponds to Med. ’vahu.zāta, cf. vvzr in Esther 9,9, i.e. vēzāta < vahyazāta > NP. Behzād, a very frequent name: Eugene. In the same §119 the name of this family appears as “vanhu.štātayana, the Eugenians”; they were a noble Persian clan.—In Beh. §68, Darius does not give the family names of his six companions, but only their fathers’ names. One of them, Bagabuyša, had a grandson of the same name who was married to Amytis, daughter of Xerxes and Amēstris, through her mother grand-daughter of another companion, Otanes, Hūtāna of Beh. §68; they had a grandson called Spitāma (see under ‘Spitāma’). The father of Bagabuyša I is called OP. [-----]hyahya (gen.), El. ta.ttu.wan.ja (nom.), Akk. za.ttu.a. The striking variance of the El. and the Akk. forms assures restoration and etymology of the OP. name: [datv]hy,10 štavahya. The El. spelling shows the archaic OP. pronunciation štovanhya, Akk. the contemporary Med. źtovōch, which has almost reached Med. źdōč (Syr.), NP.Arab. źādōy, źādveh. Ibn Khurdādbeh knows this to be title (or family name?) of the rulers of Sarakhs in Khurasan. OP. štovahya is vvzr’ (Esther 9,9), vahya.štāta > Behzād with elements transposed, and this is the original compound, an appellative “well-born, ἐνερῆς,” while the transposition is only the product of rules governing the onomastics of proper names traditional in

10 If the gap would allow one more sign: [d a tā v]hy, read datvahya > štāvēch.
families. Thus, the name δᾶτοβαχγα reveals that the man belonged to a Persian family in which the OP. names ḫvādāta, vahu.δᾶτα, vahya-δᾶτα were hereditary, that means to the family called vaŋhu.δᾶtayano in Yt.13.119.

By analogy one may connect another companion in Beh. §68, Ardumanīš (="straight-minded," to Gath. rzva) vahaukahya puθa, son of Vahōka (Gr. "Δωρος, short form of a name with Vahu-) with Yt.13.108 vaŋhauš aršyahya puθro, Vahu-X, son of Aršya, (right-acting, -minded, to Gath. ṛṣva).

At a prominent place, after Zoroaster’s cousin Maḍyomāha and Śena Ahumstut, his so-called “apostles,” before the three Frānya, his brothers-in-law, and before his sons, a pəraṇidēya is enumerated in §97. Bartholomae attempted an Avestic etymology also of this name, which is evidently Old Persian: paridēdiya with OP. diṣa against Med. dizā. It is equivalent to Firdausi, and in view of its adjectival form, a name of family or provenance rather than a proper name.

Other Persian names are e.g. rta.rvēθa in §116, against Med. -rvēsa, yuvrīk. Arava.uštra, i.e. arvau.ṛstra, against Med. arvat.aspa. Also the name of the Hāugava avāra.uṣtri is OP., in the most likely case that avāra- hides a participle stem. Zoroaster as well as Vištāspa have many Persians in their closest surroundings. This observation extends, as we shall see later, to the Hāugava and the Vēhviya. And the study of the names of foreigners in §§125-26 shows people really unexpected in that circle and gives an indication that Vištāspa himself—though his name is purely Median—must have been a Persian.

Not counting Śena, there are seven names of provenance which must, from the beginning, be understood as ethnics, not as gentilicia.

The first is muža from the mužayā dahiyaš, then a rōzd(i)ya and a tan(i)ya from the countries of the same name. In the entire Iranian area nothing resembles the last two names but there are similar names in the Far West. rōzdiya is apparently formed from ‘ruzd, ‘ruzd, as Aw. tōziya from ‘tuč. This ruzd must present a foreign local name; r may replace l, zd dd, thus Lydia, Ass. luddi, and Rhodos are to be

12 Cf. the OP. orthography of rviθyaš, with θ for s, in Pars. 56.
considered. Lydia is represented in OP. inscriptions by the name of its capital Sardis: Sparda, cf. Isa. 60,9; 66,19: Tarsiš Φουδ and Lüd; or Chron. 1,7: rōdānim. Tanis is, in Herodotus, Strabo and Ptolemy, the capital of the nomos of the same name at the “Tanitic” mouth of the Nile, not far from Suez, and must have been known to Iranians since the time of Cambyses.

For mužaya two explanations are possible. The name of Egypt, Arab. Mṣr, in the OP. inscriptions is mudraya, Akk. mışır (nom. mışru), El. muceir (c may be palatal). The vowel u in OP. and El. expresses the darkening of i before Semitic emphatic consonants. d is no real rendering of Sem. s; it is the group dr that renders ṣr. In NiR.d, the OP. equivalent of Aw. vazra, in "vādra.bara is spelled vθr (b r). OP. cuneiform has no sign for δ, but the phonetic development tr > θr > θr > ss demands the parallel dr > θr > δ > θ > zz. The OP. notation vaθr a means vaθr a, and mudraya means spoken *muθ'aya, *mużaya, and Aw. mužaya renders this OP. pronunciation of the name of Egypt in Avestic characters.

But Aw. ź is a sign invented only in the 4th century A.D. on account of oral tradition; the written archetype had no sign for it, but expressed č, じ and ź by Aram.  sạn. Therefore, mužaya is mudraya if the oral tradition was right. Otherwise, another way is open. The region on the Indian Ocean, old Magan, is called maka, adj. mačiya in the inscriptions, but Scylax of Caryanda (source of Hecataeus and Herodotus) wrote, in the very years of the memorial list, mykoi, with y = Ź, of which the adjective would be *mučiya. The vowel is justified in such aboriginal names, as Kaššu: kuššu, Qardū: Qurtī, Amman: Umman etc. Thus the equation would be: maka: mačiya = mykoi: *mučiya, and the archet. notation for *mučiya would be the same as for Aw. mužaya: můšy.

A little farther down in the list follows a Puḍa: akayada puḍānām. Aw. ṣ renders archet. t: rvt,18 i.e. OP. pūta, adj. pūtiya, Akk. pūṭa,

19 Cf. mod. Arab. māṣr, also ḫūm < ḫum, Emesa.
16 Cf. Aw. sāra hāmasya, instead of sātra in Yez.10,109 and 111, title of the commander in chief of all Iranian armies, which may be OP.  in ṣātra or ṣātra transposed into Avestic with s for OP. ṣ and θ for OP. sθ.
20 as in hūši: būši; rūši: rōtah; harši: harta. Some more examples will soon be given. Archet. t causes the frequent unetymological change between t, θ and  in Aw. notations, cf. Grdr. §168, 50 and 51.
Punt, the frankincense country, see zrayo pūtikam under 'Sea.' The inhabitants were partly Arabs, partly negroes, and the man may have been a black eunuch of Vištāspa. In the Ka'ba inscription, too, the grand eunuch of Shāhpuhr, Pars. 'ndlyk'n srd'r, Pahl. drykn š'kn?, Gr. τΟΥ ΕΠΗ ΤΟΝ ΔΡΙΓΑΝΩΝ is mentioned. His proper name, in that case, ought to belong to the sphere of names of jewels like lu'lu', yāqūt, kāfūr, and akayaḍa,17 i.e. 'kyr resembles indeed Gr. ἵκυρθος, Arab. yāqūt.18

Between mužaya and rōždiya stand two pairs, fratūrā asrutā bēšastaturā and 'vrgvš rzvvt oīymatasturāhe. With these two exceptions, all of the 16 or 17 foreigners have their indispensable ethnic, two of them only the ethnic, two ethnic and patronym, two ethnic and names of father and grandfather, two ethnic and name of the clan.

The first pair of names is preserved in the archaic form of a gen. dual19 of the two bēšastaturā, which can only be a term of profession or an ethnic. The following pair, on the contrary, has singularic form, hence "of the 'v. (son) of rz., of the oīymatastur(a)." Here the long word could be a personal name; but since its second element is the same as in the foregoing case where it cannot be a personal name, this is ruled out and one must detach -stura or -tura as the indispensable ethnic. The s may be the initial of the ethnic or a rest of the case-ending of the foregoing word, but probably it is a sandhi s, introduced when the foregoing words, written without inflection, were considered as first elements of a compound.

Bēšata and oīymata are clear, and interesting words. bēšata, archet. byšt, with t for δ: OP. bēšāda, Med. bēṣaţa, OL. bheṣajā "physician." The Achaemenids had several Greek physicians, e.g. Apollonides of Cos and Ctesias; in the Sasanian period they used to be Syrians, like Gabriel of Singara under Xusrau II; their title was drustpt. Here the foreign physicians apparently bear Iranian names which can only be

17 not "a.kayaḍa, nicht mit der (non-existing) kayaḍa-Sūnle behaftet?": kayaḍa is kyr = kēta.
18 of Gr. ἵκυρθος: Aram. yqvnt > yqvnd; whence Pahl. y'kn, NP. yōkand; today: replaced by Arab. yāqūt. Cf. change of initial in Akk. abanāšpu or jāšpu, Arab. ṣalp, jaspis, jasper; and Akk. abanasmur, Eg. jīmr, Arab. sāmūr, Gr. σαμύρ, Germ. schnurgel, emery.
19 Ending -s of a cons.-stem, hence not simply fratūrā, asruta-. The ending of bēšastaturā, contrasting with the thematic inflection of the gen.sg. oīymatasturāhe, means likewise a gen. dual.—Bartholomae took it as gen.sg. only because he did not doubt that the word was a patronym.
assumed or bestowed, and do not reveal the nationality of the bearers. An example is Daniel with his Babylonian honorific (Nabû)balâtsusur, Belshazar.

ōiymata is Aw. interpretation of archet. νυγμτ. ymata is part.perf. pass. of √gam- "come"; the prev. vi- is not attested and not likely to be used with √gam-. The archaic OP. name vahyazdāta in Beh. §68 is rendered in El. by wîstattā, Akk. wiизdaa.ta, both trisyllabic, Pap.El. 62 and 56 Aram. vyzɔr hence pronounced in 520 B.C. vēzdāta. The book Esther writes vyzɔr for vahyazāta. Aram. typt < *θahyapati, chief of heralds, shows likewise -hya>- ē. Ctesias translates Οἴβαρας by ἀγαθάγγελος, hence *vahya.bara, pronounced before 400 vēbara, with deriv. *vāhyabarī > MP. vāvarik "evangelic." Wherever, after 520 B.C. proper names with vahya- are not spelled vēh-, vē-, the spelling is historical.

If the Pap.El. render in the Beh. inscription vahyazdāta by vyzɔr, and *vēhva.ṣana by νυν (see under 'Vēhviya'), then νυγμτ of the memorial list is *vahya.ymata. Gath. vahu āgmata in Y.44,8 is the greeting "welcome!" (see under 'Welcome'). Now, ymata, the part. perf. of √gam-, which enters into the name of the town hangmatāna, is a form strictly limited to west Iranian dialects, Median and Old Persian. One needs only to insert vahu.āymata and vahya.ymata in Tedesco's "Dialectologie" 229-232:

I. Persis: OP. *ymata in parāgmata, hangmata, MP.NP. ā.maď name of town han.ğmatāna

II. Media: capital *angmatāna, in Akk. ag(a)matana, El. akmatana, Herodot agbatana, with Med. psilosis Aw. ymata; Gath. vahu.āgmata; Yl.13 *vahya.ymata > ōiymata

Centr. and Casp. dialects all < *ymata, but Kurd. and Bal. dialects all < *āyata.

III. East Iran: Sak., Soğhd., Pāmīr, all < *āyata or āxt. *ymata is lacking in all East Iranian dialects.

29 The sandhi ڇ shows that this -dāta is Med. dāta, IE. *dā-.
31 Cf. Ptolemey's οἰχάρας < vēktra. The Elamites, too, transcribe Ir. āi by oi, e.g. ḫāigrēht: saikrēt. The darkened pronunciation of OP. āi, hence, is real; it explains the Avestic alternance ē: oi. Cf. also viltra: āifra. Vice versa: the Arabs render the NP. termination -ōy by -wāih.
As name of a foreigner (in an Avestic, i.e. Median text), vēymata, like the word bēšāda, can only be Old Persian. The fact that physicians in ordinary have an OP, title, and that foreign clients assume OP. names—or receive them as honorifics—proves the nationality of their employer, not their own: the ethnic tvr must not be Iranian at all, but Vīštāspa must be a Persian.

The name “vahya,gmata, welcome” and its type is not attested as n.pr. of an Iranian. MP. Behāmād < vahya,āymata, it is true, corresponds exactly to vēgmata, but appears only among the many names of the three magi, into which also other names of the memorial list intruded, in the group Behāmād, Zūdāmād and Drustāmād, 22 all three synonyms of the greeting “welcome!” and all three philosophical inventions. On the contrary, such names are common among all Semitic peoples. The oldest are theophoric, with the name of the god Šulmānu, Šalamān, Šalānu, Šalim; but the verb is the general word for greeting. The type of names is most frequent among Jews (cf. Solomon and Jerusalem). Vēgmata may well be the translation of such a Semitic name, and tvr may hide the name of a Semitic country. In the Shahr.Èr. §57, s.v. Nūn-Nineveh, the prophet Daniel, balāṭsuṣur > balāturūš, is called a “tūra,” from an original aθūra. This name, Assur of old, had become the name of the satrapy “Syria and Mesopotamia” under Achaemenian administration. Thus, “tura” may be “Syrian” in that meaning, from an original aθūra. It may also designate the town Tyrus, Šūr, through an Aramaic intermediary. 23


23 If -tura is “Syrian,” since this name includes Palestine, the Vēgmata-Solomon and the physician may have been Jews, and Vīštāspa, protector of Zoroaster, would have had a Jewish physician in ordinary, like many princes since. It was not even necessary to get him from Jerusalem. Jews lived in Gozan, the Rās al-ain region, since the time of the Assyrian captivity. Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon exiled some men of conquered territories: two officials of Gozan, in a letter to an Assyrian king, are possibly Jews, cf. H. G. May, Bibl. Archeolog. v1,1943,55-60. Cuneif. Texts from Kanis in Mesopotamia, about 700 B.C. The Jewish colony of Ceziphon, the māqām Kāşiyā, from which Ezra got Levites for Jerusalem, goes back to the foundation of that “castrum” by Cyrus, when he conquered Opis in 539 B.C.

According to Moses of Chorene, Artaxerxes III Ochos, settled Jews in Hyrcania. The source of this note is, with Markwart, Erünl. 137 and 143, Fundam. Isr. u. jüd. Geschichte 30, a passage of the Armenian Eusebius, preserved in Synecellus, which he reconstructed as: Ἡχος ἀποκαλύφθη τοῦ Ἰουδαίου αἰκατέρινου διὸ ἡ ἱστορία εἰσάγεται πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν θάλασσαν. This is assured by two signatures on the acts of the Council of 424 A.D.: “Aetius, bishop of the Sebī of Balāshfarr, and Dominianus, bishop of the Sebī of Gurgān,” in Sachau, Verbreitung d. Christentums. Balāshfarr, Gr. Βαλασθφορα, was built (Hämza,561) “by Balāsh [i.e. the Arsacid Volages] at the side of Ḥulwān, called Balāshfarr.” The Jewish colony of Ḥulwān, mod. Sarpul, existed down to recent times, and was regarded, at an early period, as Ḥalāj in H.Reg.17,6, place of the
Another name, which like bēṣaḍa indicates a special office and like Pūta belongs geographically to the lands at the Indian Ocean, is khrkāna. Aw. khrka, OP. krka means "cock." In the OP. inscriptions it is the name given to the Carians, but not those at the southwest corner of Asia Minor who were subjects of the empire since 545 B.C., but those called Bannēšu in Xerx.Pers.dair., the crew of the Persian fleet who, along with the Yōna, Ionian sailors, transported the building materials to Susa. This was done by the fleet under the command of their admiral, Scylax of Caryanda, a Carian. Bannēšu is no ethnic, but the name of the "Carian villages" which Alexander visited and where he founded an Alexandria, later Charax Spasinou, on the bank of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab opposite Baṣra, see under 'Navigation.'

The name of the Khrkāna of Yt.13 is hufravāχ̣, ἡνπρβ'χ̣, 28 which may render a foreign, e.g. a Greek name like ὑπε(ι)ρχοσ 28 or a Carian name in -ax; cf. φῶλαξ "watch-dog." In this document no galley slaves or sailors can appear; the Carian was the chief of the colony, an admiral, nāvapatiš, like the Carian captains of the "Ship-building Papyrus" and Scylax. In the inscriptions, the Carians -Krkā always occupy the last place; so does the khrkāna in the document.

Under Cambyses, at the very time of our document, Scylax was commander of the navy. "skylax" means "dog." He explored for Darius, before 515 B.C., the navigability of the Indus and the Indian Ocean as far as Suez, also the northern coast of the Mediterranean as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and, besides, in a few fragments preserved, he described the Black Sea and the Caspian, and the countries Parthava and Hvārazmiš. He must have been in Tōsa, the capital of Parthava. A remark on shipbuilding material in the Armenian mountains (see under 'Navigation') shows that he was there before

"captivity" of Salmanassar IV, and this entailed the wrong identification, e.g. in the Acts of S. Pethion, of the Diyala with the river Gōzean. Both the Lebītā are no unknown Christian, but Jewish "captivevities," used by the bishops as local names. The Eusebius passage, hence, is historical, and its source is, as has been surmised, the book περὶ Ἰωάννας, wrongly attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera, in reality composed about 100 B.C. Cf. E. Jacoby in Pauly re vii,2765-68, and E. Meyer, Christentum ii, 24ff.

28 Not a genitive, but a form without inflection. Wä. explains "bene mentulator," which might be an Arab Isaq, but is impossible as an Iranian assumed or honorific name. Of course other Ir. etymologies are possible.

29 In view of Gr. Apollonia, MP. 'πλυντ,' Syr. 'בגנימ,' (Theodor bar Kōnē), Arab. ahrīniyya, Hellenistic name of Sitakene and its capital Sitake, ἡνπρβ'χ̣ could also contain Gr. Apollo, with hu- for a-, as vice versa Gr. a- for Ir. hu-.
Darius' accession, at the very time when Vištāspa resided there and gave Zoroaster asylum. Scylax seems to have lived till 480 B.C. Caryanda may have been his or his father's home. Living in the Carian colony at the Gulf would have qualified him specially for his great exploration. Perhaps Scylax "dog" was a popular surname. In the script of the Aw. archetype this name would appear as 'skvr'xš. There must have been some relation between him and the nivr'xš of the document, perhaps that of father and son.

The investigation of the names of foreigners reveals with different degree of probability the occurrence of Rhodos or Lydia (rôždiya), Egyptians (taniya and mužaya), Abyssinians (půta), Syrians or town Tyros (tura), Carians (khrkāna). A strong confirmation of the single equations is their being grouped together. In the OP. inscriptions correspond the satrapies: Beh. 4-5 aθūra-arba, 6 mudraya, 7 tyē drayahya (Ionian islands and Cyprus), 8 sparda (Lydia), and in a codicil at the end 23 maka. In Pers. e: 5-6 arbāya-aθūra, 7 mudraya, 10 sparda, 12 yōnā tyē drayahya, and 25 maka. In NiR 17-18 aθūra-arbāya, 19 mudraya, 22 sparda, 23 yōnā (incl. Cyprus, Rhodos) and at the end 27 pūtiya, 9 mačiya, 30 krka. Finally Xerx. dāiv. 14 sparda, 15 mudraya, 16 yōna of the islands, 18 mačiya, 19 arbāya, and at the end 28 pūtāya, 29 krka. The horizon of the document is the same as that of the inscriptions: the Persian empire.
III. HOUSE SPITÂMA

Ṣallâ lllah 'alîhi wa ûalî al-lîhi Âlî al-âlî min al-ahârin

Zoroaster bears the gentilic Spitâma, MP. Spitâmân. This is probably the short-form of a compound name, and the only known one is Spitamenes, *spitanah. These names are to each other as Arsames, Ršâma to Arsamenes, ršmanah.¹

The Spitâma must have been a great family, for they bear a second gentilicum hčataspâna. They were an historical family, because their name occurs in Greek as well as in Babylonian literature. The business documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur, the greatest banking firm of their period, which conducted money affairs for Darius II and Parsatis, mention a ¹šiš.pi.ta.am.mu.² This is the exact time when Ctesias also speaks of them. He was told at the court, at the end of the 5th century, that Amytis, daughter of the last Median king, Astyigas, whose dowry was the whole of Media, had first married the Spitamas, and later Cyrus.

It must have been a well known fact that Astyages had no male heirs, else the Median pretenders, Fravartiš in *Beh.24 and Cihrantâcba in §53, would have claimed descent from him instead of Cyaxares. The daughter was the heiress, and Cyrus married her for legitimating his succession.

Ctesias heard his stories from the ladies of the court and thus got a truly Persian presentation of the facts. The Iranian legend kept the memory of the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar with the Median princess in the reversed, more flattering form: Orêtôna asked three daughters of Nebuchadnezzar in marriage for his three sons; and the fact of the conquest of Niniveh under the form: "Nûn came to KaiKâvät [the founder of the Median dynasty] by marriage." Tu felix Austria nube! Behind these distortions of history is the idea that, who is not an agnate, âzâタ, must at least legitimate himself by affinitas, as son-in-law, an idea which comes down from the matriarchal past of the country and survived to the present time.

¹ Lommel: "spitama, mit beller Kraft"; Duchesne, §201, against it: nowhere attested as foursyllabic; tentatively "Skr. amâti, à l'éclat brillant." I assume short form of a fuller name.
The name Amytis may be, but is not of necessity historical. In Berossos’ story, the name ‘Amytis,’ of the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, is historical: for her he built the “Hanging Gardens” the substructure of which has been excavated in Babylon. Amyte-Humayā (see under ‘Nōtarya’) was the name of ladies of the Median house, as later of Achaemenids, and the two families were related by marriage.

The name of Zoroaster’s parents does not appear in the memorial document, so they died probably before that time. Yet, as Visatahma may be the proper name of “the Visataruś,” so Spitrasp may have been the proper name of “the Spitāma.” The mother’s name appears only once in an ungrammatical fragment of the Hat. Nask: Dugdovā, MP. Duydavā. It sounds archaic and mythical, and, since married ladies were called with their family name only, must not be historical, no more than Amytis. A story in Tabari m,1632 is instructive: “Ibn Shujā‘ al-Balkhi told: I was with the emir (Muhammad the Tahirid) who quietly talked with me while he was listening to the curses upon every member of his family (shouted by a mob besieging his palace in Baghdad). When they came to the name of his mother, he laughed and said: I wonder how they come to know the name of my mother, even among the slave-girls of my father, abul l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir, there were many that did not know it! I said: O prince, I have never seen a cooler and more forbearing spirit than yours! He replied: And I certainly have never seen anything more efficient than patience with men!”

Ctesias was told that Astyages’ daughter had two sons from the Spitamas, Spitakes and Megabarnes. The first name is, like the family name, a short form of Spitamanah; the second is baga.hvarnah,¹ a decidedly non-Zoroastrian name. These two Spitāma would have been Astyages’ heirs and successors to the throne. Ctesias regards them as half-brothers of Cambyses and Smerdis, and hence makes them receive satrapies when Cyrus settled the succession. Spitakes would have received the satrapy of the Derbissoi, i.e. the darwishes,² whose country he seems to locate towards India, while it was adjacent to Hyrcania and Parthava. Megabarnes is said to have received the Barkanioi=

¹ Ctesias writes β, where others, in this case Xenophon, have φ.
² Ḍerbissoi or Telphoi, elsewhere Ḍerbiškos, Ḏerbiškos, Ḏroškos (Her. 1,125), i.e. OP. “drivika, adj. *drivičiya or *drivičiya, from “trigu, poor.” When assuming a compound, as Markwart does, Gāth.Ult.14, the second element would be Vis-, “poor in property.”
Hyrkanians. On all four, obeisance to their mother is imposed: One all but hears the ladies telling the story.

Like most things Ctesias wrote, this settlement of Cyrus' succession is considered to be unhistorical, and Markwart tried to prove it so in Uge. It is proved to be historical by the strange word παθυάζατα, i.e. παθυάζων "heir presumptive, Germ. Neben-Agnat" (see under 'Magophonía'), which Herodotus quotes erroneously as name of the Pseudo-Smerdis, but which can only be the title of the true Smerdis. Whether the half-brothers received any satrapies, and which ones, cannot be checked, but it would be the most natural thing that their mother insisted on their being indemnified for having lost, by her second marriage, the succession to the throne, and the whole settlement has an analogy in the succession of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, by which the two elder designated sons divided almost the whole empire between them, while the third received a small territory only.

The half-brother relationship is not disproved by the fact that Cambyses and Smerdis were sons of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspe, and not of the Astyigas daughter, as Ctesias believed. Cambyses and Gōmāta as Pseudo-Smerdis both marry Atossa, hence were not sons of her mother. They do so, because she was by her mother the heiress, agnate, a granddaughter of Astyages. The Atossa-Hutōsā of the Avesta is called āzāta, and Darius, in order to prove his claim to the succession, says: "of old we were ādāta, agnates." Thus Ctesias shifts the relationship only in an unessential point: the two Spitāma as well as Cambyses and Smerdis were half-brothers of Atossa.

The traditional date of Zoroaster leaves some margin: the second marriage of Astyigas' daughter was contracted in 550 B.C. after the conquest of Agbatana. If born before 569, Zoroaster could be the first husband, Ctesias' Spitamas; if after 569, her son Spitakes. A man designated by the gentilicium alone must be regarded as the vispatiš of the house, hence Spitamas as "the Spitāma," and therefore Zoroaster rather as Spitakes, the "viso puṣtra, heir of the family Spitāma, the younger Spitāma." On the other hand, the mention of a grandson, Rvatachnara aparazāta, in the document of Yt.13, certainly before 522,
probably about 527 B.C., prevents us from lowering the date 569 considerably. Cyrus' marriage to the Median heiress was a political one; she was no longer young. If she was born in 585, Zoroaster, born about 569, may be her son of the first husband, and Atossa, born soon after 549, her daughter of the second husband.

Another Spitamas appears in Ctesias, Pers. 38-40, under Artaxerxes I. Amytis, daughter of Xerxes and Amēstris, full sister of Artaxerxes I, whom Dinon calls the most beautiful and most unbridled woman of Asia, was married to Bagabuyša II, Megabyzos of Xerxes' campaign against Greece, of the family Vanhuδātayana (see under 'Mem.Doc.'). Having subdued Egypt in 455, he became satrap of Syria, but revolted in that vast province, and defeated a first army sent against him under Usiris, and a second under Menostates. The latter was the son of Artar(e)ios, i.e. Akk. Artarēwa, father of Manuštana, "mār būtī šarri, royal prince," in 431-424, a half-brother of Artaxerxes. After the defeat of his son, Artarēwa opened negotiations which Amēstris persuaded her son, the king, to approve. Thus an envoy was sent to Bagabuyša. The poorly preserved text of Ctesias says: πέμπεται οὖν Ἀρταρ[ε]ίος τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀμῦτις ἡ γυνὴ καὶ Ἀρτοξάρης έτῶν ἡδη ὃν εἰκοσὶ καὶ Πετήσας ὁ Οὔσιριος καὶ Ὀσιάμα πατὴρ.

As it stands, this is impossible. That Artarēwa heads the mission is natural, and also Petēsas was welcome, because his father Usiris, though defeated, had been a friend of Bagabuyša. Amytis went with the mission, hence had not been with her husband in Damascus, but with her brother at Susa. But the two remarks regarding Artoxares and Petēsas are utterly senseless. Artoxares was the name of a Paphlagonian eunuch of Darius II, often mentioned by Ctesias (Pers. §§49-53) and as Artaḥšāra in the same business documents from Nippur, where the Spitāma, too, is mentioned, between 443 and 420. Eunuchs were sent on diplomatic missions, but not when they were “already 20 years old” and had no experience at all. And there is not the slightest reason to tell that Usiris' son, a rather young man, was father of a child Spitāma. Moreover, the “καὶ” is stylistically objectionable. Obviously Ctesias said “already 20 years old and father of a son Spitāma.” Somebody who saw the eunuch in the name Artoxares separated therefore the fathership and attributed it to Petēsas. In reality Artoxares—the name is probably corrupt—is not the eunuch, but was a son of Bag-
buḫša and Amytis, and Ctesias adds this remark thinking that Amytis, whom her father Xerxes, as he tells, had lectured many times, did not change her way of life even as a grandmother. With the two envoys—both friends of Bagabuḫša—came the family, the wife with son and grandson, in order to show that one was serious and did not retain the family as hostages. Spitāma was the name of a grandson of Bagabuḫša, a Vanhudātayana, whose own paternal grandfather, as the maternal grandfather of his wife, had been companions of Darius. These families were also related by marriage to the Spitamas: Bagabuḫša’s mother seems to have been a Spitāmī.

In the Gatha and the Awesta the following members of the Spitāma appear:

- Purušaspa + Dugdōvā (brother)
- Zoroaster (cousin)
- sons: Isatvastra, Rvatatnara, Hvarčifra (in Y.53.2 “a son of Zoroaster”), daughter: Puručistā (Y.53.2: “youngest daughter”)
- Rvattnara aparazāta
- Mađyomāha aparazāta

In the memorial document there are, besides, a Θrimiθwant “triplet” and “dēvatbiš, hater of the dēva” without degree of relationship.

The old messianic belief in the return of the prophet after 6,000 years was the reason that the religious tradition of the following periods transferred the sons of Zoroaster entirely into eschatologic legend. In this literature many generations of descendants are enumerated, but none of the names is otherwise known. But as the Babylonian documents are a testimony for the early history of the Spitāma, so two Sasanian documents are testimonies for their late period. Those are two bullae of the office of the magus of Nihawand, in my collection, which beside the official seal bear the personal seal of the magus, the judge himself, a small male bust with the legend:

Zartuḫšt ē magū ē Spitāmān

Zoroaster, the magus, of the Spitāma.
The date is about A.D. 500. After a thousand years, a descendant may have been qādī of Nihawand, just as many Ṭālibids have been and are still qādī, or as an Umayyad, ibn Abī l-shawārīb, was qādī al-ṣuqāṭ under al-Muʿtazz and al-Mustaʿin. But without claim nobody could bear that family name; to prevent it was the duty of the “āyīnpet, or naqīb al-ashraf.”

The name Zoroaster, in antiquity, is known to us only as that of the prophet. It is attested by a graffito on the wall of the Mannaean rock-tomb of Fakhrika, in Aramaic script of the same character as the script of the Darius tomb and the Elephantine papyri: ʃərəf, i.e. zṛtvš[tr]. Whether the graffito means the name of the writer simply or the prophet, at any rate, the name was known in Media in about 500 B.C. Earlier, in the detailed account of Sargon’s eighth campaign [Thureau-Dangin], we find a chief əza.ar.du.uk.ku ša əla əHa.ar.-zi.a.nu; in the “broken prism A” [H. Winckler, n.pl.44,29] we read əHa.ar.du.uk.ku ša əla əHa.ar.zi.a.nu, with əla as clerical error for za. The notation in the original ephe merids was certainly d/tuk for du.uk. ḥarzianu is mod. Harsin,\(^a\) SE of Kirmānshāhān, not far from Bistūn. The personal name is an archaic hypocoristic in -ukku of a Median, beginning with zarat-; the only known name is zaraθuʃtra, but one may assume *zarar.aspa.

The unsolved problem of the etymology of the name has shifted by the discovery of MP. zṛh všt.\(^7\) The Aw. archet. was *zṛtvštr, as on the graffito, four-syllabic; in the fourth century A.D., with respect to oral tradition, this was throughout rendered by zaraθustra. MMed. zrhvšt, confirmed by zarhušt of the Mss. of ibn al-Faqih, proves the \(\theta\) to be phonetically genuine. On the other hand, one cannot doubt that zaraθ- is a participle stem. Therefore one must assume -t.v-> -θv-> -θu-

\(^6\) See J. de Morgan, Mission en Perse IV, Rech.Archéol. p.298, fig.176, “tombeau d’Endirkach”; older authors call it Fakhrika. A. Houtum-Schindler gave me the correction Fakhriqa for Fakhrika; Farnān Farmān, who owned estate in that region, said “andaɾyāc or andar-agāc” for Endirkach; his son, Muhammād Husāin Mirza said Dilmaqān for Dilmān (near Salmās).

\(^a\) Usual modern spelling, but as careful an observer as the botanist Haussknecht wrote Herzin.

\(^7\) In Henning, Mir.Manait.—Excepting Markwart, Gāth.Ult.22f., recent etymologies—cf. Duchenne, Comp.av. 55213 and 239—take the second element as Mod. “uʃtra, camel,” and the first zarat- as weak grade participle, deriving MP,NP. zaraθuʃtra, zardulṭ directly from zaraθuʃtra, without attaching importance to the spelling with \(\theta\).
in the joint of composition: zarabuśtra < "zaratvaśtra." Markwart recognized this even before knowing the MMed. form.

In the identical case of the names isat.vāstra, frādaṭ.vanhu, χšayāṭ.vaxš the Avesta text notes not ŭ, but ū, which differs in function only, not in sound from t. Therefore, zaraṭuśtra is only a uniform spelling, consistently used in the Gatha and the Avesta for the name of the prophet; otherwise, the spelling should be "zaraṭ.uśtra.

Opposed to this form there are two Greek ones: Zadraŭsṭης and Zω/οροάστρης.9 Whatever their distribution among the oldest Greek authors may have been—Zωροάστρης was soon generally accepted—they render real forms of the name which were heard independently, at least three times, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

Zadraŭsṭης appears only in Diodor 1.94: παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἄριανος Zadraŭsṭην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαῖμον προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι. Whereas the note on Oxyartes and Ninus in Bactria, in 11.6, comes from Ctesias, this passage must have another source. Markwart assigned it to Megasthenes, about 300 B.C.; but the expression ἀγαθὸς δαίμων for AhuraMazdāh connects it closely with the remarks made by Eudemus and Eudoxus, pupils of Plato and Aristotle.10 The ŭ of the last syllable may have been dropped in Greek before it disappeared in Iranian, and Zadraŭsṭης, either *zaratbuaśta or *zarabauśta, belongs to zaraṭuśtra > z r h v ś t.

But Zωροάστρης is too old to reflect the phonetic change ŭ > h. The difference is not one of time but of dialect. In the Achaemenid royal names, dāraya and χšaya are weak grade participles, same as Aw. dārayat, χšayat. Ol. kšayád; the fading away of the final dentals characterizes the OP. dialect.11

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9 Cumont, Messina and Markwart cite Zarabrovās or Zoroārovās from commentaries to poems of Gregor Nazianzen (about a.d. 360) in Cosmas of Jerusalem (about a.d. 743), and Markwart assumes for them a Makedonian source. A recently discovered TPārs. zrdrvšt confirms the forms, but this is a secondary MP. development, and the source must be the MP. original of the Xrēsas Terāsōv, made known to the West by Lactantius, beginning of 4th century, also known to Ammian Marc.
10 Cf. Plutarch, de Iside 47, under 'Chronology' and Eudemus in Damascus under 'Fravarrānî.'
11 Cf. Meillet, Gramm. §§165, 166.
In 678 B.C., in the Šamaš omina of Esarhaddon, the en.er of all Medes bears the name wa.mi.ti.ar.ši, assimilated to Ass. mamitu “oath,” from Med. *vahmayat.ṛśa, with the Med. form of the participle, denom. of vahma. But already in 716 B.C., in the Sargon annals, the chief of Šurgadia (between Sihna and Kirmānšahān, in Arدلān), a “parsua, Persian,” is called šēpašarri, assimilated to this Ass. name from OP. χσεπαγα.ṛśi, -ašθ'α or the like, against Aw. χσϝεωγα.στα.

To these names we can attach:
Med. *dārayat.hvarnah and Ach.Akk. dariparna, with i for ē and p = f for -t.vh-
Aw. vidat,hvarnah and vind.a.farnā in OP. inscriptions, but not OP., Gr. Ἰνταφερνης
Aw. frādat,hvarnah and Gr. Φραταφερνης, with φ for -t.vh-
Aw. dārayat.ratha against OP. dāraya.vahu, Gr. Δαρειαοσ (Ctes.)
Aw. χσαγα.βιρα against OP. χσαγα.ṛśa, El. ἱκερ.σα, Gr. Ξέρξης
Aw. υχσαγα.ṛta against OP. υχσαγα.ṛta in Gr. Ὀχνάρτης
Aw. astvat.ṛta against OP. astva.ṛta in Gr. *Αστναρτης (for *Αστνάγης)
Aw. arvat.aspa against OP. *arva.aspa in Gr. *Ἀρνάστης (for *Ἀρνάςτης)

Also arava.^Kṣtra, i.e. *arva.^Kṣtra of the memorial document, Yt.13,124, belongs here as counterpart to Med. arvat.aspa. Markwart, Cat.Proc.Cap.45, explained the name as “a.ραγατ.^Kṣtra, possessing slow camels”; Duchesne, who calls the form “gēnante,” §30, contradicts: “t aurait subsisté, comme le prouve arvat.aspa.” But the case is that of Aw. arjat.aspa against NP. arjasp. Nöldeke’s interpretation of arjasp as analogy to Jāmāsp, Pers.Stud. ι,ι, is older than the knowledge of the dialectic differences. *arj.a.aspa > arjasp is the Persian form. The same with arava.^Kṣtra: a priv. is unlikely on account of the meaning, and prev. ā does not fit ragu; hence: *arva- for arava-.

To these names with participles without dental Gr. Ζωροάστρης < *zara.^Kṣtra attaches itself as Old Persian form

of the name. Since the vowels are rendered by ō—a cf. 
Φραώ<ντς < frovarits—not by the diphthong au as in
Μύραοντς < *mītra.vahišta, Teθραοντς < *čītra.vahišta etc.,
the Greeks must have heard a form of four syllables, without
contraction, *zara.oštra < *zara.vaštra, not *zarauštra. Al-
thought at the end of the 4th century all these groups of vowels
were contracted to 0, the name of the prophet preserved its
archaic pronunciation. It follows that the Persians had
assimilated the name to their dialect, and hence knew the
prophet, during his lifetime.

There are at least two genuine dialectic forms of the name,
zaraθuštra < *zarat.vaštra and zara.uštra < *zara.vaštra. The participle
stem is beyond doubt. The fact that Med. vaštra was not supplanted
by OP. *vašθ'a, *vaša, is no more contradictory than Med. asa for
OP. asa in OP. names. But if the name of the “Gatha-prophet” were
Gathic, one would expect važdra. Gathic is no nationality and no
vulgar dialect. Zoroaster was a Mede, and Med. vaštra is right.

Thus, the difficulty lies in the MP. and NP. forms zartuxšt,
zardušt. Syr. zarādušt in Ps.Meliton (Cureton, Spicileg.Syr.25)
attests already in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. the pronun-
ciation with δ < t; the vocalization is Syriac. Only in the mid-
dle of the 4th century A.D., Āturpāt Ģ Maharaspandān, the
inventor of the Avestic script, introduced everywhere the spelling
zaraθuštra. Down to the Sasanian period we know the name only as that of the prophet. Therefore, the two pronun-
ciations with θ > h and t > δ must have been used, in con-
tradiction to the uniform spelling. But zardušt would be a
genuine development only in case that an old dialect would
have had *zaratuštra.  

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18 Markwart started, as a remark in Südarmenien shows, from *zarvati*, hence stresses the
Gr. vocalization Zoroas-, which actually is the effect of assimilation to ṣerpa and Greek
euphony, cf. ἄρχων for haravhati (inst. of -ωχα-); φορμανις for vharmanuχati (inst. of
-ωχα-); ἀρανυβους for αναβαξάδης (inst. of -ωρα-).
14 The family name Γεθωθορος preserves, in A.D. 50, the θ, while Μανδάρης (Awramān)
and Meherdates (Tacitus) show that the change θ > h had taken place, and the common
word was no longer push, but puhr.
16 In analogy to Med. bāχtīrī (in El. paktrix), OP. bāχθī (in El. pakxis), and Bactr.
Bāχθī (in Aw. vāχvīka) > MP. bāχl, the Bactrian form would be Zaratuštra.
15 Presupposing an unattested ablaut, cf. OIr. *θωχs-t-, but MP. utoχśdan; and the generaliza-
tion of θ for t in OP. gāθu, χrāθu, ῥθu, and its counterpart puθi.
Let alone an equally impossible theory of Hertel, *Beitr.*216-221, it is assumed, without reason and contradictorily—I myself did so in 1930, *Ami* II,17—that Zoroaster had one wife, Hvōgvi, and three daughters, Frānī, Əriti and Puručiştā, e.g. Nyberg, 265: "Zarathustra hatte . . . drei Töchter; davon dass er mehrere Frauen gehabt habe, weiss unser Awesta nichts." Polygamy was general, and no excuses are needed. The Awesta leaves no alternative.

Just as Zoroaster opens the list of men on the memorial document, so his wife Hvōgvi\(^{16}\) opens the list of women in *Yt.*13,139. Häugava is the gentilicum of the two brothers Frāšauśtra and Zāmāspa, the benefactors of Zoroaster; hence "née Häugavi." Her name is followed by Frānī and Əriti. In 13,140 there are four Frānī, all married to men of the highest nobility, two of them Xštavayo; another Xštavi has an Asabānā, "née Asabānā." In 13,97, after the Persian Paridēśiya and Zoroaster's sons, three men appear with the family name frānyehē;\(^{17}\) frānīya and frānī are masc. and fem. of a gentilicum, hence "née Frānī." The three Frānīya are her brothers. Then follows Əriti, fem. of Əriti, likewise the name of a man of the nobility in the list, hence "née Əriti." Then comes Puručiştā, who is called Zoroaster's "youngest daughter" in *Y.*53,3 and bears the gentilicum of her father: "née Spitāmi Hēcattaspānā." Women who bear a different family name cannot be daughters, but only wives of Zoroaster.—In the list of men, Vištāspa and his male relatives follow upon Zoroaster, and likewise in the list of women the ladies of the house of Vištāspa, Hūtōsā and Humāyā, also Visatruši, follow upon the ladies of Zoroaster's family. They are enumerated not according to age, but to rank.

Therefore, Zoroaster had three wives and one daughter. Häugavi was the last wife he married, but the highest in rank. "The youngest daughter" in *Y.*53,3 seems to mean "youngest child," since no other daughters, but only brothers appear. Immediately before, the gatha speaks of the zārāθuśtriś spitāmo. With the exception of Hertel, all consider this as "son, descendant of Zoroaster"; according to him it would refer "in der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung Anhänger Zoroaster's" to Vištāspa. Zoroaster cannot speak, in a gatha, of a "Zoroastrian,"

\(^{16}\) *Gath.* spelling; *Aw.* hvōvi, fem. to patr. *hāugava, vṛddhi deriv. from *hugu.*

\(^{17}\) Wā.1016: "Eigenname, viell. patron.adj." and 1022f.: "frōnya, Eigennamen, der ältesten Tochter Z.'s, wohl Kurzname." Likewise 1857: "hvōvi, Eigennamen, eigtl. fem. zu hvōvā 'die aus der Hv. Familie.'" Only the last remark is right: none of these names is a personal name.
no more than Christ of a "Christian," and where else záraḥuṣtriś occurs, thus in Yt.13,98 (repeated in Y.23,2; 26,5), it must mean "son"; in Ragā záraḥuṣtriś it expresses the possession. Záraḥuṣtriś Spitāmo restricts the general, wider name Spitāma even more than hēcataspāna, and designates, at Zoroaster’s lifetime and at the side of the daughter, a son, excluding a grandson.

Of the three sons mentioned in Yt.13, the name of the second, Rvatatnara, is assured by the name of a grandson, Rvatatnara aparazāta. The definition of the notion nabā.nazdištā (under ‘Social Structure’) shows that this child was a grandson, not a great-grandson of Zoroaster. One reason to call a son after his father is his posthumous birth, and it is possible that the list, like the Ka’ba inscription, contains names of deceased persons. Puručistā was still unmarried at the time of the document, hence under 16 years (see under ‘Maga’). The “Wedding Gatha,” 54,1-7, is composed in honor of her marriage, hence is later than the document. The anonymous son, in this gatha, is certainly the third and youngest, since the second brother was already married before.

The proper name of the Häugavī is nowhere mentioned, neither are those of other wives. Apparently, for married women, that was against the custom. The later Parsi conception of the family relations is unaware of these main facts which it replaces by erroneous interpretations of Yt.13; therefore it is no real tradition. But in Yt.16,15,18 verses dating in the 2nd century B.C., like parts of the Vidēvdād, the Häugavī is with reason considered to be the wife of Zoroaster, against Hertel’s attempt to eliminate the words, and at that time one may still have known that she was the daughter of Frašauṣtra. This is what the later tradition asserts and must not have been inferred from a wrong interpretation of Y.51,17 in combination with Yt.13, as late as in Sasanian times. Rather Y.51 was misinterpreted because this tradition existed, for it is confirmed by the Gatha, 49,7: “O Häugava Frašauṣtra, go there, where both our most ardent wishes accompany you!” (see under ‘Poetry’), that means “my and your daughter’s, the Häugavi’s wishes.” Sister is improbable: Zoroaster was about forty years old at that time; his influ-

18 Where differing interpretations were caused by wrong translations of vahu baga—with Duchesne §82: "souhaitant un sort heureux."
ential benefactors were older; Žāmāspa had a grandson and a great-grandson, his namesake, and Zoroaster did not marry a great-grandaunt. Under ‘Nōtarya’ we shall mention cases where children were born as grand-uncles and grand-aunts, and the Hāugavi may have been a grand-aunt when 16. Her daughter was Puruĉistā.

But the fact, never contested except by Hertel, that the Hāugavi was a daughter of Frašauštra does away with the equally uncontested assumption that, according to Y.53,2-3, Zoroaster married Puruĉistā to Žāmāspa, the elder brother of her grandfather, who was already a great-grandfather while she was about 12 years old. Puruĉistā Spitāmī Hēcataspānā married, if her father makes it an occasion for a poem, as first main wife a young man, just as her elder, but young brother married his first wife (see under ‘Maga’).

The misunderstanding of family and proper names caused the misunderstanding of the whole relationship. It was equally thoughtless not to recognize the social significance of the gentilicia. These are derived from ancestors that lived generations ago; only aristocratic families, “gentes,” can have eponyms, but no “nicht gerade besitzlose Proletarier” (Nyberg, 194f.). The same type of names is still today used in Persia, Iraq and Turkey: Taqizādeh, Gilānizādeh, Mikhālghāzizādeh etc. One of the four Frāni in Y.13,140, wife of Usinamah, is considered by the Sasanian legend to be the ancestress of the kavi-dynasty; in Firdausi, Frānak is the mother of Frēdōn. Such families are āvētu and kavi, and the Frānya seem to have been like the Spitāma, a Median family.

To these names belongs also Damaspi, wife of Artaxerxes I, i.e. “žāmāspi, nēc Zāmāspi,” a Hāugavi zāmāspānā, as Puruĉistā is a Spitāmī hēcataspānā (see under ‘Hāugava’). This manner of naming women survives in Arsacid and Sasanian times in formations with -duxt, which have been dealt with by Hübschmann and Nöldeke. A number of seals—only ladies of property had seals—and the Ka’ba inscription furnish more examples.19

19 Šāhpuhrduxt; 1. wife of Narseh Sakānīah; 2. daughter of Šāhpuhr Mēlānīah; Hormizduxtak, daughter of Narseh Sakānīah; Narsehduxt, herself a queen; Sakān bānbīlu; Varāčduxt, a queen. This -duxt is not “daughter,” but title of the ladies of highest rank. The formation corresponds to the gentilica in -puṭra which replace at the same time older styles. Cf. Neriousenge; Spitāma; spitāmaputraḥ; Vivāna: Geopothros. Later, the neutral -zādeh enters for puhr and duxt.
Ctesias' remark on the marriage and dowry of Astyages' daughter implies that the Spitâma were a rich Median house, and this gives from the beginning an historical background to the Iranian tradition which, unanimously, locates Zoroaster's birth in the house of his father Puruśâspa at Râgâ. Râgâ is the natural capital of one of the great fifths of Media, today represented by Teheran. OP. Râgâ, NP. Ray, is first mentioned in the Beh. inscription in 521 b.c.; under Seleucus Nicator it was called, as capital of its province, Eurôpos, under the Arsacids Arsakía (see under 'Vidêvdâd'). In the Avesta, the town appears only twice, in Vid.1,15, pre-Christian half of the Arsacid period; and in Y.19,18, according to contents, language and unreal forms râya, râjoit, not older.

Vid.1,15: "As the twelfth best country, I, AhuraMazdâh, created Rayâm ðtrizantum"; Ahriman created there as "patiyâram, antagonism" uparô.vimanô.him, i.e. "upara.vimanahyam, hypersepsis." At this place the Pahl.Vid. comments: "They say, Zartust ač ān jâk bût, Zoroaster was from there," one cod. has "pētâk bût, appeared from there," both meaning his birth.

Vidêvdâd 1 is a geographical textbook in verses, of the Arsacid period. The epithets of the towns, here ðtrizantu, are understood as gifts of AhuraMazdâh, by which he made peaceful the "else-peaceful, not kudâr.štâti" countries (see under 'Vidêvdâd'). Ahriman's counter-creation is a well known thing.

Art.Vir.Nâm.1,1: "For three hundred years, till the time of Alexander, 'apēgumânih, freedom from doubt" prevailed, after him came sectarianism, false doctrines, 'gumânih' and heterodoxy. . ." Also Mâh Fraw. §30: Hvlšytl teaches men the dēn c māzdēsn and they become "apēgumân." Of Nisaya-Alexandropolis, the oldest capital of the Arsacid kingdom, Vid.1 says: "Ahriman created there 'vimanahya, sceptis.'" With these two remarks, the Vidêvdâd describes the very capitals of its period, Nisaya and Râgâ, as the Greek towns Alexandropolis and Europos.

The Pahl.transl. has: "râk (or: rây) c III-tŏxmak, (gloss:) hast kē

21 al-Muṭawakkil says in his edict against the ahl al-dhimma, Tabâri ii,138ff.: "Allâh . . . in His immeasurable greatness and the omnipotence of His will, has chosen Islam . . . and has made it victorious over the other religions, free from doubts."
ray goyênd”; râk is transliteration, ray pronunciation. tôxmak, a word of OP. origin, “species, genus,” is syn. of Aw. zantu only in its ethnic acceptation; zantu was not used in OP., hence not in MP., and therefore not clearly understood. One commentator says: “III-tôxmak, because good priests, warriors and peasants come from there,” taking zantu as “station in life.” It is “district,” and tôxmak is unfit as translation of “ôrizantu, consisting of three districts.” This is the official designation of that fifth of Media, itself a unit of three parts, a term of administration like Μηδία καὶ Παρατακηνῆ for the whole of the satrapy. The three natural parts of Rhagiane are 1. Qazwin, 2. Teheran, Ragâ itself, 3. Kum, pre- and early Muhammedan Kamindân.

Aw. ãrizantu is a word like Gr. τριχάφικες, with ὕκ = Ir. vis. Od.19, 117:

Δωρεές τε τριχάφικες δίοι τε Πελασγοί
and Hesiod, Αἰγίμοι: πάντες δὲ τριχάφικες καλέονται

τρίσηπην οὐνεκα γαίαν ἔκας πάτρης ἐδάσαντο

c: τρία γάρ Ἑλληνικὰ ἑθνη τῆς Κρήτης ἐποικήσατο, Πελα-

σγοῦς, Ἀχαίοις, Δωρεές ὅσοι τριχάφικας κεκληκασί. The Greeks, too, did no longer understand their archaic word. O. Schrader compared with it the name of the Thracians: Θρηξ < *Θρηφίκες, with θρᾶ “four,” hence “consisting of four vis.” One sees how archaic the whole idiom is.

The second place, Y.19,18, is a catechism: “Who are the ratu, judges? —The lord of the house, of the clan, of the district, of the province, fifth Zoroaster, in all provinces except Ragâ zarábhuštâriš; this is čaθru-

ratuš, has only four ratu.—Who are the ratu? (those four?)—The lord

of the house, of the clan, of the district, fourth Zoroaster.”

This is a perfectly clear statement. Leaving aside the role it attributes
to Zoroaster as highest authority everywhere,22 it makes him the “ratu

of the dahyu Ragâ,” while in other provinces other men were satraps. Therefore the Pahl. translation and Neriosengh’s Sanskr. translation (see Jackson, Zor. 203f.) add to Ragâ “dēh i χνεš, his own province.” This is not a documented historical tradition, but some knowledge supported by a right interpretation of zarábhuštâriš as “belonging to Z.,” combined with an interpretation of ãrizantu as “nmâna, vis, zantu”

22 Connected with the thought that, as epithet of Ragâ in Vidēvdâd 1, ãrizantu ought to be a special advantage, a gift of Ahurmazdâh.
instead of “three zantu,” vertically instead of horizontally, not so big a mistake, and the result is not far from truth. The gathas teach that Zoroaster was banished from his province by a verdict of the court of his home town, and Ctesias speaks of “satrapies” the two sons of the Spitāma received from Cyrus. The difference between satrapy and hereditary possession is slight. But, building upon this passage the theory of “Ragā as Papal See, or Priesterstaat,” as Jackson and Nyberg do, is a colossal inflation of just the slightest mistake made by the authors of the catechism.

Y.19,18 disproves also Markwart’s words in Ērānl. 123,1: “Beinahe selbstverständlich, dass aus dem epitheton zāraḥuṣtriṣ geschlossen wurde, dass Ragā der Geburtsort Zoroaster’s sei, so z.B. ‘Städteliste’ §60, wo ohne Zweifel eine Angabe über die Gründung von Ragā ausgefallen ist.” It is right, that the Sahr.Ēr. (composed about A.D. 490) ended with a §60 on Ragā, of which only the appended note remains: “zartušt ē spitāmān ač ān šahrīstān but, Zoroaster was from that town.” But that is the real meaning of the epithet, and all other inferences, drawn by modern interpreters, are wrong.

Another local indication is found in the strange story of Zoroaster’s “temptation” in Vid.19,4 and 11:

,drājya' pati zbarahi nmānahya puruṣaspaḥya

The reading of the first word is doubtful; it is apparently mutilated, for with one syllable more, the passage which is a quotation would be a regular verse. Cf. Yt.9,26: “barśnuš pati garīnām drājānhe (drājāho?) . . .”

Gr.Bdh.88 (Ind.Bdh.20,38) takes the word for the name of a river: “dāraja (in Aw. script) rōt pat ērānvēž kēš mān ē paruṣasp pitar e zartušt pa bār būt, D. is a river in Ērānvēž, on the bank of which stood the palace of Puruṣasp, father of Zoroaster.” The relative clause is a mere paraphrase of the Vidēvodād passage, and the only base for the assumption of a river is the wrong translation of Aw. zbarah by bār.22 This river is located “in Ērānvēž” because Zoroaster prays in Yt.5,104 “at the mouth of the Vahvi Dātiyā of the Aryans,” a pseudo-Avestic name of the Arsacid period for later Ērānvēž (see under ‘Ērānvēž’),

22 Also used in Y.9,39 for “zbaraṭa, foot of a creeping animal.”
“hizvo danhahä, in the language of erudition,” i.e. in Awestic, not in the contemporary Middle Persian:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yabha azam hāĉayâne} & \quad \text{puḥram yat arvatspahe} \\
\text{taχmam kaviyam viṣṭaspam} & \quad \text{anu.mataye dēnayâi} \\
\text{anu.(u)χtaye dēnayâi} & \quad \text{anu.varštaye dēnayâi}
\end{align*}
\]

“That I always may pursue Viṣṭâspa, the son of Arvataspa, for thinking—according to the religion, talking—according to, acting—according to the religion.”

These verses are produced wholesale: in the Druvâsp Yasht, 9.26, the same words are repeated with Hutōsâ as object; one could paint the steatopygic kallipygos “kicking against the pricks.” In Yt.5.17, Zoroaster himself is driven, the god asks another one, to let him always be the driver: a deus otiosus and a propheta otiosior. Benveniste, Inf.av. 53, calls the late passage of Y.8.7: “haχśaya ahyâ dēnayâ anu.mata-yeĉa ... , dois-je inciter à l’observance en pensée de la religion etc.” the “énoncé ancien; de là on passe” to the form of Yt.5.18, 105; 9.26, verses which therefore are even later. No other passages than this one locate Zoroaster in Ėrânvēzh.

The abstract nouns formed with the preposition “anu, according to” are malformations; dēnâ, always trisyllabic, counts here only for two syllables. In this false language the verses are fashioned after the genuine prayers of the mythical heroes in the old hymns, where they pray for victory over gods and men or personal adversaries. The genuine passages locate those prayers in Ėrânvēzh, the home of the myth. In the feeling of the diaskeuasts, AhuraMazdâh and Zoroaster cannot remain behind and therefore must likewise pray in the land of the golden age, only “la pire misère intellectuelle (Meillet)” of the period prevents them from achieving a decent prayer. On account of this illusionary location, Zoroaster is no more “born in Ėrânvēzh” than AhuraMazdâh, and one cannot conclude from the added “river in Ėrânvēzh” of the Gr.Bdh. that in the 9th century a.d. the notion of Ėrânvēzh was somehow connected with Ragā.

Gr.Bdh.121 (Ind.Bdh.24.5): “dâraχa rôt rōtbârân rat če mân če pitar če zartuχt pa bâr[aš], zartuχt ānô zāt, the D. river is the iudex of the rûdbâr, for the palace of Zoroaster’s father stood on its bank, bâr; Zoroaster is born there.”
The first part, the raising of the rank of the river to “index of the rūdbār” is not possible without the wrong translation of zbarah by bār in Bdh.88; its source is that paraphrase of Vid.19.—Rūdbār “fluvial tile” is a common notion, also a local name: the best known are between Qazvin and Rasht, later famous by its rūdbāri textiles, and Rūdbār on the Hilmand, called Paraitakee by Isidorus of Charax; a third one near Djiruf in Lār. The second part, “Zoroaster is born there,” comes from the commentary to Ragā zārābuštriš in Vid.1,15. Thus, the commentaries to Vid.1 (with Ragā) and 19 (without name) come from the same source, from which also the passage in Šahr.Ēr. comes, and this tradition—although the Gr.Bdh. says “river in Ėrānvēzd”—had not this “home of the Aryans” in mind, but only Ragā.

zbarah designates a part of the palace. Whether it be the broken entrance, dargāh, or the vaulted main hall, drīy at any rate is no name and no river. It may be a mere adjective, e.g. drājyah, comp. of drga “long,” or a term of fortification, see under ‘Architecture.’ The passage of Vid.19,4 and 11 means “in the drīy at the zbarah” or “in the drīy zbarah of the palace of Purušaspa,” and the palace is imagined to be in Ragā.

To this tradition belongs a tale in the Dēnkart vii (ed. Darab xiii, 25ff.), concerning Duydōvā, Zoroaster’s mother. The Aw. form of this name appears only in an ungrammatical fragment of the Hat. Nask; the Pahl. form is Duydāv; it says: Zoroaster’s father sent her “ō spitrasp pitar ē dūtak ē andar spitāmān dēh ē apar raya rōtastāk, to Spitrasp, the paterfamilias, who was in the country of the Spitāma in the district Ragā.” District Ragā in the province of the Spitāma is in agreement with dēh ē čveš of Y.19,18 and with Ctesias’ remark about the Spitāma in Media. The notion that Zoroaster’s father went on to live in his father’s house after being married is genuine.

Finally the much revealing proverb which the Čit. Zātsp. 16,12 attribute to Zoroaster’s mother: “I shall not do this, even if the two towns would meet here, Ray and Tōs,” explained: “irreal, 60 farsakh [in fact good 60 double farsakh] from one another, Zartušt a’č Ray, Vištasp a’č Nōtar būt, Z. was from Ray, V. from [Tōs ē]Nōdar.” The last town is near modern Mashhad, famous as the birthplace of Firdausi.

That is the Iranian tradition about the home of Zoroaster.
Nyberg, who first allows "einen schwachen Reflex zarathustrischer Lokaltradition" in the personal and geographical names of the Zoroaster biography of Dēnḵ. vii—that is not the source and hence indifferent—continues "Alles fällt zusammen, wenn wir zu hören bekommen, Zarathustra sei in Adharbaidjan, genauer in Shēz am Urmiya-See geboren, und dass seine iranische Heimat Ėrānvēż sei."

Many Greek towns claimed to be the home of Homer. The similar claim of Shēz is disposed of in a few words. Shēz < Ėččista is one of the oldest fire temples of Media, the "ādargušnasp, Fire of the Stallion," shape of appearance of Vṛthragna. It is pre-Zoroastrian and one of the dēvadāna destroyed by Xerxes. One could gather much information from the legends of the great fires. They like to usurp events of the religious history. The claim of Shēz has the same tendency, but appears only as late as A.D. 1225 in Yaqut and A.D. 1275 in Qazwinī. Before that time, e.g. in Ibn Khurādhbih, about 860, Tabari, end of the 9th century, and Ibn Faqīh, about 910, it is Urmīya. This conception is connected with the political attitude, at first wavering, of the Muhammedan government towards Magism, which caused that Zoroaster, in order to make him acceptable to the Muslims, was connected with the Old Testament. This was done by primates like Āturfarnagab son of Farruḵzād and his son Zartuḵšt, Atropatenians, and the special figures to whom Zoroaster became assimilated were Abraham and the prophet Jeremiah.

The Arab. name of the last is Armīya, in Tabari (1,506) also Urmīya, and the resemblance of these names led to Urmīya as place of Zoroaster’s origin. Later Urmīya was replaced by the more important temple of Shēz near the Urmīya Lake. That is no Iranian tradition at all, but an invention made in order to enjoy some advantages of the ahl al-dhimma, like lower taxes, and not to perish entirely.

The other assertion is wrong: we are nowhere told that Zoroaster’s West Iranian home was Ėrānvēż. Yt.5,104 and Yt.9,24, to which these words refer, are unauthentic products of the Arsacid period, as discussed above. In Iranian tradition, down to the Muhammedan period, Ėrānvēż is never anything but the aboriginal home, the country on

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24 Cf. Dēnḵ., end of book iii, and under “Zoroaster’s Death.”

25 That is why the “lord” of the Kūh-i Khwāja is called Sarā-i Ibrāhīm, viz. Ibrāhīm Zardvāšt, and why remarks appear like “The prophet Daniel was Cyrus’ maternal uncle” or “Bahman’s mother was a Jewess of the house of king Saul,” influenced by the book of Esther.
the Oxus and Iaxartes, see under 'Ērānvēz.' But not a single ancient passage connects Zoroaster with Ērānvēz.

There is only one consistent tradition from the second century B.C., not more than 250 years after Ctesias, that Ragā was the birthplace and the property of Zoroaster. At that time, the surname zāraḫuštriš was already old. The Vidēvdād describes Ragā with its hyperscipse as the Greek town Europos. That was not the time to claim the glory to be the prophet's birthplace. The surname is older and the tradition must be older. The town that had banished the prophet—see under 'Hospitium'—can only have gloried in being his home just after the public recognition of his doctrine, in order to cleanse itself of the slur, or for fear.

Nyberg, 49: "Im Westen fehlt eine authentische örtliche Überlieferung gänzlich, die Lokalisierungen von Ereignissen des Lebens Zarathustras zeigen durch ihre Unbestimmtheit und ihr Schwanken, dass sie Konstruktionen sind, so muss man sich grundsätzlich darauf einrichten, die Gatha-Gemeinde und Zarathustras Heimat in Ostiran zu suchen." In the East there is not only no authentic tradition, but none at all. Ragā, as birthplace, is definite and unvacillating; it is no "construction," as e.g. the "Gatha-Gemeinde" and the "Hauptmissionsstation Ragā"; and the "systematic orientation" to find a wanted result is what one must never do. 401: "Und so kommen die Mystifikationen auf, die die alten östlichen Orte im Westen verörtlichen. Daraus folgt, dass die ganze westliche Überlieferung über die Örtlichkeiten des östlichen Zoroastrismus geschichtlich gesehen wertlos sind."

That stands at the beginning (p.49) and at the end (p.401) and is "von Anfang bis zu Ende verkehrt" (p.202). There are neither eastern localities and eastern tradition, nor a western localization of eastern localities of the life of Zoroaster. The whole terminology is wrong. There is only an Iranian and no Turkistanian tradition, not only about the life of Zoroaster, but about everything. Some indications in the gathas can be interpreted as referring to Ragā, Kōmiš and Tōsa; in the Avesta some old passages refer equally to Tōsa and besides to Sīstān. And there is, later, the definite tradition, old already in the 2nd century B.C., that Zoroaster was from Ragā which belonged to his family, that the Spitāma, therefore, were, as Ctesias says, a Median house.
IV. HOUSE NÖZARYA

"avahyarädi vayam haxa màniṣiyä ahyāmahi, therefore we are called Achaemenids"

The real family name of kavi Vištäs̪pa, the protector of Zoroaster, does not appear at all in the Avesta, or in the epics. At the four places in the gatha there is no reason for Zoroaster to mention the name, to him a matter of course. In the memorial document of Yt.13, Vištäs̪pa is no more characterized by the family name than are the Sasanian kings in their inscriptions. But in the following group, §102, before the first man of another family, the Häugava, appears, a man bearing the OPersian name Visataruš, known also from the epical fragment Yt.5.76, is designated by the clientela adjective "nôtaryāno," and this confirms a surmise—for other reasons—that the group between Vištäs̪pa and the Häugava are the Nôtarya.

nôtara < *navatara, is the comparative of "nava, new." The positive occurs only in Vid.21.3: "the waters, plants, medicinal herbs become new," i.e. renovate, rejuvenate themselves, "by rain." The comparative occurs in Yt.17.55—see below—"the Tūra, swift horsemen and youthful ones." Only because Bartholomae believed the phonetic detail of the Aw. text to be authentic and the interpretations of the Bdh. and Dēnk. to be based on independent knowledge, could he explain this word as produced "durch Verschiebung des Wortakzents aus *nôtara, n.pr. eines Sohnes des Manuščidra." Such a Nôtara, unknown to the Avesta, never existed; MP. nôdar is, like Vêžan and others, nothing but the old surname personified.

Being the comparative of an adjective, nôtara—quite independent from its signification—is no heros eponymos and no true family name, and the single member of the house is not "a Nôtara." In the prayer of Hutôsā, Yt.5.98, "vis nôtarânām, clan of the nôtara” is the name of the place they owned. Individuals are designated, as in other IE. languages, by the derivative in -iya: nôtarya, thus in Yt.15.35, where the "nôtaryāho, nôtarians," appear beside the häugavāho, whom the gatha, too, connect with Vištäs̪pa. From nôtarya again the IE. adj. of clientela in -āna, nôtaryāna, is formed, just as in Lat. Julius, Julius, Julianus.

*The absence of these names is usually not realized; E. G. Browne once said to me: I am glad that just you found for the first time the name Sāsānakān in an inscription.*
There is only the adjective “nōtara, the νεώτερος; nōtarya, one of the nōtarya; and nōtaryāna, client of the nōtarya,” but there is no man Nōtara and there are no “Nōtarids, νεώτεριδαι. The nōtaryāna bears an Old Persian name; there are not a few Persians round Vištāspa in the list; some foreign clients, in §§125-126, even have assumed or received Old Persian names, hence one may expect from the beginning that the nōtarya were Persians.

The comparative signification of nōtara determines one branch of an unnamed great family in opposition to another branch whose determinative must have been an antonym of nōtara. Gr. νεώτερος can be antonym of various words. Lommel, in *ldg.Forschg.* 53, 1935, 165ff., tried to prove by reason of metrics that nōtara could not be νεώτερος—which is entirely beyond the argumentative power of metrics—and that Ir. nava meant only “new,” not “young” as in Greek—which is not provable, since the word occurs only once in the *Vidēvūdād* passage quoted above. On the contrary, it is disproved by the true signification of the comparative nōtara in *Yt*.17.55.

Names of branches of great families are found everywhere, in Iran precisely in the two families most closely connected with the nōtarya, viz. the Spitāma, called also hēcataspāna and zāraθuštrī, and the Hāugava, also called zāmāspāna, zāmāspī (see under ‘Hāugava’). There is no occasion for mentioning the very gentilicium which the surnames qualify, and less so for mentioning the surname of the other branch in the Avesta, a fact which does not rule out the possibility that individuals belonging to that branch appear.

The Achaemenids, too, had two branches; Darius speaks of them as “dvita.parnam, in two lines”; those were νεώτεροι and πρεσβύτεροι. The family name itself, ḫakāmanīšīya, is derived from Darius’ sixth ancestor ḫakāmanīš. The separation was effected by his two grandsons, Cyrus I and Āryāramna, and in the inscription of the latter ḫakāmanīšīya is not yet used; it appears for the first time on the gold tablet of his son Ṛśāma. It takes a few generations to develop such a

2 The stem of ḫakāmanīš cannot be determined, because, like Aw. vanafamanīl, OP. ardumanīl, it appears only in the nominative. The gen. ḫakāmanīšāhaya in the Āryāramna inscription is an early example of analogic inflection, like ḥλavy.ṛāhaya (time of Artaxerxes I) and dārāyavṣ/ṛāhaya (Artaxerxes III). The stem was perhaps -manyah (cf. vanyah) transferred into the i-class in analogy to -vah > -uḥ, transferred into u-class, cf. under ‘Memor. Doc.,’ visātaru.

3 Since the gold tablet of Āryāramna was “gebrandmarkt” as an antique fake, no collection
gentilicum, and just when this was done it became also necessary to distinguish the two branches.

The Greeks have not transmitted the distinguishing surname "Hystaspids" of the younger branch that we give the descendants of Viśtāspa. But the Iranian term for the older branch is hidden in the names Márdoi and Mápafioi of the Greek tradition. Herodotus 1,125 says of the γένεα of the Persians: "These are the tribes on which all other Persians depend: Pasargadai, Marphioi and Maspioi; among them the Pasargadai are the noblest, from which the kings of Persis descend." * Depend" in the political sense, is opposed to ethnic "ascend." The "kings of Persis" are a clan of the tribe Pasargadai. But opposed to "kings of Media" this expression sounds as if Herodotus' source was older than 550 B.C.—He enumerates further among the nomads of Persis (Fārs) the Mardoi between Da(h)oi and Dropikoi, Sagartioi. Arrian, Ind. 40, from Nearch, mentions Mardoi as neighbors of the Persians, and Ctesias calls Cyrus a "Mardos as to his tribe (descent)."

Nomadic Mardoi in Persis are subject to doubt, since the Da(h)oi, Dropikoi and Sagartioi all belong certainly not to Persis, and the Mardoi are well known in Māzandaran on the Caspian. Andreas believed that Ctesias' Mardos, as ethnic of Cyrus, referred to those anaryan Amardoi who left their name to the town Āmul, and that these were the Elamite Hapierti. The last name is in reality Ha(l)tamti, and the theory is twice wrong. The fault in Ctesias' words is only the rendering of Ir. "vis, clan" by Gr. génos. The Pasargadai were the "géños," the Mardoi the "vis." The right translation of "vis" by φρητης occurs only as exception in Greek, in Herodotus 1,125. In iv,167 he mentions one Amasis, ἄνηρ Πασαργάδες beside Badres, ἄνηρ Μαράφιος; the latter name is that of a vis, like Mardos. Stephanus says yet more inexact, s.v. Maraphioi: ἥνοι ἐν Περσίδε (from Herodotus) and explains: ἄνηρ
dared to purchase a similar tablet of Rāma, and this remained unpublished; known to me from a photograph. Rāma calls himself āryārama-χाभयाहया-पुत्रa, and moreover ḫāmānišya, whereas Aryārama says "grandson of ḫāmāniš." The land Pārsa has instead of the usual huvaspa-humartiya, the else unknown epithet "hukāra huvaspa," where hukāra is new and rightly precedes huvaspa.

* Nyberg, 343: "Maraphioi and Maspioi sind sicher nicht iranisch; sie enthalten das elam. Suffix -pi und sind also wahrscheinlich als elamisch anzuschreiben." The EL suffix would have more power than to make the names only "probably Elamite"; but if so, it could not make them "certainly non-Iranian." In fact, the names do not contain an Elam suffix, which is -ip (plur.), but only the phoneme -pi.-
Марахіоν βασιλέως (from Eusthatius, Comm. to Ilias ii,408) "Maraphios, first king of the Persians, son of Menelaos." This is the personified name of a royal family, like the "нотара > Нодар" of the Sasanian legend.

Mardos and Maraphios reflect the same Iranian word in two dialects, just as Mardos, Merdis on the one hand, Maraphis, Merphis on the other, render the OP. form Brδya and Med. Brzya of the name of Cyrus' son (see below). Ctesias' remark is legendary, based on a wrong interpretation of the name, and yet it is not wrong that Cyrus was a "Mardos as to his γένος." The comp. нотара requires an antonym, and the comp. барзя, barzyah is such an antonym, "higher." Derivatives, corresponding to нотаря and нотарьа, may have been the Ir. designation for the "elder branch" of the family. NP. "бунд < брезант, high" is also used for age. Other languages render the same opposition by younger and older, νεώτερος and πρεσβύτερος, and that is the meaning of the Iranian words in this case.

Surely the Persians called their Hystaspids нотаря, surely the Aw. нотаря expresses the opposition to брызахо of the same family, whose very name was so obvious that it was not necessary to mention it. Surely the never mentioned name was хъаманишъа.

Nyberg, 45: "Hertel und Herzfeld ... setzen Zarathustras Beschützer Вістаспа mit [Вістаспа] dem Vater Darius' I gleich. ... Diese Hypothese scheitert indessen rettungslos daran, dass die ... Gleichsetzung undenkbar ist." The aeon-system—a religious doctrine—makes Zoroaster appear under Вістаспа, 258 years before Alexander. A short period only separates the Awestic Вістаспа from Alexander, that means he is considered as the historical Вістаспа. The epic—a popular, not religious tradition—tells the legends that grew round the Awestic Вістаспа and his relatives—cf. Vп.13—and joins to them without gap Dărā=Darius and his successors to the time of Alexander; it identifies the two Вістаспа. Religious and epical tradition, that is all tradition there was, are unanimous in this fundamental equation. It is a colossal mistake to believe, "unthinkable" could dispense with a thought ascribed to H. and H., while it was the dominant thought, and the only one, for 2,500 years.—Let alone individual faculties, "thinkable and
unthinkable" contain a time factor: what seems unthinkable today, will be a matter of course tomorrow.

Darius, son of Vištāspa says: "aSábāra huvaSabāra ahmi, as horsem an I am a good horseman"; OP. asa against Med. aspa. Huvaspa in the protocol formula "the land with the good horses" and nn.ppr. like Vištāspa, Aspačina, all contain the Median aspa.

The meaning of viṣta results from Yt.5.98:

tāṁ yazanta hvōvāho to her (Ardvi), the Hāugava sacrificed,
tāṁ yazanta nōtaryāho to her the Nōtarya sacrificed,
iśtim yaḍyanta hvōvō for riches the Hāugava asked,
āsu.āspim naotaire for horses' speed the Nōtarya.
moṣu paścēta hvōvō At once the Hāugava became powerfully rich,
iśtim baon saviṣṭa at once the Nōtarya
moṣu paścēta naotaire? Vištāspa became, of those countries,
viṣṭāspo āhām dayūnām the speediest-as-to-horses.
āsu.āspōtāmō bavat

The language is bad, the composition of the verses not that of the old-mythical ones, and the lack of a locality—never missing in genuine stanzas—is alone sufficient proof that the insignificant fragment is not old. The poet makes the Hāugava ask for money, with respect to the Gath. attribute "iśtoṭiḥ hvarnā, blessed with riches" of the Hāugava Zāmāspa, and makes the Nōtarya ask for "horses' speed"—a bad abstr. formation—remembering Yt.17.55-56, "Flight of Rtiś":

yat mām tūrā paṇḍayanta āsu.āspa nōtarāsča

"when the Tūrā chased me, the swift-horsemen and nōtara, youthful ones." He regards āsu.āspa as an attribute of nōtara, identifies this with the family name, nōtarya, of Vištāspa, and makes Vištāspa win the speediest horses, because that is his interpretation of the name.—viṣta is past.part.pass. of √vis-, OP. viθ-, OI. višāti, "with ready (to start) horses."

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5 Cf. Benveniste, J.A.+1936.2,329: "Sogd. "wyłik 'tremblement, agitation'"<ā,višta.ka, dans Viṣṭāspa 'aux chevaux frémissants.'" The same idea is perhaps expressed by Ass. sišč pītan bīkī, Thureau-Dangin: "aux genoux ouverts," unless this be something entirely different: "stallions?"
Darius' father and Zoroaster's protector bear the same Median name, which—excepting a few younger Achaemenids—does not occur in history down to the Muhammadan epoch, when it became popular by Firdausi's Shāhnāmah. Median names for Persians are quite unobjectionable. But those who believe in an "eastern Vištāspa" reject with equal emphasis the theory that he had a Median name and that the Medes knew him, because that would break through the barrier erected between the "eastern Avesta" and the Medes and Persians. The Medes—if that concept is right—must have used the name without any contact; Ršāma must have given it to his son unknowingly; and Vištāspa II, grandson of the historical Vištāspa, must have called his son with the unique name Pissouthnes < Pišišyōdna, without knowing that the "eastern Vištāspa" had done the same, see under 'Throne-names.' This triple coincidence is "unthinkable." And the fact that the two persons bear the same Median name proves in this special case that both are one and the same Persian. As a Persian, Vištāspa orders masses to be celebrated for so many Persians in the foundation document of his temple.

Nyberg, 249: "Sein Vater hiess aurvataspas." This passage, Yt. 5, 105, is spurious, it is the empty prayer of Zoroaster, in erudite language, always to pursue "the son of Arvataspa, the swift, kāvian Vištāspa" etc., which we have characterized above, a worthless product of the Arsacid period.

Apart from this passage, "arvataspa, with swift horses" appears only as standing epithet of the gods ApāmNapāt and Hvar Xšēta; cf. Neptunus equester. In the OP. version of the legend, to which Hellanicus (430-400 B.C., frgm.163) alludes, long before the date of the Avestic prayer, Atossa-Hutōsā, too, is called "daughter of Ariaspes," i.e. *ary-aspe < OP. *arvāspa. In the later versions the divine epithet is replaced by Luhrasp, name of the god ἈΡΟΟΑΣΠΟΙ of the Kūshān coins, i.e. "druvāspa, with healthy horses," with EastIr. 8 > l. In the Awesta, Yasht 9 is dedicated to the goddess Druvāspā. In both cases, the surname has displaced the lost proper name.

The whole legend which the post-Zoroastrian period has woven around Vištāspa is the rejuvenation of an older myth of gods, which made a hero arvataspa, of the god with that surname. This hero
melted together with the East Iranian god druvaspa into the figure of king Luhrasp. Markwart, Vēhrot, was inclined to see ApāmNapāt in him. But we do not have the old myth, but only the heroized legend, into which historical figures intruded, and seeing original deities of water in all the figures of this cycle is going much too far.

The home of the god Druvaspa prevails as locality of this legend. From such an origin, the notion passed into all pseudo-historical stories, that the Iranian kings Luhrasp and Vištāsp resided in Balkh, as overlords of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, e.g. of Nebuchadnezzar (see under 'Zoroaster's Death'). This notion is so old that it appears already in a branch of Greek tradition which makes Ninus wage war against Hystaspes and Zoroastres in Bactria.

The real hero of the Vištāspa legend is not Vištāspa, but his brother Zarvariš-Zarēr, of the memorial document in Yt.13, who, in Yt.5,112f., bears the epithet "aspa,yōda, fighting on horseback," well fitting into the group. The god druvaspa-arvataspa-equester attracts such names. What the Awesta quotes of Vištāspa himself is poor: he immolates a hundred sheep to Ardvī, praying for victory over Tanθryavant (not traceable in the later legend, nor in the old myth) and Arjataspa; the place is the lake Frazdānu in Zranaka-Sistān.\footnote{With elements reversed *yuši,aspa in n.pr. Oδδίασας, Ctesias, in history of Parysatis.}

In Yt.5,112, Zarvariš, too, immolates a hundred sheep: satam... anumayānām paśnē āpo dātiyāyā.\footnote{Yt.9,29–31 is only a corrupt amplification of this stanza.} The locality, the river Dātiyā, is insignificant, copied from old myths. The prayer runs: "that I may be victorious

prtačingam aštakānām humayakam dēvayasnam
druvatamča arjataspam ahmi *gēθyāi (text: gētheta) prtanāhu

over Humayaka with-the-spread-out-claws, haunting-in-a-cave, the devayasnian, and over the drugvant Arjataspa, in the fight for his family."

In the still later form of the same legend in Yt.9,31, we find instead of the last words

utra azam fra.rvēsyaṇi *humayē *vrdanakēča

\footnote{paśnē, Wb. "angesehen!" Lommel "hinter?" only in Yt.5, and only referring to water (Cērista, Pšinah, Frazdānu and Dātiyā) is perhaps Old Persian, cf. OP. āśnē, Aw. āśnē "near," and OP. nipādi, Gr.  υπόδα.}
and that I may bring home the two, Humāyā and *Vṛdanakā.* The two feminine names were originally in dvandva form. Humāyā is a name of Achaemenian ladies, Amyšes. Here, two kidnapped women are brought home. In the older Orētōna myth, Yt.5.34, the motif—if “azānī” means only “to carry away, abduct”—was the rape of women:

utra hē vantē azānī and I may carry away the two be-
sahavāči arnavāči loved
yē krpa srāiśte zātaye Sahavāχś, and Arnavāχś,
who are the most beautiful of body
gēθyāi tē yē abdatamē for bearing children,
the most excellent for the family.¹⁰

If the names were right, arnavāči ought to precede. Skr. has savasvan and rṇavan; the Shāhnāmah Sharināz and Arnavāz.

To the same legend belong the verses in Yt.5.76, where the nōtaryāno Visataruṣ prays “upa āpam (yām) vētahvatim, on the river V.” (“rich in willows, or vines?”):

77: āt mē tuvam ardvīṣūra Open, o Ardvi, . . . to me
anāhitā
huškam prtum rēčaya a dry passage
 taro vahvim vētahvatim through the good Vētahvatī!

78: Ardvi grants the prayer
armēštā anyā āpo kṛnōt one part of the waters she
 huškam prtum rēčayat made stand still,
 taro vahvim vētahvatim the other she made flow off,

The motif resembles that of Exodus 14.22; and more so the story in the acts of Mār Pethion, G. Hoffmann, Syr.Akt. p.63: Pethion is

¹ Ed. vrdakánāmē, Ḫb. *vāriśkanā, without etymology. It is hypoc. of a comp. with
“vṛṣa>gul, rose,” type “vṛṣa>īdṛṣa>gulčhīr, in Aur.parchm.11, 21 n.c. Olymēshēph, hence
read *vrdanakā. Cf. vrdk on a seal. (Berlin) and on a Saasan. graffito in the tačara, Persepolis.
¹⁰ Benveniste, Inf.αὐ.474: “les plus belles de corps pour l’enfantement, les plus parfaites
pour le menage.” Against Lommel: “die von sehr schöner Gestalt sind, um sie zu gewinnen?,
die die wunderbarsten der Welt sind!” Cf. Yt.10.113: gēθē prtanāhu; in both cases gēθē is
“family.” From abdatamē > addum comes the fem. name Δοτομα, Aur.parchm., where also
Olēmēshēph.
thrown into the Alwān near Sarpul, "the waters rose aloft above a wall, below they flew off to the river Gauzan which is snnv." 11

Athenaeus b.13,575, quotes the story from Chares of Mytilene (Alex. b.10) as example of a couple that never met, but saw each other in a dream, a motif that lives on in 1001 Nights, for instance in the story of Qamar al-zamān and the daughter of the king of the Djazā’ir with her seven castles. The legend was so popular at Alexander’s time, that it was often told and pictured in houses and palaces, and many named their daughters after the heroine. How quickly the legend worked can be measured by Ctesias’ attributing the Bistūn monument to Semiramis only 120 years after its creation. Also by Herodotus’ telling of the myth of the seven walls of Kanhā as an historical description of Agbatana, which at that time was only 230 years old.

Hystaspes had a younger brother Zariadres, whom the “epichorians” called a son of Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes was king of Media and the Lower Country (Ērāq, ‘Irāq), Zariadres king of the countries above the Caspian Gates as far as the Tanais. Beyond the Tanaïs ruled Homartes, king of the Μαραθωνιοί who had a daughter Odatis. Zarivarīš and Zariadres are two different names. 18 As in the case of arvāspa and druvāspa, two figures are blended into one. Aphrodite stands for Ardī, and Adonis, god of vegetation, evidently for Druvāspa, god of the animal kingdom. Homartes wants to marry his daughter to one of his grandees, but Zariadres, alone with his charioteer, drives through the Tanaïs and arrives just in time to rescue the bride. The anonymous charioteer of Chares of Mytilene, hence, is Visataruš of the yash. The expression “ahmī gēθyāī prtanāhu” alludes to the abduction. The theme of the original myth was not the rescue of the bride, but the rape of two women; in the later form, with Humāyā and Vrānakā instead of Sahavāxš and Arnavāxš, it was the bringing home of abducted women.

Tanaïs stands for the Ranhā, because Alexander believed the Iaxartes to be the Tanaïs-Don. The Gr.Bdh. 86, 88 and 91, does not equate the

11 snnv is Akk. (uṣār)sallu, -sillu, Gr. Sillas, a Diyāla canal.
12 Markwart’s Iranian interpretation of marathān as “marōva = moriturī” would involve that a highly archaic name of the original myth was preserved in the late legend. The Greek names do not have that much authenticity.
13 Hübschmann, Arm.Gramm. 49 and 506: Zariadres > Arm. Zareh, but zarivarīš > MP. zarēr; perhaps *zarivāhā “with golden mace” and zarivari “with golden cuirass.”
vētahvati—written vātanyvati—with the Ranhā, but says: "Vātanyvati rōt pa sagistān, bunxān.īč kyānsih būt, the V. river is in Sistān, its source was from the (sea) Kyānsih (old Kansavya)," as though it was the Shaila which connects the Hámnūn with the Zirih=Frazdānu. The following words, "Frasyāp filled it up; when Hvaršētar appears, it shall flow again," show that the river had become a mere mythical concept.

The OP. original of Gr. "Oθαρθσ"\(^{14}\) is defined by two conditions: it must be a very popular name, and it must conform to one of the names in a shape of the Iranian legend. Therefore it must be disfigured from 'ordakis, OP. vrdakah "rose," vrdanakā of Yt.9,31. Cf. Esther, i.e. Med."āsθra "myrtle." The name of her father Homartes, who plays the role of Arjataspa, is probably the ethnic hōma.vṛga of the Saka tribe dwelling beyond the Iaxartes-Tanaīs. Akk. umarga', umurgu, Gr. amyrĝioi are contemporary pronunciations used sind 520 B.C.; hence, foursyllabic OP. hōma.vṛga is from the beginning an historic spelling.\(^{15}\) Athenaæus’ ὉΜΑΡΤΗΣ stands for ὉΜΑΡΓΗΣ. Arjataspa, later called (h)yōna and Chionite, is still imagined as a Saka in this oldest version. Humayaka is depicted as a dragon in a cave (see under ‘Sculpture’). It is significant for the late origin of the legend that both adversaries are called, in the mazdayasnian manner, "drugvant and dēvayasna" (see under ‘Dēva’).

Nyberg considers the often discussed myth of the "Flight of Rtiš," Yt.17, to be part of this cycle, calling it the "dunkle Blatt in der Geschichte der Naotariden."

This myth is preceded, in the manner of an introduction, by an old sacrificial rule which forbids people not yet mature or no longer procreative to take part in the cult of Rtiš. Then, st. 55 and 56 give the situation:

yat mām tūrā pazdayanta When the Tūrā scared me
āsu.aspā nōtarāsca the swift-horsemen and nōtara.

The goddess flees, hiding once under the hoof of a bull, once under

\(^{14}\) Not too well attested. The Gr. omikron does not correspond to Ir. īu, nor īvā-, hence neither hūhātā nor hvāhātā.

\(^{15}\) Markwart's "Huma.ṛa, the true Hōmi," is neither materially nor linguistically sound. One Umarqi appears already at the end of the 8th century B.C. in the annals of Sargon, year 6. Amoriges was the name of a son of Pissouthnes II, on the stela of Xanthes Lk. Humrkkā, Mily. umirggazn. The grandfather was satrap of Bactria, Her.9,64 and Cleitus in Diod.11,69,2.
the neck of a ram, evidently not like Odysseus when fleeing from the
cave of Polypheme, but like sorceresses in 1001 Nights, transformed
into an insect. Both times she is discovered and frustrated by immature
boys and girls. Wolfgang Schultz was right in pointing out that at
the second occasion it must be the senile people that discover her, and
that the third incomplete stanza, with which the story stops short
before a gap, must be the third and successful attempt.

The myth might be an etiologic one, motivating the sacrificial rule,
or rather a description of the same qualities of the goddess which are
the cause of this rule. There is no place and no allusion in it to more
than one tribe; on the contrary, the children and the old people are all
of one kind, anার্য तुरा. Tūrā and nőtarā are not two names, but
one name with an appellative. nőtarā is not the gentilicium nőtaryāho,
but the regular comparative of “nava veōs,” referring to the contrasted
ages, “the comparatively young Tūrā, the youthful (among them).”
āsu.aspā describes them as on horseback.16

Nyberg connects this story of the immature children with his idea
that Zoroaster, in the “Wedding Gatha” (see under ‘Maga’) — though
in vain — had tried to substitute his own daughter Purucistā as “God-
dess of Fertility” for Rtiś. The myth would prove the comprehensible
“resistance of the Mithra-community against this innovation,” and the
“dunkle Blatt” thus becomes a “sehr bedeutsamer religionsgeschicht-
licher Vorgang.” The flight of the goddess is not a tale specific for
Rtiś, but a primeval myth widely spread over the world; in Iran,
there was a variant in the tale of the flight of the goddess of Earth
before the dragon AžiDahāka-Frahrasyā. On no account is it a “Vor-
gang” based on real actions of historical or half-historical persons. It
was aeons old before Vištāspa and Zoroaster were born, and one can
cheerfully tear the “dark page” from the family chronicle of the Nō-
tarya. There were enough skeletons in the closet.

An independent proof for the identity of the two Vištāspa follows
from their place of residence: the Vištāspa of the inscriptions was
satrap of Parthava, the capital of which was Tōsa, later Tōs ē Nōdarān
<  tōsa nōtarānām. And the residence of the Avestic Vištāspa was,

16 This explains the misunderstanding in Yr.5.98, where āsu-.aspā is taken as appellative
of nōtarā, this as nōtaryā. Ved. tura means “quick, wild.”
according to Yt.5,15 “viso awi nōtarānām, the vis of the Nōtara,” in the fragment of the legend dealing with Hutōsā-Atossa. This place can be determined, and for that purpose one needs the figure of Tusa in Yt.5,53-57, who is not an old-mythical, but an historical figure of the Vištāspa circle.

In Yt.5,53, the “swift raṭēštā, chariot-fighter, Tusa” brings offerings “brāṣju pati aspānām” and prays for victory over the “valiant Vēsaki sons, hunavo vēsakaya” upa dvaram “caṭrusūkam apanatatamam kan-hayā brzantiyā rtāvniyā.” Tusa furthermore desires victory over all Tūra. The Vēsaki are Tūra, but their town, Kanhā, is always called rtāvan, for reasons unknown, but certainly in the oldest, pre-Zoroastrian connotation of the term, approximately to be rendered by “just.”

In st. 57, on the contrary, the Vēsaki sons pray “upa dvaram “caṭrusūkam etc.” for victory over Tusa and over all Aryans. In this legend, created shortly after the time of Zoroaster, the Vēsaki are a vis and bear an historical name. For vēsaka is written on a seal of the Achaemenian epoch with the picture of a horseman, dismounted, hunting a boar, and with the legend vyask. This fine seal belonged to the vispatiš of the family, about 400 B.C. The name vēsaki, *kaya, is a gentilic, derivative of vēsaka, this again short-form of a compound with vrddhi of vis- as first element, as in váisapuṭra, cf. bēvarpati, *spādapati as family names.

Their locality is broadly described: “at the gate, the market, the distant one, in Kanhā,” meaning a famous building: in the legend as told already by Herodotus, Kanhā was the prototype of the “town with seven walls” (see under ‘Architecture’).

In the late Sasanian legend, the name of the Vēsak who gave his daughter to Siyāvuxš is Pīrān, and Biruni records in his akhbār Khwārizm that Fil, i.e. Pīr, was the old name of the capital Gurganj. The Vēsaki are Tūra, and Tūr was a district of Khwārizm according to Moses of Chorene. This gives the Vēsaki as “lords of Pīr in Khwārizm” and their place Kanhā as Gurganj. In the Kartēr inscrip-
tions a figure called "kangopet, lord of Kang?" seems to play the role of Virgil in Dante. The NP. form is Gang, for a mythical place only. The etymology of the name is obscure. "antara.kanha, between, within K." is enumerated in Yl.19,4 among the names of mountains; today, Kang and Miyān-Kang, i.e. antara.kanha, are partial names of the Hilmand delta in Sistān, and one would expect a signification connected with water. Below Gurganj, the Oxus delta begins.

If the Tūryan Vēsaki have an historical background, the more so the Iranian Tusa. In Yl.5,53, he brings his offerings "at the necks of the horses, praying for health of the bodies," both in plural. These verses imitate the original in Yl.10,11, where the "raθčstāro brščšu pati apānām, the chariot fighters, standing at the necks of their horses" pray for "force of the two-horse teams, integrity of (their) bodies." There, the plural is right, and the author of 5,53 has failed to adapt his model correctly. The kind of faults resembles those in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II, and the date of the verses agrees therewith: end of the 5th century B.C.

Tusa is not "eine Kollektivbezeichnung für ein Adelsgeschlecht," Nyberg, 259, because that would require an adj. gent. like *tusiya, *tōsiya. Sasanian tradition knows nothing about Tusa, but speaks of Tōs ē nōdarān, where Tōs is an adjective, nōdarān a gen.pl. There was never a Tōs nor a Nōdar, and Tōs was no "heros eponymus eines mit dem kavi-Hause nahe verschwägerten Geschlechts." Nyberg, 357: "Man hat die Genealogien der Alten immer mit der nötigen Kritik zu verwenden." Compared with the Sasanian genealogies of heroes and priests—all epithets transfigured into fathers, sons and brothers—the begat-chapters of Genesis are a reliable source of history. Arab genealogists like ibn al-Kalbi work similarly, arranging all names of old towns, rivers, canals in pedigrees of men. But, so far, nobody has recognized "nahe verschwägerte Geschlechter" in these topic names.

Tusa is an historical figure, for he gave his name to the capital of Parthava, Tōsa > NP. Tūs, famous by the tomb of Firdausi. Tōs ē Nōdarān, first "spāhpet of Tōs," a military title like bēvarpati as title of the Dānavo in Yl.13,38, is not the man Tusa, but the town called after him. Firdausi still uses nōdarān correctly as plural: "şahr i nōdarān Tōs, Tōs, city of the Nōdarān."19 In the Čit.Zātsp. 16,12 the

proverb “not if the two cities Ray and Nōdar would meet here” is explained by “Zoroaster was from Ray, Vištāsp from Nōdar.” Such a proverb has an historical background. The man Tōs ē nōdarān is the result of a misinterpretation of the name of the town; therefore the legend has nothing to say about this name. Of necessity it becomes a brother of Vistahm e Nōdarān, i.e. the client Visataruš nōtaryāno transformed into a “son of Nōdar.” The purpose of this invention is apparent: a genealogy had to be created for the Arsacid family of the Spāhpet of Tōs, the predecessors of the Kanārang, as the Šahr.Ēr. expressly state: “The town Tōs is founded by Tōs ē Nōdarān; for 900 years he was spāhpet;” after Tōs, the dignity of spāhpet came to Zarēr, after Zarēr to Bastvar, from him to Kurazm.” Perhaps the Spāhpet were actually descendants of Tusa, but these names are taken from the memorial list of Yt.13: the family of Vištāspa became a dynasty of Tōs, the residence of the historical Vištāspa.

In Yt.15,35 Hutōsā prays “viso awi nōtarānām”—the obligatory determination of the locality—“that I may be dear, beloved and esteemed, patizantā, in the nmāna of kavi Vištāspa.” nmāna is the small family, a number of which constitute the vis, at the same time their residence, house or palace. Here vis is the place, nmāna the familia; for Hutōsā does not want to be loved by buildings. patizantā is the model of NP. tašrif, and implies as what she wants to be “esteemed, honored,”21 namely as “nmānapathni > bānbīšn,” title of the Sasanian queens.

Vištāspa is the vispatiš of the Nōtarya, hence nōtarānām as surname of his residence. Vis signifies the men of the clan, their residence and property. In the OP. inscriptions, Persepolis and Agbatana are called viθ, as residence of the Hystaspids. Thus vis becomes “town.” Vis nōtarānām is Firdausi’s šahr i nōdarān. Vis nōtarānām and *tōsa nōtarānām, the residence of the Nōtara, are identical. The Aw. vis nōtarānām is, like ārya.sayanam for āryānām χσάθram, the poetical expression, intelligible for everyman, for the capital of Parthava, Tōsa, where Hutōsā prayed.

This town, the capital of Parthava, and not the “Steppen des türischen Friyāna-Stammes an der Ranhā, dem Iaxartes,” is conceived

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20 Perhaps originally “they were”: 900 years, if counted from the date of the oldest form of the Šahr.Ēr., a.d. 490 would lead back into the 5th century b.c.; if 900 p.Zor., the remark would date from a.d. 604.

21 Cf. patizantā in Y.29,11 under ‘Maga,’ and *zaznane in Y.30,10, under ‘Myastra.’
in the entire Avesta and in the legend as the residence of Zoroaster's protector Vištāspa. The same town was the residence of the historical Vištāspa as satrap of Parthava according to the inscriptions.

The traditional legends of the temples that claim to be founded by Vištāspa agree with the inscriptions, the Avesta and the epics, and the memorial list of Yt.13 proves the historical fact that Vištāspa had founded such temples. One of them was the Kishmar temple, see under 'Chronology.'

Gr.Bdh. 124: "Yam put the ādarχvarrah (=farnabag) on mount Hvarnahvant (oṁỨvmland) in Xwārizm on its cultic place. When they cut Yam in two, the ādarχvarrah saved the χvarrah of Yam from the hand of Dahāk. Under the reign of Vištāspšāh, by a revelation of the religion, it was transferred from Xvārizm to the Rōšan kōf in the country, dēh, of the Kanārang, where it exists still today" [date of the Gr.Bdh., 9.scl. A.D. or of its source?].

Procopius deals with the χανανάγγα, Bell.Pers. Bonn p.5, 7 and 23, on the authority of Kavāt, son of Jām, an elder brother of Xusrau II. Since the time of Balāsh, A.D. 484-488, they had been margraves of Nishāpūr, SW. of Tōs; there, the Arabs knew them still during and after the conquest as kanārang or banū Kanāra, cf. Yāqūt ii.411. According to ibn Khurdādibih, "kunār" was the "title" of the king of Nishāpūr. The name of the mountain, which can also be read rōyēn, refers to Aw. "rōdita, copper mountain" in Yt.19,2, written rνsνvmland in the Gr.Bdh. The legend (cf. Masʿūdi iv.75) rightly treats the words "pa pētākih ač dēn" as meaning that the old fire had been forgotten and had to be rediscovered "by order of Zoroaster." In fact, the temple was not older than Vištāspa's time, and its place was in the Nishāpūr district.

Gr.Bdh. 125: "When Zoroaster brought the religion . . ., Vištāspa put the ādar-burzēnmihr on its cultic place on mount Rēvand, which is also called puṣt ē Vištāspān." That is the ērevant of Yt.19,6; Gr.Bdh.: "u.ś rēvānd nām ku rāyawmand," and p.80: "mount Vināpet" is together with the puṣt ē Vištāspān; from there to rēvand, where the

22 vināpet < gunbād, in the Shāhnāmah place of the battle in which the paladins of Kai-Xusrau defeated the Vēšak Pīrān, is probably the transposition of an Arab. broken plur. of gunbād into Pahlavi: "the cupolas." Gunbād itself is an Ir. loanword from Ass. qubbāru.
ādarburzēnmīhr is, are 9 farsakh towards west." This Rēvand—another one lies not far south—is situated northwest of Nishāpūr not far from Tōs, near the turquoise mines. Yāqūt, muḍjam 1,628, still notes a district Pushīnt in that area.

"puṣt, back" designates a mountain formation; puṣt e vištāspān would be "Vištāspian back" or "back of the Vištāspas," rather objectionable.22 In the legend of the foundation of the fire of Shēz in Ṭdār-bējāān, the ādargušnasp sits down, like a corpseant, on the mane of Husravah's horse,23 pa bušn ē asp. That is a Persian etymology of the Median name "gusnasp < *vršn.aspa, stallion," which presupposes Pers. bušnasp < *vušnaspa. This form appears on the reverse of late Sasanian copper coins from Old Shīrāz and Bishāpūr as legend at the side of the figure of a human-headed bull: bušaspān or bušnaspān.24 Hence, it is possible that the name of the mountain puṣt e vištaspān is a new interpretation of puṣt ē bušnaspān, when the meaning "back of a stallion" became obscured and the name was connected with the fact that Vištāspa had founded the temple.

The Gr.Bdh. goes on: "These fires are ātaχās ē varhān, dynastic fires." One of them must have been the temple in which the original document of the memorial list was preserved. Thus three temples which retrace their foundation to Vištāspa lie around Tōs.

Tōsa became known to the Greeks through Alexander who passed through it on his march from Zadракarta in Hyrcania to Areia; Arrian iii,25 writes Σουσα, Ptolemy Μουσα, both for *TOUSΑ

In the memorial document, Zoroaster with his kinsmen opens the list of men; Vištāspa with his male relatives follows. In the same way, Zoroaster’s three wives and one daughter open the list of women, and

22 Similar terms of terrain: "grovā, neck," changing with "karmāṇa, skull" in arzutahi grivā, Vid II,347; "forest-neck or -top," cf. "gariwa i Tāq i Girra, pass of the arch of the cupper," name of the Zagros Gates. Or "kōhak, hump," e.g. du.kōhak between Khuzistān and Fārs, kauphiaka of Ptolemy; like Turk. deve boyun, Aram. *gab.gamla > Gaugamela "camel’s hump." Also "barīna, neck, mane"—thus to be read against Wb. in Yr.19,40; and "a.barīna beside a.sāra, without neck and head"; this word was recognized by Pagliaro in MP, bušn in Zarēmānūk.

23 This phenomenon occurs in Ṣamarrā when, during electric storms, the sword of the Mahdi is dipped into the basin of the Ghasībat al-Mahdi and carried round in procession; also the golden cupola starts sometimes blazing. It is believed to be a token that the Mahdi visits his tomb.

24 The obverse shows a male bust with flaming nimbus and legend "Dārā."
Hutōsā and Humāyā, the ladies of Vištāspa’s family, follow. Both names appear in the Achaemenid family, the second as name of the Median mother of Atossa, which Ctesias connects with the Spitamas.

Berossos, in Syncellus, from Eusebius and Polyhistor, renders Humāyā by Amyītēs, as name of the Median wife of Nebuchadnezzar, a better form than Amytis.26 The later legend mixes Amyites with Semiramis, occasionally also with Khūtōs-Atossa.27 The name persists in the Achaemenid family: e.g. Amytis, daughter of Xerxes and Amēstris, sister of Artaxerxes I, wife of Bagabuṣa, whose grandson was called Spitāma. It is possible, but not necessary, that the Humāyā of the list was Atossa’s and Zoroaster’s mother. The occurrence of the name in Yt.9,28, along with Vṛṣanakā, has no other historical significance but that Achaemenid names infiltrate into the legend.

Herodotus 1,75 and 107, regards Cyrus as grandson of Astyages by his daughter Mandane, married to Cambyses I. That would be a relationship of the two houses by marriage one generation earlier, but would not rule out the marriage of Cyrus to another daughter of Astyages. But “father-in-law” as Ctesias says is better than “maternal grandfather,” because Astyages, dethroned in 550, can scarcely be of the same generation as Cyrus I who had a son, at least half grown, as hostage at the court of Assurbanipal as early as 640 B.C. There are cases, soon to be mentioned, where children were born as grand-uncles, but in the case of Astyages and Cyrus the great-grandfather did not live long enough to make that possible.

The gatha alludes to the two ladies only by calling Cambyses “bandva, affinis, relative-in-law” of Zoroaster.

The name Hutōsā, Gr. Atossa, means καλλίπτερας, corresponding to the ideal of beauty as expressed in representations of women in Achaemenian and Sasanian art. Her appearance in Yt.9,26, Zoroaster’s prayer in Arsacid Avestic, is significant for one reason only: the

26 Initial ā for hu- as in Atossa-Hutōsā and other cases; as to ā for āy cf. Parmys < *purumāya, NP. purmāyah; on the other hand the Elam. transcription of OP. āi by āi. As to the ending cf. the common Akk. fem. in -itu, and assimilation to Anaitis.

quotation of gatha 46.7, whereby Hutōsā, instead of the Háugava brothers, becomes the person through whom Zoroaster hopes to obtain the official “frasastiš, the proclamation” of his recognition. Else, not counting Yt.13, Hutōsā appears only in Yt.15.35, where she prays to become honored, as queen, in the family of kavi Vištāspa. These verses stand in a yashṭ, hence are no direct historical notice. The task is to examine how far they depict the situation in a distorted, how far still in the right way.

The adornment alone of the verses shows, in the luxury it describes, the character of the period and therewith the date of their composition: before the end of the 5th century B.C. Hutōsā prays like a queen

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zaranēnē pati gātōu} & \quad \text{at the golden throne,} \\
\text{zaranēnē pati fraspāti} & \quad \text{at the golden dais,} \\
\text{zaranēnē pati upastarnē} & \quad \text{at the golden cushion,}
\end{align*}
\]

on which she is imagined sitting before she rises for her prayer, just as later the Sasanids and the Umayyads and Abbasids squat on “royal brocades, dibāj i χυσραवάνι” as cushions and rugs on their chryselephantine and canopied thrones.

The identification of Hutōsā-Atossa has been rejected as emphatically as that of Vištāspa-Hystaspes. Nyberg, 358: “Wenn Atossa als Beweis dafür dienen kann, dass die genannte Dame einem zoroastrischen Geschlecht angehöre, so ist jede Ingeborg und Ingegerd ... ein Beweis dafür, dass ihre Vorfahren der uralten ... Kultgemeinde der Ingvaco-ninnen angehörten.”—Hertel concluded that the Avestic Vištāspa was the father of Darius and that Yt.15 alluded to Darius’ marriage to Atossa. Nyberg: “Es gibt nicht den Schimmer eines Beweises ... und nicht einmal Herzfeld heisst das gut. Vištāpas Gattin heisst Atossa.”

A theory of which not even I approve, must be pretty bad. However, in this presentation, Atossa would be contemporary with Zoroaster; in the contested view equally; how, then, could the family have been Zoroastrian before Zoroaster? The prayer of Yt.15 does not say that Hutōsā was a sister of Vištāspa, as the “tradition” assumes; nor that she was his wife; but only that she wished to marry into his narrower

28 On the significanion of “fraspāt-ouranicus,” connected with “spayaṭra, vault of heaven,” see under ‘Astronomy.’
family. Instead of marrying the old vispatiš himself, soon to become
dowager lady Nőtari, she would rather have chosen the heir. Ingvaoen-
ninnen would have felt the same.

A man may have more than one main wife (whose children have
full claim to inheritance), and not only in the clan, but in the nmāna
there are more than one marriageable man. The man marries young,
at the age of 16; not of necessity at first the main wife. He remains
in the nmāna of his father. But one is not vispatiš when 16 years old;
that is the eldest member of the clan, sometimes the one oldest in rank.
The vispatiš, always old, may go on marrying to his liking, but the
posts of his main wives, the “zātayē gēbyāi abdatamā,” are long since
occupied. All that was exactly the same to the present day. The married
grandson of such a grandee answered, when asked “how is your grand-
father?” only: “les noces continuent.” Atossa has in Yl.15 the two
attributes “ażātā and pururāthrā.” Many girls had “many brothers,” in
royal families as many as there are days in a year. The above mentioned
grandee, a septuagenarian, questioned how many sons he had, an-
swered: “faut demander mon chef comptable.” Then he called into the
garden where far away a dozen boys between 5 and 10 years were play-
ing, and said “permettez que je vous présente quelques-uns de mes plus
jeunes enfants.” He knew that the eldest was a grandson, but their
names were unknown to him. Thus, a difference of fifty years is pos-
sible between the ages of brothers.

pururāthrā indicates that Hutōsā was married to several brothers, as
vice versa the saint Ardavīrāz was married to his seven sisters. The
tradition, therefore, regards Hutōsā as sister and wife of Vištāspa. Her
attributes are a good description of the homonymous daughter of
Cyrus whose brothers were, according to Ctesias, on the one hand the
sons of Cyrus, on the other those of the Spitāma, and who married
some of them. Nyberg, who denies the identity of the namesakes, calls,
357, the historical Atossa—while he makes Hutōsā “Zarathustra den
guten Leumund, frasastis, besorgen”—“eine Dame mit bunter Ver-
gangenheit, sowohl mit Cambyses, als mit dem Pseudo-Smerdis
verheiratet gewesen,” as though this could reflect on Zoroaster’s
reputation. Perhaps that makes her so interesting; somebody has said:
“interesting are only those men with a future and women with a
past.” But it should be really “colorful”: “mit ihrem Bruder Cambyses,
ihrem pseudo-Bruder Gómâta, und ihrem Vetter Darius verheiratet gewesen." As Cyrus' heiress she could have taken every liberty, except remaining a spinster. The kings had their harem, and for Atossa, too, her marriages were no love romances, no more than for the beautiful Musa who, when widowed, married her son Phraates V only 5 years old, on account of the regency.

The mother of Cambyses II and Smerdis was Kassandane; since Atossa married Cambyses and the pseudo-Smerdis, she was no daughter of Kassandane. And since Cyrus appointed both sons to succeed him and the line became extinct with them, he had no son from Astyages' daughter—the one Ctesias calls Amytes—for he would have been the heir. The true and the false brother marry their half-sister Atossa as "āzātā, agnata," as the heiress. She was the heiress of Media by her mother, whose dowry, Ctesias says, was the whole of Media. Amytes must have been Atossa's mother. Through her she was even more august than Cambyses and Smerdis. Probably born in 549/8, she was slightly older than Darius, her third husband, born about 545 B.C., whom, as Herodotus says, she dominated completely: ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος. Therefore it was her son Xerxes who succeeded, although, as he himself says, there were elder brothers.

Hutósā has left a deep impress on the minds of the people. They do not only remember that she was the āzātā and purubrāthā, and linked in marriage to the family of Vištāspa. In Yt.9,26 the hope is imputed to Zoroaster that she might obtain for him the frasastiš. In the Gatha he hopes to obtain this revocation of his banishment by the ability of the two Hāugava, but nowhere through Vištāspa, his protector. Yt.9 is no Gatha, but the thought must have figured in the legend to which Yt.15,35 belongs, and there Hutósā must have been imagined to have a greater influence on the person granting the frasastiš, than even Vištāspa. Whereas the legend everywhere considers him as an absolute sovereign, it has here preserved a memory of the fact that he had only the limited power of a satrap and was subject to a higher power which Hutósā could better influence: Cyrus or Cambyses. To imagine her as speaking in favor of Zoroaster may even be a last remembrance of their relationship. This special relationship can be discussed only after having determined the word "bandva," and that requires wider researches.
Atossa's half-brother Smerdis (Ionic form) is called Brôya in OP., rendered by Mardos in Aeschylus, Merdias in a scholion, Merdias in Trogus. But the Median form is Brzya, brzy of the Pap.El., rendered by Maraphis, Merphis in the scholion to Aeschylus' Pers. 775, from Hellanicus.²⁹ Brzya is the shortform of a name with "brzi, high" as first and with suppressed second element. Other shortforms of such a name are Gr. Mardontes < OP. 'brôvant, and Barzaëntes < Med. brzvant. Brôya's daughter Parmýs was married to Darius and had a son Ariomardos,³⁰ the second element of which is the first of the name of the grandfather. Such variations of names are general in IE. languages, cf. ršti-vēga: vézi.rštiš under 'Throne-names.' The suppressed component of the name may have been ršti. In the memorial list of Ylt13, brzi.rštiš stands beside vézi.rštiš, after the brothers and before the sons of Vištâspa, just as the Frânya brothers-in-law, Medes, stand among the relatives of Zoroaster. Therefore, one is allowed not only to regard brzi.rštiš as the full form of the hyp. Brzya, but to consider the persons, Brôya of the inscriptions, and Brzi.rštiš of the list, as identical. If his name appears in the document, Smerdis must have joined the circle around Vištâspa and Zoroaster, as did his sister Atossa. He was thrown into prison and secretly killed, more likely before Cambyses' campaign against Egypt, spring 525, than as Herodotus says, during that campaign. The memorial list can contain his name as that of a deceased, but at first one must assume that he was still alive at that date. The connection of Zoroaster with the great events of that period becomes clearer step by step.

Nyberg calls, e.g. on p.357, the equations "Hûtôsā = Atossa" and "Vištâspa = Vištâspa" "den Eckstein der ganzen Konstruktion, die so unsinnig ist, wie nur etwas sein kann," a criticism that can result either from supreme assurance or from great ignorance. His reasons are, p.45: "Die Hypothese scheint rettungslos daran, dass die erwähnte Gleichsetzung—undenkbar ist," an anticlimax. The nôtarya Vištâspa of the Awesta is a Persian with a Median name, vispatiš of the clan nôtarânánám,

²⁹ Cf. Markwart vorge, 137; also Altp.Inscr. 80.—Cf. theta: Farûdân, and Russ. Feodor, Maria, with é for ô. Vice versa: tahmo rupi > tahmuraθ.
³⁰ With ario-, i.e. ārya, the name gives no sense: "Aryan-high." The Gr. ari-o- enters for less frequent elements, like arvat-, in Arisâpes for arva.aspa, hara- in ariobarzanes for harâ-brzatf. Thus it may here supplant "ârâtysa, cf. ārâtysa.brzan, or ršti.brôka > Gr. *ast(o)mardos > ariomardos.
a name demanding the existence of an elder branch of the same family. His residence is the capital of Parthava, Tōsa, and his time the last decades of the sixth century B.C. Vištāspa, father of Darius, responds to every detail of that description. The Hutōsā of the Awesta is āzātā, agnate, purubrāhrā, married to brothers of her, related by marriage to the family of Vištāspa, closely connected with another lady, Humāyā, and has power over the highest instance which Vištāspa cannot influence. Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, answers the same description. There is quite a solid foundation of such "cornerstones." With Pharnakes = ātarhvarnah, the Vēhviya = Vivāna, the Hāugava Zāmā.aspa, Fraša.uṣtra and Fraša.aspa (Prēxaspes), the Vanjhušātayana Dātuvanhya, father of Bagabuṭša, and in the following generation Pissouthnes, Oxyartes, Artaïktès, Artostes, Artembares, Damaspia etc., the gathas and the Awesta contain about two dozen of names of persons which appear under the same name in analogous roles in history. Against these facts no invocation can help, no Ingeborg and Ingegerd, no William of Orange or Hohenzollern, no Charles of Spain or Sweden.
V. THRONE-NAMES

"That Son of Man was called in presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Aged Head"

HERODOTUS calls the founder of the Median empire Deiokes, i.e. Daiaukku of the annals of Sargon II, l.76 (Display inscr. 49) mentioned in 715-713 B.C.—This date is before the foundation of the empire, 678 B.C., so he is not the ktišes, but the eponymus of the dynasty; their name would be in Assyrian mārå Daiaukku, their land bit Daiaukku.' From the Šamaš omina one may infer that Wamitiarıšu < vahmayat.rša was the name of the first king, dahyupatiš of the Māda, and that the motive power behind their coalition (hangmatāna?) was a Deiocid Xšaβrīta, Ass. kaštariti, zantupatiš of KārKašši—this place being the pre-Median Agbatana.

It was a mistake of W. König, in ΛOF vii,6, repeated by Nyberg, 334, to doubt the Iranian character of the name Daiaukku. In the memorial document of Yt.13 are several names formed with dahyu, jara.dahyu, ātar.dahyu and dahyu.frādah, dahyu.sruta, and -ukku is an Iranian dimin. suffix, especially common in high antiquity, e.g. Assyrian annals.² To them belongs Aru.ukku, name of the eldest son of Cyrus I in the Assurbanipal prism. The names of the inscription of Aghačaqale: ὈΡΟΜΑΝΗΙ ΤΕ ΑΡΙΟΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΟΥΧΙ ΦΙΑΙΩΙ ΥΙΩΙ suggest aru.ukku = ariuk, both as hypoc. of Āryāramma rather than of Arvataspa.³ Cf. also OP. ma(n)dauka, Gr. mandaükē, Altp.Inschr. p.40; OP. vahauka, Gr. ῬΩΧΟΥ < vahudāta.

Herodotus calls Deiokes' successor Phraortes, a true Deiocid name, as proved by the fact that the Median pretender in Behistun appears under that assumed name: Fravartiš. Bartholomae regarded it as the shortform of a comp. with the fem. fravarti. Fravarti has many connotations, e.g. "compurgator, cojuror" (see under 'Last Judgment'). Nyberg believes the "bemerksenswert arische Name" to mean "kurzum

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¹ Thureau-Dangin, R. Ass. xxiv, 1927, p.75.n.3 and A. G. Lie, Inscr. of Sargon II, 1.pp.28ff., consider the previous reading of the local name "bit Daiaukki" in Annals l.149, year 9, as erroneous.

² Nöldeke, Pers.Stud. 35, noted the contrast between the final -k disappearing elsewhere, but preserved in diminutives. Perhaps the dimin. -k was geminated, as in Assy. spelling, an instance of gemination in infantile and familiar speech.

'Bekenntnis,' durch das man in die Gemeinschaft der Mazdah-Verehrer aufgenommen wird. Dieser Mann war also ein nicht-Arier, der in die arische Religionsgemeinschaft und damit in die herrschende Klasse aufgenommen war. A name "confession," however, would not express what the man confessed. And the numberless hosts of Fravarti, ancestors and "manes" of the Aryans would all be non-Aryans admitted into the ruling class.

The name of the third Mede, Gr. Kyaxares, with k for $\chi$ < OP. huvaxstra, is an epithet of the god Vṛtrâagna, written huvaxstam, i.e. huv.axstrom in Yt.14,25; it is syn. of awyaxstār, abstr. awyaxstra, meaning "good guardian." The name reveals the pre-Zoroastrian religion of the bearer.4

The name of the last Median king is Astyagēs in Herodotus, better Astyigās in Ctesias, Akk. īstuwēgu, i.e. "Med. ršti.vēga, brandishing the lance," not "vielleicht skythisch." With elements reversed, as vēzi.rštiš, the name appears in Yt.13,101, at a very prominent place: behind the brothers and before the sons of Vištāspa, and at the side of brzi.rštiš, Brûya, son of Cyrus. The names around Zoroaster are similarly arranged: first the Frānya, brothers-in-law, then the sons. To form the names of grandfather, father and son of parallel-similar or reversed-equal elements is a general IE. custom, cf. brzi.rštiš-Brûya, grandfather of ršti.brza > Astimardos-Ariomardos. Vēzi.rštiš, hence, may be a grandson of Rštivēga, Astyages.

The eponym of the Achaemenids is Hašāmāniš. His son was Čahiš-piš, probably the king who led the Persians from their original habitat in Media into Fārs. The members of the elder line of his descendants bear alternatingly the names Cyrus and Cambyses.

"Weder Čišpi noch Kuruš sind arische Namen"—thus Nyberg—has been said before, e.g. Masūdi,II,127: "Some maintain Cyrus' mother was a Jewess and the prophet Daniel his maternal uncle." The El. and Akk. transliterations of OP. ēš iš pā iš, viz. ciš.pīš and ši.še.pīš, prove a bisyllabic pronunciation in 520 B.C., but allow i or ē. The rendering of OP. 'Sātovahya by El. ta.tu.van.ia and Akk. za.tu.a proves the coexistence of an archaic pronunciation 'Sātovanhya and a con-

4 ukštaš in Sargon's 8th Camp., I-42, year 714 B.C., is more likely Med. hvaxstra than Xlaštita; both Deiocid names.
temporary zátovč. It is an error to believe that “OP. čišpi had greater authority than Gr. Teìspēs.” The Greeks, who had a name Thisbe, had no reason to render bisyllabic Čišpiš by a trisyllabic Teìspēs, unless they heard it. As a rule, the Greeks render the Ir. affricata č in old names by θ; t replaces it only under the law of two aspirates; hence, as Markwart recognized, τέρσης stands for *θεύρσης = čahispiš > čišpiš, an archaic name, resembling čaχšniš in Mem.Doc. Yt.13,114, and süždriš < *sąyuždriš in 13,113. Phonetics and formation are thoroughly Iranian, and the man was certainly an Aryan.


Berossus, frgm.2, in Alexander Polyhistor, says of Cyrus II: Πέρσης ὄν ἰθαγενής. He must have known a Babylonian document with “parsâ’a már parsâ’a, arri arrišitir.” There is no sense in contesting the nationality of Cyrus. Andreas started from his special “vowel-theory” which he wanted to support by the doubly wrong equation: Cyrus a Mardos = Amardos = Hapirti (cf. above). There was no interest to preserve the -š in the nominative (only), and no other foreign a-stems are changed into u-stems. The first Cyrus is mentioned by Assurbanipal in 639 b.c. (Assur prism, Berlin). Assyrian has a type fu’ūl, but no fū’ul, and assimilates OP. kūruš to its type fu’al:kūraš. The a is insignificant. The Babylonians assume the Assyrian form, and Hebr. Kūraš renders the Akk. form. Cyrus I called his son Cambyses, and the next two generations consider these names important enough to repeat them.

Cambyses is OP. kβύβιοι, Aram. knbzy, pronunciation kanbuža.* The connection of both names with the Indian Kurū and Kamboja was recognized a hundred years ago by Windischmann; Weber

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*Possibly čahi for čahra or čahvant, plus Všu- plus i suff., with -ip- < *ap- < *aw-. Other renderings of čahispiš: te.ukṣa, a Cimmerian, with Assy. dissimilation; two Achaemenids in Herodotus, Tēspēs; also Thespis in Diodor. after Hieronymus of Cardia. One of Markwart’s examples is ambiguous: Tissaphernes for the more common čitharvahān, or for the rare Tīfān < *tiltrya.vahān of the Mahārāmak? One may add Thuthrautes, if from *čitra.vahīša.

*nb with labio-dental b. Ar. -kij- > Ir. -kiy- > š, hence -gij- > -gï- > š. Greek Kambyses, but as ethnic kambyzoi, recognized by Markwart in Ptolemy’s Tambyzoi, vi,11.
considered it as evident; Markwart, uge ii, 137, calls them "ethnics, kūruš with vrddhi from kurú"; also Charpentier in zn ii (1923), 144f. — The Rgveda knows only a n.pr. kuru.śravaṇa, but in later literature the kurú are frequently mentioned, often together with Gandhāra and Bāhlika. Aśoka's rule extended over Kambōja and Yōna (Graeco-Bactria),7 and the Buddhist "List of Sixteen Nations" contains the Kuru, and, at the end, Gandhāra and Kambōja. The Jātaka describe the latter as great horsebreeders, one tells of their killing of insects, snakes, frogs and vermin, considered to be a religious merit.8 The grammarian Yāśka (500 B.C.? ) quotes the word "śavati, he goes" as proof that their dialect was foreign, and this is indeed Olr. śavati, not Ol. cyavate.9 The Mahābhārata enumerates them with Andra, Śaka (in Arachosia), Yavana (in Gandhāra), and Vāhlika (in Bactria), and tells of Arjuna's victory over the Darada (Kashmir) and Kambōja. Kuru and Kambōja, hence, clearly belong to the area of the Iranian satrapy Gandāra. One reason to give a proper name of such type—another example is Amorges, hōmavrga—to a child is that it was born in those lands, but this hardly fits the case of the four generations of Persian kings. Their names recall Lat. Germanicus, Britannicus etc., and were honorific names, for participation in wars and conquests. Gandāra must have been added to the Median empire before 639 B.C.

We do not know the names the first three Hystaspids bore before their accession; the personal name of later kings is only mentioned where the succession was contested. But in dārayavahuš, ḥšaya.rša, rta.xšaθa, we meet with a species of names differing in principle from all older names of the Medes and of the elder line of the Achaemenids. These are no mere personal names, no real compounds, but sentences clothed in the form of a compound. These sentences are devices in the Old Oriental manner, containing a religious-political program, revealing the religion of their bearers as clearly as do the names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings or of the caliphs. They are "throne-

7 Edict 4, z2 253/7 B.C., cf. Thomas in Cambr.Hist.India 1,503.
8 Rhys Davis in chu 1,172.
9 Jātaka iv,464: Kambōjaka horses; vi,208: killing of vermin. This must not be construed as indicating their "Zoroastrian," on the contrary, it shows the origin of such customs which intruded into Mazdaism at the Arsacid period of the Vīdērdād.
10 In Nirukṣa, cf. Z.AIrWb. 241 and Grierson, TRAS, 1911, 802.
names," chosen at the accession or bestowed at the nomination to the succession. Only these three have been created; all later members of the house choose one of them.

At the accession, such names are ceremoniously announced, proclaimed by heralds, as the book of Enoch says: "At the inexhaustible fountain of justice that Son of Man was called in presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Aged Head." How this was done, Tabari describes iii,1368: "Afterwards they met to choose a throne-name for Dja'far. Ibn al-Zayyāt (the vezier) said: Let us call him al-Muntaṣir billāh! and they discussed it till no difference of opinion remained. But, the next morning, Ahmad b. abi Du'ād (the qāḍi al-quḍāt) went to him and said: I have reflected on a throne-name which I hope will be acceptable and find favor, inshallāh, namely al-Mutawakkil 'alā'llāh. And the caliph ordered to seal it, and called Muhammad b. 'Abdalmalik (ibn al-Zayyāt) and ordered him to make it known to the people. The letters were sent out, and ran: Basmala . . . . , the Commander of the Faithful has ordered that the official name under which he will be called on the steps of the chairs and in the letters to his judges, secretaries, tax-collectors, chancellors and others, wherever correspondence takes place between him and them, shall be 'From Allāh's slave Dja'far, al-imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā'llāh, the Commander of the Faithful.' Therefore, you are bound to act accordingly, and confirm reception of this letter! With Allāh's favor, inshallāh!" al-Mutawakkil bestowed their throne-names to his three successors while they were still children. Mutatis mutandis the same must have taken place under Darius and Xerxes.

Thus, the problem is, what was Darius' personal name? Nyberg, 346, says, according to old custom he must have borne as eldest son of Viṣ-
tāspa, the name of his grandfather, hence Arṣāma. One glance at any genealogical table of an Iranian dynasty shows that this is a fallacy. A custom is no necessity.\textsuperscript{11} The—probably—first born son of Darius and Artystone (Her.m,88, vii,69) is called after his great-grandfather who was either still alive or had just died. The first granddaughter, from a daughter of the same marriage, born in 506, was called Artystone after her grandmother, who at that time was little over thirty-three years.

\textsuperscript{11} How names of children come about is illustrated by the anecdote of Muṣaffar al-dīn Mūsā b. Nāṣir al-dīn Ibrāhīm, under 'Poetry.'
old. But the certainly first son of Cyrus I was not called Čahišpiš after his grandfather, but Aru.ukku. And that Darius was the first son is a mere assumption. He was not.

In the memorial list, 13,103, we find, in the group following upon Vištāspa, before Spantadāta, a Pišišyōthna, whom the legend considers as Vištāspa's son, later helper of the sōšyant at the end of the world. An historical Pissouthnes,\(^2\) son of Hystaspes (II) son of Darius, was satrap of Lydia and revolted against Darius II between 422 and 414 B.C.

The name is formed with the frequent Zoroastrian term ſyōthna, which in the cultural sense can signify "way of life," but as term.techn. "the ethic conduct ruled by vahumanah, vahoš manaho ſyōthnaiš," to √syu- "to go," e.g. Y.30,5 "ḥaṭyāiš ſyōthnaiš, by conduct as it should be," Democritus' τὸ πρᾶττεν ἄ δεῖ, or Dur.Beh. §63: "upari rāstam upariyā[yāyam], in the way of right I walked." Sometimes √ši- "to dwell," that means "to live," is used in the same sense, thus Y.39,3, "the spantān amrṭān, holy-immortals, yoi vahoš ā manaho šyantī, who live in ēwōa, or ēk τοῦ φρονεῖν."—Bailey, asos vi,947, makes use of Y.29,3 "yā šyāvate ādrān ṛśvāho, how the lofty 'behave' towards the lowly," for interpreting MP. šōn <"savana "way of acting" [or <"šōhn <šyōtha?]. This is connected with MP. "šowān, path," model of Syr. šbilā, Arab. sabil in the Islamic notion sabil Allāh, equivalent to vahoš manaho šyōthna.

Nyberg, 163: "Vohu Manah's Taten in Y.50,9, auch 43,2, sind die sakralen Handlungen und Riten, die den Mysteriengesang begleiten. Mehr: 'That, šyaothna,' bezieht sich in den Gatha ausnahmslos auf rituelle und magische Vorkehrungen auf dem Mysterium oder Ordalplatz. Das gilt auch für das ganze Awesta." Vid.3,41ff. says: The sin of burying men is inexcusable; exception admitted: if the culprit embraces the mazdayasian religion. Reason: because the mazdayasian religion "spayate narš āstavanahya vispā tā šyōthnā yāčiça vrzyati, wipes out all šyōthna, whatever he has committed, of the man who embraces it, it sweeps away, so it were, every evil thought, like a high

\(^2\) Caesius, Pers.5: Thukydides ii,59, i,19,34; vii,5,5.—Connecting of piši- with "pišman, look" to √pāb- "to see," or with piš-, s-aor. of √pis- "to paint"; or piši, pišera to √piš-, pinaš- "to grind," give no satisfying meaning. The name recalls NP. "peškār, manager."
wind blowing from the south sweeps the atmosphere clean.” The šyōthna that are wiped out are no “ritual and magical arrangements” but sinful acts, even inexpressible sins.

šyōthna appears regularly in the frequent triad “manah vačah šyōthna, thinking, speaking, acting,” and according to that amazing theory thinking and speaking would likewise be, but are not limited to “mystery and ordeal places.” The “mystery places of the Gatha-community” correspond in that conception to the “ordeal places of the Mithra-community,” whereas the non-Zoroastrian religion of the Achaemenids would have had “little space for ecstatic exercises on ordeal places.” This theory would make the elder Pišišyōthna, son of Vištāspa, an “Ordal-genosse” of Zoroaster. Vištāspa II, on the contrary, would have given this Zoroastrian name to his son entirely ignorant of all that and although his religion gave little room for šyōthna.

The genealogy was:

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Vištāspa
   \  /
  1. son Pišišyōthna (I) 2. son Spantadāta = Dārayavahuš
       \  /
son Vištāspa (II)
       \  /
son Pissouthnes, Pišišyōthna (II).
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Pišišyōthna I was an elder brother of Darius-Spantadāta. Dārayavahuš is the throne-name, Spantadāta, son of Vištāspa assumed at his accession, and therefore, in the epopee, Spandiyāt-Isfandiyār, son of Guštāsp corresponds to Darius. Ctesias heard this name, Sphendadates, in connection with the murder of the magus Gōmāta, see under ‘Magogphonía.’ The legend which grew around Zoroaster and Vištāspa remembered the son of Vištāspa only as such, with the name of his youth, under which he appears in the memorial list of Yz.13,103.—The later epics make Isfandiyār achieve many heroic deeds, but do not make him rule, and add to him two names from other sources, Dārā and Vahman, both in the role of great-kings and successors of Vištāspa. Dārā,

\[18\] In the eschatologic legend, Pilyōtn becomes immortal “rat, judge” of Kangdiz and helper of the sólyant, see under ‘Last Judgment.’
i.e. the regular MP. NP. form of Dāreyav(oš), became there a son of Isfandiyār, not at all wrong: the youth is the father of the man, and Spandadāta ruled only as Dāreyavoš.

Vahman, on the contrary, is no personal name, but an aspect of AhuraMzdäh, Aw. vahumano, and has no historical background whatsoever, unless one would believe Mas'ūdī n.127: "They say, the mother of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, was a Jewess of the house of king Saul."

Dāraya.vahu-, with the part.stem dāraya-, not dārayat-, is an Old Persian formation (see etym. of zarātuṣṭra under 'Spitāma'). The peculiar meaning of dāraya is illustrated by the Manichaean hymn, Mir.Man. ii.16,20: "'vmn χ̄ȳd d'rȳd 'vd p'yd, and He himself holds and protects me" (before: He accompanies me). That is the relation of χ̄saθradāra to χ̄sathrapāvan, both "holder = protector," Germ. "Landpfleger," prefect of a province. Cf. Mir.Man. iii.43: "'vmn ḥvfr'yd' 'vmn χ̄ȳd dstd'r ṣv'ḥ, help us and hold our hand!"

The second element is vahu, not naiba, the word specific to the OP. dialect. The throne names are devices, with a religious meaning; therefore vahu is used, meaning the same as vahumanah, eivoua, eivouia. In the gathic passages collected in Wb. 1395 (below, under n.3), the subst.neutr. vahu stands likewise for vahu manah. In the Fravarānī Y.12,4 the dēva are renounced because they are “a.vahu, an.rta, without vahumanah, without rtam.” This is the profession of faith, and just there vahumanah is shortened to vahu. Likewise in the name of Darius’ general in Armenia, Vahumisa, Beh. §§29-30, i.e. “vahu(mana).misbā, cui Vahu(mano) societatem (praebet),” see under ‘Myastra.’ Nyberg’s assertion, 352: “-maniš steht im Westen für das danie bezeugte manah,” is doubly wrong. First, there is no word maniš, but only a second element of a few nn.ppr., the stem of which may be manyah-, see under ‘Nōtarya.’ Second, Darius attests the “Gathischen terminus manah” in saying “my own manah, will, volition, I controlled severely.”—It does not affect the meaning of the name, whether one is satisfied with vahu, or regards this as a shortening of vahumanah. But it is a shortening, because nothing else explains the double figure
Dārā-Bahman, namely the n.pr. *dāraya.vahumanah* dissected into father and son.\textsuperscript{14} Nyberg, 361: "Herzfeld's Behauptung, der Thronname dārayavahuš sei eigentlich eine Abkürzung von dārayavahumanah, an sich eine freie Phantasie, fällt damit unrettbar dahin."\textsuperscript{16}—The equation Vištāspa = Vištāspa "scheiterte rettungslos," but the anticlimactic "unthinkable" was the rescue. This time, the sheet-anchor is his concession of my term "Thronnamen"; by his accepting it, I win, as in a game of chess, the position "Zoroastrian names."

The throne-name Dārayavahuš was suggested by the gatha Y.31,7: "rtam yā dārayat vahištam mano, the rtam through which AhuraMzdāh holds the vahu manah," with the superl. vahišta for vahu. We may call the name a gatha quotation. It is a profession of faith. And Dārayavahus—pronounced dāreyavoš and dārēvoš—is itself a short form of the full name *dārayavahumanah*. 'Aun, Ghiyāth, Mu'ayyad, Nāşir al-dīn are all modifications only of the same thought.

The inscription on a silver jug from Hamadan\textsuperscript{16} ruled out, by the gen. in -āha of χśaya.ṛśah, the former notation of the stem of this name as χśayāṛśan-, and therewith—the point that alone matters—the etymology "stallion among the rulers." Thus the way was opened to find the religious-political meaning of this second throne-name. Benveniste accepted this at once in his Grammaire, but Nyberg, 347, still clings to the wrong stem, a straw, though conceding "throne-names."

"Wenn das möglich ist," Otto der Faule and Karl der Dicke would be self-chosen throne-names. I had tried χśaya.ṛśah as formed with *ṛśah, to rś;* Benveniste says something similar. Tedesco wrote to me on this problem:

"If dāraya.vahu is a shortening of *dāraya’.vahumanah-, χśayāṛśah- is perhaps shortening of ‘χśaya’.ṛśmanah, who commands the right will,' cf. Aw. ‘χśayat.वाχś, who commands speech' and Aw. ‘ṛśmanah- (bahuvrīhi only) right-will.' The

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. the analogies of Sām and Zāl, Kešāpa and Rustam, AMI vi.7ff.; originally each one person, changed into fathers and sons by the legend.

\textsuperscript{16} *dārayavahuh(manah)* is based on the identity of vahu and vahumanah in the Fravardinī, and on the correspondence between the historical Dārayavahuš with the two legendary figures Dārā-Vahman. The brackets in Nyberg's explanations, 245: "lönghyö, der sich (von Vohu-Manah) binden lässt," and "lönghyö hvarna, mit hvarnah versehen himsichtlich išti, Benite (von VohuManah)" have no support at all.

\textsuperscript{16} Altp. Inschr. 80.19.
spelling seems to mean not ār², but rather ’r in the anlaut of the compound: χšaya.rša, originally foursyllabic.—While, at the shortening of *dāraya.vahumanah- the inflexion was transferred from manah to vahu, in the case of χšaya.ršmana-, where rš does not allow inflexion, only the syllable -man- was ejected, but the original ending of the word remained. χšaya- as participle seems to have first been recognized by Foys, KZ.35,544: “von RV. kšayádvíra “Männer beherrschend” im Sinn und der Bildung nach wohl nicht zu trennen.” Aw. aršan—however is not equal to OI. vírá-, but only ‘man’ in the sexual connotation.”

Tedesco’s interpretation of the vowel in the joint of the composition is proved by the Elam. transcription ’k.se.’r.sa, i.e. χšē.rša; cuneif. “a” does not mean interior long vowel, but is r son., written with preceding aleph as if in initial position. Greek ε does not result from Ion. ē > Dor. ā, but from OIr. ē < aya, while -ayā- would give ā.

ršmanah alone, Arsameses, is the name of a son of Darius and Phaidyme, daughter of Otanes, Her.vi,68, and of a satrap of Darius III in the battle on the Granikos, Diodor 17,19,4. Arsameses is to Arsames, ršama, as Spitamenes to Spitāma, and Ršama does certainly not mean (Wb). “arša.ama, die (sexuelle) Kraft eines Männchens (Bär, Hengst) besitzend.” The thought of the name χšaya.ršah < *χšaya.ršmanah is related to Darius’ words in NiR b,15: “manaha hvēpaşyahya daršam χšayamna ahmi, Akk. ina muḥhi libbi.ja rabāka, I commanded severely my own will.” Akk. libbu, lit. heart, is a good translation of manah. By choosing rš.manah instead of manah alone, the name adds a religious quality, “the right will, volition.”

The two elements of the third Achaemenid name, rta and χšātra, are pre-Zoroastrian words, but both notions have become aspects of Ahura-Mazdāh and therewith specifically Zoroastrian. The commentary to the very personal prayer of Zoroaster, the “rtam-vahu” in Y.20,3, interprets the last words of this prayer as “ṛtāi χšātram, to rtam (belongs, is due) the rulership.” That is at the same time the meaning of the throne-name rta.χšātra. Darmesteter called it “l’idéal de la bonne royauté.”

Thus, the three throne-names of the Achaemenids are Zoroastrian in the narrowest and strictest sense of the word, just as the throne-names of the caliphs, conceived in the same spirit, are strictly Islamic. As the name of the saviour astvat.rta from Gath, astvat rtam hiyāt, thus
dāraya.vahumanah is derived from yā dārayat vahiśtam mano, rta.-xšaθ'a from rtāi xšaθram. They join the long line of apophthegmatic names which start in the Ancient East with history and go on to the present time, only twice interrupted under the impact of Europe: in Hellenism and today, when one was ashamed of one's own past and religion.
VI. KAVI AND XŚĀYAΘYA

“Quippe ita res humanae se habent: advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.”
—Sallust, bell.ing. 53,8

BARTHOLOMAE, Wb. 442, distinguishes three applications of the word kavi: (1) “Princes of tribes hostile to Zoroaster’s doctrine, adhering to dēva religion.” Therefore Lommel, Yāst 171: “verstockte Fürsten, wegen der abschätzigen Bedeutung.” (2) “Title of the dynasty founded by Kavāta, with whom the word had coalesced with the names.” His first example, Viṣṭāspa, does not belong to them. (3) “Certain enemies of the people and the faith of the Mazdayasnians.” Kavi is a title existing before Zoroaster. Whether the kavi or some kavi sided with or against him, is a mere accident. For understanding kavi, this distinction is not worth more than saying “martiya, mortals, who were enemies of the religion.” It is misleading—e.g. “verstockte Fürsten”—because it implants in the word a moral evaluation entirely foreign to it. According to Nyberg, 48f., the kavi would have been “small tribal kings or chiefs,” and their title “the only more generally used title of rulers in the Younger Avesta, as unknown in the West as χśāyaḥya, the western word for ruler, in the Avesta (i.e. East).” If the words never overlap, and since eastern conditions are an unknown quantity, this synonymity in East and West seems to me not provable.

In the gathas three persons are called kavi: (1) kavi Viṣṭāspa, of the nōtārya. (2) Zoroaster’s “bandva” as one of the “kavitāt,” see under ‘Bandva,’ Y.49,1: “the bandva, the mazišta, who listened to the miscarried verdict,” committed a sin by doing so. Zoroaster’s expression is always argumentative, causative, the words mean “he who, being my bandva, yet listened etc.,” thereby failing in his duty. (3) The Vēhviya in Y.51,12 (see under ‘Vēhviya’): “The Vēhviya, the kāvian, denied hospitium to me, the Spitāma!” The sin for which Zoroaster curses him is that he failed in his duty. Being, as a Vēhviya, a kavi, he was bound to give hospitium to a Spitāma. Such duties exist between peers. The families of the bandva, the Vēhviya, the Spitāma, hence are all kavi. Zoroaster himself was a kavi. So was Viṣṭāspa.

The yashts add one more to these applications: kavi as title of the eight kings which the legend arranges as having ruled before Viṣṭāspa; the first of them is Kavāta, the last Husravah. That Husravah-Cyrus is
counted as a member of the foregoing dynasty disagrees with real history, and the wrong caesura is caused by the fact that Zoroaster appeared after his reign.

In the memorial list of Yt.13, kavi may be a title in the case of puruṣ-toiš kavoīš in 115; but in 119, kaviš is a n.pr. and g(a)rša kavoīš in 123 is his son.

kavi never has a local determination. Vištāspa is χšayant, not kavi of his dahyauš; the eight kavi are not kavi, but upamam χšaṭram—i.e. n.abstr. sultān—of all provinces, vispānām dahyūnām. kavi, therefore, is not an office bound to a place, but a rank. The adj. kavya designates the hvarnah they own as inalienable quality and without which kingdom is not regarded as legitimate. From this adj. or from kavyana comes NP. kāviyāṇi diraṣ, name of the standard of the empire in the late legend.

The kavi are all members of noble houses, to each of which corresponds something in history: the Deiocids to the eight kavis, the Hystaspids to the nōtarya; just as the older kings and Husrawah precede Vištāspa, so the Deiocids and Cyrus precede the Hystaspids. The Vēhviya are the Geopothroi, and the Spitāma are Ctesias’ Spitamas. Only one of the historical houses would not be represented among them, the older line of the Achaemenids, unless it be by Zoroaster’s bandva, and so it is, as we shall still see.

The facts about χšāyaḥya are different. It is an adj. of the abstr. noun χšayaḥa; the two possible forms χšāyaḥya and χšāyəḥya can both be Median, but the more probable first one cannot be Old Persian. As a historical problem, the word is Median. A special title for a satrap, and in enlarged form for a great king, could only be created in that part of Iran, where the empire was founded. When the Persians succeeded the Medes, they could not do otherwise than take over, with the empire, the style of Median chancery. No geographical question of longitude and latitude enters into the problem. But the fact that the title is Median shows that for the Medes there was nothing to take over, that no empire existed before theirs.

χšāyaḥya can be used without objective determination, thus in the introductory formula of the Darius inscriptions, or for Xerxes as prince; but ordinarily it is determined by “of the kings, of the provinces” or “of
a special country.” Neither the gathas nor the yashts use this official title χšāyaḏyā. Zoroaster uses either the part χšayant or the neutr.abstr. χšaḇram. √χši-, just as Arab. √mlk, is “to be master, to rule over,” and one can be malik, χšāyaḏyā, χšayant over one’s own house or over a kingdom. Every king is a χšayant, but not every χšayant a king. In the gathas χšayant is used without gen.obj. only where the context clearly shows that it means ruling over a province. There is no difference, in content or dialect, between χšāyaḏyā and χšayant, but the same difference as between šayanam and χšaḇram, that between poetry and prose: poetical language prefers to avoid official terms.

Gath. χšayant and χšaḇram always refer to a defined territory, evidently so in the “Gatha of the Flight,” Y.46, compared with 49 and 51: Zoroaster, proscribed from his home, zam, seeks refuge with the χšayant of another dahyu, viz. Vištāspa (st.14). Each dahyu has a χšayant. Instead of the plur. “rulers of provinces,” Zoroaster uses the neut.pl. χšaḇra daḥyūnām; the yashts use the sg. “χšaḇram vispānām daḥyūnām, ruler of all provinces” for χšāyaḏyā.

Only with this determination, or in “upamam χšaḇram vispānām daḥyūnām, highest rulership (sultān, maiestas) of all provinces” does the title become a sovereign one, equivalent of OP. χšāyaḏyā χšāyaḏyānām χšāyaḏyā daḥyūnām, where equally the territorial determination is decisive, just as even malik al-mulūk without territory is not yet a sovereign title, but that of an heir to the throne or a vezier. No more than χšayant, χšaḇra, does χšāyaḏyā alone signify “king.” The only Iranian equivalent to the historical and social content which the words king, basileus, rex imply is ahu or ahura. χšāyaḏyā > śāh, malkā remains the title of provincial governors and princes of the blood during the whole Sasanian period, just as both classes bear one and the same title under the caliphs: amīr from amara, syn. of χšāyaḏyā from √χši-, “to rule, to command.”

kavi means neither ruler nor king, but designates members of high aristocratic families which rise by power and wealth above the general level of the hvētu, as in Y.46 kavi Vištāspa above the hvētu Häugava and Friyāna. To the MMed. official formula “kavān u χšatrdarān” corresponds MPārs. “šahrdarān u vāspuhṛān”; this equation, in official language, kavān = vāspuhṛān, is perfectly right: kavi is *vāispuphra.
The oldest instance of this notion is Yt. 5,33 (= 17,35): "Orētōna, viso pūthro ādwiyānōiš, heir of the Ādwiya house." In Eg. parchments, contemporary with the Papyri Elephantine, specimens of the correspondence between the satrap and the central government, the satrap Ršāma, an Achaemenid, bears the title br byt', previously known only as Pahl. ideogr. for Ir. vāspuhru, and origin of this ideogram. Mittwoch referred to a corresponding már biti in an Akk. document. A sentence in Pap. El. Sachau 13, Cowley 30, "God may give favor to thee before Darius (II) and the b'nē bētā" means "before the king and his potential successors." MP. vāspuhru is a vṛddhī formation, no longer active in MP., hence descends from OIr. vāisapuṭra, translated by bar bētā in the parchment, just as the Arabs, later, translate vāspuhru by ahl al-buŷūtāt. In this very meaning kavi functions, in the legend, as predicate of the Median dynasty: they are the vāisapuṭra, Ass. en.er "vispatis", the māṛē Daiaukki of bit Daiaukki: már biti. The Ka'ba inscr. of Sapor I translates br byt' by ḍ ēy bâsrīlēwō, i.e. NP. šāhzādah.

The legend arranges the eight kavi (including Husravaḥ) in four generations with only three ruling kings. That is not a legendary pattern, but a reflex of history. It is, moreover, a striking analogy to Herodotus' four generations of Median kings. Herodotus reconciled what he had heard from Iranians—their legend—with what he had read in Greek logographs, and therefore his presentation has evident similarities with the kavi legend.

None of the localities of the kavi legend is imagined to be in the mythical home Ėrānvēž; nor are the places the same as in the Vištāspa cycle. These two cycles originated in different regions and at different times. Vištāspa's place is vis nōtarānām, the city Tōsa nōtarānām in Parthava.

Gr.Bdh.127 mentions as one of the dynamic "Varhrān" fires founded by old "dahyupati, sovereigns": "Ŭzaw ē Tahmaspān [mythical predecessor of the kavi dynasty] founded the ādār k[v]'tk'n in [h]mt'[n] in memory of the adoption of kavāt." This is an etiologic interpretation of the names: kavāta—so to be read also in Yt.14,2 for [ka]vātahya,

1 Only a preliminary publication by the late Eugen Mittwoch Neue Assyr. Urkunden a.d. Zeit d. Achaemeniden-Herrschaft in Aegypten, no date, no publisher, no pagination; must have been printed between 1933 and 1936 in Germany.

2 Probably the same as that referred to by W. König in Reall.Assyr. 1, sub "Aršāma," and possibly the tablet Clay, Bab.Exp.U.P. ix, n° 99, of 424 B.C.—cf. Artāzēwa, father of Manûštana, már biti ḫarri, under 'Śpītāma.'
which is one syllable short—is not a man’s name, but means “colt,” and is, like "guñasp, stallion" a shape Vṛthragna assumes when appearing. The dynastic fire of the Medes in Agbatana was dedicated to Vṛthragna as colt, kavāta. The legend takes this as name of the founder, a founding after the pattern of the Sargon and Moses legends, and identifies the founder of the dynastic fire with the kistes of the dynasty. The date is 678 B.C.; the founder was not Herodotus’ Deiokes, Dāiaukku, 715-713, the eponym of the dynasty, who was exiled to Ḥamāh in Syria. Cf. the remarks to Ass. Wametiaršu under ‘Throne-names.’

Gr.Bdh.125: “Husravah founded the temple of Šez on mount ’ksvnd (read: ’sgvnd) for the ādarguñasp.” Šez, Aw. ččišta, is known as name of the Urmiya Lake; the mountain is Aw. asn(g)vant in Yt.19, Ass. sangībuti < fem. asngvati, mod. Sahand, SW of Tawrīz. The fire is called “of the stallion” because it was dedicated to this incarnation of Vṛthragna. That it was built in gratitude for the help the fire had given Husravah when destroying the Median uzdēsčār, idol-temples, is a distortion of some historical facts. Wrong is the projection of the Sasanian notion of Buddhist temples into high Iranian antiquity. But Median temples had been destroyed in antiquity, by Xerxes, see under ‘Dēva.’ In the legend, Husravah is always imagined as fighting in Media, because the conquest of Media by Cyrus, his prototype, was not forgotten: “he who counted (it) to the empire of the Aryan provinces, āryānām dahyūnām xšāthrāi hankrmrō” (see under ‘Mithra’).

In Yt.5, mount rzifya (or ārzifya?), “eagle-mountain,” MP. "lvf, NP. āľūh, is the place of kavi Usan. The Assyrian annals mention this widely known mountain several times under the name arzabija in northwest Media; the Urartean annals speak of “horses called aršibini, from arzifya,” probably the Baz.qush, east of the Sahand.

Other placenames of the Husravah legend are such of race-courses: “nava.fratb hrsā razurā, nine-rounds-forest,” in Yt.5,50, “vispē.ārya-razurā, all-Aryan-forest,” in Yt.15,32, and “spētitam razuram, spētinī razurā, White Forest,” in Yt.15,31. The three forests and race-courses are all in Media, the two latter in Lur < rzura and Shahrazur; the former must be sought in Adharbaijan, “pašē” of the lake Ččišta.

* Cf. Ami, vii,102f. and 118ff.
* Gr.Bdh. gives an etiologic explanation: “because the guñasp fire set down on the bhwī y sp, the mane of the horse of Husravah.”
The Awesta ignores the legend of Spandadā-Isfandiyār, son of Vištāspa. The Vištāspa cycle is represented in the Awesta only by Vištāspa, and his more important brother Zarivariš with his charioteer Visataruš, all figures of the memorial list. At the time when the quotations from their legend were introduced into the yasht, the epic had not yet admitted tales about Spandadā, and less so of his successors Dārā, Bahman, Humāy etc. down to Alexander. Unless one admits the identity of the legendary and the historical Vištāspa, of Spandadā and Darius, and of Dārā-Bahman and Dārayavahumanah, these facts are inexplicable. The presentation of the Hystaspid period in the legend is not part and continuation of the Vištāspa cycle, but a separate legend of still younger origin. Nyberg, who regards the "eastern" Vištāspa as founder of a new, otherwise unknown dynasty, remarks 289: "Kein Naotaride nach Vištāspa führt den kavi Titel," and discusses the "Abschaffung des kavi Titels" which he believes to have been "stigmatized" by Zoroaster and replaced by "zoroastrissimus," see under 'Vidēvdād: Ragā.' It would be equally true to say: no Naotarid after Vištāspa does not bear the title, because there are none. Vištāspa is a one-man dynasty. But at least one would expect that the title had disappeared, yet not even that is true, kavi survives with all honors.

In Pahl. literature kavi Vištāspa remains always kai Vištāsp.šāh; he has assumed beside the "eastern" kavi the "western" title šāh. One sees how near he is to the real Iranian history with their shahs. The heroes of the really old myth, whose places are in Ėrānvež, hence really in the East, become neither šāh, not even after being considered as original kings, nor is one of them, not even Rustam, ever called kavi.—MMed. kavān u ʿšatrddārān is as good a formula as Sasan. šahrdārān u vāspurān. From this MMed. "kav" the Armenians borrowed their "kav." In Mani's religion, the "rōšan-kav, Prince of Light" is the ruler of the realm of light. In the Kārn. Art. 11,17, Ardašir I is called "kay ē Pāpakān, kavi, Pāpak's son," because he descends from Sāsān who is imagined to be—without historical support—a Hystaspid, great-grandson, or as son of his own grandfather, grandson of Vištāspa. The kings Yazdegird II, Pērōz and Kavāt call themselves on their coins kai Yazdegird etc., like many Muhammedan kings of the Middle Ages. The seven rulers of the kīṣvar beyond the horizon, helpers at the resurrection, are called "ān haft kay." The title did not disappear and there is
no trace that its value had been impaired by being stigmatized by Zoroaster.

Mani gave it a very peculiar meaning. His "Kavân book" is the "safar al-djabābira" of the Fihrist, the "book of the giants." Biruni, Chron. 102: "the kayāniyya are the djabābira." That the prehistoric heroes were giants is a Semitic conception, first expressed in Gen.6,4: "There were giants haggibbōrim in the earth . . . their children became mighty men which were of old, men of renown (better: to which epics were sung)." Huge ruins, like the dam at the point where the Diyalā breaks through the Ḥamrīn, or the Khosar dam near Nineveh are called Bā Djabbāra, by Syriacs and Arabs, as cairns are called "Hünen and Hüngenrab" in German.

One of the titles in the protocol of Xusrau I in Menander, de Legat. p. 3 is γεύτας γεγάντων, rendering Ir. kay e kayān through the medium of Syr. ġn br. This is the title of al-Mundhir of Ἐρα in the Syr. Chronicle Noldeke-Guidi, while Tabari calls him "mahist"; he was one of the "megistanes, Arab. nadim." A similar thought is expressed by the title "Rustam i Zāl i zamān, the Rustam of his time," and the last echo is found in two inscriptions in Isfahan, of Shāh `Abbās the Great and of Shāh Ḥusain, where it is said "the djabābirat al-djabābira shall, like the Caesars and Khāqāns, for ever kiss the dust of the threshold of the Şāhinşah."

Zoroaster has never stigmatized, or used as an invective, his own title and that of his protector Viṣṭāspa. The error rests on a misinterpretation of Y.32,15:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kārpatāsca kavitāsca</th>
<th>yā karpatāsca kavitāsca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avāiś abi yān danti</td>
<td>noit jiyātoś χšayamnān vaso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi 'abiyābryantē</td>
<td>vahoś ā dmānē manaho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Because of these (their actions) the priesthood and the kavihood are cursed; but even because of these (their sufferings) shall those, whom they do not let be free masters of their lives, drive to the house of Vahumanol!"

Bartholomae: "Deshalb ist die karpan- und kavay-schaft dem Untergang verfallen, durch die (gerade), die sie nicht nach Gefallen über ihr Leben schalten lassen wollen. Die werden
von den beiden hinweg in das Haus des Guten-Sinnes getragen werden."

Andreas: "Wegen dieses ihres Thuns ist dem Untergang verfallen die ganze Sippschaft der Opferpriester und der kavi; wegen jenes ihres Tuns werden anderseits ins Haus des Guten-Sinnes gebracht werden die, von denen man sagt, dass sie nicht frei über ihr Leben verfügen."

Nyberg: "Darum sind die K. und K. dem Untergang verfallen durch die, denen sie nicht erlauben nach ihrem freien Willen über das Leben zu gebieten. Fort von ihnen sollen diese zu Vohu Manah's Wohnung geführt werden." Commentary, 163: "Nach freiem Gudünnen verfügen ist der Ausdruck der gatha für die freie Verfügung über die himmlische Macht, das Befreiunsein und Erhöhnsein über die irdischen Schranken, das dem mit der Gottheit vereinten Seher eignet"—the text has nothing but "as they like"—p.229: "bezieht sich, soweit ich sehen kann ... nur auf die gegenwärtige Situation und sagt einfach aus, dass Vohu Manah's Wohnung in der Ekstase erreicht, Hort und Kraftquelle der aša-Gläubigen im Kampf gegen den neuen Kult werden solle, den die karapana und kavi ausüben." Is that "einfach," simple?

abi—a are preverbs of bryāntē; V nas-, etym. to "nex, pecunies," semant. to "perire, perditus"; OP. vināsaya "to sin," MP. vinās, NP. gunāh "sin"; the pres.perf. vinananāsa means "they are sinful, sinners," and like the phrase in Y.32,12: čbyo mazdā aka mrōt, one can take it as a curse: they are lost, cursed, "gerichtet," as in the final words of "Faust"—anāiš, by reason of the actions mentioned before. The antithesis of anāiš ā and avāiš is so obvious that not only the first, but also the latter must be taken as adverbs. But there is no talk of actions of the suppressed, only of their sufferings; the pron. ava, hence, does not refer forwards to the following toi—yān, but (Wb.164,u,i) back to the preceding anāiš ā. Andreas' "von denen man sagt" for abi—danti is wrong; Bartholomae gave the right translation in Wb.718: quos non sinunt vita frui. The signification comes near to Gr. para.đidōmi.
karpatāt and kavitāt are abstr. nouns, but the verses aim at one kavi and at one karpan. The karpan is determined in st.12 as "grahma, favorite" and is the tkēśa, mośed, of Zoroaster’s bandva, brother-in-law, the ahura mazīśta, in Y.49,1-2, see under ‘Bandva.’ St.11-12 describe how these two persecute the relatives and followers of Zoroaster, confiscate their property, destroy their means of existence. Not because they are a kavi and a karpan, but "anaišā, because of these actions" does Zoroaster curse them. He does not think of “stigmatizing” all kavi and karpan. Kavi Viśāspa, and hence all kavi and karpan who join his cause are his friends.

The etymology of karpan is obscure; the only clear fact is they were sacrificers. Wb.s.v.: "spätherhin, mit dem völligen Siege der zarathustrischen Religion, ist die eigentliche Bedeutung von karpan als Rabbi der daēvischen (=pre-Zoroastrian) Religion verblassst. Zur Etym. vgl. Ai. kālpa ‘Ritus.’" For Bartholomae, the "tkēśa, judges," are likewise rabbis. He merely chose a word with which he connected the same sentimental value as did the late Mazdayasnians, to whom the meaning was hidden, with karpan: something detestable. That has never been the meaning.

In Yt.9 and 13 the kavi and karpan appear among dēva and martyya, sādra (gen.sg.,=sāsdrə “commander”), yātu (sorcerer) and parikā, as something abominable. In Yt.13,104: “vifra, inspired singer, prophet,” in parallel with “parikā, bad fairy” (properly: foreign woman, "gypsy"), is equally misunderstood. Later, vermin like the "she-frog bearing a thousand young ones" is added to this list, clearly revealing its worthlessness. Something similar happened to the “kēta, kayaṣa, philosophers” and others. Condemnations of the dēva, the gods that chose evil, are the beginning of such debased values of words.

The Pahl. transl. of kavyām karfnāmča in these formulae is kay(k) u karp, explained by "pa tis ē yazdān karr u kōr, deaf and blind in things religious," kā вопοr kai τόφλοι. Bailey, bsos vi.591, discussing this

Duchesne’s short remark, 3184: “karpan ‘qui accomplit un rite,’ V.karp.; MP. kirfak ne garde plus trace de l’acception zoroastrienne,” can be misunderstood: kirfak “pious deed” preserves the original signification and is not affected by the deterioration, karpan has suffered in Mazda, MP. kirfak < *kṛpaka passed over into Arab. as qurbah, attached to the same root as qurbān, “immolation,” and taqarrubān “to come near to Allāh.” But qurbān is in fact Arami. qurbān (Mark 11,21) and Ass. kurbānū (with k), stem “karābu, offering.” The comparison of Aw. karpan with Ol. kālpa, therefore, is not enough, the relation to the Sem. vocables should be studied.
phrase in the Jâmâspnâmâk, remarks “the traditional translation” might be “more than a learned comment,” as proved by the letter attributed by Eliše to Mhrnarseh: “He who holds not the law of the mazdesn faith, is deaf and blind, koir (< Ir. kôr) and deceived by the Dêvs of Ahriman.” Yet “karr u kôr” are no more than acrostics of “kay u karp,” and have nothing in common with the old words. The misunderstanding of kavi, like that of dêva, sâstar, vifra etc. by the modern interpreters rests on a misinterpretation of Arsacid and Sasanian redactors and commentators who read into the gatha a disjunctive usage of “dêvic” and “ahuric” words, a thing the gatha could not possibly contain. In the case of kavi, the first error is the assumption of a west-east opposition, the second that of the identical signification of kavi and χ̃şaYabya. Van Berchem wrote: “Des titres sont condamné à descendre un à un les degrés de la hiérarchie sociale et politique.” The etymology and function of the Pharisees has nothing to do with the moral verdict later inherent to that title. Dutch “jonkheer” is never an invective, German “junker” is so for millions. The ideal of one period is the abomination of another. History brings about such transvaluation of values. And thus, kavi and karpan, nobles and priests, became the “blind and deaf ones who close eyes and ears to truth.”

VII. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The political structure of the Iranian people was built up in five steps: nmāno, viš, zantuš, dahyuš and above them χšabram.¹ The chiefs of these units were the nmānapatiš, vispatiš, zantupatiš and dahyupatiš, all under the χšāyaθya dahyūnām. The military organization runs parallel: groups of ten, dasaθwa or handāma, under a commander, sāstar, whose special title is not preserved. Groups of a hundred are Aram. hīlā, a “power,” certain unit of troops, corresponding to Arm. zaur “army,” pl. zaurk’, troops, hosts; Mir.Man. equally zaur “hosts” (not “power”); zāvar, therefore, was the military term already in OP.—Its chief is a virāja, “centurion,” clearly expressed in the play upon the word in Yz.14,39: “noit satam janti virāzo, the ‘chief of a hundred’ misses a hundred times.” His original title must have been Med. *sapaθatiš, OP. *θatapatiš, because this is obviously the model for the titles of the higher ranks and is a pre-Iranian word, correspondent to Goth. hundafaps. Groups of a thousand under a hazahrapatiš, rendered by Gr. χιλιαρχος, Ctesias ἀζαραβίτης, and of ten thousand under a bēvarpatiš, Xenophon’s μυριαρχος, others μυριόταγος. Above all stands the ὑπατηγὸς καὶ ἕγεμων (Xenophon and e.g. Curtius 4,12,8, battle of Gaugamela), the sātā dahyauš hāmaθxšabro of the Awesta, commander in chief of the armies of the whole χšabram.

The backbone of this organization—as with all people of Indo-European and Semitic language—is the vis, the patriarchal and agnatic clan. The small family, nmāna, is merely part of it, the tribe, zantuš, its extension. The difference is: within the vis the degree of relationship, in the tribe only the fact of relationship is known. The vis is the inherited fundamental unit; the units beyond the zantuš, first dahyuš, then χšabra, are only the result of common political history.

The vis is the bearer of the political and social, as of all juridical institutions. Military service, duties of blood revenge, law of marriage and inheritance, bail and liability are all based on it. The vis, therefore, is also the original scale for moral concepts, for good and evil.

It consists of the nabā.nazdišta, a notion shared by the Veda, an old

definition of which is preserved in *Vid.*12, at an insignificant occasion, namely the instructions for the duration of mourning. The center of the nabā.nazdištā are the “nmānapaṭi and nmānapaṭṇi, master and mistress of the house” as husband and wife, and the circle extends over nine groups, to which belong

father and mother  
husband-wife  brother, sister  son, daughter of father’s brother  
son, daughter  brother’s son,  son’s son, daughter’s daughter of the father’s brother  
grandson, granddaughter

father’s brother, sister

The system is purely patriarchal, it includes neither the kinship of the mother, nor the children of the sister; by their marriage the women enter into the family of their husband. There is only one exception, so striking that one must doubt its authenticity, at any rate its age: “daughter’s daughter of the father’s brother.” It would be less suspicious if it was said of the brother. If true, grandson and granddaughter would likewise stand for children of sons and daughters. That is the relationship, the Arabs designate by sib, of importance for the descendancy of Muhammad by his only daughter Fāṭima. The words in 21: “and anybody else of the tōχma, family,” which indicate that not all degrees are enumerated, belong to the redaction only and have no authority for the original condition.2

*Wb.* is inaccurate in interpreting some of the degrees of relationship which appear in this text, without inflection, in middle-Iranian form, or, with wrong inflection added, in pseudo-Awestic form. The original Ir. forms are *trvya, brātrvya,* pronounced already at the end of the 6th century B.C. turya, brāturya, with fem. in -i, not in -yā. We have:

turya, fem. turi, “father’s brother and sister,” deriv. of pitar, as Ol. pītvya, Lat. patruus.

2 In order to characterize the intellectual level of the *Vidēvadād,* it must be said, that instead of the expected question “How long shall the mourning be in case of death?” it asks: “How far reaches the infection?” and makes the god answer: “as that of a dried up frog, dead more than a year!”
brāturya, fem. -rī, "brother's son and daughter"; Ol. 
brāṭṛvya, Lat. fratrius.
turya.puṭra "son of the father's brother," cf. Lat. fra-
truelis.
turya.duvṛā "daughter of the father's brother"; Wb. 
(wrong) "Tochter der Vatersschwester."
turya.puṭrē.puṭra "son's son of the father's brother."
turya.duvṛī "daughter's daughter of the father's 
brother," Wb. (wrong) "Tochter der Tochter der 
Vatersschwester."

In OP, the word for son's son is napāt, MP. nape; but Frgm. 
D.7 has Aw. puṭrēhe,puṭra, whence MMed. puḥrēpuhr. There 
is no -vya derivative of puṭra. On the other hand, the fem. of 
the derivative of duvṛar is attested in Vid.12,19 by "duvṛaire," 
i.e. duvṛī < *duvṛavi, OP. *duxθtīš (nom.) in Elam. transcription 
tu.k.sī.s. The masc. would be *duxθ(v)ya "daughter's 
son." The fem. duxθtīš gave MP. duxš, e.g. Kā'ba, Pahl. 1.21: 
rvdduvṛya bṛbṛth ṅvšky bṛtth, Pārs. 1.26: ḫdvṛty zy duḥšy 
zy'nvšky bṛtth, Gr. 1.50: ḫwδoγκτ. k..? the θυγατρος ανδεκ."

The fem. to napāt is nafti; Vid.12,11: niyako hača nafto (in-
stead of abl.sg.m.) niyakē (for -kā) hača naftī (inst. of abl. sg. 
f.). The loc.pl. of napāt (m.) is naftšu, fem. would be "naftišu; 
in Y.46,12, beside naftšu, naftyēšu appears, as plur. of the adj. 
naftya, which is to napāt as duvṛary to duvṛar, hence "great-
grandson."

The notion of nabā.nazdišta, thus, comprises nine groups in four 
generations; five groups are lateral relatives.

Vid.13.3: "Who kills a hedgehog, nava.naftyēšu ho ruvānam para-
mrēcēt." Bartholomae translates "schägt (seine) Seele noch im neun-
ten Geschlecht" (sic), and explains "sodass für sie (die Nachkommen) 
die Ćinvatbrücke unüberschreitbar wird." The sentence means: the

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*In the tablet from Persepolis published by Cameron under the erroneous title "Darinas' Daughter" instead of "granddaughter."—Analogy: El. pa.k.šīš for OP. *bāxθtīš, against Med. 
hāxṭīš.*

*The mother, Anōšak > Nōšah, was the "Princess with the pea" abducted by Daizan of 
Hatra. Pārs. duxš is here equated with a fem. to vāspuhr, "vāsduxt" in Pahl., the Greek 
text omits the title.
killer destroys the life of the nava.nafty'a, not the life of nine generations of descendants, but of the nine groups of nabā.nazdišta. Vid.4.5 says: Breach of a contract concluded by shaking hands is to be repaired with 300 "hađa.čiθa, co-liables" of the nabā.nazdišta—though nobody has that many next-of-kin. Obviously the verses have nothing to do with souls on the Činvat-bridge, promises and hedgehogs, but speak of the liability of the next-of-kin, in crimes and blood-revenge. Their source is a Corpus Iuris, and they have been put in their present context with utter lack of understanding.

The law of other peoples of IE. language offers analogies, and the OT. equally, e.g. Exod.20.5 and 34.7: "I the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God who visits the sin of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Similarly II Kings 10,30;15,12 and the revocation of the idea in Ezek.18.—The "fourth generation, ribε'im" corresponds to the four generations in direct line of the Iranian schema. Liability, claim to inheritance, etc. do not reach beyond the fourth generation.

In Yt.10,18, Mithra, as god of blood revenge, destroys not only the criminal but his whole family and his property, moreover, the frata- mađāta of the community. This term, used there in a threat, in Yt.10,18 in a promise, is OPersian "fratamađāta, primogenitus," first-born, antonym to OP. "pašyađāta, secundogenitus" cf. (hu)paθyāţāta in Ōgmāđeča (see under 'Mithra').

The four steps of social structure find an expression in the way Darius and Xerxes present their genealogies: Xerxes son of Darius=nmāna; haxāmanišiya=vis; pārsa=dahyu; ārya=čśaθra. In OP. the word zantu is not in use, and here this third step is skipped, but it can be inserted from Herodotus: the Pasargadai as tribus, génos (cf. under 'Māda-Pārsa'). zantu, to Vzan-, γέγνωμαι, is alone a proof that the genetic connection is the base of the system. The various nmāna with the whole retinue of clients, bondsmen and bought slaves form the vis, several vis the zantu. This organization is Indo-European.

The conditions are not rigid. When the master of the house, *danspot, dies, a part of the family dissolves itself into the clan; the clans likewise, in the progress of generations, go over into the zantu. Thus the idea of the nation originates. As a living body, the society is in continu-
ous flow. It is an old custom to call countries after their inhabitants, because the notion of home and its extension "fatherland, patria" is derived from descent. Thus, patriotism originates from love between agnates, expanded to the wider unit of the nation, the χαθθρα. To this steady transition from family into clan, clan into tribe, tribe into nation, political history sets limits, and therewith to national spirit. This feeling can overcome limits of dialect, but only with difficulty barriers of language; it takes momentary political conditions as something eternal and thus creates itself frontiers. As in the smallest circle the "anya, alius, other" is opposed to the nabā.nazdiṣṭa, thus the "anya, alien, enemy" to the compatriot.

The terms for the vertical structure, nmāna, vis, zantu, have always at least three sides: they may signify the men, their place (immobile) and their (mobile, live) property. As the inscriptions show, the names for tribe, area and main city are identical in regions entirely settled by Iranians. Pārsa may designate Persian, Persis, and Persepolis. Vis, zantu and vrzana may assume analogous significations. But besides there are many specific terms: OIr. šoιθra=OL. kṣetra, a general expression for a settled area, is used in Gath. for Aw. zantu, the OP. equivalent of which, šantu, is replaced by the higher unit dahyu.—The Pahl. transl. is rōtastāk NP. rustā, cultivated land, MP. āpātīh.—Aw. asah, related to OL. āsā, designates a definite settled spot, Pahl. transl. vyāk > NP. jā(y). Vid.1 uses šoιθra and asah e.g. for Ragā, Marw, Herāt, hence for provinces and their capitals, at a time when the spoken language was middle-Iranian. In Pers.49 “aβā” appears, Pahl. transl. āpātiḥ, explained by χvāstak: "who does not give hospitality to a fugitive coming to hvāhva aβhāva, to his place." Bartholomae translated "Hof" (or "Grund und Boden"). The Pahl. transl. āpātiḥ means the soil a man has cultivated, the explanation χvāstak means "which is his property," hence where he exercises his rights and duties of hospitium. aβā, therefore, means "Hof, farmyard" and is an Old Persian word corresponding to Aw. asah.—The nomenclature which extends over a long period and a vast region is rich. The differences are those of dialect or merely of manner of speech, but not of social structure.

Y.46,1 puts the political character of the term dahyu in full light: "Into which country, zam, shall I flee?"; as home and habitation it is a
zam. It goes on: "the commanders of the province, dahyu..."—Lommel translates "des Landes lügenische Gebieter"—in the political meaning it is a dahyu. This dahyu has a vrzana, an equally political term. In the dahyu to which Zoroaster flees there was (st.5) another χσαγαν (abs., without gen.object) = χσαγαθια, satrap. The name хвагат-зми conveys an idea of the size of a zam: geographically a zam, politically a dahyu, a large province. As early as in Y.10,145, dahyu designates, in the title vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiś, the provinces of the Median empire, see under 'Mithra.' Later, dahyu > dēh, like other terms and titles, fell from province to village, while dahyupati > dēhbaḥ retained its full value as "sovereign." 6

It is their own lands and their inhabitants that the Iranians call "dahyu." In OP. it has everywhere the political meaning "province of the empire"; in the Avesta especially where it is connected with an ethnic name. The Indians, on the contrary, designate foreign peoples by dáṣyau. Wb.710: "OI. dáṣyau- hat ganz abweichende Bedeutung, cf. Geldner, Ved.Stud. 3,96."—Since the words are the same, the original signification must be the same, and the different moral and sentimental value is the effect of different history. A similar case is OI. "dāṣa, barbarian" as opp. to ārya, but OP. dāha, Aw. dāha, adj. dāhīnām dahyūnām, is the ethnic of a certain Aryan nation, the Dahae. The words are the same, their application differs (see 'Dāha' under 'Anērān-Tūrān').

Hertel translates RV. vn,5-6: "Du hast die dáṣyau aus ihrer Wohnstatt vertrieben, indem Du den ārya 'breites Licht erzeugt'" (?) and annotates: "dáṣyau = dahyu = Völker, bezw. Länder des Persischen Reichs." This would imply a date after 550 B.C. and the song is certainly much older. To RV. v,4, description of a fight with people of different cult, he remarks, p.143: "Die Gegner sind Mazdayasnier," which would put the verses in the 5th century B.C.—before which time the Iranians were devayasniers like the Indians. When using the term "Old Iranian" instead, the interpretation may be right. Not even songs as old as the Rgveda reflect conditions of the "Aryan Epoch": if indeed they

6 Nyberg, 91, translates dahyu by "Kreis," dahyupati by "Kreisverwaltung," in order to make the conditions appear small and primitive. But "Kreise," too, are only administrative parts of a province, a state. Y.46,1 alone disproves the idea: Zoroaster does not flee from one Kreis in another one of the same province. And dahyupati did not rise from "Kreisverwaltung" to "sovereign" while dahyu made the contrary movement.
describe battles with Iranians, these would be encounters in East Iran after the immigration of the Iranians, after 900 b.c. At that time there were cultic differences between Indo-Aryans and Iranians, which had—in spite of identical religion and nationality—as disconnecting an effect as political systems in our time, and as color among anthropologic marks. Hertel emphasizes that the Vedic singers call people that worship gods, hostile to their own, “rakṣas, yātu.dhāna and druḥ (collect.),” and that the Iranians use their corresponding words in the same way: the rejection of the national gods characterizes the enemy. Only, since both had inherited this usage from their common past, it cannot be used for dating purposes. Though difficult to prove, it is possible that some songs of the Rgveda speak of wars against Iranians, cf. vrkaz-barna : vrkadvaras under ‘Māda-Pārsa.’ The opposition of dáṣyu and ārya in RV. vii.5-6, which has no meaning in Iranian, but only in Indian, looks indeed like the opposition of Iranians and Indo-Aryans.

A trace of the origin of the Median title dahyupatiṣ can be observed in Assyrian texts. They render Ir. vispatiṣ by (ideogr.) en.er. er, i.e. Ass. ālum, Bab. bitum, stands for Ir. vis; en is “patiṣ, lord.” In the Assyrian annals, en.er is the title of the chiefs of villages and towns with their districts, Ir. gēšā. Quite a number of these en.er are surely in fact zantupatiṣ, e.g. Artasiri and Šēpašarri of Šurgadia, i.e. Ṣurgadi- Pasargadai, as chiefs of a tribe, zantu. In the Šamaš omina of Esarhaddon, omen 2, Kaštariti-Xšaḫrīta—a Deiocid as the Beh. inscription proves—the en.er of KārKašī, a strong fortress at the place of later Agbatana, and certainly a zantupatiṣ, offers an alliance against the Assyrians to Wametiaršu = vahmayat.rša, en.er of the Medes, i.e. of the dahyu Māda. In omen 5 and 8 the coalition is joined by the Saparda, of the Isfahan region, although the Assyrians try to prevent its expansion by diplomacy. In omen 1 and 6 Kaštariti leads not only his own, but also the armies of the Medes, i.e. of Wametiaršu, the Mannacans of Ādharbaįjān, and the Cimmerians, new immigrants. In 6, 11 and 15 they besiege and take with artillery Assyrian fortresses in regions which thereafter became Media; in 16 they attack the frontier fortresses against Man, Ādharbaįjān.—The Assyrians use uniformly en.er properly “vis-

* J. A. Knudtzon, Gebete an d. Sonnengott, 1895.
patiš," for the chief of a vis, a zantu or a dahyu. Māda is a dahyu, and "en.er of the Māda" is in fact "dahyupatiš." The Assyrians either ignore the facts, or did not concede to the Medes a higher title. The royal title was given to them only by the Neo-Babylonians.*

Zoroaster replaces, in Y. 31,16, the element -pati in those titles by the abstr. noun χśābram of the dmāna, śoitṛa and dahyu, and in st. 18, which is consciously formed after passages like Yt.10,2, vis is added, making that triad into the usual tetrad. In a similar way, in Y.48,10, he speaks, in plural, of the chiefs of the dahyu in abstract form as of the "χśābra dahyūnām, governments of the provinces." Duchesne, §162, discusses the relation of the IE. compounds formed with the root-noun 'pot, to the younger OI. and OIr. formations with -pati, and comes to the conclusion that Zoroaster's dang patiš is artificially developed from older 'dašpat.—The Gothic fem. dmānapaθnī is preserved in Frhg.Ēv.
—Therefore, a sentence like "Die im Mihr yasht zahlreichen Bildungen mit -pati fehlen in den Gatha" (Nyberg, 81) even when right, would not establish any local or temporal distinction, and not at all that the Gothic dialect was in this point the more archaic. A similar error was the attributing of a higher antiquity to the decomposed Gath. Mazdā Ahura than to OP. Auramazdā, which—with one exception—is always written as a compound. The observation would only draw the gatha closer to the inscriptions which equally ignore the compounds with -pati. In Yt.10, as recognized by Meillet, the language is more archaic, and the reason is that the social conditions were more archaic than at the time of the gatha and the inscriptions. In the very late Y.2,16, once a Gath. śoitṛapatiš is decomposed into śoitrabhē patiš.

The four-step structure did not exist as long as the words appear in the Avesta. Where the fourfold formula retains its genuine old meaning, the passages are older than the organization of the empire under Darius. If they appear in late places, like the wergild tariff of Yt.10, the surgeon's tariff of Vid.7, some fragment of high antiquity has been preserved.

The chieftainship over the fifth and highest unit is expressed in the yashts by upamam χśābram vispānām dahyūnām, abstr. pro concr. like Aram. and Arab. sōltān, sultān, and in Yt.10,145 by the Median title

*In 640 Assurbanipal gives Cyrus I the title "šarru, king of Parsu," as king of Anshan, a constituent part of the Elamite empire; similarly some Iranian chiefs of Saparda, El. Simāš, Isfahan region, are called šarru.
vispāṇām dahiṇām dahiypatiṣ. The historical reason for the different type of formation is obvious: there was no traditional term, like *χεθραπατίς,* for this highest rank, because the unit did not exist before. When the course of history produced it, an expression had to be found, and it was derived from the previously highest rank, by expanding it. dahypatiṣ retains its original sovereign signification through all times. It is not attested, so far, in OP. inscriptions, but in Paikuli it reappears, l.31: āryān χσήρα masiṣṭ vyatāvi u dhāpatai. In the Dēnkart, Luhrāsp is dahypat as liege-lord over Nebuchadnezzar; in Art.Vir.Nām. dhyuptyḥ stands in parallel with p’txš’lyḥ and as late an author as Biruni describes dahūfadhiyya by a definition of the Arab concept of the caliphate. The word was therefore unfit to serve, during the Achaemenian period, as official title of the χσηγαντ of one dahiya only. These received the title “χσηθραπαν, satrap,” lit. caretaker of the country, with the rank of a χσήγαγα, a condition which explains the great-royal title χσήγαγα χσήγαγαν. The fem. of the ground unit, “nmānapatnī > bānbiśn, lady, Madame,” was the title of the queens at the Sasanian period and probably before. In the writings of Mani—who follows the Arsacid style in that respect—visbeδ < vispatiṣ is no longer anything civil, but a divine attribute, and his pentad, created by adding pāhragbaδ “protector of the frontiers, margrave” to the tetrads, is a purely religious concept to which social institutions no longer correspond.

This vertical political structure is intersected by a horizontal one, Gath. hvēṭuṣ, aryamā and vāstrya.sīsuyans, with varieties of denomination, and not counting the slaves.

The fully free or noble men, born members of the tribe with all privileges, are called “āzāta, OP. āḍāta, Lat. agnatus,” those with notorious degree of relationship, expressing the “agnatic” structure of the society. Hēsychios’ words: ἅγατη ἐλευθερία παρὰ Πέρσας, correspond to the equation “āzātā—ἐλευθερο—liberi.”10 The signification of āzāta

8 Gath. patiṣ χεθραθήya in Y.30,10, it is true, looks like and is a decomposition of *χσηθρα- patīti, but it signifies “landlord, ἀκολουθωτήτ,” not “lord of the empire” as one translates, see under ‘Hospitium.’

10 Mist.Mom. 11,32,18: “ἐ’ ὑγ ὑγ ὑ.μ.’ν ἄ’dyy, Henning: “durch jenen Ahn unserer Freiheit”; I prefer “ancestor from whom is (inherited) our nobility.”
is perfectly defined by the Roman * XII tabulae: “Si adgnatus nec escit gentiles familiam habento.”

The normal Aw. designation for this social class is ḫwētu, which etymologically belongs to *sva- “suus,” Ol. svadhā = Ἐδός “peculiar ethics,” Goth. “sidus, Sitte, ethics,” ἐρης “friend,” ἑταῖρος, Lat. sodalis. It has more claim than aryaman to be translated by “sodalis” (see below). The Greeks translate it by συγγενής, cognate. The demonstrable degree of relationship inherent to the word does not reach beyond the sphere of the vis. Highly significant is that a “specific vice” is attributed to them in Y.33.4: “tæromati, over-estimating themselves,” in Y.32.3 “parimati, conceit, hybris,” Arab. kibr and ‘aṣabiyya, see under ‘Armatiṣ.

It would be wrong to put ḫwētu and the analogous terms in parallel to the vertical structure, they belong to the horizontal. A derivation of ḫwētu is “ḥwētuvadaθa, marriage inside the vis,” especially between half brothers and sisters, not “eine streng auf den Adel beschränkte Ehe” (Nyberg), equally and more common among priests. The nobility is called ḫwētu for being related to each other, the marriage, for being contracted between relatives. The Iranians, when immigrating, superposed themselves on an aboriginal population with matriarchal family. Their endogamy is not only foreign to all other, strictly exogamic nations of IE. language, but something prohibited: ἀἴμα ἐμφύλιον, whereas for instance among the Arabs marriage between first cousins is the rule. The originally patriarchal Iranian society suffered changes by intercourse with the originally matriarchal natives of the country. ḫwētuvadaθa is connected with the right of inheritance. With the Aryans, the sons of the man were the heirs; with the aborigines there was only inheritance through the sister. The father of her children did not enter the family of the woman—less so vice versa—but remained in the family of his sisters.11 Brother-and-sister marriage results from reconciling the two opposed principles of inheritance: it enables the son to inherit from his father as son of the father’s sister. But never do children of the same mother marry.

The Babylonians translate OP. ādāta—agnatus in Beh. §3 by mārbanū, a term that replaced since the Kossaean period the older equivalent “mār-awēlim, Aram. bar “nāš, son of man” (Dan.7,13). The gen-

11 Cf. tjrbm 1936, 654ff., and a more explicit treatment of the problem in a still unpublished ms.
eral term "man, Ir. nar" enters also for hvētu, Ol. ksatriya, more often than indicated in Wb.1048. The correspondence between Umbr. nerf and Lat. principes shows how old this usage is.

nar designates the group of men else called raheštâ or raheštar,12 "warrior on the chariot," an archaic word which occurs in the Y.Haft. perhaps because at its time, the Achaemenian period, the bit-narkabti "chariot-fiefs" were in the hands of higher, richer hvētu, ksatriya. Above their general level rose in wealth and power the kavi, and when limited to them, hvētu assumes the connotation "peer, pair," συγγενής or ὀμόρρυμος in relation to the king. Mithra is more than once invoked as raḥeštā. The exact correspondent to Ol. ksatriya, Ir. χšahriya, occurs in the yashts only as epithet of Höma, ApāmNapāt, and—spurious—of AhuraMzdāh; in the gathas only in the comp. ēša.χšahriya, see under 'Hvarnah.' But the Zoroastrian notion of χšahram as one of AhuraMzdāh's aspects means sometimes collectively "χšahriya, nobility," especially when opposed to ārmati as peasantry.

In spite of its rare appearance, χšahriya had not become obsolete at an early time, for it continues in eastern titles like šēr, šār Bāmiyān etc. and in 'Irāq and Assyria as šahrig,18 Bar Bah-
lūl: "shahrigh and shahrighān, Pers. sg. and pl., are aborigines, bukhnē, the most noble and important people, the most esteemed among the owners of a place. They are the old nobility of high rank: original dwellers of the soil." And Mas'ūdi, murūdī n.240: "the tabaqā (stratum, rank) of the šahāridja is above the dahāqin [pl. of dihqān]. They were constituted in the Sawād as ashrāf, nobility, by Ėridj." This remark comes through al-Djāhiz from the Pahl. gāhnāmak. shahrigh is not, as Nöelke seems to have thought, a neologism, but descends from OIr. χšahriya.14

12 Both forms are used side by side in the very archaic hymn to "Mithra the Warrior" in Yz.10.
13 Arab. shahrīyya, sg.fem. "thoroughbred mare" is OMed. χšahri, cf. Hertel 1160 vii, 76 and 80.—At the two places where Wb. assumes the connotation "human female," Y.65.5 and Vide 18.32, it means certainly "mare," and therewith "ārtān, stallion."
14 Bar Bahdul, cf. G. Hoffmann, Spr.-Abt. 239.—The old interpretation of SaintMartin, dērgāwar, var. dērgāwar in Polybius 5.34 = dēhīgān, was right, against criticism raised. This class of officials in Seleucia was recruited from the same class as the chiefs of tassādīj in Sasanian times. At the Arab conquest we find many of them; tassādīj is a "quarter" of an ārtān, subdivision of 'Irāq. Mas'ūdi i.e.: "the dahāqin descend from the ten sons of Vēskirt [Eugene] who himself was the first to bear the title; they are organized in five marāthī,
The relationship inside the vis is expressed by the frequent word sar, which sometimes forms a pair with “hozantu, cognate,” and “hâχman, Lehnsgefolgschaft, duty of a vassal to follow his lord (in war).” Y.49,3: “yearning for the sar with Vahuman,” see under ‘Yā-ahīl’ In Y.32,2 AhuraMazdâh is “saramno, living in sar with Vahuman,” and “huş-haχa with Rtam,” which is more than “well-befriended.” sar means connubium, in Y.53,3 downright “marriage,” and is best translated by “wedding.” The prohibition of sar and hâχman in Y.49,9 and 53 (see below), if the words have their intense meaning, would be a deeply interfering order, but one for which there is certain historical support.

Y.49,9: noit rśvaĉâ saram didans drugvatâ

“who as a right-speaking one refuses the sar with a drugvant.”

Y.49,3: antar vispān drugvato hâχman mruvē

“I interdict all hâχman with the drugvant.”

Such verses produced the passage in the Fravarrâni Y.12,4 and 6: “I renounce, antar mruvē, every sar with the dēva and drugvant, even as Zoroaster renounced the sar with the dēva, dēvāś saram vyamruvita.” It is a kind of divorce formula, like “vizayaϑa magam tam, if you sepa-rate this marriage. . . .” Nyberg remarks to Y.31,21: “sar ist die Bezeichnung der Gatha für die unio mystica.” Nietzsche once speaks of “unio mystica et physica,” and these things lie close together. When discarding certain sides of medieval mysticism, one may see in sar, applied to the relation of AhuraMazdâh to his partial figures, or aspects, a unio mystica. Else, it is an anachronism to transfer to that old period and milieu medieval Śuṭī concepts of the relation of man to god. And in any case, if sar could assume such a metaphoric connotation, it must first have had the corresponding social meaning.

In the relation between AhuraMazdâh and his partial figures Zoroaster sanctifies human relations, social and of kinship. In doing so, he
transfers something that belonged to Mithra to his Ahura Mazda. One aspect of his god of many faces, χάσθραμ, symbolizes the knighthood—as such he is later Shahrēvar; ārmatiš is the peasantry; and the bonds of kinship and society, the rvatiš and miθrā, upon which this society rests, are reflected in the relations between those aspects.

Membership of the tribe, zantu, is expressed, in Gath. and Aw., by huzantu. Its hu- is *ṣm-, not *su- Gr. ὑ-, as in hūyāγna = ὑογγα, “from the same liver, consanguine,” hence “huzantu, of the same zantu, descent, σωγγενής,” a born member of the tribe, the fully entitled civis of the civitas, hozanθwa.18 The three gatha passages in which the word occurs become at once full of meaning. Y.49,5 promises ambrosial food to those who live in sar with Vahuman and are hozantu of Ārmatiš. The notion “belonging to the family of Ārmatiš” corresponds to Mani’s term “nāf” for his community. Y.43,3: θωάβανς hozanθu̱u̱ spanto, Bartholomae: “zuverlässig, wie Du, wissend” is “congenial to Thy Highness, holy”; and Y.46,5 (see under ‘Hospitium’ and ‘Mithra’): “Who as χάγγιant, satrap, or hozantu, civis, welcomes the āyantam, newcomer,” according to 46,1 Zoroaster as refugee.

In opposition to the born members, hvētu, the aryaman belong to the tribe without being agnates. Ved. aryaman is “socius, fellow”; NP. ērman is “guest”; Sarm. Leimanos, Osset. limān “friend, socius.” There is no reason to deviate, in Iranian, from this everywhere attested meaning, e.g. Bartholomae: “Sodalen, Genosse and zwar priesterlicher Angehöriger des ersten oder Priesterstandes; über die Bedeutung ist den gäthischen Texten nichts zu entnehmen.” Nyberg: “Priesterstand, und dieser als kollektive Gottheit.” Andreas-Wackernagel on the contrary: “stammesverwandt,” which would be hvētu. Only Hertel has the right word “Schutzgenossen.” The aryaman are the Gr. métoikoi, metics,

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18 I write ho- only as distinction, without prejudice to the color of the vowel. For hūyāγna see Krause, κ.156,302; yākār, “liver” in the chapter on the microcosm of the Gr.Bdh.—For hu- cf. Bonfante in Rev. Belge de Phil. et d’Hist. xvii,1939, 396ff., on Hitt. 12-, not *sm-, Hitt. sawetes/ze = Gr. ἁγγές, and ἀγάρων, ἀγριωτής, with paliotio d inst. of d for δω-. Previous interpretations were: Bartholomae Wβ. “zu ὑζαν-, τγγωνκα, rechter inne-werden, gute Kunde haben von”; absol. “der die gute Kunde in Glaubenssachen hat.” Andreas (Krause): “dem guten Stamm zugehörig”; (Lommel) to Y.46,5, also 43,8; “huzantu, aus demselben Stamm”; but Y.48,9: “hozaθwa, var. huzaθwa, Geschlechtszugehörigkeit, with ho < *sm-.” Lommel annotates to Y.43: “die Sippen- [rather: Stammes-]gemeinschaft von st.3 soll in st.5 zu engere Familiengemeinschaft, sar, werden.” Nyberg follows Andreas-Krause, “rvatiš huzantu, ein guter Sohn der Rvati,” an alleged syn. of Ārmatiš.
Social Structure

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Rom. clientes, all who partake of the rights of the tribe into which they are admitted without being born to it.

The old oath by which an aryaman was admitted into the vis is preserved in the so-called “Fravarānī,” where it is interpreted anew as the vow with which a neophyte embraces the Zoroastrian religion. But it is so little transformed that it remains unfit for a credo, and that the original is easily abstracted from it. Lommel’s remarks on Y.46,6 are right in spite of wrong translation: “Die Aufnahme eines Bekehrten [in reality of a xénos] soll—scheint’s—in den Rechtsformen der Aufnahme eines Schutzgenossen vollzogen werden” (cf. under ‘Hospitalium’). Like the hvētu, the clients do not belong to one of the four degrees nmāna etc., but intersect them.

Wherever, with people of IE. or Sem. language, the patriarchal clan, limited by agnatism, is the original social and juridical unit, we find similar conditions. With the Arabs, the ‘ashira represents the vis, under a mukhtār, the vispati; several ‘ashā’ir form the tā'īfa under a shaikh, the zantupati; the agnostic members of the tribe are ḥurr=āzāta, and are called na'far=nar; also walad bait=väspuhr. The old expression for foreign members of the clan is maulā=aryaman: they are metics which exist in every tribe. Ibn Khaldûn, Prolég. 1,284, quotes a ḥadith relating to the maulā notion in connection with the case of the Barmacids, clients of the ‘Abbasids: “Le client d’une famille est un membre de cette famille qu’il soit client par affranchissement, ou par adoption, ou par un engagement solennel; ce droit lui appartient.”

aryaman in itself designates nothing priestly, but it includes the magi and priests as the most important metoikoi of the vis and the zantu. In later times, the simple maguš goes out of use and mōbaḏ < 'magupati replaces it, i.e. the qāḍī; at the same time mōbaḏān mōbaḏ replaces 'magupati, which is no new formation of MP. The Elam. cuneiform tablets of Persepolis teach that the magi, like the Muhammedan qāḍī, had the juridical and financial administration in their hands. If the word magu—save the hapax magu.tišt which at any rate proves the existence—is missing in the Avesta, it is not because the magi were unknown, but because they are mentioned under their specific titles. Disregarding inferior degrees, these are karpan, tkēša, āhravan, ēṭrya

and ēhrapati. Vištāspa, who founded fire-temples, has his ēhrapati, fire-priest, in the person of Manthravāka; Zoroaster's bandua, as an ahura, one who has the right of judicature, has his tkeša "judge" about him. Those are magi. Krsāspa had a brother Rvāxšaya, who was also tkeša and moreover dātarāza, judge and legislator (see under 'Welcome'). All these were and always remained magi: judges, administrators of finance, priests. In all their functions the Greeks call them magoi, as superficially as Europeans call all Muhammedan preachers, judges and scholars "Mulla."

In the Vidēvdād, Aryaman appears as god and healer, not because the aryaman were physicians and medicine one of the accomplishments of the priestly class, but because priests and physicians—many of them foreigners—were clients. Thus the misconception of the aryaman entails that of the magi.

Herodotus 1,101 calls the magi a "tribe, genos," in a passage inserted into the Deiokes legend, which begins and ends with ēnti de Mēδow torađe γένεα. Apparently this phrase belonged to his source, perhaps Hecataeus. Comparison with 1,125, on the "tribes of the Persians" and an analysis of the names—see under 'Māda-Pārsa'—reveals that both paragraphs are not Herodotus' own research, but reports of different origin, with even dialectic differences. Herodotus grasped the real Iranian tribal constitution no more than any other Greek, and his authority is not enough to accept the magi as a "tribe."

Nyberg, who does accept this, says, 336: "Über die Magier sind schon Ströme von Tinte vergossen . . . , ihr Problem kann wirklich etwas klarer dargestellt werden, als bisher. Jede Behandlung muss von der deutlichen Tatsache ausgehen, dass die Magier ein Glied der Ständesorganisation"—hence no tribe—"des medischen Reichs ausmachten: die Priesterkaste." As a clear fact it would be no problem, and every investigation not starting from aryaman only increases the "stream of ink." The phrase on p.374, "die eigentliche Priesterkaste des medischen Reichs bildete einen Stamm oder Priesterstaat in Raga," is not a "wirklich klarere Darstellung," but the perfect picture of prevailing confusion: whether they were a tribe, class or state is the problem; "castes" developed only in India, not in Iran.

The magi as phenomenon resemble the Levites. IV Mos. 1,48, 11,32 (cf. 26): "Thou shalt not count the tribe Levi," and thus one shall not
count the magi among the Iranian tribes. IV Mos. 25ff.: “The Levites dwell in 48 cities,” and thus the magi dwell in all cities and countries of Iran. IV Mos. 26: “For to them no heritage was given among the children of Israel,” and thus the magi did not own Ragā ḩrizantūš zārabustriš, the capital of three zantu, génea, which belonged to Zoroaster.

But without being a “tribe” in the genetic meaning, the magi were regarded as a “tribe” in the political meaning. In a society founded upon clans and tribes and becoming more complex in course of time, fictitious tribes originate. While the genuine tribes own their land, these have “no heritage,” but are dispersed over the entire state. The abstract dēnā of Zoroaster, the religion, is a similar case: politically it is regarded as a vrzanam, community = township (see below).

In Y.Haft. 40,3-4 ḥaṭman replaces aryman, a correct usage, for it does not signify “Zusammenschluss, Priesterkollegium,” but “Gefolgschaft, followership” of clients, metics. Ḫak- is Lat. sequi, hence “suit.” Pahl. transl. regularly “hambrātih, brothership, comradeship.” As a verb Ḫak- is used in two closely related meanings: “to follow = obey” and “to belong = be owned,” cf. Germ. horig, gehören, gehorchen. The whole Yt.17 is full of the picture of Rtiš who “hačati, follows, belongs” to those she blesses “in long, voluntary marriage, sar.” In Y.32,1 she is called hvō.awišak. Wb. translates “sich gerne zuwendend, gern bereitstehend,” but it is “hvā-, αἰτρο plus awišak = Gr. ἐφεπέσθαι, "αἰτο + εὔπυρσμένη, in voluntary service,” cf. hvāišta under ‘Hvarnah.’ The term ḥaṭman describes several social relations of similar kind: that of the “clients, socii” to the tribe; that of the “hostes, guests of the tribe” to the hospes; probably also that of the half-free peasant and shepherd, vāstrya.fšuyant, to the full freeman.

Therewith it comes near to the notions bondage, “Hörigkeit,” and “villainage, Leib eigenschaft”; it is the term for half-freedom or half-bondage, missing in modern languages; cf. armatišhak, rta.hak, rtišhak, Mithroaxes, where hak- has the meaning of Akk. awêl or arad, Arab. ṣabd before divine names, type ‘Abdallâh, Allâh’s slave. ḥaṭman can also mean the military service of the auxiliarii, thus clearly in Yt.13,30, where the Fravartī who are coming (in 49) from their vis, visaḏa, to the hamsapāṭmêdaya, the muster of the army, are called “hušhaṭmaṇo, the best auxiliaries.” Xenophon calls such auxiliaries, namely the fol-
lowers of the high nobility, συνεποιημένοι, which would be "hamawišak; they resemble the Arab "muṭawwi‘a, volunteers."

Sometimes ṯrap- and rafrnah are used as syn. of ṯḥak-, ḥāṣman, e.g. Y.Haft.40,3: ahma(rafrnah beside adiyūš and ḥāṣman, "loyal to our service."

Hertel, 110f vii,116, asked "besondere militärische Truppe?". ṯrap- is the stem more common to OP., "raftan, to follow," later for ṯšū- "to go," when this became "to become."

In view of the multitude of terms, there were surely several degrees of freedom, as in Babylonia, but they cannot be defined.

The slaves, OP. bandaka and marika, Aw. vēša, and the female slaves, Jahikā, play no role in the gatha; that they existed is obvious.

The terms for the peasantry are "vāstrya, man of the pasture," especially of large cattle; fšuyant, originally breeder of sheep and goats, resembling Lat. barbicarius > berger. The compound vāstrya.fšuyant is "cattle-breeder." The words are old and have developed to "owner of pastures" and "peasant, farmer" with the change of cultural conditions, as the notions civis, gens shifted in Roman history. Zoroaster's role as patron, mantuš, of the peasantry—a subject treated under 'Ārmatiš—is reflected in his being figured as the first vāstrya.fšuyant, a concept attested by the Platonist Hermudoros (in Diogenes Laert., Prooem.2) who speaks of Astrampsychos, recognized by Markwart as OP. "vāstrya.fšu.ka. Under the Sasanians, the peasantry, like all classes, had an official chief, the vāsrośānsālar. In later legend he became a dishonest vezier Rāstraviš, i.e. vāstrijyōš, of Vištāsp or of Babram Gōr, e.g. in the Siyāsatnāmah of Nizām al-mulk and in 'Afuš's Djawāmī'.

In the gathas, the cow-breeders are called gōdāyah, to ṯā(y), θαώμαυ, meaning "alere, then colere," whence NP. Kurd. "dā, dāya, wet-nurse," hence like Am. "cow-nurse." In Y.29,2, gōdāyo ṯwaxšo, with ṯwaxš-, MP. tuḫšidan, NP. zahmat kašidan, hence the "hard-working cowboys." The expression is abstract, "labor" for "laborer." This is the base for Gath. vidans ṯwaxšahā gavoi in Y.33,3, with vi.dans

17 Andreas, nögw 1931, iii,310, on rafrnah: "Wenner zweisilbig, rafrhra, wenn dreisilbig, rafrura"; right, but not proved by El. pa.ki.s for OP. ṯāḫθis beside pa.k.tër.tēs for Med. bāyāsīa.

Pahl. transl. almost always rām, as if this were rām < rafrnah, like rām < šafnyah, and not rām < rāmān; cf. Bailey, in Orient.Stud.Persia 21ff. on stems with change of p and m.

18 The Mas‘ūdī ms. has disfigured this title to rást-rūdān, and a Persian friend of mine once asked me to explain it, saying "this is neither rast (right) nor rūdan (clear)."
to √dāy-, not with a disjunctive vi- (Nyberg, 137: "zwei Parteien versorgen, Ordal-verbam der Gatha"), but with intensifying vi- "to nurse thoroughly," cf. the n.pr. vidat.gav- in the memorial list of Yt. 13,127, to which Wb. remarks "Anspielung von Y.51,5: gām vidat vàstryo?" And, referring to sheep instead of cows, Aw. vidat.fṣū and fradat.fṣū, names of the two krṣvars, see under 'Krṣvar.'

The peasantry lives in half-bondage, in Akk. terminology "ḥarrān šarri." Geiger had painted, in his Ostiran Kultur, an idealistic-romantic picture of a "Schweizer Alm," and Nyberg keeps to it, p.276: "Die alte Hirtenideologie ist natürlich voll lebendig [at the time of the Y.Haft.]; sie ist als festes Grundelement im [post-Zoroastrian] Zoroastrismus enthalten." The truth came nearer to the magnificent Bakhtiyari-film "Grass."

A passage in the Nirangistân, ed. Sanjana, Pref.5, discussed by Bartholomae Wb. s.v. vi.mā(y)-, gives insight into the life of these poor people, of whom Zoroaster took charge. It is badly transmitted and can be understood only by comparing it with a passage in Djuwainî 1,22,14ff., 20 who describes the "bigār i nafsi, bounden service of peasants," as an institution of Djingiz Khan. The institution is much older; the "leiturgies" of the early Muhammedan epoch are the same thing. Sentences like "if the man is not at home, his wife goes out in person and does the work" conform literally to the Nirang. "when both take care of the farmyard, gēbā, each of them shall go out; (if) the wife (takes care of) the farm, the man shall go out" etc. 21 There one has a glimpse of the life of a boundsman.

MP. byk'l > bigār, is known to me from one passage in the Ayāk.Zām.: "p.š'n hlg v byk'l 'l prm'y, and do not allot to them (your subjects) hlg and bigār." Bartholomae, Mir. Mundrt. 1, 1916, 10-16, sub "ark=Arbeit," translated "Arbeit (d.i. Frome) ohne Grund," wrongly mending the text to "hlg

20 Gibb Mem. xvi, to which my attention was drawn by Minorskiy's Sōyneghal in 2808 IX,950.
21 Häbischmann, Arm.Gram. 218: "Arm. pahak umum or tarapahak varem = ḫywayelôw." But pahak < pādraka means "watch, watchman." H. says: "Ich kann die Bedeutungen nicht ausgleichen." Perhaps through šāhr pādan, Mir.Man. 11,15 (cf. Altp.Inschr. 315) which seems to mean not only "to do military service" but every public service, ḫarrān šarri. "bigār, corvée" is syn. of ḫywayelôw, from Akk. ahr, atar "hired slave," ahrūtu, ahtarūtu mahstr.; cf. Jansen's note in Horn, Ezym. 254. This appears first in the NT., before, there is only ḫywayelôw, ḫywayelôw referring to the imperial post, from Akk. "egirtu, message," see under 'Post and Travels.'
by k'r," because he did not grasp the social meaning of hlg, and believed it to be an Iranian word. It is Akk. ilku, corvée, in Beh. allūka, Pap.El. lvk, Aram. hlk (Ezra), which passed from Aramaic into MP. as hlg, TPārs. χτγ, and thence into Arab. as "kharādj taxes," see Altp.Inschr. sub "mandā." Beside hlg v byg'r the pair hlg v b'l often appears, with "bār=φόπος, Akk. biltu, tribute," to be distinguished from "bār, fruit, interest" usually spelled bl; e.g. Dēnk. m. 533,17: "hlg v b'l mn škvh'n br' dbrrn.sn br' 'ytvn br' dbrrn.sn 'yk 'dryh v dhvpyh br' l' k'hyt, taxes and tributes are to be taken off of the poor classes, but only so far to be taken off as not to impair the subjects and the government." The most common group is "hlg v ruj, corvée and toil," where hlg takes on the more general meaning "exertion." 22

Bartholomae, Wb. s.v. piśtra, says: "Stand oder Kaste; es gibt drei, nur in Y.19,17 vier Stände: ādravan 'Priester,' rađēśtā 'Krieger,' vāstrya.śsuyant 'Bauern,' hūtī 'Handwerker.' Im Gathischen z.T. abweichend: Aryaman oder viell. [means Y.Haft.] ḥāxman für den Priester, χvaētū und nar für die Krieger, vāstriya.śsuyant oder koll. vrzana, vrzanya für den Bauernstand." Nyberg follows with vrznam as "tiers état," aryaman as "priest," adding "im Y.Haft. scheint vrzana zunächst Kultverband zu sein," no reasons.—piśtra is no more than "profession," Arab. aşnāf al-nās, not "Kaste, caste." "Bauernschaft" was a wrong translation introduced by Pischel-Geldner, Ved.Stud. 11,19. None of the Gath. terms enumerated means "priests," nor are they the "first class." The Gath. and Aw. terms are no opposed systems of three or four classes at all.

The error entails a wrong analysis of vrzana in Wb.1424f., in "a) 'Gemeinschaft,' b) politisch 'civitas,' bezw. Ap. 'Stadt,' c) im Gegensatz zu Adel und Priesterstand der 'Dritte Stand.'"—vrznam is nowhere the term for a "class, état, Stand" as opposed to others; nowhere does it signify anything but "oppidum, civitas." The different vocalization

22 It is tempting to connect with it the title IPahl. 'rkpt or hrkpt, IPārs. hlgpt, Aram. 'rght', usually translated "lord of the 'ars,' castle," and to translate "chief collector of taxes." But in Palmyra the ἀργαπάτης is the commander of the horse and dromedary corps, cf. P. Camont, Fouilles de Dura p.xlii,n.5, and Dittenberger, Syll., Or.inscr. 645 with φοράρχας = argapati.
in Gath., Aw. and OP. is for us without importance. Ved. vrjānam is "village, oppidum," cf. Hertel, nos. vii.101. In RV. the vrjāna have a "rāj, king."

In the OP. inscriptions vṛdana designates the capitals of the dahyu in the sense of Aw. zantu, hence civitas > città. Where tribes and their country do not bear the same name, the name of the vṛdana serves for purposes of administration. For the capitals of the great dahyu, e.g. Agbatana and Persepolis, special terms are used, like "dīdā, acropolis" or "viθ, residence of the king." Likewise, in the Avesta, the residence of Vištāspa is called vis of the Nötarya, the city of Tōs.

In the gathas, the meaning is the same. In Y. 33.5, Zoroaster "prays away," removes by his prayer the nazdištām drujam, the disadvantage that Druyš is the closest neighbor, from the vrzanam, Pahl. transl. "hamsāyakih, life under the same shade," clearly life in a "town" (see under 'Ārmati'). In Y. 46.1 the vrzana is the place of the tribunal, hence a "mēdinā, place of tribunal," ideogr. for MP. šahristan, "capital." In Y. 33.3 and 4, vrzana appears at the side of vidans Ḟwaxšahā gavoī, hence it is certainly not the peasantry. Nyberg's notion, 48, of a tribe of cattle-breeders "die offenbar sesshaft sind" contains for Iran and Türan a contradiction in adjecto: they are nomads by definition, and must at least change between summer and winter pasture, garmsir and sard sir, qyšlaq and yailaq.

Like all analogous terms, vṛzana can signify the place and collectively the men in it; for individuals the adj. vṛzanya, "citizen" is used. There is a dark passage in Y. 45.9:

mazdā χastra vṛznv'(v) or vṛzyn'(v) dyāt ahuro pasūš vīrān ahmākān fradaθāi.

Bartholomae, following the former reading vṛzy n'v translated "möge uns AM, durch seine Macht zur Wirksamkeit verhelfen, damit . . .!" Benveniste: "varzi, loc.sg. d'un nom racine varz- 'activité, pratique,' hence "puisse AM. par sa royauté nous mettre en activité." On the contrary Lommel: "vvarzɔnɔ̄, -nȳ, ob gen. sg. eines fem., oder instr. sg. eines adj. in -ya, eng zu χastra gehörig: 'Herrschaft der Dorfge-

meinde' oder 'auf die Gemeinde bezügliche Herrschaft,' wird ausgeübt von einem, der mit den ved. Wörtern vr̥janasya rājā ist, . . . Abwandlung uralter arischer Ausdrucksweise." Nyberg, 125: "Zara-thustra bittet um vrzanā-Macht zur Förderung unseres Viehs. . . ." AhuraMazdāh with instr. χσαβρα "in his quality of χσαβραμ" is so common an expression of Zoroaster that other interpretations are improbable. The bad transmission of the text does not permit a decision between varzi nā or vrzanyā. "help to activity" is not very convincing, and "give us vrzanyā" would only require an emendation of the case termination, meaning: "give us members of the vrzanā, of our community."

In the "Gatha of the Flight," Y.46,1 (text under 'Hospitium') a badly preserved vrzanā hāčā (vv.II. ho čā, haččā) stands in parallel with sāstārō dahyauś "the commanders of the province." Andreas-Lommel refrain from translating. Bartholomae puts down a special fem. form vrzanā. The long ā, however, is but the usual notation in Gath. compounds, cf. Duchesne, Comp.av. §17,d; the faulty separation of the compound caused the assimilation of the rel. yā, instead of yo. The stanza speaks of the tribunal which exiled the prophet from his hometown. The corrupt second element which begins with h and ends in -ā must express in relation to vrzanā, the town, what the sāstārō are in relation to dahyu, the province. Two letters must be corrected. That can be nothing but hartar, nom. hartā, which appears in Yt.10,80 beside mēθanahya patiś and vrzanahya patiś, in the shape niśhartā adrujām, in form and sense a counterpart to sāstār. Mithra is—Yt.10,103—the hartar and awyaχ̄star of all gēθā, the goods and chattels of all the vis, the world, its "custodian and guardian," a metaphor which presupposes the existence of the corresponding post in the vrzanam, that is of the 'vrzanam.hartā. Ach. χσαθ'ā.pāvan is another perfect counterpart.24 The court of the vrzanam—mēdinā—šahrīstān was under the authority of an ahura, lord justiciary, presided over by a tkeša, judge, and the jury consisted of "hvētu, free cives"; aryaman, clients; the sāstāro dahyauś, military commanders of the province; and the "vrzanam.hartar, consul civitatis," seemingly a member ex officio.

24 In the Ka'ba inscr. the satrap are all chiefs of towns, a change Hübschmann noticed also in Armenian; satrap deteriorated into "mayor" when šāh replaced the title.
To this banishment from his home town, Zoroaster refers also in Y.49,7:

ko aryamā
ko hvētuś dātāiś ahat
yo vrzanāi
vahviyām dāt frasastim

"Who is the client, who the nobleman, who, through dāta, for the vrzanam will obtain the good proclamation?" (See under ‘Hāugava.’) The frasastiś by dāta, royal edicts, is an official proclamation by heralds; what Zoroaster hoped for is the rescission of the verdict of the court of his home town. If he was banished for the sake of his doctrine, the frasasti would be at the same time the official recognition of the doctrine. Thus, the dative vrzanāi can, in principle, mean two things: (1) simply "town," and then refer either to the home town, the proclamation being ordered "for the town," to take place where the verdict was passed; or for the town where the prophet had found asylum. (2) vrzanam can refer to the doctrine itself. The normal term would be "dēnā, religion" as community of the adherents, defined by Nyberg as "Kollektivausdruck für die Schauseelen der Anhänger." For the government, not interested in "Schauseelen," a group of cives would be a civitas, not in the topic sense, but a fictitious vrzanam, as the magi are a fictitious tribe, zantuś, without land.

Among the members of the court were the "sāstāro dahyaus." The plural shows that a province—which had only one χśrayant, εἶς κοίρανος ἑστίω—had many sāstāro, and Yt.10,14 shows that there were sāstāro in all provinces of āryaśayanam. Sāstar, from √sanh-, OP. ṭah- "to command," means "commander," like amīr from amara. In Yt.10,4 they dress the ranks of the "irā, columns, regiments;" in 10,109 the highest sāstar hāmaśaṭro to whom Mithra grants this χśaṭram puruspādam hvanisāxtam has absolute authority to punish, power over life and death, and his verdict is at once executed. In Yt.14,13, the male camel stands there, "vīdiśivā yaṭa sāstā, looking up and down like a sāstar" in front of his troops, that means quite humorously "like a commanding general," while in Yt.14,47 Vrthragna "virāzati, dresses the ranks, antar rāśtā rasmanā, of the two phalanges," like a virāz, virājā (Yt.14,37), a captain. An assertion "sāstar, only used for enemies of Zoroaster" (Nyberg, 91) sounds strange in view of such material.
The sāstāro are the military officers of the province, as the name says: one commands soldiers. sāstar has nowhere a relation to a special territory. Nyberg, 57: "Wir hören auch von Herrschern über grössere Gebiete [than the dahyu], die also höher stehen, als der dahyupati, der Landesherr. Diese höheren Gebiete führen den Namen sāstar," and p.304 "vielleicht eine ostiranische Entsprechung zu achaem. χσαYawya χσαYαγYάnαm." The "greater areas" are the words šayana and šiti, abstr. nouns, "the dwelling, living" of man and animal in any optional region. Dahyupati is sovereign, nobody can be more than sovereign. The plurality of the sāstāro of the dahyu are subordinate to the dahyupati and to the one χšayant of every single dahyu. The gen.pl. sāstrate, OP. *θσαstranām, *θσαsnāmis the origin of Sāsān, personified as son of Humāy and her father Bahman-Ardašir, grandson of Vištasp. He is the ancestor of the Sāsānakān, and the name of the dynasty is the old title. The Arsacid Spāḥpat of Khurāsān, too, bear a title as family name. sāstar was certainly not East Iranian.

This does away, at the same time, with all "devic" interpretations of the word, and it has no "Bedeutung" at all that "a sātar [only once gen.sg. sātrascit and twice gen.pl. sāthrām25] in der zoroastrischen Gemeinde [i.e. in bad verses of the Arsacid period] formelhaft den kavi, karpan, Zauberern und Hexen [one may add: female frogs] gleichgeordnet wird, mit denen Zarathustra zu kämpfen hatte." Bartholomae assumed that another word sāstar, belonging to sādāra and κνόω, was responsible for this application, but the misunderstanding is foreshadowed by verses like Y.46,1 (for sāstar) and 48,10 (for karpan), and no more reason is needed. The Gothic "hundafaps, centurion," correspondent to the prototype of all Iranian sāstāro, the *satapatiš, became Germ. Hundsfott, i.e. "scoundrel, rogue."

BARTHOLOMAE ANALYZES THE FREQUENT χϱαθραμ, TO √χسعادة, MASTERSHIP OVER, IMPERIUM, REGNUM AS (1) "HERRSCHGewalt, NICHT IMMER AUSEINANDERZUHALTEN VON (2) HERRSCHGEBIET, DIES BESONDERS ALS AUFEENTHALT DER SELIGEN, GÖTTER; (3) PERSONIFIZIERT ALS AMRTA SPANTA." IN OP. THE MEANING IS EVERYWHERE CLEARLY IMPERIUM, (1) AS GOVERNED COUNTRY, THUS USED FOR IRAN, BABYLON; (2) AS GOVERNMENT.


BUT EVEN AFTER THIS EXTENSION, THERE STILL REMAIN PASSAGES WHERE NONE OF THESE SIGNIFICATIONS FITS. BARTHOLOMAE CALLS Y.5,87 "UNDEUTLICH":

\[\begin{align*}
\text{bhvām čārātiš zisanātiš} & \quad \text{women in childbirth} \\
\text{jādiyānte huzāmiyam} & \quad \text{shall ask Thee for easy birth} \\
\text{bhvām kaṇiṇo vaśre yōna} & \quad \text{marriageable maidens} \\
\text{χϱaθra hvāpa jādiyānte} & \quad \text{of noble kind shall ask Thee} \\
\text{tahmamča nmanapatim} & \quad \text{for χϱaθra and a valiant husband!}
\end{align*}\]

WOLFF-BARTHOLOMAE: "DICH SOLLEN HEIRATSfähige EMSige MÄDCHEN . . . UM (GUTE?) HERRSCHAFT BITTEN."


Hv.apah and Hv.āpah—the script is incapable of distinguishing the quantity of the vowel—can correspond to Lat. opus or aqua, and must be separated accordingly. Referring to maidens wanting to marry, it means certainly, like NP. ēhṛ, gōhr, āb,
the noble descent, beauty, not needlework. Their desire is, as in Yt.15,39 (see below), to have children from their husbands, and the easiest solution would be to read čiḥram for χšātram as in Yt.15,130. Otherwise, χšātra ought to mean here “house, household, being mistress of a house.”

Furthermore, all passages with masa.χšātra, magahya χšātra, patiš χšātrahya and the comp. manzā.χšātra and χšātrakrta are subject to doubts.

Y.33,5 (commentary under ‘Post and Travels’):

yas.te vispā.mazištam
āpāno drga.zyātim
rūt a rzuš palo
srōśam zuvāya avahānē
ā χšātram vahōš manaho
yēšu mazdā ahuro šēti

“I who will call forth Thy most-high srōśa at the relay, arriving at the everlasting χšātram of Vahumano, at the straight roads where Ahura-Mazdāh dwells as Rtam.”

“Empire” is possible, but does not fit into the vivid image of the journey through life and heaven; χšātram evidently resumes “avahāna, relay-stage” and must be a synonym: “Inn to the Eternal Life” would fit into the image.

Y.44,9 (Gatha of the Questions):

kaḥā moi yām
yām hudānoš
rśvā χšātrā
hadmoi rtā
yōš dēnām dāne
patiš sahyār χšātrahya
θwāvans āsīṣtiš mazdā
vahūča šyans manahā

“Shall the lord of the χšātram, Thou, o Mazdāh as Vahumano and Rtam, who dwellest in the same house, deign to grant as promised the high χšātrā to my religion, to me who wants to purify it as a well-knowing one?”

Lommel-Andreas: “Wird mir ein Herr der Herrschermacht (des Reichs) die Lehre verkünden, die ich in Lauterkeit weihen will, die (Lehre) der Verständigen, (nämlich) die Verheissungen auf die Reiche hoch da droben, einer wie Du, o Weiser, der

1 See below. The same fault in hu.χšātra, Paur. 10, Pahl. transl. “hūk, pig”; it is *hū.čhra, belonging to the genus “pig,” archet. ḫvāt, with ḫ for č, wrongly transcribed by χš in Avestic script.
mit Wahrsein und dem Guten-Denken im gleichen Hause wohnt?” Note: “yauš dā ‘in Lauterkeit weihen’ ist ein Notbehelf; ‘vollkommen machen’ (Bartholomae und ähnlich Andreas) scheint mir nicht zutreffend zu sein.”

yōz-dā, cf. “iūsiūrandum, oath of purgation,” encompasses “to make whole, to heal, to hallow, also to repair, to purify.” Without straining the meaning one could translate “to reform.”

The gramm. construction puts dēnā, the regens of the rel. clause, into this clause with case changed. The transition from third person into vocative is typical for many gathic verses.

The end is the easiest to understand: “Your Highness, who dwellest as Vahumano and Rtam in the same house.” That is not a statement that the god shares a house with his inseparable aspects, but that those to whom it is promised, āsiṣṭi, shall dwell in the same house, hadmoi, with the trinity Mazdāh-Rtam-Vahumano. Similarly in Y.46,14 (under ‘Myastra’): “Those whom Thou, Mazdāh, wilt receive [at the banquet] in the same house [with Thee], I shall call out with words of good-will, yahumanah.”

For āsiṣṭi cf. Y.30,10 (text under ‘Myastra’): “Then, her vault shall be shattered for the Druχš, but those that are deemed worthy because of (their) good renown, shall partake in the fair abodes, huṣṭi, of Vahumano, Ahura and Rtam.” The promise of such a dwelling is a contract with the owner of the house, called “patiš χ’ṣaṭrahya, landlord” in the preceding line—οἰκοδεσπότης of the NT.—for a share in the house in which His Highness, ὅωανοι, dwells himself. There is no reason to give ršva in “the promised ršva χ’ṣaṭrā,” as Wb. does, any other than the usual meaning “high,” Ved. ḫśvā, Gr. ὅρθως. They may be high like the “New Jerusalem, celestial abode, the high-built city,”—cf. “manyustāta, built into heaven”—or as a “feast, MGerm. hochgeziten,” or because the “High one” grants them—cf. srōša called vispā-maziṣṭa as His servant.

The plural χ’ṣaṭrā forbids to see in the sg. χ’ṣaṭram the “kingdom of heaven.” The image is that of an abode in paradise. At our place, 44,9—see under ‘Welcome’—the verses are preceded by “Shall my soul be greeted with ‘Be welcome’?”, the welcome in paradise.
Y.32,12, text under 'Welcome!' cf. the similar stanza 32,15 under 'Kavi':

"Because by their [epic] songs they do harm to the really good conduct of men, AhuraMazdâh curses them who destroy the livelihood of the cattle-breeder, gâuš jyōtum, with acclamations." Then:

12: yâiš grahmā rtāt vartā karpā χśaṭramča išnām druṣam
13: yā χśaṭrā grahmo hišast āčistahya dmāṇe manaho

"(AhuraMazdâh curses those) by whom the karpan as favorite and the χśaṭram of those bent on druχs are preferred to Rtam, at which χśaṭram the favorite has a seat in the house of the wholly-evil spirit," that means "at the board of Hell." "Realm of Hell" cannot be the meaning of χśaṭram, because the term for the aspect of AhuraMazdâh cannot be used for its own hellish contrast. Before and after, the verses speak of the consumption of sacrificial meat: χśaṭram is somehow associated with eating.

The thought of Y.32,13 is similarly expressed in Arab. verses of Sayyid al-Ḫumairī, time of al-Manṣūr, equally referring to a qâdi: "he sits at the day of resurrection on the baḥbūḥat al-𝑛ār, the seat of honor in the fire of Hell." Aḫānī 10,35 explain baḥbūḥa by "midst": "at the Day of Djabala, the people made them sit in their midst, the baḥbūḥa of their house." This again agrees with Yl.13,100: Vištāspa, arm and succor of the religion of Zoroaster:

yo him stātām hitām
hatīm
uzvažat hača hinuwo
ni him dasta maďyoīšādām
who made the imprisoned, fettered one freed of her fetters sit down on the "middle-seat."

To understand the metaphor fully, one must put in Zoroaster for the religion: it means the reception of the prophet as refugee. maďyoīšad, middle-seat, equals NP. šāhnišin "king's seat," name of the carpet spread at the narrow side of the reception room, opposite the entrance,

3 Aḫānī vii,14. In epigraphy referring to the seat of honor in paradise, e.g. Aleppo, Sulṭāniyya, 602 H.; Shairat, Baibars, 662 H.; Bistām, Oldjaitu, 708 H.; Isfahan, Dja'fariyya, 728 H. baḥbūha is derived from the exclamation of admiration, NP. baḥ baḥ!
4 Whence "šanāšīl, bay-window" of the upper stories in Baghdad.
on which honored guests sit, whereas inferior guests squat along the right and left wall of the room.

Y.51,16 (cf. commentary under ‘Maga’):

tām kavā višta.aspo magahya χśaṭrā nansat
vahōš padbiš manaho yām čistiṃ rtā manta
spanto mazdā ahuro

“Her (acc.fem.), kavi Vištāspa has obtained by the χśaṭra of the maga, on the paths of Vahumano, (her) the čistiš, whom the holy Ahura as Rtam has devised.”

Čistiš is at the same time knowledge, insight, also religion, and the partial figure of AhuraMazdāh, into which she has changed from the original Ušā-Eos of Yz.16. From Eos she has inherited the “house” in which she assembles the souls in Y.30,9, see under ‘Myastra.’ maga is the “feast, hochgezīte,” see under ‘Maga,’ and this χśaṭra is either part of the feast or, as n.abstr., “to be guest, to be host” at the feast.

The last gathic passage is Y.49,10, text under ‘Harvatāt-Amrtatāt’:

yā ārmatiš ižāča manzā.χśaṭrā vazdahā ,avomirā

“This, Thou, AhuraMazdāh, keepest in Thy house: the vahumano, the souls of the believers, and their prayer.”

The place of keeping is the heavenly garo.dmāna, the “storehouse,” see under ‘Hvarnah.’ The line 49,10 has no verb; the enumeration goes on; the words that follow are attached, as nominatives, to “namah, prostration, prayer,” the first pair is “obedience and zeal,” the last is “drink-of-health and food-of-immortality.” Between these, manzā.-χśaṭrā cannot mean “Grossherrschcr” or “grosse Herrschaft ausübend,” as a vocative, but only something stored cool like the souls and the heavenly food. The verses that follow continue the thought: the impious receive in hell hellish food.

Two yasht passages make it even more obvious that this χśaṭra cannot be the word “χśaṭra, domination.”

Y.5,130:*

* Bartholomeae attached manzā to Ol. mahā; Duchesne calls it the regular compound form of mazāt; but distinct from maz, it is always written with nasal, and I regard it as unexplained. Cf. Y.51,16 magahya χśaṭra, Y.29,11 mazoi magayā, and the root V‘mang- under ‘Mag‘; also the Sassanian title marmoyān or marmoyān.

*I have collected previous translations in Ulā-Eos, Mélanges Cumsont, 1936, pp.751ff.
yaṣa azam 'huvāfrītā
masā χασαθ्रā nivanāṇi
‘āṣ. pačanā stūvi. baχdrā
frōdataspā 'hvanat. caχrā
χσvēwayat. aṣtrā aṣ.borvā
niṣāta.pitu hubōdi
[upa] strmēṣu vārama dade
that I may bear, as by itself, on cushions ...
‘farnahvantam 'vispōḍyātim
fortunate, all-good-life-having
ribyantam ‘cītram zazāti
.... ? offspring!

The text seems to be what Meillet called "refondu." To understand the badly preserved words, one must first grasp the general meaning. There is a certain resemblance with verses in the Homeric hymn to Demeter:

ο δ’ ολβιος δυν κε συν θυμων
πρόφροι τιμήσει τω δ’ αφθονα πάντα πάρεστι ....
αυτοι δ’ εύνομίσει πόλιν κατα καλλγνωνάκα
κοιρανέοντι, ολβος δε πολυς και πλούτως ὀπτηδεί.

Yet, Yt.5,130 is a woman’s prayer. The words in g, upa.strmēṣu and i, χασαθ्रαm zazāti are transparent: the first is no compound, χασαθ्रαm is a wrong rendering by Aw, χσ of an archet. š for č: čiθram. varma? dade?
cf. Y.10,14 under ‘Hōma”: “mā vārama čare, we do not want to reel without senses, without being aware of it,” and Yt.17,2; 5,130: “vārna,” as by itself, raυτοσάρου, cf. Altp.Inschr. 347f. — “dade” is the same form as “care,” an unauthentic infinitive. The sentence means the same as Yt.5,87,d-e, see above. A man cannot wish to be “huvāfrīto, well-beloved,” he is the lover, friyans—think of ‘ašiq and ma’shuq—the maf‘ūl must be fem. ‘huvāfrītā, cf. Hutōsā’s prayer in 14,35: friyā frīrā.—Wb. attaches nivanāṇi to the second of its 4 ṽvan-. The few passages that stand criticism can be associated under one van-, instead one and two. riβyantam in i, is unintelligible to me, the usual adjective is rēvant; all these adj. should be acc. neutr. instead of masc.

The verses c-f illustrate what masā χσαθ्रā means. The last word,

† Cf. ṽvan- “to desire, love” only Gath. vaumul in Y.28,8 remains; ṽvan- belongs to OP. van-, “to fill up, heap up.”
“hubōdi, good-smelling” has in mind not flowers but the kitchen, and the seven other words describe different smelling dishes, the longest menu in the Awesta.

aš. pačana: cf. NP. ašpaz “cook,” properly “soup-cooking,” Syr. ’şpyzknu “innkeeper”; the place name τρι[σ]βάζων: Turšpész > Turšíz; pačka “(brick- or potter’s) kiln”; OL. āṣa, “broth” in prātarāṣa “breakfast”; NP. naštā < *naāštā, Gr. νησίς “iciunus”; MP. āś “grits, soup” in Vid.16.7, as translation of χβαϊνάβ “porridge of barley”; disposes of the belief that āš is a Turkish word. MP. āš is OP. *āšr’a, Med. āṣra in χβωμεσταν.āṣra, the verbal element of which belongs to Aw. χβευταν in Vid.21.7 and N.P. šeʔ/śīdan “to mix and knead wheat flour etc. in water etc.” (not Wb.: “Reiche wo man die Peitsche schwingen lässt”).

aš. borva, “with much roast,” cf. MP. pit ē bör.—nišāta. pitu “with dishes set down,” either on the carpet—the eating does not start before everything there is is set down—or “with preserved, pickled victuals,” cf. Germ. “eingeglegt, eingemacht.”

Only frōbat.aspa ‘hvanat.ca’tra “with snorting horses, singing wheels” does not fit in. But, when the wheels of a car “sing,” it soon will burn, while no harm is done when mills sing, cf. “suďuš ‘corn-mill,’ the noise of which deafens the devils,” Vid. 3.32. Thus ‘hvanat.ca’tra does not belong to the description of a chariot, but of a kitchen. Then—with the evident misinterpretation of the whole woman’s prayer by the redactors—frōbat.aspa may be “refoendo” and hide a similar word of different meaning: e.g. MP. frōšag, made of flour, butter and honey, Arm. hrušag, NP. Arab. frōšah, āfrōšah. The brother of the executed Mázyār b. Kāren orders an āfrōšah as his last meal; and Ibn Hauql extolls in many words the āfrōšah in his homeland, near Kömis. aspa may replace afšah, a kind of burghul or polenta.

Surely, this χβαθρα does not mean (Wolff-Bartholomae) “dass ich grosse Herrschaften,” (Lommel) “Besitztum gewinne,” referring to str.7: “wörtl. ‘Herrschaft,’ anscheinend im Sinn ‘Reichtum.’” It means a kitchen, the “realm of the housewife.”

Yz.17:
6: hubōdī bōdāti nmānam
yahya nmāne rtiś vahvi
good smells the house
of that one in which the good
Rtiś
sūrā pādā nidaḥati
āgrmati daryāi hāxdrāi
the strong one, puts her feet,
the industrious one, for a long
companionship.
7: tē naro ḫaṣṭrā ḫāyante
nidaṭa.pitu (hubōdī)*
aś.borvā
with (pre?)served dishes, with
yahmiya strtasča gātuś
much roast,
where there are beds with mat-
anyāsavā brydrā āvrtā
tresses
yoī hačahi rtiś vahvi
and other expensive furnishings,
with whom Thou, good Rtiś,
associatest!

As a whole, these stanzas recall the Demeter hymn, 488:

aīya dē oī pēmpounos efēstion ev mēga dōma
plōuton dē anthropouς afendas thētai dīdōsion.

The description goes on through several stanzas and is the best picture of a rich house of the Achaemenian period in the Avesta. Especially the beds, gātavo, are described:

hustṛtā hu.upabustā
hu.kṛtā barziśhavanto*
zaranyā.pāxṭa.pādāho

"beds, well made, well scented, well worked, with cushions, the legs
inlaid with gold." Similarly ništaras.paya nīdāt.barzīśa in Yz.10,30.

Athenaeus b.31⁹ says, "according to Heraclides, the Persians in-
vented the so-called bed-makers, that the 'strōsis' be proper and soft.
Tsimagoras, the Cretan, or as Phaniás says, the peripatetic Entrimus of

⁸ hubōdī is to be cancelled; the resemblance with Yz.5,130 misled several ms. to insert
here those entire stanzas, spoiling the meter. brxā, for household utensils and furniture,
belongs to "brg-, rite, usua, fashion."
⁹ The "-th" is a restitution, faulty but attested in the language, in analogy to an h after
sandhi š, cf. under 'MādaPāra.' In Tzbari m11,1421, subject: confiscation of the property of
the qāḍi al-quaṭāt Yahyā b. al Akham, a word 'sw'n'ḥ appears, syn. of frk, hence apparently
'str'n'ḥ, formed from P. stra, as the first from stūna.
¹⁰ Cf. Patargadæ in Klio 1907/08, vui,49. and Ami vi,72.
Gortys, once traveled . . . to the great-king . . . Artaxerxes presented him with a tent . . . and a kline with legs of silver, ἀργυροπόδα, together with the bed-maker belonging to it, saying that the Greeks did not know how to make a bed."

There is a famous story in Tabari 1,1048, an authentic, contemporary record of Xusraw II in prison: "He was sitting on three namaṭ of dibāj i xusrawānī, royal brocades, woven with gold-threads, which were spread over a silk busāṭ, and was leaning against three wasā'īd, woven with gold-threads; in his hand he held a perfectly round yellow quince. When he saw his visitor entering, he sat up and laid the quince on the place he had leant against, and it rolled from the highest of the three wasā'īd—it was so round and the stuffed wisād so smooth—down on the uppermost of the three namaṭ, and from the namaṭ on the busāṭ, and neither did it come to rest on the busāṭ, but rolled on the floor, until at last it lay far off, covered with dust." busāṭ is a large carpet covering the floor, from basaṭa, to spread. Arab. namaṭ is loanword, through Aram. nmr’, from Iran. namata, originally “strewing,” later “felt,” see under ‘Kršvar.’ Three namaṭ are laid one above the other to make a soft seat. wisād are cushions for head and arm, against which one leans, “anaklintéria,” often in form of rolls, firmly stuffed. In Yt.15, fraspāt and upastarna appear together as here namaṭ and wisād. The correspondence upastarna: wisād is confirmed by NP. bistar, dial. gustar < 'vistarna, “bed”’; Arm. pastar < upastarna. In Esther 1,3 “white, green and blue ‘hangings’ [i.e. fraspāt], fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble,” and in Ezek.27,7, where colored “sails” are described, the Armenian translator uses “pastar” only because the lxx use Gr. στρώματι; Vstr-, στρώνυμι and their derivatives mean making a bed, for which in Iran mattresses are characteristic. upastarna are cushions, mattresses.

St.14, in the same context: “To them, the importer, ābrtar, brings gold and silver from far away lands into their nibra (trunk, closet, cf. anbār), and shining, ready-made garments. . . .” Evidently the poet thinks of Phoenician and Egyptian merchants.

Accepted translations of χάθρα χαύγαντε are: (Wolff-Bartholomae) “die Männer beherrschen die Reiche, in denen es viel zu kauen gibt, . . . wo man die Knute schwingt, . . .” (Lommel):
"gebieten in Herrschaften, wo Speise vornärig ist" (Hertel): "herrschen durch eine Herrschaft, die mit vielen Speisen versehen ist." If χśayante belonged to √χśi-, it ought to govern the genitive. It is not only improbable, but definitely wrong.

This χśaṭhra belongs to a root *χśan-, Gr. ξένος. Tedesco writes me, as confirmation: "χśayante, likewise, is at this place passive of the same root, to be read *χśāyante, cf. zāyate to √zan-, and in analogy to it also in monosyllabic roots, cf. RV. tāyate to √tan-, tata-.

In the parable in Matth.22, the γάμος of the king take place in the νυμφών, which is entirely filled by the many guests. Luther's "und die Tische wurden voll," fits the sense and is applicable to the gathic passages. In Y.51,16, Vištāspa obtains ēsti "together with" or "through the magahya χśaṭrāi": that is no "Herrschaft über den Bund," no "Ekstase-Gymnastik" or "Ordalséance," but a banquet: Vištāspa, walking on the paths of Vahumano, takes a seat at the wedding table, or on the hustrta, rug-covered, floor of the harem, where the feast takes place. Contrasting with it, Grahma, in Y.32,13, takes a seat at the table in hell.

χśaṭra, to √χśan-, is the hospitable reception. In the passages Y.32, 12-15, Y.51,16, and Yt.17,7 it is clearly the banquet itself; in Y.33,5, beside avahāna "relay-stage," and in Y.44,9 beside patiś χśaṭraḥya "landlord" and "hadmoi, in the same house," banquet is possible, but rather the place of the banquet, cenaculum, ξενοδοχεῖον.

This result is confirmed by χśaṭra.kṛta in Yt.17,57-60, a song which one may call "The Lamentation of Rtiś" or "Pictures of Life in a Harem." The word appears there beside antara.ardam, "harem."

57: purviyām grzām grzēta
r̥tīs vahvī yā brzati
hača a.puṭra.zanayāi (jahī-
kāyāi)
(mā hē avi pādam avahiṣṭa
mā [hē] gāthum nipaḍyahva)
kūṭhā (hīs) azam krvine
asmānam avi fraṣuṣāni
zām avi ni.ṛvisyāni

The good Rtiś, the high one,
uttered her third lamentation
about the sterile wife,

(do not tread upon her threshold,
do not lie down on her bed!)
What shall I do about it,
shall I go away to heaven,
shall I turn my back upon the
earth?
58: bitiyām grzām grzēta
rōtiś vahvī yā brzatī
haĉa avahāī jahikāyāī
yā avam puθram barati
anyahmāī arśānai varśtam
‘pāhaye upa.barati
kuθā azam kranvānī
asmânām avi fraśusānī
zām avi ni.rvisyānī

Rtiś, the good, the high one,
uttered her second lamentation,
about that female slave
who bears a son,
one procreated by a strange man
and substitutes him to her master,
What shall I do etc. etc.

59: ḍṛitiyām grzām grzēta
rōtiś vahvī yā brzatī
imat mē staviśtam śyōθnam
martiyā vrzyanti sāsta
yat kanyo uzvāḍayanti

The good Rtiś, the high one,
uttered her first lamentation
This did appear to me as the most
brutal thing that men do
when they take home a maiden in
Nebenehe?

<k(daryam)> aɣruvo niḍāmayanti

and do not consummate the mar-
riage,

kuθā azam kranvānī etc. etc.

What shall I do etc. etc.

60: rōti śrīrē dāmidātē
mā avi asmānām fraśusa
mā avi zām ni.rvisya

O fair Rti, created by Dāmi,
do not go away to heaven,
do not turn thy back upon the
earth,

iθa mē tāwm hamĉarahya
antarara.ardam nmānāhaya
srīrahya χśaṭra.kṛțahya

here take care for me
of the harem of the house
the fine one, built for the χśaṭra!

haĉa with dative is as faulty an expression for “to lament
about” as avahāī [sic edd., some mss. avahyāī] for the dat.fem.
in 58,c. In 58,e anyahmāī is again dative and arśānai a bad
analogic form instead of arśāne, while varśtam refers to the man
—cf. Yt.15,39 “frazantīmĉa ho varzyāt”—and demands the abl.
anyahmāt arśānāt and haĉa avahāt jahikāt. In 57,f, the plur.
hīś, instead of sg. him, relates to a.puθra.zanā; since the word
spoils the meter, it has been interpolated along with the gloss
57,d-e. Vid.19,12 uses the formula increased by “haĉa avahyat
drujat, as to this druχs.” Hertel’s interpretation “wie soll ich
auf diese (pl.) einwirken?” rests upon the erroneous supposi-
tion that hiš is genuine. The usual translation "hinab zur Erde" of "zām avi ni.rvisyāni" is impossible, for Rtiš's question "shall I go away to heaven?" shows clearly that the earth is the place where she is. Vṛvēś- means "to turn, turn back etc." Darmesteter translated a.fra.rvisyant in Yt.13,26 accurately by "the fravarti who never turn their back." Here, ni.rvisya means the same.

Rtiš is perplexed: "what shall I do?", about three cases. The first is the a.puṭra.zanā, the childless wife. jahikayāi "slave" must have been interpolated at an early time, for codd. as good as ṣ10 and κ12 emend, for this reason, a.puṭra.zanā in "puṭra.janyā, murderess of her child." But the adding of jahikā was entirely wrong: ill luck is only to have no children from a wife, so that the man must take a slave-girl; but a slave had not to be replaced for that reason. The modern translation "whore" of jahikā is foolish: the fact that she is childless would be only an advantage; no nation wishes to have as many "sons of a whore" as possible.

The misunderstanding caused the gloss following in 57,d-e: the words mā avahiṣṭa, mā nipādyahva, without correspondence in the other stanzas and obviously no words of Rtiš—who, in these verses, does not give, but asks advice—are an admonition, here out of place, not to go to a whore.11

A few verses on Rtiš went astray into Yt.18,3-4, viz. "fračarati/ antara.arḍam nmānāhya/srīrahya χśaṭrakṛtahya," and "eva.padām nidaḥati—antara.arḍam nmānāhya" etc., which are obviously modeled on 17,60 and 17,6: vahvi srīra pāḍā nidaḥati. Wolff-Bartholomae translate: "einen Fuss," Lommel "den einen Fuss setzt Rtiš nieder im innern etc," Hertel remarks, "the other foot," of which nothing more is said, "is in the heaven of light." The following verses say: "a thousand horses present themselves, ... robust offspring; the whole Tištriya star, the whole wind created by Mazdāh, the whole Aryan glory grow excited. ..." Duchesne explained nidaḥati as middle-voice, eva.padām as

11 In 57,d one can either eliminate avi (some mss. have ava) as odd and needless beside ava.hiṣṭa, or one can read *avi.padām as adverb and hiṣṭa without ava. padām, in Ṇh. 887, "Standort, Heimstätte," is rather "floor," in parallel with "gātā, bed"; cf. OP. adi padädam akunvaim adi.him gāṭvā aśvāṭāynam in BeSt. 51,4, with the same conjunction of pada and gāṭ in figurative meaning, cf. Gr. epípedon "on the soil, floor." Of the Akk. version only "ina aṣrītu ultaxzi" remains.
adv. "one-footed." Wolfgang Schultz, in Orient.Stud.Pawry, 409, connects it as "standing on one foot" with parijsat paritačat "she walked, ran around," used when the goddess grants a prayer; he supposes—without knowing that this is the exact sense of ni.rvisyāni—"to turn the back" as gesture of displeasure, and sees in these expressions an allusion to the very character of the goddess: Rtiṣ as dancer. But ēva.- arma, ēva.gava mean "having but one arm" not "using one only." I don't believe that ēvapaḍam could be saved as the only good word in this degenerate sentence. It is difficult not to see in ēvapaḍam a corrupt *avipaḍam = ἐντειμένον, in view of OP. patipadam.

In the second lamentation, the jahikā is in her right place: a slavegirl in the harem who brings, upa.barati, to her master12 a subdititious child that is not his. She of course gains by becoming an umm wadad. "subdititious" lies in the verb "upa.bar-.

Vid.15,20-42: "if a bitch anywhere brings forth young ones, the owner of the place, and in his absence a neighbor, is bound to feed her until the young ones can take care of themselves. 43: upača hē gātum baray-an, and they shall put (or push) underneath her a bedding!" And the n.abstr. upabṛ in Nirang.45: "in this case the bodily injury can neither be 'replaced, substituted' by fine or by corporal punishment," viz. after the wergildtariff.

The third lamentation has been interpreted in various ways, on insufficient reasons. One can discuss "men who bring home and rape virgins in 'Raubche.'" That would aim at this obsolete form of marriage which was scarcely still existing at the time of the verses. The word sāsta in 59,d18 may belong to √sand-, like Aw. sādaya, OP. ṭādaya "to appear as: this did appear to me."

Against Hertel, uz.vāḍaya cannot have the same meaning as the simplex "vādayamna, bridegroom" (√vad-, to conduct, Germ. führen, zur Ehe führen) and as upa.vāḍaya "to make conduct, Germ. (zur Ehe) führen lassen = geben." Wb.1344 says "entführen," which would be the term for "abduction,

12 In 17,581. the codd. have pāde (pāḍa) for pādāye, archet. *ptyy, Med. pātaye, but pronounced, following oral tradition, like OP. *pātaye: pāṭhi with θ generalized from a-cas. obl., as in the case of tu in gāṭul, ṇṛāṭul, *prāṭul. The MP.NP. forms with θ <t, therefore, are Median.

13 In no case is sāsta = sāntāro (Hertel), and hardly a nom.pl., adj. to maritaḍa, meaning "cruci" (Wb. 1573).
Raubehe”; at the time of these verses it is perhaps weakened to “Nebenehe.”

Wb. takes ni:jāmaya as verb denom. “puerperam facere” with the alternative: caus. of ni: √2gam-[on p.502 there is no √gam-] rejecting for reasons of semantics the combination with RV. x, 10,12 nigácchāt. Hertel, nof vii,61 maintains this equation: “ni:+gam- ‘niedergehen,’ caus. zum niederlegen veranlassen, d.i. zu sich legen, nachdem sie lange ungeschwängert geblieben sind,” both significations under the assumption—decisive for Hertel—that dryam is an integrant part of the sentence. But the text had only “kaniyo uzvāḍayanti, aṛuvo ni:jāmayanti.” In Vid.5,45 we find apuṭrīm ni:jasāt “if she ‘goes down’ in (= gets into the condition of) pregnancy.” Verbs of motion with definitions of condition take, in general, the meaning “to get into, to be in a condition,” e.g. Yt.10,95: “Mithra zam.fraḍā awiyāti, goes wide-as-the-earth,” i.e. is filling (with his light) the whole earth. Here, too, ni:jāmaya is causative of the same ni:jas- “he allows her to remain in the aṛuvo condition, does not consummate the marriage.” dryam is a gloss; thinking of Y.9,22-23:

hōmo āzīzanātibis dadāti ḥṣṭa.puṭrīm rtāva.frazantim
hōmo tās.čit yā kaniño āhvare dryam aṛuvo
patim rādāmča baḥṣati mošu jadyamno huṇrātus

“Hōma gives the women in labor (instr. inst. of dat.) magnificent children, pious offspring. Hōma allots to maidens who were a long time virgin, on their prayer, a husband and a guardian, a judicious one!” huṇrātus, as nominative, would refer to Hōma himself; the acc. “huṇrātum would be easier. Cf. Y.46,17 dahārā mantū “as learned guardian,” misspelled in Yt. 15,39 to dahro danto, see below.

St.60 is introduced by the formula “Thus spoke AhuraMazdāh.” Therefore Bartholomae translates “Hier ergebungich im Innern meines [i.e. of the god!] schönen, für den Herrscher erbauten Hauses!” and Lommel: “verweile im Innern meines schönen, fürstlichen Hauses!” Hertel: “Da sagte der Herrscher Mazdāh . . . begieb dich hier mit mir zusammen hinein in das glänzende, von der Herrschaft gebaute
Haus, d.h. das Haus des Fürsten oder Königs.” The introductory formula, worn out in the Awesta to the breaking point, is nowhere an integrant part of the stanzas. AhuraMazdāh is in no way connected with the “Lament of Rtiš.” That she is called “dāmidāta” may be an old feature, overlooked by the redactors and not changed into “mazdādāta.” It should not be necessary to say that the house is neither AhuraMazdāh’s nor that of any prince, but that of the man who sings the song. Êčar-, πελομα, never signifies “to walk about,” but always the zealous activity of an “ancilla, ἀμφίπολος,” OP. abičariš. That is why Rtiš has the epithet āgrmati—Darius Beh. §8 āgrmā as word for the men who hamtaušantā toiled with him—and hačate “follows, belongs to men in sar, marriage.” The stanza says: “Don’t go away, come into my harem, where none of the things you lament about ever happen!”

In Yt.18,3 the goddess goes and comes in the harem of the pretty house, fračarati antara.aršam nmānahya srīrahya. Long before, in a letter of franchise granted by Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-1123 B.C.) to RittiMarduk of Bit Karziapku, the Cossaeans goddess Šumalia is called (col.11,47): “the lady of the bright mountains, she who visits the houses, kābisat quppāti” (see under ‘Architecture’).

antara.aršam > *andarāl is the andarūn, the harem. An Iranian house has bērūn, i.e. serai, dār al-‘āmma, and andarūn, or šapistān, harem, dār al-khāsqa. But already in the Hajjiābād inscription the Pārs. equivalent for Pahl. ‘l.lbr’ štr’ is byrvny; hence, Andreas’ etymology “bē + rōn, Aussenseite” is right against an older one advanced by Nöldeke. The adjectives of direction formed with -rōn or with -vana are numerous and lead both in later language to -ōn, -ūn. Thus, the antonym to bērūn, *andarāl seems to be assimilated to them, by way of -ūl; an *andar.rōn is improbable.

From antara comes Soghd. ’ntr’yk, ’ntryk; in Ka’ba Pahl.l.27 drykn šrr, Pārs.l.33 [’]ndlyk’n srd’r, Gr. TOY ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΡΙΓΑΝΩΝ the grand-eunuch. In the opening sentence of the Ayātk, Buzurgmihr it is darikpat ē šapistān, in Šahr.Er. s.v. Kōmiš and Nahr Tirē mutilated [darik]apat ē šapistān; darikpat:andarikpat
as darandar, darunandarun, darxvarandarxvar. Theophylakt 311,18,12 says "δαρικβεδουμ (with Lat. ending) is the highest office at the Persian court, what the Romans call europalates." Menander says παρευναστηρ instead, i.e. cubicularius of the Caesars—ευνοχος has the same meaning in Greek—and comes near to Arab. ǧadžib, properly "who keeps off the entry," chamberlain of the caliphs.

If the house with its harem is called χαθrakrta, this can mean only "built for the χαθrtram (neutr.)" which takes place in the andarun, as the γάμοι of Matth.22 in the νυμφών: "made for receiving guests, a banquet." For such a χαθrtam in the antaraardam of Persepolis Darius ordered, like a hero of the epics, a hundred lambs to be slaughtered, in celebration of the birth of his first grandchild, Artystone II.

Under the root χαν-, χάya- one must also class the inf. χανmane in Y.29,9:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yā anēsam χαnmane rādam} \\
\text{vācam nṛ asūrahya} \\
\text{'yo 'mā vasmi ċa.χaṭriyam}
\end{align*}
\]

Bartholomae: "sich gedulden"; Benveniste: "moi, me contenter?"; Andreas, seemingly because of the acc. obj.: "Weh, dass ich hinnehmen muss." Grdr. §§68, 296,1 connects χαnmane, from Ar. 'kšan-, with Ol. kṣamatī. χαn- = ċevoś is simpler, and the Pahl. transl. confirms it: aśādmanishn, "life without peace" of the xenos. The exact meaning of the verb depends on how one understands the construction: rādam, as in Y.9,23 (above) is a person, in the acc. of direction—cf. Y.43,12 rtam jaso frāxnanē (below)—hence "to repair to R. for hospitium" or "take asylum with . . ." NP. bast giriftan.

There were temples with absolute right of asylum in various coun-

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14 Hübelschmann, Pers.Stud. 60; the word is not derived from "dar, door, Porte." A similar formation is Arm. nerkhīn, Meillet, Rev.Ét.Armen. 11,1, p.5.
15 Not "for the king." The old name of AltnKpūrā, Syr. šahrūrā, Arab. the same or šašdrā, šāṣdrā, is not OP. χαθraka, as one reads occasionally. The Chron. of Arbela mentions šahrāt, king (atrapa) of Adiabene, i.e. χάṭrāt, Skr. kharāt > kāṭharā, gentilic of the "Western Kāṭrāpas," house of Nahapānas; the placename, hence, is šahrāt, kirt (in which t disappears) "built by šahrāt," Ptolemy's ἡστραχαρτα; important as a proof that the dynasty of Kirkūk, Adiabene were Sakkā.
tries. Herodotus ii.113, describes how the refugees were stigmatized, and thereby made property of the god, in the temple of Heracles at the Canobic Taricheia. Something similar must have existed in pre-Islamic Iran, for many great sanctuaries, especially the mashhads of the Imāms, and some small ones, are places of asylum to the present day, a thing unusual in the Arabic countries of Islam.

Hence the translation of Y.29,9 is: “I, to go in clientela with a rāda without means, having only the voice of an impotent nar, (=χšaθriya), I, who need a wealthy χšaθriya?”

With these words Zoroaster describes himself. In the foregoing st.8, the cow—not with change of person Vahumano17—laments to have found only a single protector, Zoroaster, ready to sing its (“our”) praise, čarkrθra: that is the “Gatha of the Cow.” In st.9 he is, as exul, asūra, kύρως over nothing, has neither means nor voice; therefore (Zoroaster, speaking through the “soul of the ox”): “When will come he, who will give him zastavant (almost:) ‘palpable’ help?” namely money. For iša.χšaθriya and zastavant, see under ‘Hvarnah.”18 The “voice” means the same as fra.mrūyat in Y.46,5 (see below): the fugitive or client cannot “speak” himself, but needs a hospes, rāda as “advocate” and guardian.

Gath. fraχšnan, too, belongs to √χšan--; it resembles προζέεια. Wb. attaches it, together with “fraχšnī, fraχšnin, providus, careful” to √χšnā-, cf. Grdr. §86; Andreas, νοσων 1931, iii.322, “ζυγνωναί?”, hence Lommel: “um ... kennen zu lernen.” Benveniste has proved, Inf.av. 59, fraχšnanam in Y.43,14 to be the accusative, fraχšnanē in Y.29,11 and 43,12 the dative of the subst. fraχšnan. Only Andreas doubted the etymology; the translation resulting from it, “Unterweisung, instruction,” has been generally accepted, unfit as it is, enhanced by Nyberg to “Erkenntnis.”

Y.43,14:

yat nā friyāi
mabyo mazdā
vidamno išvā dadit
tava rafno fraχšnanam

17 Usual interpretation because of “no ... sānā, our ... commandments”: the “no” is objective “for us,” not subjective.
18 iša.χšaθriya appears only here, and is perhaps simply “hospes,” to be separated from “χšaθriya, warrior.”
"As a man, recognizing the need," shall give (or: do to) his friend, thus, o Mazdâh, give me [lit.: be to me from Thee] fidelity and hospitality!"

\[Y.29,11\] (see under 'Maga'):

āt mām rtā  
yūţam mazdā fraḵšnanē  
mazoi 'magayā  
patizāntā

"honor me [the soul of the ox] with hospitality [an invitation] at the great marriage-feast [Matth.: γάμοι] o Mazdāh, as Rtām!" Contin.: "we want to be of your domestics!, i.e. even though we are present as servants only!"

Nyberg, 452, note to 157: "Nehmt mich gnädig auf zu gunsten des grossen maga, damit ich Erkenntnis erlange." Thus, the soul of the ox would talk like the Student to Mephistopheles: "Ich bitt' Euch, nehmt Euch meiner an! . . . Ich wünschte recht gelehrt zu werden, und möchte gern was auf der Erden und in dem Himmel ist erfassen!"

\[Y.43,12\]: "And when Thou saidst to me: 'rtām ḫasu fraḵšnanē, thou shalt repair to Rtām (Right) for asylum!' Thou didst not order unobeyed [=I obeyed at once], 'uzīradyāi\(^{20}\) parā hyat moi ājimāt srōso, hurry, before my Srōṣa and Rtiṣ arrive!'

Lommel-Andreas: "Und als Du mir sagtest: komm, um das Wahrsein kennen zu lernen! da hast Du mir nichts geheissen was unbefolglt blieb, (nämlich) mich aufzumachen, bevor der Gehorsam zu mir kommen wird, der begleitet ist von der mit vielen Reichtümern versehenen Vergeltung usw." Should Truth have been unknown to Zoroaster, and should he have been obedient before Obedience came to him?

Whatever the exact role of Srōṣa and Rtiṣ was—the first is the "ear," the police, the second a Nike—the fugitive goes into the asylum inac-

\(^{19}\) The usual translation "ein wissender" without object is empty, and "if he is able to" is worse. The sense demands "as a man gives who recognizes the need" or "one who sees the friend in need." Cf. the natural sentence "granting the help which a friend gives to the friend" in \[Y.46,3\], not restricted by "if he is able to," ḫra in \[Y.47,4\] may mean "if one is indigent" or "if one needs him." \[Wb\], puts it to ṛiṣ; the Pahl., trans. is "xvāstar, beggar." I put it to ṛiṣ- "to want a thing," in \[Y.15,33\] with double acc. "to beg for (not "hören wollen," \[Wb\]); cf. nā išamno, i.e. isfargh mendiant" in \[Y.46,5\].

\(^{20}\) For "uzīradyāi, hurry!" see Benveniste \[Inf.\,av.\, 79.\]
cessible to them, takes refuge, bast, with Rtam itself. The great süfi and traveler ‘Ali al-Harawi writes, as a stranger, gharib, on his tomb at Aleppo, a 602 H.:

اللٌهِ أَنَّنا ضِيَافِكَ وَتَرِيَلَكَ وَقَوْيَ جَوَارِيكَ وَقَوْيَ حَرَمْكَ وَأَدَّ أَوْلَى مِنْ أَكْرَمٍ إِلَّ — —

"O Allāh, I am Thy guest and Thy protégé, and am in Thy court and Thy haram, and Thou art the first to be hospitable to [him who takes refuge]." That means, he claims as ḍāif Allāh all the rights the Arab hospitium gives.21

In Y.29,9, rāda (Wb. "Fürsorger") is the patronus, the hospes as legal agent for the hostis, his advocate. Equally in Y.9,23, the paṭiš, husband of the woman, is her advocate and guardian, rāda, cf. Y.15,39, where the synonym "mantu, Vormund" is used. Therefore, the neutr. rādah in Y.46,13 is not "Bereitwilligkeit, sich bereitstellen in religiöser Hinsicht, nämlich das zu thun, was Mazdāh und der Prophet verlangen (Wb.)," but the patrocinium, the granting of hospitium, tending towards "liberalitas," hospitality, Ved. "rådhas, good action, charity." The Pahl. translation rād.dahišnih is right: "granting of protection." Arab. "karma, to be hospitable" undergoes almost the same changes of signification.

Y.46,13:

yo spitāmam zaraθuʃtram rādahā
martēšu χšnāuş ho nā frasrūdyāi rθwo

"Who among men listens to me, the Spitāma Zoroaster, by granting hospitium, deserves well to be praised in song!"

Thus speaks the "errant minstrel." Cf. Y.51,12: "noit tā im χšnāuş vēhviyo, not listened to him (his supplication) the Vēhviya" (under 'Vēhviya').

Lommel-Andreas: "Wer unter den Menschen den Sp. Z. durch Bereitwilligkeit (Freigelegigkeit) zufrieden stellt, der Mann ist würdig gerühmt zu werden!"

Nyberg, 238: "Vištāspa hat Zarathustra zufrieden gestellt,

darum ist er wert gehört zu werden—der höchsten Einweihung teilhaftig.” “Satisfying” is elsewhere a rather low predicate at an examination.

The signification “zufrieden stellen, to satisfy,” which Bartholomae assigns to \( \sqrt{x\text{sn}} \text{-} \text{nu} \) in \( Wb.558 \), is entirely wrong. Under \( \text{atha} \), \( Wb.66 \), he gives a different translation, not quoted under \( \sqrt{x\text{sn}} \text{-} \text{nu} \), of \( \text{Purs.49} \): “yo noit naram rtavnam hvahva atahva jasantam \( x\text{snodi} \text{sta v} \) \( x\text{snavayate v} \), wer einen auf seinen Hof ankommenden Flüchtling nicht bewirtet oder bewirten lässt.” This is a perfectly right result reached the wrong way: it is not satisfaction of the stomach, but hospitium as “listening to the supplication of the fugitive.” Cf. \( cx\text{snuso} \) under ‘Bandva’ and ‘Vēhviya.’

“To receive in hospitium, \( \xi\text{evov tva vpo\hbox{d}exetai} \) is expressed in \( Y.465 \) by “\( \text{a} \) dām dritā (see below). The praise in song is the poet’s thanks. In the following words Zoroaster speaks entirely as beggar: Mazdā ahum dadāt, Mazdā gētha fradāt! God give you life, God increase your family!

The original meaning of rāda has not entirely disappeared from Middle Persian, cf. \( \text{Mēn.Xr.} \): “pa rāyēnitārih c kār u dātistān, to be legal agent in business and in court,” and “patvand rāyēnitān, to become related by marriage,” seen in its legal obligations. AhuraMzdāh is the “hamē. rāyēnitār, patron of the world.”

In \( Y.334 \) the word mantuš is used for something much resembling the legal protection by the hospes, cf. under ‘Ārmatiš.’ Zoroaster removes by his prayer the “ačištam mantum, fact of having the worst mantuš,” from the “gauš vāstra, cow-pasture, i.e. peasantry,” cf. “gauš jyōtum, livelihood of the peasantry, the living on cattle breeding.” To have the worst mantuš is the “shadowy side” of life as peasant. Bartholomae, \( Wb.282 \): “Das Rind, geschaffen dem Bauer und Viehzüchter zu dienen, hat deshalb keinen Anspruch auf Recht, sondern ist auf Wohlwollen angewiesen.” And just because, as property of man, it is slave and without rights, the ox or cow is the symbol of the cultivator in Zoroaster’s metaphoric idiom.

ačištta implies a contrast: in “removing by his prayer the evil mantuš,”
Zoroaster designates himself as the “good mantuš” of the bondsmen. Therefore, in Y.29,8, “the cow has found Zoroaster as the only one” who takes its side according to the divine order, and Y.29,9: “but he is poor and without ‘voice,’” himself an exul, and hence cannot appear and speak as patronus. In Y.28,1, Zoroaster implores help

vahoš Χρατομανάχο  μανάχο  υά  χίσανυσά  γαύσχα  ρυβάναμ

“that I may listen to the will of Vahumano and to the soul of the ox” (which is cliens), that means, that I may give it patrocinium in accordance with the will of God.

In Y.46,16-17, rādah and mantu are combined, cf. under ‘Poetry’:

16: fraša,uštra  aṭra tu ardaiš idi
hōugava tāiš  yān usvahi uštā,stoi
yaṭra rtā  hačate ārmatiš
yaṭra vahoš  manaho ištā χšaṭram
yaṭra mazdā  vardmam Šeti ahuro

“Hāugava Frašauštra, travel, thou, with the most ardent wishes, which we two cherish, thither where Obedience-to-law follows the Right, where Wordly-power is owned by Good-will, where AhuraMazdāh abides in abundance!”


“Both we” are Zoroaster and his wife, the Häugavī, daughter of Frašauštra. uštā stoi!, the word translated by “wishes,” is the exclamation itself: “it be according to wish!,” a “please God, inshallāh!,” a strong expression of hope, see under ‘Fravarānī.’

St.17, text and explanation under ‘Poetry,’ runs: “Whither I shall sing verses, no bad-verses [=whither my best songs accompany you], Žāmāspā! Always I shall sing the praise of your protection, vahmān rādaho, you who know to distinguish dātham and adātham, dahrā mantū, as an erudite [doct] mantuš!”

dātham adāthamcā are opposed to aṣman anaṣman in the same
stanza, and are best referred to it, hence not “einsichtig und thöricht,”
nor “fromm und unfromm,” but to ἐγκατ—“colere” [cf. Tedesco, zu,11, 47] “educated and uneducated,” as neutr. “what is art and what is not,”
or like Arab.-Pers. “adab bâdabî, urbanitas and inurbanitas, what is
proper and what not.” Referring to the following dahrâ mantû, this
quality would make Žâmâspa specially apt for his diplomatic mission.
The three clauses with “where . . .” are imprecative, like Zoroaster’s
wishes: “where Right should dwell,” where he hopes to find it. The
place is obviously the highest court of appeal, the great-king himself.
Cyrus is said to have constituted this court—first mentioned under
Cambyses by Herodotus v.25 and III.31—which consisted of seven irre-
moveable βασιλῆσι δικασταί. To this court the two Háugava go as
Zoroaster’s fraišta and *frasanyha, as mantû, an instr. of quality:
because they are dahrâ mantû, to achieve the rescission of his verdict.

dahrâ is “doctus,” mantu the legal agent, the patron of the client
(Zoroaster and the peasantry), or the hospes of the fugitive (Žâmâspa
and Zoroaster), hence the guardian, OGer. foramunt.22 With this the
word must be etymologically connected, and therewith with Lat.
manus. Zoroaster calls Žâmâspa dahrâ mantû because of his linguistic
and juridical knowledge.

In Y.15,39, a prayer of unmarried maidens to Vâyu, the same word
is disfigured:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yat nmânapatim</td>
<td>that we may find a husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vindâma</td>
<td>a young, very-handsome one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yavano sraîśta.krpa</td>
<td>who treats us well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo nô hubrtâm</td>
<td>as long as we both live,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barat</td>
<td>and begets for us children,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yavata java čivâva</td>
<td>as a learned guardian, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frazantimča nô</td>
<td>eloquent one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrzyât</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahro danto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hizu.uχdò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hizu.uχdò makes sense only if it defines the husband as guardian who
must “talk” for his wife, as hûxratu defines râda in Y.9,23. The poet
aims at Y.46,17: the nmânapatiś is the guardian, paṭiś and râda of the
wife, and one must read, as in 46,17, “dahrâ mantû.”

In the monolith inscription of ŠamšiAdad V, 825-810, third cam-

22 Cf. “hizvo danbhâh, linguistic scholarship, philology” in Ny. 1,16 and Y.13,18; later
dastîr, dastîr <“danstvabara, from “danstva, dogma.”
23 Germ. “munt,” in family law, is the authority over the women.
paign, a Munsuartu of Araziaš appears, a name, the first element of which seems to be *manθva-*; the place is Aw. rzīša, Lištar in Luristān. In the Sasanian period, the mantu has developed into an official: “yātakgow, advocate,” cf. the n.pr. Spandārmat-yātakgow, “having Armatiš as advocate” on a silver dish AMI IV, 1932, 159, and Sasanian bullae from Old Shīrāz with “artaχšatr-χvarrah dātware drigošāne yātakgowe, judge, advocate of the poor, of Ardašīr-Xurrah”; one in my collection: “nvr’tlχštlkn dlvš’n y’tkgvy d’tvbly, advocate of the poor, judge of Nōdardašīrakān.” Also *Gr.Bdh.*170: “yātakgowih ḍ drigošān, office of the advocate of the poor,” in Bartholomae, *Mir.Mundrt.*11,22.

Thus we have traced in the Awesta a number of terms that belong to the IE. institution of hospitium, and have analogies in Gr. proxéneia and in Germanic law. In Old Roman law, clientes and hospitium govern the legal position of all who are not members of the body politic. Foreigners, whether envoys, merchants, exiles or other fugitives, are all hostes—etymologically = guest—and their sojourn in the country is made possible only by hospitium. They must have a “civis, Ir. hozantuš” member of the tribe, as hospes, who looks after their business and legal interests in the community, “kār u dātistān,” and “speaks out for them,” *Y.*46,5: fra hvētave mrūyāt, because as hostes they have no “voice” themselves, *Y.*29,9: vāčam nrš asūrahya.

The Roman hospitium is complemented by the notions “amicitiae and societates,” relating to the law of nations, to which Iranian words like rvaθa, mθdār (plur.) and hoxman correspond. The right of protection which the indigenous clients, Ir. aryaman, receive from their protector, Ir. rāda, is the clientela, the hospitium given by the hospes to foreigners. The functions are analogous, only different in their subjects. At a later period, the notions of patrocinium (Ir. rādah) and hospitium (Ir. √χšan-) coalesce. The scanty Iranian material does not allow the making of distinctions as exact as that.

rvaθa24 corresponds to Rom. amicus. The “rvaθa, friendship, group of friends,” often invoked in the *Ordeal-Yasht* 12 (see under ‘Last Judgment’), are “cojurors, compurgators,” which are called up, in many countries, in order to demonstrate the power of the partisans, the

24 Nyberg: “in der Mithra-Gemeinde gleich Ordalgenose, in der Gatha-Gemeinde aber Mysteriengenose.”
“friendship.” The word belongs to \( \sqrt{var} \) “to choose,” original sense “love.” The signification “friend” is outstanding in its negation, Yt. 14,38:

\[
\text{vispē trsantu a.rvaθa} \quad \text{vispē trsantu dušmanyūś}
\]

“all non-rvaθa shall tremble, all enemies shall tremble!” dušmanyūś is “\( \delta νμεν\)σ, NP. dušman, enemy”; the negation a.rvaθa is a full synonym; without negation it is eυμεν\)σ, friend, NP. dōst. That is also valid for OP. rvaθa and ārvastam. rvaθa is amicus or socius as legal term when associated with hospitium and clientela. Wherever companions are called rvaθa, it is so because rvaθa means “friend”; the words do not lose their universal human signification when used as legal terms.

These researches throw new light on the gatha 46, of high importance for the life of Zoroaster.

Y.46,1:

\[
\begin{align*}
kām namoi zām & \quad kuθra namoi ayāni \\
parī hvētoš & \quad aryamnascā dādāti \\
noit mā χšnauš & \quad ‘yo ‘vrzanah[art]ā \\
nēda dahyaus & \quad yoi sāstāro drugvanto \\
kaθā θwā & \quad mazdā χšnōsai ahura
\end{align*}
\]

“To which country, to prostrate [=hide] myself, where to prostrate myself shall I go? They have cast me out from civitas and societas. The consul civitatis does not listen to me, nor do the drug-ish commanders of the province. How can I [then] listen to Thee, AhuraMazdāh?”


Note: “pari-dā etwas wie ‘ausschliessen,’ die Bedeutung ‘trennen’ steht nicht fest.” Lommel believes that the sentences express “ein zeitweiliges Zerwürfnis mit den Sippengenossen.”

Nyberg: “Mir zu Gefallen ist nicht das varozāna, dem ich folgen will(?), auch nicht die der Drug zugehörigen Fürsten des
Landes. Wie soll ich Dir zu Gefallen sein, o A.M.?” And 233: “Aus dem verzweifelten Klang merkt man sogleich, dass die Verhältnisse im Stamm sich zur Unhaltbarkeit zugespiitzt haben. Alle Stände vereinigen sich gegen ihn, und die Fürsten des Landes sind ihm nicht gewogen. Offenbar hat der neue Kult im Stammseh sehr bedeutend an Boden gewonnen, Flucht war das einzige was dem Propheten übrig blieb.” But what he then does, he could comfortably have done at home: “seine einzige Hoffnung auf Ahura Mazda setzend,” the prophet begins his mission in his new, Mithra-worshipping parish (263): “indem er einfach [simply] an die Mithra-R eligion anknüpft... keine Rede von Kampf... höchstens wird indirekt vor gewissen Seiten derselben gewarnt. Zarathustra betritt den Weg der Religionspolitik.” This is awfully simple and simply awful.

Both translations sound as if the god showed his displeasure, disfavor by allowing those people to be disagreeable, ill-disposed towards the prophet.

namoi: Darmesteter accepted the variant namo “en prière” of κ5. Wb.: “fliehen, eigtl. sich bück en.” Andreas-Lommel: “entweder l.sg. subj.med. oder infinitiv.” Benveniste, 56f.: “inf., ou dat. d’un nom-racine nam.” The root, to which “namah, proskynesis” belongs has nowhere the signification “to flee,” not even with the prev. fra-, but “to lie prostrate, lie low.” Yz.19,34 says the same with other words: “Yama, expelled from paradise, dāusmanahyāiḥa ho strto nidārat, hides prostrate in despair.” The meaning is neither “flight,” nor “turning in a different direction,” but the attitude of prostration, like that of a hiding animal. pari-dā means solemnly “to consecrate, make ‘sacer’ to the gods”; with the abl. “away from hvētu and aryaman” it means “to cast out from” as a sacrilegus. The Pahl. transl. bē dāt, expl. bē kirt, “severed from, outcast” is right. √χśnū- does not signify “to favor” or “to please,” but, as in OP., “to hear, to obey,” cf. Altp.Inschr. s.v. For ‘vrzana.hartar, see under ‘Social Structure.’

For the historical interpretation see under ‘Bandva.’ Zoroaster, to whose defense at the “interrogation, χśnūt, hearing” no member of the court had listened, χśnaviš, was outcast by the verdict from hvētu and
aryaman of his home town, Ragā. On his hidjra, he drives (Y.51,2) through the country of the Vēhviyo—who sends him off—to Viṣṭāspa, who receives him. The train of thought of gatha 46,3 is: In st.2 Zoroaster complains about his poverty, as proscriptus. In 3, he hopes for the "dawn of day" and believes in his victory. St.4—see under 'Bandva': "Who deprives the drugvant [whose doing this exile is] of his rule and life, prepares as leader the path of the good Čistiš." Then st.5, soon to be discussed.

Further, st.6: "Who refuses the refugee that implores, isamno, is a drugvant." St.7: "Who shall be given as protector, patronus, to my unworthy self?" St.8: "Thou, AhuraMazdāh, art the only ahura, lord justiciary." St.10: "Who is doing good to me, shall go to heaven!" In st.12 he expects to win over the Friyāna. St.13, see above: "Who listens to, receives Zoroaster, merits to be praised!" St.14: see under 'Ya-ahil': Viṣṭāspa has become Zoroaster's patronus. In the following verses the Häugava brothers travel to the court to obtain the rescission of the verdict and the "frasastiš, proclamation" for the vzrana. Between these stanzas stands 5:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo vā} & \chiśayans \quad \text{ā ’dām dritā āyantam} \\
\text{rvatoiś vā} & \quad \text{hozantuś mithroibyo vā} \\
\text{rāšnā jivans} & \quad \text{yo rtāva drugvantam} \\
\text{vičiro hans} & \quad \text{tat fra hvētave mrūyāt} \\
\text{uzuθyoi im} & \quad \text{mazdā xṛūnyāt ahura}
\end{align*}
\]

The text has 'ādās dritā', which Nyberg, 462, note to 234, emended in 'ādandrīta, redupl. aor. of √dar-, comparing Ol. ādriyāte "to treat with respectful attention." Tedesco reads 'ā 'dām dritā, written with ligature of the prep. ā (Wb.303, with n*6 and 10), as in ādām', i.e. 'ā 'dām (nipāhe) in Y.49,10; similarly in 48,7 and more often. urvatoiś, (gen.)-abl. of rvati, in Gothic a hapax, is the same as Aw. rvati which Wb. translates by "foedus, fides." It is coupled by vā—vā with mithroibyo

28 Andreas, with Lommel: "isamno, medial; Bartholomae nimmt lediglich für diese Stelle passive Bedeutung an." Lommel: "Aber wer nicht mit diesem Wunsche (nämlich aufgenommen zu werden) zu diesen (dem einflussreichen Rechtgläubigen) kommt, der möge zu den Geschöpfen der Lüge zurückkehren!" Explanation: "Die Aufnahme eines Bekehrten soll—scheint's—in den Rechtsformen der Aufnahme eines Schutzgenossen vollzogen werden." The verses have neither orthodoxy, nor conversion, nor religion in mind, but solely the granting of hospitium. For isamno cf. prasna in Vid. 3,29: "bāda īha hiltate anyahya dvare śrayano hvarantili pramṇēśūa, verily, hereafter, you shall wait squatting at an other one's door among those who beg for food!", just like Arab. "sā'īl, begger" to "sā'ala, to ask."
The "social bonds, societates," on which society rests (see under 'Mithra'). The two ablatives follow the verb and frame hozantuš, hence mean: "Who... receives, because as member of the tribe he is bound to do so by amicitiae and societates." raśnā jīvans renders a similar thought: one who lives according to the mores that bind him to give protection. Cf. (under 'Kavi') Y.49,1: "he who, being my bandva, yet listened to the verdict! thereby failing in his duty"; and Y.51,12: The Vēhviya, being a kavi, yet refused hospitium, though peership obliged him to give it. All expressions are argumentative, not descriptive. The translation is:

"He who, be he satrap, receives the stranger (lit. him who arrives) according to the fides or, be he a member of the tribe, according to the societates, who lives as the moral obligations require, and who, (himself) an rtāvan, knows to distinguish a drugvant—that one shall, then, speak for him to his peers and protect him from sanguinary deeds, o AhuraMazdāh!"

Lommel-Andreas: "Oder wenn einer, der die Macht (das Vermögen dazu) hat, einen, der zu ihm kommt, aufnimmt, und bei sich behält auf Grund von Verträgen und Freundsbündnissen, ein Mann aus edlem Stamme, der nach dem Recht lebt, wenn er ein Wahrhaftiger, der andre aber ein Lügner ist, und wenn er die Entscheidung darüber hat—so soll er es seinen Hausgenossen sagen, um ihm, o Weiser, gegen Gewaltthaten zu helfen, o Herr!" Note: "ādās dṛītā āyantam, Andreas: wenn er aufnehmend einen zu (ihm) kommenden (bei sich) behielte." In this way, the noble man, in power, makes a treaty of friendship with the liar, has the decision, but is obliged to make the presence of the fugitive known, in order to protect him against violence, which only strict secrecy could achieve.

Bartholomae construed yo rtāvā drugvantam in parallel with yo āśayans āyantam, both governed by the verb as which he understood ādās dṛītāś. In this way, the āśayans hozantuš becomes the rtāvan, and the āyans, Zoroaster, becomes the drugvant. Even though—with Bartholomae's interpretation of ādās dṛītā—it would not be Zoroaster, but somebody unknown, this is impossible: "Wenn ein Kundiger einen festzuhalten vermag,
nachdem er ihn dazu gebracht hat, von seinem Gelübde und seinen Bindungen weg (zu ihm) überzugehen" would be the conversion of a drugvant achieved by suborning to perjury and breach of faith, and the following stanza says: "For he is himself a drugvant, who favors a drugvant." Hence, one shall not convert a drugvant, nor—as it ought to be translated—"give asylum" to one. *Matth*.10.5-6: "Do not turn aside into a road of the heathens, do not enter a town of the Samaritans."

Bartholomae's construction isolates the words vičiro hans, which do not signify "die Entscheidung treffend," nor "wenn er dessen sicher ist"; vi.či- means to distinguish, διαγνώναι of the judge or of the critic, for instance in the same gatha, st.15: "yat dāthān vičayāda adāthānsa," and 17: "yo vičinōt dāthāmca adāthāmca." If the antonyms rtāvan and drugvant precede a vičiro, they can only be the object of distinction. The complex expression vičiro hans "being distinguisher" has, like the part. *vičinvans or like the noun-of-agent, the verbal power to govern the acc. obj. drugvantam, cf. OP. Oramazdā,te jānta biyā! Hence "who is distinguishing, (being himself) an rtāvan, a drugvant (acc.)," that is, who recognizes that not the convicted fugitive, but the judge who convicted, is the true drugvant.28

All translators construct in such a way that the first vā connects the stanza with the preceding one: "on the path . . . he leads, who . . . kills, or who. . . ." The contents of the stanzas are not closely enough related to permit that. Rather, yo vā ūsāyans belongs together with hozantuś, as if it was vā ūsāyans vā hozantuś, and the second vā is only omitted, because this pair intersects the other rvatoś vā—miθroībyo vā. The same construction is found in *Beh*. §14: adam niyaθārayam27 kārahyā abīčariś gēθāmca mānyamca viθbiśca, tyādis . . ., with inversion: the gen-abl. sg. kārahyā is opposed to the instr.dat.pl. viθbiśca. kārahyā has no -ča, because this pair overlaps the other, gēθāmca mānyamca: "I placed again under the kāra their abīčariś, and their

28 This power of distinction is expressed by Arab. fārūq "who knows to distinguish between truth and falsehood," surname of the caliph 'Umar, e.g. inscr. of Shaikh Djamāl, Aleppo, ñ3 854 H.
27 niyaθāraya, in *Vid*. once nimrāraya, resembles κλάω and κλήρος, κληρονομίας; "I gave them back their heritage."
gēθā and mānya under the viθ, of which Gōmāta ... had deprived
them."

Before it says: "who kills the drugvant, prepares the path of čistiš
(religion)"; after: "who receives the fugitive." The same granting of
protection is expressed, in 13, by "who listens, χśnāus < χśnaviš, to
Zoroaster." The one who arrives, āyant, is Zoroaster, who asks in st.1:
"kuθra ayāni, where shall I go?", the "poor" of st.2; the "imploring"
of st.6; "my humble self" of st.7. The one who receives is the same who
fulfils in st.3 the hope for the "dawn," gives protection in 7, shall go to
heaven in 10, and who is Zoroaster's "friend for (at) the maga, and
wants to be praised by him in song: He, kavi Vištāspa,yā-ahī!"

Vištāspa is the χśayant of the dahyu to which Zoroaster fled. Of
course, χśayant, with a following verb, can mean "having the power to
exercise" the activity of that verb. This would even make sense: power-
ful enough to receive Zoroaster, without being afraid of the lord jus-
ticiary who validated the verdict. But the explanation would impair
the necessary parallelity of vā χśayans and vā hozantuš, which de-
mands "satrap and civis." Vištāspa is the χśayant, χśāyaθya of the
province, and the Hāugava are its cives. As hospites they must "speak"
fra muθyāt, for Zoroaster, who, as a fugitive, has no "voice," before their
peers, livētu, to protect him against attentates, χrūnyāt. Zoroaster is
outlawed—pari dadātī—"vogelfrei," and threatened by murder.

The juridical terms which Zoroaster uses in this situation, rāzan,
rvati, miθrā, also rtāvan, are the legal notions of bygone days upon
which the pre-Zoroastrian society was built, descending from the ius
talionis, the blood revenge. drugvant is the only Zoroastrian term in this
gatha, replacing older miθradruχś. The god of social order was Mithra,
therefore we shall meet these terms again in the Mithra yasht, from
which their full understanding can be abstracted.

Zoroaster looks for asylum and finds it with Vištāspa, in Parthava.
In the following verses the two Hāugava set out on their journey to the
residence of the great-king, to obtain the revocation of his proscription.
IX. HOUSE HäUGAVI

In Y.51,16 Zoroaster says that kavi Viśtāspa has received him as fugitive, in 17 that Frašauśtra, in 18 that Žāmāspa are his friends. These two are the Häugava, the former the father of Zoroaster's wife, Häugavi. The name is written hvōga in the gathas, hvōva in Yt.13,118, a patron. with vṛddhi of hugi, hence häugavi, fem. häugavi.

Members of this family, enumerated in the memorial list, are: Žāmāspa, a son Hanharvah, a grandson Varśna, and a Žāmāspa aparazāta "junior," another grandson or a great-grandson. Frašauśtra, with two sons, Huśyōtha and Hvādēna, and the daughter Häugavi. Another member is probably Avāra.uṭriś with a son Vahunamah and a grandson Gēvanī. In frgm.Darmst.7, varṣanahe ðwam 'hanharuśoįš jámāspanahe pūbrahe pūbraṃ, it is not an anonymous son (Wb.1389) of Varśna, but himself who is invoked against an unknown evil called varśna: "of V. (gen.), thee (acc.), Hanharuś (gen.), the Jámāspian son's (gen.), son (acc.)," construed like the genealogy of Artaxerxes II in his Susa inscriptions, hanharuś.oiš, as there dārayavau.ahya, with false gen. termination attached to the nominative.

The question in the "Gatha of the Cow," Y.29,9: "When will come he who will give him [Zoroaster] zastavat avo, practical help?" aims at Žāmāspa and Frašauśtra, important for the chronological sequence of the gathas.

The Häugava were hvētu and very wealthy, Yt.5,98: "for riches asked the Häugava." In Y.51,18, Zoroaster himself calls Žāmāspa "ištoįš hvarnā, blessed with riches." The words show that Žāmāspa, not Frašauśtra, was the chief of the house as the elder brother. In Y.49,7 Zoroaster asks "which hvētu will obtain the frasasti?" and expects it (st. 8 and 9) from Frašauśtra as fraišta and Žāmāspa as fšonghyo. In Y.46,16-17, after Zoroaster's marriage to the Häugavi, the two brothers set out on their journey to obtain the frasasti. In Y.53, the "Wedding Gatha," Žāmāspa and Frašauśtra are fathers and grandfathers of the young couples.

The name of the elder Häugava is written in Gath. dajāmāspa, in Aw. jámāspa. The same spelling is used once more in Gath. dojit.arata,
Aw. ḟṭašā, in a gloss Vid.5.4. ḍāj- is no syllable with a vowel, but one phoneme.

In Paikuli the spelling is Pahl. z'm[sp], Pārs. d'm[']sp. In the Pārs. version of the Ka'ba inscr. the family name is spelled d'mspvhrkn. Therefore BPārs. (e.g. Zārēn., Art. Vir. Nām.) d'm'sp—though d ḫy and exceptionally = z—is better read “dāmāsp.” The brother of Kavāt I, on his coins, writes z'm[sp or']sp.—The Greek forms are Zamaspes, Zamasphes, e.g. in a versified inscription from Susa, time of Phraates III or IV. But Ctesias, who spoke Old Persian, calls the wife of Artaxerxes I, mother of Xerxes II, Damašpa; and Cosmas of Jerusalem (a.d. 743) has Zāmīs besides Damaicēs, both misspellings of Ḫamaioiēs and Ḫamaioiēs, alleged sons or diadochs of Zoroaster, from a commentary to a poem of Gregor Nazianzen, about a.d. 360; the source must have been the Ḫrīōnū Ḫotakōs, also known to Ammian Marc. at the same date, Greek paraphrase of an Ir. Ḫāmāspnāmak.2

There were two dialectic forms, with z and d, opposed like Aw. zāmātar, NP. dāmād, OL. jāmātar. The Gr. z, and so Syr. zāmāsp, express clearly this opposition, but are neutral for the problem raised by Arm. Jamasp and Shahn. jāmāsp, since their z represents Ir. z, ż and j. Inscriptional Pārs. z is only z; inscr. Pahl. z is z and ż.

dājīta.rta is to be classed under the type of compounds Duchesne §§206 and 207: part.perf. in -ta plus rta; Ḫdījīta.rta. The vowel ḡ, introduced by Aw. script only in the middle of the 4th century a.d. and revealing that Āturpāt did no longer understand what the Arscid double notation meant, must be eliminated: Ḫdījīta.rta. Ḫdīta is part.pref. of V'jyā-, attested in Gothic by n.abstr. fra.jyāti, Wb. “Verderben,” Andreas “Bedrücker,” in fact “the decreasing, impairing of . . .” Thus the root has two different notations in Gothic, Ḫdji- and Ḫj-, and the problem is for the greater part a graphic one. The Avestic notation is likewise double.


1 Rawlinson’s reading d’m- was right (against my z’m- in Paikuli). For the problems of rendering the palatals in MP. scripts see AMI VII, 57ff.
2 See under “Spitāma,” n.9.
in *Beh.* §30, in the date formula "θauravāharahya māhya jyamnam pati, Akk. on the 30th of Ajārū," hence "when the ṭōravāra moon had decreased." Just as early Pārsik borrowed its ideogr. *byrḥ* (with prep. bi-"in the month") for "māh, month" from the Aram. date formula used since the Achaemenian period, or as late Pārsik borrowed "bar māh" (with Med. bar < upari) from the Pahlavišk formula, thus OP. borrowed its date formula with jyamnam from the language of Median chancery. Inscriptional jyamna is not OP., but Median, like Aw. jyamna.

The rendering of OP. šyāta by El. sattā, *Xerx.Pers.daiv.,* in 478 B.C., and of *purušyātiś* by Gr. parysatis, show that since 500 B.C. the y of šy was lost, probably without influencing the pronunciation of š. As to jy: Aw. huiyāti, Gr. hygieia, and vispā-huyāti, against *Beh.*§35 vispauzātiś, El. wi.s.p.o.ca.ti.s, name of a town in Parthava, in 520 B.C., foursyllabic as in *Yr.5,130: "farnahvantam vispōjyātim (see under 'Hospitium'),* show that already in 520 B.C. jy was pronounced š, or even z. When OP. jyamnam was borrowed from Median chancery, the pronunciation was not what the signs indicate. Cuneif. j' i y*- must imitate a Median spelling in script; Gath. đāj- renders the Aramaic symbols of the archetype, 1st century a.d., for a sound transmitted only by word of mouth.

The second Aw. spelling is √zyā-, pres. zināt in *Y.11,5,* with double acc.; part.perf. act. zizyuša, without object, and comp. with fra- (as also frajyyā-) in pass. frazyantac/e. To it belongs the pre-Zoroastrian term miθra.zyā, syn. of miθra.-druḫš and miθra.gan. *Wb.1770* gives √zyā- the signification "jem. um etw. benachteiligen," zināt corresponds (as does jināti) to OL. jināti. √zyā- and √jyā- are the same word in two modes of spelling. The pronunciation of zy- must have been z since the end of the 6th century B.C.

In OP. √dyā- corresponds; pres. dina, part.perf. dita=Gath. dājīta-, Aw. jīta(a), equally construed with double accusative. In *Beh.* §§12,13: "Gōmāta adina, deminuit, impaired, deprived Cambyses of the χṣaṭram"; "nobody else dared χṣaṭram ditam čāxriya, to make him deprived, deminutum of the χṣaṭram"; "I, Darius, adinam, deminui, deprived him of the χṣaṭram."
Finally *Beh.§14: “abičariš tyādiš gōmāta adīna, the vassals . . . of whom Gōmāta deminuit, had deprived them.” The djita.ṛto prta.tanuvo of the Gatha is Gōmāta, whom Darius makes dita of his χσαθram, rulership and life. For the style cf. Y.46,4: “yas.tam χσαθṝat . . . mōiẖat ṣyātoṣ vā, who deprives (mōiẖat to √miθ-, Lat. mūtare) him of χσαθram and life,” and Y.53,9: “ku rṭāvā ahuro yo 痍 ṣyātoṣ hamidẖyāt, where is the ahura to deprive them of life and liberty?’”

The phonetic equation OL. jinati, Aw. zīnat, OP. dīna, and the relation of Gath. dōjāṃśpa, Aw. Jāmāspa, OP. damaspia to OL. jāmatar, Aw. zāmātar, NP. dāmād, rule out an initial palatal in inscr. jyamnam as well as in Gath. dōjita.ṛta, dōjāṃśpa, Aw. Jamaspa, jyamna. Not even the survival of Aw. jāmāspa in Arm. Jamasp (as late as Sebeos), Shāhn. Jāmāsp, can prove it. Inscr. j’iy’m’n’t transliterates the Median spelling of a word which even at that antiquity was not pronounced ṣy-. Gath. dōj- represents the Arscid notation, either *dš or *dz, preferably *dz. Aw. ḳ, ṣy is a simplified notation of this Gath. dōj-<*dz, as is e.g. Aw. bit(i)ya to Gath. da’bi’, OP. d”vi’.

The Aw. spelling ḳ is enough to have caused the name to be pronounced jāmāspa since the 4th century A.D., against etymology. I choose the transcription žāmāspa and žītarta merely to indicate the problematic character: written dj or ḳ, yet corresponding to OP. d, hence in essence a z (dialectically ž?), not a ḳ (dialectically ž?).

Markwart saw in such double notations “phonetische Glossen,” as if the words were written in two dialects at the same time. Assuming *dz as Ars. notation of Gath. dōj-, this would mean: “written d-, spoken z-,” and would cover also the case dōb-: “Pers. d, Med. b.” But a modification is obviously necessary: dš, tš etc. is pahlavīk style, attested 70 years before the Avesta was first written in Aramaic script; and dōj- must be traced back to that first writing. But a “phonetic gloss” could only gloss the pronunciation of something written before, hence the theory implies some written Avesta before that first com-

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28 Late Assyrian and NeoBabylonian scribes use “phonetic glosses” with rare ideograms, the method therefore can appear in Avestic.
plete writing under Volagases I, as Markwart assumed, for other, but erroneous reasons.

That the name Žāmāspa had an OP. correspondent in Dāmāspa is certain. Andreas’ emendation ‘Yāmāspa cannot be maintained. If the Arsacid double notations were indeed “phonetic glosses,” there would not only be two forms, but the OP. form with d would be the primary form, and the name of the vispātiš of the Hāugava would be Old Persian. That is probable, even if the premise of this deduction would be wrong; avāra-uštriš is also an OP. name. What matters historically is that the name of the Hāugava Žāmāspa is closely connected with the Achaemenid house.

While Žāma.aspa and Fraša.uštra were at the court of Vištāspa when he gave Zoroaster hospitium, there was a Prēxaspes i.e. Fraša.aspa, the cup-bearer, at the court of Cambyses, a Persian. Through him Cambyses had given the order, in 525 B.C., to have Smerdis secretly executed in prison. And when Cambyses, after the appearance of the Pseudo-Smerdis, asked him whether the order had been effected, he answered: “If astyartes (astva. rta, not Astyages) will appear and the dead will rise, then you may expect to see Smerdis again!” The words are so utterly Iranian that no Greek could invent them and that Herodotus misunderstood his own story, as shown by the somewhat amazed gloss “the Median” to the name Astyages. The words show that Prēxaspes had heard of Zoroaster’s doctrine of the last judgment and the appearance of the sōṣyant Astvatṛta at the end of the world; the tenor of the story is evidently: “If it is true, what some people now say that. . . .”

According to the rules of IE. onomastics, one must regard as brothers three men, contemporaries, that bear so closely related names as Žāmāspa, Fraša.uštra and Fraša.aspa. Darius had a mace-bearer, vaṭ’ahara, Aspačina = Aspathines, whom he honored exceptionally by having him depicted at Naqsh i Rustam. Aspathines had a son Prexaspes (II), hence was certainly a son of Prexaspes I. In the Arsacid and Sasanian periods all court offices were hereditary; here, the mace-bearer of Darius is the son of the cup-bearer of Cambyses. The kitāb Baghdād, fol.110r, tells in 204 H.: “The caliph, al-Ma’mun, said to Ābbās b. Musayyib b. Zubair, şāhib al-shurṭa, who suffered from gout: You have grown old, the
bearing of the lance comes hard to you! 'Abbâs: Here is my son at my place, it was my office and my father’s, and we are the people of the lance!"

Against Beh. §68, where Darius remembers his six companions, Herodotus tells a version in which Aspathines is one of the seven. He must have been close to them to be reckoned as one of them, for instance as a nephew of the two Hâugava. His father Frašâspa was the man who knew that the Pseudo-Smerdis was an impostor, and through him his brothers Zâmâspa and Frašaustra, and therewith the circle round Vištâspa, may have had the proof of the fact, all-important to them, who after the extinction of the elder line were the heirs claiming the succession. Brzyarštîš-Brôya had been one of their circle. Aspathines, though not one of the seven, belonged to the same group as Darius and his friends at the court of his father Vištâspa in Tôsa. One sees who were the initiated of whom Darius says in Beh. §§12-13: "The kâra was in fear of him, he might kill many who had known Smerdis before; for that reason he might kill them, that nobody may recognize that I am not Brôya, Cyrus’ son." Having a brother who was Cambyses’ cup-bearer would explain why it was the Hâugava who went to the court to obtain the frasastiš for Zoroaster, and would at the same time explain Prêxaspes’ answer to Cambyses.

Zâmâspa is a typical man’s name; the gentilic in Yt.13,104 and frgm. Durmst. 7, is jâmâspâna. And, compared with Hutôsâ, Humâyâ, Purucistâ etc., Damaspia is no personal name of a woman, but, like Hâugavi, Frâni, Òriti, Spitâmi the fem. of the gentilic "dâmâspiya. It designates the queen as "née Dâmâspi," of the house of Zâmâspa, just as Hâugavi designates the wife of Zoroaster as "of the house of the Hâugava" Frašaustra, brother of Zâmâspa. This old house—like that of the Vivâna-Vêfikân—appears still at the time of Shâhpîruhr I in Ka’ba 1.31: "Narsahe č vâspuhr č dâmâspuhrîkân," a form of the name which is to jâmâspâna as gêwpuhr is to Vivâna.

Ctesias tells that after the death of Artaxerxes I, in 424 B.C., Xerxes II, son of Damaspia, succeeded as the entitled heir among the 17 sons. Other sons were: Sekyedianos or Sogdianus (Manetho)—a name recall-

"prixy 2v brâv't 2v d'mspv'xîk, whereas the Pahl. vers. has prixy vrâv' xîpy'xîk and Gr. NARPSTOY TOY EΓ BÂZÎLÆON ZABOYRGAN. Evidently, šâhpîruhrâkan is a narrower, dâmâspuhrîkân the wider denomination, as, of old, jâmâspâna and hâugava.
ing Skythianos, the alleged predecessor of Mani and the OP. social term skauθiš—a son of the Babylonian Alogune. Ochos, satrap of Hyrcania, and Arsites, sons of the Babylonian Kosmarydene. Bagapais, son of the Babylonian Andia (?), brother of Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes II and the younger Cyrus. Obviously, as Xerxes I, Xerxes II was heir-apparent because of the higher rank of his mother. After 45 days, he was murdered by Sekyedianos; on the same day Damašpia died. Both were brought ἐς Ηέρως, to Persepolis, and buried there, at Naqsh i Rustam, in the tomb of Artaxerxes I, opposite the Ka'ba i Zardušt.

At the time of the memorial list, about 527 B.C., Žâmāspa had already a grandson Varšna and another, or a great-grandson, Žâmāspa II, Zoroaster's gatha 51, composed—not before 521—for the double wedding of a son and his only daughter from the Háugavi, Purucistā, mentions Žâmāspa and Vištāspa as present. They are there because they give away a son (or grandson) and a daughter (or granddaughter) in marriage to the two children of Zoroaster (see under 'Maga'). Purucistā's bridegroom, not called by name, may well have been a grandson, or if Žâmāspa was born in 591, 22 years older than Zoroaster, a great-grandson of his.

In a hopeless attempt at disproving the identity of the historical and the Awestic Vištāspa, Nyberg says, 357: "... da muss man sich höchlichst darüber wundern, dass Darius, der in Beh. §68 seine Helfer aufzählt, so gänzlich den trefflichen Frašauštra und Jämāspa vergessen hat, gar nicht zu reden von dem Propheten selber, aber diese ganze Konstruktion ist so unsinnig wie nur etwas sein kann." I do not believe that the brothers deserve the trivial, trifling "trefflich," at any rate they helped Zoroaster, not Darius. And Zoroaster himself, who had recommended the murder, when discussing §68 with Darius, may have preferred, as a prophet, not to have this remembrance publicly perpetuated, for, as Nyberg says, 395: "Was sie in ihrem Innersten dachten, wissen wir nicht." Yet it seems that Darius did not at all forget the old gentleman Žâmāspa, whom he had known in Tōsa—nor his money.

Since Darius' first grandchild Artystone (II), a daughter's daughter, ḏuχθīš, was born in 506 B.C., his first grandson by a son, Artaxerxes I, was born after 506. Damaspia, if a daughter of Žâmāspa II and Purucistā, may have been born about the same time. But since Artaxerxes I
and Damaspia died only in 424 B.C., Damaspia was rather a grand-
dughter of Žâmäspa II, in that case born about 488. Even then, Darius
may have prearranged this marriage of his grandson still at his lifetime.
He may have said to Žâmäspa II: “I remember well your ancestor and
namesake, and have been told a granddaughter has been born to you;
I beg you, to leave to me her affairs, because I wish my grandson and
future successor to marry her!”

Since we “do not know what such great lords thought in their heart,”
it is good at least to read how men of their kind talked at a later
period. Tabari III, 1457f. tells for instance—Nyberg, 310, calls such an
analogy an “Indizienbeweis”: “al-Muntaşir left, late in the evening, the
reception hall of his drunk father al-Mutawakkil ‘alâ’llâh. When
leaving, he took the hand of the majordomo Zurâfa (giraffe), saying:
Come with me! Z.: O my lord, the Commander of the Faithful is not
yet risen from the table! M.: Wine has overpowered the Commander
of the Faithful, Bogha [commander of the Guard] and the guests will
leave shortly. I want to beg you to leave to me the affairs of your chil-
dren. Utamish [later vizier] has asked me to marry his son to your
daughter, and your son to his daughter! Z.: We are your slaves, my lord,
order us as you please!” Bunân, the singer, told: “Muntaşir said to me:
I just have married the son of Zurâfa to the daughter of Utamish,
and the son of Utamish to the daughter of Zurâfa! I said: My lord, where
are the ‘nithâr’ (money etc., strewn over the guests), the nicest thing
at a wedding? M.: Tomorrow morning, inshallâh, the night is almost
past! Shortly after, one hears noise and cries, and Bogha, who had just
killed al-Mutawakkil, enters. Muntaşir asked: What means the noise?
B.: Only good news, O Commander of the Faithful! M.: Woe betide
you, what do you say? B.: Allah reward you amply for [form of an-
nouncing a death] our lord the commander of the faithful [al-Muta-
wakkil]; Allâh’s slave [Muntaşir as ‘abd-allâh wa khalifatuahu] has
prayed, and He has heard his prayer!”

Frašauštra is called fsânghyo in Y.31.10; the acc. is spelled fsânghim
in Y.49.9; at both places the word is one syllable short. Bartholomae
translated “förderlich,” and, without giving an etymology of his own,
called Darmesteter’s a “Schaueretymologie,” (Wb.1029). Andreas:
“sehend, achsend auf;” censured as “abenteuerlich” by Nyberg, 245f.,
who himself translates "der sich (durch Vohu Manah) binden lässt" without saying more about this Houdini act. H. W. Bailey, equally rejected by Nyberg, had considered in bosos vii.275f., "fšahya, syn. of fšuyant "farmer." None of these proposals cures the metric deficiency.

_YY._31.9-10 (full text and commentary under 'ApāmNapāt'):

āt hi ayā fravarta vāstriyam ahyai fšuyantam
ahuram rtāvanam vahoš, fšānghim' manaho
noit mazdā avāstriyo dvansčina humrtoiš baxšta

"Suppose Thou wouldst let the ox have its own way, to leave either the vāstriya or him who is not a vāstriya, it would choose between the two for itself the vāstriya.fšuyant, as a good patron, a fš. of Vahumano. The non-farmer shall have no share whatever in the account [division of profit]!"

Zoroaster opposes often a notion and its negation, and where he uses the α priv., this implies, in contradistinction to the Avestic usage, always the opposition of good and bad. _YY._49,4: "fšuyašū afšuyanto, the bad ones among the cattle-breeders"; _YY._46,17: "afšmāni noit an. afšmām, verses, not non-verses," meaning really good ones. In his didactic style, 10b is the reason: "because he is a fš. of Vahumano, Good-Will," and fšānghyo cannot be a syn. of fšuyant, for that would be an explanation "by virtue of a virtue."

The second place is clear enough. _YY._49 begins with the two stanzas about the bandva and his tkēša, see under 'Bandva.' In _st._7 text under 'Social Structure,' Zoroaster asks: "which aryaman, which hvētu, will obtain, through dātā, the good frasasti for the vrzanam?" He expects it from the Ĥaugava. _St._8 "give Frašauštra the most welcome wedding to Rtam . . ., for ever we want to be the fra.ištāho, envoys!" _St._9, text under 'Yā-ahi!':

srōtu sāsnā, fšānghyo' suvē tašto

"He shall proclaim the orders, the fš., destined for my salvation, who as a duly-speaking one rejects all fellowship with the drugvant, . . . yā-ahi, triumph, Žāma.aspa!"

The drugvant, with whom Žāmāspa does not want to deal, is the bandva of _st._1. The activity of the fšānghyo is to proclaim orders, decrees. The stanzas about the two brothers are built in strict parallelism:
fra.išta and ḫšonghyo are analogous notions, and the verses play upon the words frasasti, sásna (both to √sanh-), fra.išta and ḫšonghya.

In Y.50,1 a similar pair of words is used; cf. 49,12 under ‘Poetry’:

kat moi ruvā išē čahya avaho

“How little help has my soul got from any one, whom have I found as protector, ṭrātar, of my herd and myself, (as my) azdā zūtar, but Thee, AhuraMzdāh, Rtam and Vahumanol”

Bartholomae: “Ob wohl meine Seele bei irgend jemand auf Hilfe zu rechnen hat?” Lommel: “Über was an Hilfe und von wom verfügt meine Seele?”

azdā zūtar (for zōtar < zavitar, to √zu-, zbā-) in parallel with ṭrātar must be understood as a poetical expression for the official “azdākara, herald” of the papyri. Xerxes writes: “patiyazbayam: dēvā mā yaśyēša!, I made proclaim: The dēvā shall not be worshipped!” patiy.azbayam is a Median term of administration, Aw. √zbā-, zbaya-, Akk. apteqira; pati seems to restrict the notion to “proclaiming a prohibition.”

All these words are terms of official functions. Aw. fra.išta, is OP. ‘frēstaka, in Aram. ‘frstky’, lxx: φαρσαχαίοι, Ezra 4,9: “R’ḥūm, the bē ‘ēl-‘ēm, holder of a farmān, ‘šimšaī, the scribe, and their officers, the judges and envoys (frēstaka), the ‘tpsry’, tablet-scribes of the countries … write to Artaxerxes.” To the same group of officials belong Akk. ẖip.ra.sa.ka.nu in the business documents of Murašū Sons (u.m. ii,1, 189,16) and Aram. ‘frsxy’, lxx: (a)φαρσαχαῖοι in Ezra 5,6 (and sim. 6,6): “Copy of the letter which … the governor of ‘Abar nahr’rān (satrap of Syria) sent to Darius the king.” Cf. Markwart Gāth. ušt. 4, on Med. ‘frasaxvan > frasaxv etc., with the significant quotation from the Lex. Rhet. Photios on the (σαγγάδαι and) παρασάγγαι which “may equally well designate the messenger as the mile-stone,” the parasang.

“Φαρσαχαῖος (public) crier” is the word one needs in Y.49,9 and which fits in 31,10. ḫšonghyo which is one syllable short, must be

* “plenipotentiary,” cf. Altp.Inscr. 318; Landsberger, ṣop x, 1935, 140ff., in a text of Nimrūt.Tukul.Assur, translates Ass. šēna lakānu by “zu befehlen haben”; but bē‘ēl šēm is one who has a written order, a letter patent.

* ‘ṭisar < Akk. dubsar; text: ‘ṭply’. I remember one ȝypt (?) in the acts of Mār Pethiôn, G. Hoffmann, Syr.Akt. which could be equally ṭisar.
emended: pšhý : prsnhý, "frasanhya." frajšta and frasanhya, φαρεσθακαῖοι and φαρσακαῖοι are a common pair: rasūl and nabi, or ἀπόστολοι and προφήται of the original Christian community in Jerusalem.\(^\text{7}\) "frasanhya frasastim frasanhati, the herald proclaims the frasasti."

There must have been several kinds of heralds. Governmental edicts, military orders, court sentences and many other things require publication, and frasasti, proclamation was the only means. typty, tpy in Daniel 3,2,12 and in Pap.Strassb. 27,9 is θεπατ < "θαναπατή, "maître de la proclamation" or chief-herald," and OP. θανία is the simplex to Med. frasanhya. The officer is enumerated between judge and police, and the frasanhya seem to have been the special outcriers of the courts. In the Muhammedan time the army had spokesmen or commissioners of their own, the za‘im al-djuyûsh. Cf. Beh. §60: "yâdî imâm handun-gâm ... kârahya thâhi—in the preceding § it is the imper. thâdi—if you proclaim this edict to the army," or in wider sense "the free men"; also the unknown prototype of Aram. kârôzâ in Daniel 3,4.

What the frasanhya proclaims is the frasasti, proclamation. Bartholomae translated "Leumund." "lei" is OHG. hlu, Gr. κλέος, Ir. sravah, which expresses that notion in Iranian, with its derivatives, e.g. husravah, dušravah, cf. Tištriya Yt.8,4:

"hača brzyat häusravaham, from the high one (ApâmNapât) is his fame!", or the curse of Hôma, Y.11,2:

utra bûyâ a.frazantiš utra dâušravâ hačimno

"childless thou shalt be and followed by shame!" Also vahâv sravâvî in Y.30,10. √sanh- "pronuntiare," never takes this connotation, nor do the roots √vak- and √mru-.

How big a mistake this translation was, becomes manifest by Nyberg's elaboration, 243, on Y.49,7: "Wer ist der aryaman, wer der χαάετu, nach den (göttlichen) Gesetzen, der dem vōraōana guten Ruf geben kann?" Comm.: "Wo findet, so meint er,


\(^\text{8}\) With ḫ < -ahya- as in vyad(<Pap.) < vahyazlāta, cf. under 'Memorial Document.'

\(^\text{9}\) Not Ir. χρόνa, Schaedler Iran.Beur. 245. The second element -ōx, may contain -vād, "vox"; kâra as first element? Gr. kârav is Homerick, too old to be a loan from Iranian.
seitdem die leitenden Männer meines eigenen Stammes vor ihrer Aufgabe [which?] versagt haben, der Priesterstand und der Adel, die das Ansehen des Hirtenstammes wieder aufrichten können?" Answer: "Fraśauśtra und Jāmāspa." Only the shepherd tribe themselves could achieve that, for every man is the cause of his own reputation, as one can read already in Homer, Od.1,329ff.: 

ōs μὲν ἀποτής αὐτὸς ἦν . . . ἐθεμισωντα ἀπαντες
ōs δ’ ἄν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἦν . . . πολλοὶ δὲ μν ἐσθλον ἐευνο.

One is socius and civis not by (divine) but by (civil) law, nor are there divine laws for the special case that leading men are found wanting, however frequent that may be. If ever the misguided idea had occurred to Zoroaster to mend the bad reputation of his enemies, he ought to have deleted the insult offered to the vaēpyo in Y.51,12, and the invitation to kill them, at the occasion, when (Nyberg, 247) "er selber seine Gesänge für den liturgischen Gebrauch seiner Gemeinde zusammenstellte und mit einer—natürlich nicht schriftlichen (sic)—Einleitung versah."

Thus Bartholomae failed to recognize this greatest event in Zoroaster's life, on which the introductory words put the highest emphasis: "AhuraMzdāh shall hear it as Vahumano, shall hear it as Rtam, hear it Thyself, o AhuraMzdāh! Who is the aryaman, who the hvētu, who through dātā will obtain for the vrzanam the good frasasti?"

The "good" frasasti—"bad" would be an interdict—is obtained by dātā, OP. "tyā manā dātā, my, the great-king's laws," "the inviolable dāt, law of the Medes and Persians" in Daniel, a term borrowed also by Akkadians and Elamites. What Zoroaster hopes so passionately to have "proclaimed" is the rescission of his banishment. "vrzanam, city," is either the town where the proclamation takes place, or his "religion" as fictitious "community." In both cases, the revocation of the verdict is the authorization for his teaching. We know from Daniel and Ezra that every religious community needed an official authorization, and Xerxes' "interdiction of the déva cult" is the negative side of the frasasti for Zoroaster.

There is one other place where frasasti has its full meaning: Yt.10,60:
The cult of Mithra, long years prohibited (see under ‘Mithra’ and ‘Dēva’) obtained again the agreement of the government. The hideous verses were composed when the “proclamation, frasastiš” by Artaxerxes II belonged already to a not distant past, after 400 B.C., but before Alexander, before 330 B.C. Because the proclamation is a sanction, the true sense fades at late, empty and bad places.  

It is nowhere said whether the mission of the Häugava was a success or not. In Y.46—separated from the time of Y.51 by Zoroaster’s marriage to the Häugavi, not necessarily a long interval—the brothers set forth on their journey. In 49 Zoroaster hopes that they will obtain the frasastiš, at a moment when he foresees already the end of Cambyses and, at the same time, hopes that this would entail the downfall of Gômāta. If Y.46 is all of one piece and if no new gatha begins, e.g. in st.6, the attempt seems to have been made before Cyrus’ death. Yt.9.26 implicates Hutōsā in it; that is not history, like the gathic passages, but might retain some truth: Atossa’s influence upon her father Cyrus. If Y.49 is a unit, the frasasti was not yet granted at the end of Cambyses’ reign. One must expect that it was not granted before the death of Cambyses, but only after the gatha Y.53.8-9, by Darius.

The sanction of Zoroastrism did not mean the eradication of the old cults. Zoroaster’s doctrine did not live on as a separate religion, because fundamentally it was much too spiritualized ever to become a popular cult. It is the result of history, not of “mission,” that parts of it survived at all. “Community” and “mission” are not, as a matter of course, notions complementary to religion. Zoroastrism has been introduced by a governmental act, the “frasastiš through dātā.” The circle of Zoroaster, i.e. the clan of Vištâspa with his officials and clients—Yt.13 enumerates 240 names—came into power after the convulsion of the Gômāta episode, and raised Zoroaster’s ethical and political ideas, his monotheism and dualism, to the position which one can call a religion of the rulers. The two hundred years of peace of the empire are the reason that Zoroaster’s thoughts, passing over into Judaism and thence into Christianity, acted upon human thought and thus on the course of universal history.

Not Zoroaster was “Religionspolitiker und Synkretist”—or everything

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10 For frastastayā in the song of the caravan to Ulā, see under ‘Post and Travels.’ It is not “Ruhmen, Ruf” (Wb. 1000).
would long since be forgotten—but the old cults, threatened by the turn history took, adapted themselves, by syncretism, to the new situation and thus became fit for reintroduction. Thenceforth, not before Artaxerxes II, Zoroaster’s name is only the sign-board for the older religion which had absorbed a certain number of his thoughts. There has never been a “mission,” and the profanum vulgus has never been Zoroastrian in the very meaning of the word.
X. HVARNAH

HVARNAH is a mythical notion common to all Iranians, and the Zamyasht 19 is in reality not a hymn to the Earth, but to the hvarnah. This is a fire, a flame, not generated by man with flint and steel or by rubbing wood. Other fire is called “bipithwa, thripithwa, twice-, thrice-fed,” frapiθwa “well-fed,” hamēšag. pihan “continuously fed.” But the hvarnah is “ahvartam, MP. ăxvarišnik, not needing food,” see the myth of the fight for this hvarnah under ‘ApāmNapāt.’ It dwells in the water of the ocean vurukrtam and is according to the Pahl. translation “agrist, unseizable.” The conception is related to naphtha, the sources of which come from the depths of the ocean, and as such it belongs to ApāmNapāt. It is also related to the lightning, and as such it belongs to Vṛthragna.

A problem of dialectology adheres to the word hvarnah, indicated by the two NP. forms χurrah and farr. The opinion, frequently uttered, that farnah belonged to western, hvarnah to eastern dialects, is not supported by observations.

The change hv > f occurs first, at determined time and place, in the region of Kōmis and Gurgān, western Parthia, in the n.pr. včfiya < 'vēvahviya in Y.51,12, see under ‘Vēhviya’; the time is the 1st century A.D. The next instance is, about A.D. 100, the name of the god ΦΑΡΡΟ ὖν the Kūshān coins in Bactria. At the modern phase of the language, f < hv appears only in the isolated, Median dialect of Sivand near Persepolis. The MMed. of the Turfan documents, on the contrary, has vχ < vh < hv; the Zāzā and other Med.-Kurd. dialects have w < vh < hv. Consequently, if the Assyrians note p = f in Old Median and Old Parthian personal names, e.g. šitirparnu for ἓθραχварnah (Parth.), the Neo-Babylonians equally p, e.g. dari.parnu for Med. ἁδραγ. hvarnah, the Greeks φ in -φέρνης, but Ctesias β, in -βέρνης,—that means chiefly in the group t.hv—one must understand this transcription as the nearest approximation these languages and scripts could reach to the real Median sound which seems already to have been vh.²

² The sound is one of the type of labialized IE gutturals, or Engl. wh. E. A. Speiser, AAIOR
OP. cuneiform writes $u^1 + v^1$, because its character $u$ is derived from Akk.-El. $\text{ḫu}$, and because the script, which was not "invented" for the OP. dialect, offered no better means of expressing the sound of their dialect. Where divergently $f$ is written instead of $u^1 + v^1$, e.g. in the n.pr. $v^i d^1 f^1 r^1 n^1 a^1 = ^\text{vindat.hvarna}$, the Median sound is thereby rendered—for the appearance of a name in OP. inscriptions does not make the name Old Persian—and probably also the Median spelling: the Medes probably used their $f$ for the sound $\text{vh} < \text{hv}$ of their dialect as nearest approximation offered by their script, which they too had not "invented," but, at the best, adapted.

In the dialects of the southeast, the problem is represented by the name Arachosia. Ved. sāravatī, OP. harahvatī is properly the name of the river, mod. Hilmand. It appears also in a part of Media at that time occupied by Persians, as araquttu, in 728 B.C., in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser. The Elam. notation in the OP. inscriptions is har.ru.wa.tis or har.r.o.wa.tis, with m/wa for hva, as in waracmija for OP. ħvārazmiya etc. BPahl. rāxvāt seems to descend from the OP. form; NP.Arab. ṿuṣqāf, ṿuṣqāf has $\text{uχ} < \text{aχv}$ as in Persian dialects, but the East Ir. final palatal, as in Sogdian. The Akk. versions, on the other hand, write a.ru.ḥa.at.ti with Med. psilosis, the Pap.El. hrvχt, both after Med. "(h)aravhati with $\text{av} > \delta$; also Gr. Ἀραχωσία comes from this form, with metathesis of $a$ and $\delta$ for reasons of Greek euphony.

Beside "ḥērtumant, rich in dikes," which lives in the mod. name Hilmand, the river had another surname "hvānahvati, rich in hvarna." The same epithet is given to the lake Kan-saya into which the river falls. Besides, at Alexander's time another of the rivers falling into this lake bore the name Φαρνακάρτ, i.e. hvānahvati, with Greek compensated aspira-

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27f., n.59, cf. Medop.Origini 92, quotes, from K.4675, the placename Huₐₐₕₐₜₐₜₐₜ (to be sought in Shahrzur) and compares it with pasindu in Assurnāṣirpal Annals a ¹ 4 (Luckenbill 455), situated in Zamaa, i.e. Shahrzur. At first I believed this to be evidence for simultaneous rendering of Ir. ḫvār- by par- and hual-; but the year 4 of Assurnāṣirpal 880 B.C. is too early for an Iranian name to appear in that region.

Therefore, aspiration is never written before $u$; opposite: $i$ is never written after OP $h^\text{a}$, because this is derived from Akk.-El. hi. Equally: Ir. $\text{z}^\text{a}$ without added $i$ can represent $\text{či}$, because $z^\text{a} < \text{či} < \text{Akk.EL}$.
tion k:χ for *vhravnaxati, and with medial a + v > au > ō, and again metathesis of a and ō. The modern name is Harrut, but I regret not having ascertained the exact pronunciation and spelling. The annals of TiglathPileser I mention parnuatti < hvarnavhati in Media 728 B.C.

In the “Song to the Sōḥyant” (see under ‘Last Judgment’) the three saviours come, at the resurrection, from the Kansavya, i.e. the Hāmūn in Sistān, from which rises the Kūh i Khwādja, old mount Uṣidam. Nyberg says in his polemics against my opinion that Zoroaster so-journed on the hill in the lake, 304f.: “Der xvarnah Kult hat offenbar zwei Brennpunkte gehabt, einerseits voller Kontakt mit dem Vuru-
kaša-Kreise”—i.e. vuruksam, in fact the ocean—“anderseits mit dem Bewässerungsgebiet des Hētumant verbunden, dem in ungewöhn-
lchem Masse xvarnah-Kraft eignet, ohne Zweifel deswegen, weil eine bedeutende Dynastie an seinen Ufern geherrscht hatte.” Die Lokali-
sierung der zoroastrischen Eschatologie daselbst ist nur ein Ausdruck des Strebens nach einer Zoroastrisierung des mächtigen xvarnah Kultes, der diesem Fluss und dem See zugehört... Sie ist also sekundär und für die Geschichte der zoroastrischen Eschatologie fast ohne Interesse.”

I cannot see how anything as completely unknown and unintelligible as “hvarnah power” could be “without doubt” the quality “in uncom-
mon degree” of a river, because a dynasty as “unseizable” as the hvarnah itself had ruled at its banks. This elusive and illusive dynasty and its elliptic cult has left no trace in history and would have disappeared like circles in water. The “Song to the Sōḥyant,” “almost without in-
terest for Zoroastrian eschatology” is, on the other hand, the only place where the Avesta touches this subject. Though not directly related to the hvarnah, it is interpolated in the parts of the Zam yasht that speak of hvarnah, seemingly because the detailed description of the “Sea-
land” on the Kansavya had also found a place in this yasht. The concep-
tion is abstracted from Gatha passages like Y.43,5;30,9, which the song elaborates, adding the placename. There is no reason to expect the return of a prophet from a precise spot, unless it be that he actually sojourned there. The Sealand, therefore, is the sole, primary and gen-
ue place of this eschatology. If, then, the waters of this region are

*The source is Wh, 1730: “haētumant, die Beiwörter vielleicht darum, weil das kavische Königshaus von da stammt.”
called hvarnahvant, it is not because a "dynasty" with a mighty hvarnah-cult dominated these waters which owned hvarnah power in uncommon degree, but because the "belief" was dominant that the "victorious, hvarnahvant saviour" would appear from there.

The notion "hvarnah" (see under ‘Frawarti’ and ‘Tištriya’) is difficult to define. The Pahl. translation of hvarnahvant, grouped with rēvant as surname of the river, is "l'y'wmand sən'wmand," strikingly explained by "χυψήκτς τις χάριςς καὶ μνήμης στὴν, the dutiful and industrious genius (in or of) Siğistān." In Hellenistic style one would say "tyche of Sištān."

Besides the mythical signification, the "victorybringing hvarnah" must have one of daily use, evidenced by a few Gāthic and Avestic expressions, like e.g. ištōiš hvarnā, which Zoroaster uses of Žāmāspa who helped him who was destitute as an exile.

F. Cumont, Culte de Mithra 1, has dealt with the inscription from Mylasa, time of Artaxerxes II, citr. 2693b, dedicated to the τύχη ἐπιφανεί βασιλείως. Plutarch, Alex.30, makes Darius III speak of the τύχη Περσῶν which μακεδονίης, has taken the side of the Greeks. Those are contemporary translations of the two notions kāvyam hvarno and āryānām hvarno which dominate Yt.19. ἐπιφανής, too, must translate an Iranian word derived from √sand- "to appear," for, like Vṛthragna to whom the mythical notion belongs, the hvarnah assumes visible forms, becomes ἐπιφανής.

Aram. sən serves as translation for τύχη and as ideogr. for hvarnah, because it was considered as a synonym as far back as the high Achaemenian period. Under the Seleucids one swears by the "tyche" of the king, a custom foreign to Greek, which must come from Iran. In the βασιλικὸν ὄρκος of the Iranian kings of Pontus, it is τύχην βασιλείως καὶ μήνα Φαρνάκου. Among the divine honors bestowed upon Caesar, we find besides an image in the senate, and a gable of a temple, ἀετός, on his house, also "τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ ὄμηνα," Diod.49,6,1. In the martyrdom of St. Pethion, G. Hoffmann, Syr.Akt., the grand-mōbad swears "by the gaddā (i.e. hvarnah) of Hormizd and his crown!"

The Seleucids bear the predicates eὔσεβῆς eὐτυχῆς in their protocol, origin of Rom. pius felix fortunatus. With the Manichaeans, e.g. Mir-
Man.1149,1 prvχ hvzdg nyvmvrvʰ i.e. εὐρυχῆς εὐγενής εὐοιωνιστός (cf. humāyun) are the predicates of a prince of the church. In the protocol of Xusrau I, in Menander, Exc.deLeg.11,3, we find: ὁ τίνι θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην (Paik.: νχαραά) καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν (Paik.: χάβτ) δεδώκασιν. Also in Islam one uses the corresponding attributes.

Long before that time, the god φάρρο on the Kūshān coins since Kanishka holds as his emblem a bag of money in his hand: fortuna, in West and East Iran, meant money. Already in the Avesta, in many cases, hvarnah means "luck, tyche, fortune," going over into "riches." The antonym, too, duš-hvarnah, means—with the imprecative connotation of such terms—"he whose tyche may be bad," δυστυχής, as early as in Yt.10,108. The duš-hvarnah is "aśata, a proscriptus," see under 'Mithra.' In groups of words like puru-hvarnah puru.gav puru.nar, together with ištī puru.hvādrā, the transition into "wealth" is completed; equally in Yt.18,1, where the "hvarnah of the Aryans" is called puru.vanāwam "consisting in many herds" and simultaneously puru-ištām.

Out of regard to the myth of the fight for the hvarnah, puru.ištām is usually translated by "von vielen begehrt"—Duchesne §117: "désiré de beaucoup" or "beaucoup désiré"—attaching it to √iš; only Lommel translates "besitzreich": like iša, anišā it belongs to √īs, ištā "to have power over possessions." The possession of cattle, men etc. is "hvarnah, wealth." ištā, deriv. of ištā, is "fortune, riches," Skr. translation lakṣmīḥ, Pahl. comment. χvāstak. Xvāstak serves also as translation of "śeṭa, possessions, money" in Yt.13,67:

yābā nā ταχύο raṭēštā huśhambartā hača sētāt patiyānīta
"as a swift warrior fights for his well-gathered (viz. in barns) property." It is the raṭēštā who fights for his "hereditary" property, because he is the χvāstakdār, Armen. χostakdar "heir."

For ham.brta cf. Vid.3,27: ham.brθwa, f., with yayahya "harvest of grain"; ham.brτa "gathering." Yt.6,1: "tat hvarno hmbārayanti, a hundred thousand yazata (= elsewhere 99,999 fravarti) gather this hvarnah (water generated by light of the sun) and distribute it over the earth (as rain)." And Yt.10,52:
hām hiš čimāne⁴ barahva  gather (the zōbra) as store,
ni hiš dasva gara nmāne  lay it down in the store-
house (of heaven)!

These verses prove that ham.bāraya, συμφορεύω, not ham + √'par-', is the stem of MP. hanbār, anbār; at the same time, that gara nmāna means "store-house," not "house of praise" or "Haus der Glut," and that it belongs to √ gar-, ἀγείρω, ἀγορά.⁵

In other passages, šēta, Pahl. transl. χvāstak, means simply "money," e.g. Vid. 4, 44: "When people are šēta.činah, claiming money, one shall collect money, ham iša šētam hambārayān." In this way anbār becomes "capital" and sūt "interest."

Gold and silver were of old the scale of value, although the wealth of a χšaθriya was figured in men and cattle, horses and cows he owned, and although an old tariff for surgeons still demands payment in pecus, not in pecunia. During the second half of the 6th century B.C., dinars of Croesus were current, which may have been actually coined after the foreign model in Iran, whilst the proper Iranian coinage began only under the reign of Darius. The fact that the Awesta is silent about coined money—emphasized by W. Geiger, who in 1884 believed the whole Awesta to be prehistoric—says nothing: the oldest parts are slightly older, all the rest younger than the coinage.

NP. pūl "money" is Aw. prtha, to √ par- "to equalize," cf. Pahl. Vid. 5, 19 under ‘Sea’; the MP. verb puhlistan, puhlēnītan means "to balance, compensate." MP. puhl is translation of Aw. api. pāramnāi "to balance," a.prī "compensation" etc. The redeeming of penalties by payments in kind, later in money, causes the change of meaning, but from which moment on the "payment" was made in coined money, is indiscernible.

MP. χvāstak is always wrongly explained as belonging to "χvāstan, want to have," money because everybody wants it. There was once a revolt in Teheran, and an unconcerned policeman answered to the question "what is going on?" laconically: "pūl mičāhand! they want

⁴ For čīman as noun see Benveniste, Inf. An., 50.
⁵ Andreas had used this root for explaining MP. *gērāk, which is but an erroneous reading of gya’k, vy’k > Jāh "place," "house of praise" (Wb.: nicht völlig sicher) connects gara- with abīgar- "to praise," song of praise etc.
money.” χβάστικ is OP. "hvā.ī.śta, Aw. hvō.ι.śṭeśva pasu.śva in Nir.58 "self(-acquired) possession and small-cattle (pecunia).”

hvō is the pron.refl. hvā, spelled with o as in hvō.awiśak, to be registered under Duchesne §205 instead of §47. Bartholomae assumed the same formation for ṭwā.śṭi “thine-property,” which is not a true compound; on the other hand, the Manichaean term χβά.śṭi, whether <"hvā.śṭi or "hvā.-

ayśṭi, belongs to it.

In Gāthic, too, hvarnah and ḯiṣṭi have the same meaning. In Y.29,9, the “soul of the ox” complains at having found in Zoroaster—the only one who cares—only a nar asūra, ἀκυρός [here expressly called “Spī-

tāma,” to indicate that, though being a member of that rich family, as fugitive he is destitute], and what it needs is an iṣa.χśaṭriya, a χśaṭriya with wealth. The opposition to nar asūra seems to indicate that χśaṭriya is used in its connotation nar=ra.ṭešṭa, but it may belong to √χśaṇ-,

χśaṭram “hospitium,” whether iṣa.χśaṭriya be a derivative of iṣa.-

χśaṭra, or a compound of iṣa + χśaṭriya.” Zoroaster says, Y.46,2: “I

know that I am powerless, an.iṣa,” because, as an exile, kamnāśva kamnāra, “accompanied by only a few herds and men,” he is poor.

Y.46,3: “When will come he who makes rise the light of day? I trust

Thou wilt for me perfect my work!” The soul of the ox says: “When

will come he who will lend me [Zoroaster speaking] zastavat avo, a

helping hand.” Bartholomae refers for zastavant to Germ. “Hand und

Fuss haben” i.e. to be practical. zastavant can be “handy, practical” or

“open-handed.” Zoroaster wants to have something “in hand,” namely

money. The Pahl. transl. understands the sentence rightly as referring

to Zoroaster, not, as modern translations do, to the soul of the ox, and

renders zastavat by “pa.tovān, cf. NP. tavāṅgar, rich.” “To give a hand”

is everywhere the figure for help, cf. Mir.Man.iii.43,12, Narisaf hymn:

“’vmn hvfr’y’d ’vm vχd dstd’r bv’h, help us and lead me by the hand!”

The fugitive Zoroaster finds the wealthy man in the Häugava

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6 The distinction recalls Arab, ṭāhid “slaves born in the house, cattle and inherited property” and ṭārif “newly acquired possessions.” BV. has erroneously “hvā.śṭa “der höchste, erste”; not even Frht. trav.4,2 “yōisti ṭwāyśṭā hvōisti patiśṭā” seems to contain this word: ṭwāyśṭā is 3.sg. opt.med. “the youngest shall work”; the rest is corrupt; patiśṭā is evidently the verb of this second clause.

7 The Aw. spelling aṣṭa rests only on ’y, equally for i-: iṣa.χśaṭra in Y.1,13 is the same in abstr. form “fact of being master over property” or “a rich hospes,” not “verlangend nach dem Himmelreich.”
Žāmāspa; that is why he calls him in Y.15,18 “ištoś hvarnā, fortunate (blessed) with riches.” Both words have this material sense when single, and the more so when united. Zoroaster never uses the subst. hvarnāh, the mythical notion of which belongs to the ahura Vrthragna and Mithra, any more than he uses mihradruχš and similar words; but he does not hesitate to use the trivial adj. “fortunate, rich.” Y.5,98 paraphrases the Zoroastrian expression: “ištim jašyanta hōugavā, for riches asked the Häugava,” and the later legend retains the historical conception of the wealth of that family, scarcely without influence upon the marriage of Artaxerxes I and Damaspia, nēe Žāmāspi.

Nyberg (245), on the contrary, remarks to Y.51,18: “Aussерordinentlich aufschlussreich ist der Ausdruck ‘der Besitz als sein xvarna gewann, ištoś xvarnā,’ das letzte wort adj., ‘xvarnah-besitzend, mit xvarnah versehen hinsichtlich išti’; išti, eigentlich ‘Besitz,’ steht hier prägnant für ‘Besitz des Vohu manah.’ Der höchste Ehrentitel der Zarathustra Gemeinde war es, Vohumanah empfangen zu haben; der Ehrentitel ‘mit xvarnah versehen’ wiederum war der höchste in der Mithra Gemeinde. Hier werden beide verkoppelt: wir können hier den Synkretismus zwischen Gatha-Religion und Mithra-Religion mit Händen greifen.” When reading these sentences printed in spaced type nobody would surmise that the two honorific titles of the two communities and all the conclusions are nothing but a fantastic interpretation of the harmless hapax “ištoś xvarnā, blessed with riches.” The theory serves to support another one, of “Zoroaster’s poverty,” 194ff.: “Zarathustra ist nicht gerade ein besitzloser Proletarier”—a proles with the double gentilic spītāma hēčataspāna—“aber er gehört zu einer Gruppe bestimmten religiösen Charakters, gekennzeichnet dadurch, dass sie kein Eigentum im gleichen Sinne wie die übrigen Stammesmitglieder besass. Also nach allem zu urteilen, eine sakrale Armut.”

While he thus makes Zoroaster Spītāma a darwish, Ctesias makes Spitakes Spītāma “satrap of the Derbissoi, the Darwīshs.” darwēš comes from Aw. drigu, gen. drigoš; the MP. form is, according to the inscriptions, not daryoš, but drgyš, same as in Wais u Rāmīn: daryoš. Lommel translates drigu by “landflüchtig,” one who flees into a foreign land, or MHG. ēlent (to “ausland”). Elend means poor, but poor does not mean elend, landflüchtig.
Y.10,13:

namo hōmai yat krnōti
driyoš havat.maso mano
yatha rēvastamahyačīt

footfall to Hōma who makes
the poor one's spirit as high
as that of even the richest!

Or Y.57,10:

Srōša
yo driyošca drivayāśca
amavat nmānam hamtašti

Sroša
who puts together a house
amavat for the poor man and
woman, when the sun has set.

Lommel: "der den landflüchtigen ein mächtiges Haus hinstellt."
Bartholomae has also the "mächtige Haus." In these verses, Srōšo, as
home police, takes care of the night shelter of homeless people. amavat
may mean "solid," better—with -vant of tašbih—"adequate, fit," at any
rate "solid enough for the purpose," hence rather "modest" than
"mächtig."

Nyberg continues: "In der Gatha (Y.44,18-19) erwartet Zarathustra
als Lohn zehn tragende Stuten und ein Kamel. Man bemerke, dass es
das Luxustier ist, nicht die Kuh wie in Indien . . . , während der Besitz
des Stammes in Rindvieh bestand." What could a man who denies per-
sonal property for religious reasons do with such a stable that requires
care and fodder? This price for one song still means 20 horses in the
same year, enough for six cowboys, corresponding to work for a ranch
of considerable value even today, much more than the 12,000 dirham
which Vuzurgmihr got from Xusrau for his chess playing. Firdausi
expected from Maḥmūd 100,000 gold dinars—much, but little in com-
parison with the noble prices the caliphs paid their poets per line. Such
numbers reflect the permanent inflation of all money, and we do not
know how many songs Zoroaster produced in a year. In Teheran lived
a Qadjar prince, who composed panegyrics on all who arrived or de-
parted, including myself, and lived upon this kind of royalty.

About the "Luxustier" there are many wrong notions. Bartholomae
translated Yt.17,13: "Ihre Kamele [of the men whom Ardvi hačati]
erregen Schrecken"; Lommel, doubtful: "bayanti, klarlich 'erregen
Furcht'; ebenso in Yt.17,12 von den Pferden gesagt." The following
verse has: "uṣṭrāho . . . uzayanto zmāt prtamnā vaṇryavo"; Bartholo-
mae: "Die Kamele die vom Boden sich (auf den Hinterbeinen) aufrichtend miteinander kämpfen, wenn sie brünstig sind"—that, indeed, would be a horrifying sight. Lommel: "ein Kampf zwischen Kamelhengsten oder ein Verhalten im Dienst des Menschen?" Bartholomae's words in brackets are contrary to the anatomy of camels. They raise themselves awkwardly to their four legs, and do not fight with their soft feet, but bite only; they lie, even in heat. They look conceited and scornful, as the Arabs say, because to them alone the thousandth name of Allah is revealed, but maybe because their ambition to be a Luxustier is not satisfied. Their temperament is better than their looks. Once, in spring, when the whole valley was full of camel foals, I had a visit at Persepolis from a friend who did not quite dare, as he would have loved to do, to photograph the foals from nearby against the outspoken displeasure of their mothers. He left for Isfahan, and my Turkish chauffeur reported on the trip: "He is a good man!—Yes.—He is a pious man!—Yes.—He fears God.—Yes.—But I never before saw a man who fears a camel!"

Nyberg, 240, to Y.46,18-19: "Wer für den Sieg des Guten in dieser Welt wirkt, wird nach dem Erdendasein als Lohn alles das gewinnen, was die Ekstase zu bieten vermag, und ausserdem vollen Besitz der Seele des Stieres selber—wahrlich, eine strahlende Aussicht für einen Hirten!" I doubt it. The full ownership would, for all that, be shared by the souls of all the generations since Adam-Gayamart. The many shepherds I have seen were interested in milk, and would prefer two cows with calf in hand to the soul of the ox in the bush. Zoroaster thought the same, for in Y.46,19 he promises, besides the reward of future life, not at all the soul of the ox, but "on the spot a pair of cows with calf." If that was his "Missionspraxis," he or the one who financed him, Žămāsp, must have had—as they probably had—thousands of cows and luxury camels. And when "his most ardent wishes" accompany Žămāsp and Frašauštra on their journey to "where Rta should rule and AhuraMazdāh should abide in abundance," whence he hopes to obtain the "frasastiš"—then he doctus mantuš represented at the same time considerable financial interests. For, the revocation of the banishment reinstates Zoroaster into his possessions, cf. Beh. §14. And

* Cf. Assyrian sculptures, e.g. AM 19.x, 41, p.206².
the Spitāma owned large estates in Rhagiane. The wealthy people of that time had their money administered by non-Aryan suftidrnga, like Murašū Sons in Nippur, the greatest banking firm of the period, and that is why the family name of the Spitāma appears in their business papers.

Even as an exile, Zoroaster had enough money to pay his traveling, 500 miles, in a two-horse team, with attendants, from Ragā via Kömiš to Tōsa, whether in a hired coach or his own. There was never a darwish who traveled with attendants in his own or a hired car.
XI. BANDVA AND GRAHMA

In the obscure background of Zoroaster's life—in the most passionate of his verses—two hostile figures appear whom he calls "my bandva and his tkēša" in Y.49,1-2, and "the kavi and the karpan grahma" in Y.32,12-14. No investigation has so far thrown the faintest light on these figures, and yet the tone of the stanzas, the allusions they contain to Y.46, "Gatha of the Flight," and the allusions to those stanzas in Y.53,8-9, show from the beginning that they are the node of all threads of thought and that the poet speaks there of the decisive event of his life. Without solving this riddle one cannot attain an understanding of the gathas and of the life of Zoroaster.

Y.49:

1: āt ma yavā bandvo pafrē mazišto
   yo dušrōrīš 'čiχšnušo rtā mazdā
   vahvī adā gadi moi ā moi rapa
   ahya vahū ōšo vida manahā

2: āt ahya ma bandvahya mānayati
   tkēšo drugvā dbitā rtāt rārišo
   noit spantām dōršt ahmai stoi ārmatim
   nēda vahū mazdā frašta manahā

Bartholomae: "Immer ist Bändva für mich das grösste Hindernis, der ich die Verwahrlosten zufrieden stellen [note: zu Proselyten machen] will, ... mit der guten Adā komm zu mir, sei mir eine feste Stütze! Ihm bereite, o V.M., den Untergang!—Dieses Bändva Irrlehrer [Wb. Rabbi], der Druggenosse, steht mir schon seit langem im Weg, der von Āsa abgefallene. Nicht sorgt er sich darum, die heilige Ārmatiš für sich zu haben, noch lässt er sich von Vohumanah beraten, o A.M.!!"

Andreas-Lommel: "Und immer ist der ganz grosse Bondva verurteilt. Zu mir, der ich die übel Behüteten (?), die Unglücklichen?) durch Wahrsein zufrieden machen will, o Weiser, komm mit der guten Vergeltung. Seinen Tod bewirke durch das Gute-Denken!—Und mich erwartet dieses Bondva lügnerischer Misslehrer, der in zwiefacher Weise vom Wahrsein abgefallen ist: weder hält er daran fest, dass die kluge Fügsamkeit
ihm (eigen) sei, noch hat er sich mit dem Guten-Denken beraten."

Hertel, Beitr.217: "der ich die schlecht-leuchtenden-Frauen (duśrōtiś) durch das Licht-des-Heils zu erfreuen suchte," comment: "schlecht-leuchtend heisst 'die ein schlechtes Erkenntnis-Licht, daēnā, in sich tragen, also noch der daēvischen Lehre anhängen." He concludes: "Zarathustra suchte zunächst auf die Frauen einzuwirken, bei denen sein Bestreben, ... Vieh-schlächtereien ein Ende zu bereiten, auf besseres Verständnis rechnen konnte."

Nyberg, 111: "Bondva's Irrlehrer ist ausfruehrerisch gegen Aśā und kümmert sich nicht darum, ob Ārmaiti ihm zugehören wird." 192: "Wichtiger ist [what precedes sounds 'unwichtig' indeed] dass bei Bondva ein tkaēśa lebt, der sich nicht darum bemüht, mit der wirksamen Ārmaiti Verbindung zu suchen, und sich nicht mit Vohumanah berät, d.h. sich über die ekstatischen Übungen und den normalen Verkehr des Stammes mit der Gottheit hinwegsetzt."

This is an amazing picture of a rabbi, an old renegade who delights bad women by the light-of-salvation, is too lazy to go to the maga for ecstatic exercises, spiritist séances or whatever the "normal intercourse" with the deity may mean, and waits inactively and is in the way.

The verses say in reality:

"And once, my brother-in-law will be forfeited to the law, the princeps, he who listened to (those that passed) the miscarried sentence. O Mazdaē, come as Rtam with Thy just punishment, be true to me! Find, as Vahumano, his death!"

"Then, my brother-in-law's drug-ish judge still remains, who in two ways injures Rtam: neither does he confirm 'Holy Ārmatiš, be mine!', nor does he judge by Vahumano."

Meillet considered the gathas to be among the most difficult products of IE. literature, and every word of the translation requires long study and commentary.
pafrē: *Wb.* "Perf. v. √°par- ‘obstare.’" Andreas-Lommel: "zu √°par-.” Bartholomae divided the root in √°par-, represented by the part.pres. pāramna "Busse thuend" (better: atoning for); √°par-, represented by pass. pryati, -te, only with "tanum," besides fra.prnōti in Ἀφρ., fra.pryati in *Vid.5,9*; the p.p.p. prta, used with čīθa = Gr. tīsis, and āprti "making equal (balancing), atonement by corporal punishment"; further by Gath. prθa "atonement"; an.āprθa "unatonable"; prta.sara "having forfeited one’s life (head)"; finally √°par- the alleged "obstare." "Je m’obstacle": the three √°par- are one and the same word "to make even, par, to atone." To it belongs NP. pūl "money" as atonement for blood-guiltiness by disbursements in kind or money. The perf. pafrē, hence, means "he is forfeited to the law," just as prta.tanu in *Y.53,9*. The OIr. perfect has more than once the sense of the Lat. fut. exactum, Gr. fut.III, here made plain by yavā, according to *Wb.* "zu yav- ‘Dauer,’ dat. yavoi ‘for ever’"; adv. instr. yavā "zu irgend einer Zeit = jemals, einmal." Only in *Y.49,1* Bartholomae gives it the meaning "zu jeder Zeit, immer." yavā pafrē signifies "once (fut.) he will be forfeited to the law."

mazišto: Nyberg, 191: "Wahrscheinlich ein technischer Ausdruck." There are two old analogies. (1) In Behistūn the chiefs of the royal and of the rebellious troops are called māḏišta, equivalent to the OP. military title frataraka in the *Pap.El.* These are commanders of a thousand, OP. "hazahrapati, a sort of magistri equitum or pagi. (2) In *Xer.Pers.har.* māḏišta, viz. of the sons of the king, means "princeps, heir, successor to the throne." The word goes on to be used as designation of rank. The Megistánes of the Arsacid period are a rank at the court, the table companions of the king. On the Papyrus 5 (Hansen) a mḥstk’n mḥstk’ of Alexandreia is mentioned; al-Mundhir of Hira received the honorific Rām-afzūd-Yazdegird and became mḥist, Arab. a’zām.¹

duś.r̥triš: Andreas conjectured “duś.r̥triš “denen es schlecht geht”; Barholomae: “Unsicher. Acc.pl.m. ‘unter übler Ohmut stehend, in religiösen Dingen verwahrlost’; Komp. v. duś + ‘hr̥tri, weil vor r̥tri duś- zu erwarten wäre; hr̥tri=har̥tra, ungewöhnliche Bildung.” In this way, it would mean in Zoroaster’s didactic style: “the bandva listens to those who are under his evil charge” and would make sense. But the reasons for this change are untenable: Gathic has also r̥.vačah against r̥.uč̥d̥a, and duśiti—both with ś—against Aw. dužita, Gr. δύσβαρος. Such phonetic detail is not authentic. Barholomae says “unusual formation,” because -r̥tri would be the fem. of a noun-of-agent. Therefore Hertel translates “Frauen.” Duchesne places duś.r̥tri behind niś.har̥tri “surveillante,” but translates, like Wb. “sous mauvaise garde,” not “gardienne.” One must class it with awi.mi̊tri, Duchesne §25, with i-suffix. The following verses speak of things judicial and thereto duś.r̥tri belongs, that means to V`ar- “adjudge,” mostly with “rti, lot, destiny,” also with zasta.īsta=Ind. mudra, gestures of the lord justiciary, and with “sava, reward and punishment.” The acc.pl. duś.r̥triš signifies either “the miscarriage of justice” or “those who passed a miscarriage of justice.”

či̊x̣n̄ūšo: participle of the desid. stem of či̊x̣n̄ū- “to hear,” written či̊x̣n̄uša, at the other places či̊x̣n̄ūšo. Barholomae took it (with -a) as 1.pers.sg.; Andreas, too, translated it as a first person, but remarks: “dieselbe form Y.45,9 či̊x̣n̄ūšo (mit V für ’) geschrieben,” and to Y.45,9: “Form und Endung wie vivarašo in 45,8.” Also like mimayžo in 45,10. It is the same participle everywhere, for, against the previous translations, it refers to the preceding, not the following words, and there the 1st pers. is not possible. √či̊x̣n̄ū- does not mean “zufrieden stellen” (see under ‘Hospitium’), and či̊x̣n̄ūšo not “zu Gefallen sein,” but at all places “to listen, to lend one’s ear to,” in 49,1, thereby violating the obligation, founded on rtam, to give, as bandva, protection to Zoroaster. Likewise in the Yama myth, Y.32,19: “Who listened to men,” breaking the food taboo, see

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2 To the same root: “ar̥da, plaintiff, or legal contest”; “ar̥tra, trial, causa,” and Gath. r̥wa in Y.45,13.
under ‘Yamā.’ At the third place, end of the “Gatha of the Vision,” 43,15: “never, noit porus,8 must one listen to the drugvant”; Bartholomae’s “nicht soll man immer wieder, paruś, dem Druggenossen zu gefallen sein” is as wrong as Lommel’s “nicht soll man den vielen Lügenm gefällig sein, denn diese bezeichnen alle Wahrhaftigen als böse!” In Y.45,8, finally, “winning over, āvivrō, with songs of praise” and “listening to him,” without the connotation “to something forbidden.”

vahvi adā: “the good, i.e. the just punishment, penalty,” in parallel with fraṣṭa in 2,4; cf. OP. hufrastam aprsam “I have punished good i.e. justly.”

ā moi rapa: √rap-, similar to √hak-, cf. under ‘Social Structure,’ expresses, like ahmā.rafna in Y.Haft.40,3, the mutual allegiance between liege lord and vassals. The thought is that of l’māh ‘azabtāni in positive form.

ōšo vida: “find for him death!”, to √vid-, vind-; as with Assurbanipal: “I, Istar, mitūtu Ahšeri eppuš, will achieve the death of A.,” who then is murdered.

rtāt rārośo: The archetype had no notation at all for the Aw. vowel ə. Bartholomae, Grdr. and Wb., attached rārośo as an a-participle of a redupl. intens.pres., and rārośya as redupl. ja-pres. to a √rah-; no etymology, “abfallen, abtrünnig werden” probably because the verb is always connected with an ablative. Andreas read, in Y.32,11, rārušyon, and translated “die sich abwenden.” The Pahl. transl. has always rēš-, hence regarded both forms as redupl. pres. of √riš-, against which there is no formal objection, but the ablative is disturbing.

The following word dūrošt supplies a clue to the signification. Wb. and Grdr. regard this as an s-aor. of √dar- “to hold, have,” with acc. and negation. “sich nicht sorgen um: non sacram curavit sibi esse armam.” Even less satisfying is the explanation of the identical word, written dārošt in Y.43,13 “jem. (scil. AhuraMazdāh) verbinden, zwingen etw. zu thun.” Pahl. transl. is nikēžitan “to give one’s approval.” One must compare Y.44,5: avaiś rvataīś yā tū didrzo (Pahl. transl. again

8 Cf. noit d bibiyam, noit dvamčiha under ‘ApāmNapāt.’
nikēžitan), to √darz- "to fix, establish," and Y.19,13 "tkēšam ādranjayati, he lays down the (third) tenet"; Y.48,7: didryža (both in Wb. under √ drang-), finally Aw. handraxta, MP. andraxt "made fast, confirmed, sealed," with OP. handungā. Like Gath. daršt, OP. daršam, "firme, fortiter," this dōrōšt belongs to the s-aor. darž- of √darz-, Ol. ḍṛṃhati "firmat."

The sentence expressly states that the tkēša has not confirmed the formula of the Zoroastrian creed "Ārmatiš be mine!" as the following verses specify. The next stanza contains the whole Zoroastrian credo. The construction, with spantām āramtim in the acc., as in Y.29,7 āzutoiš manṭram, shows that the short sentence is a quotation. Not having confirmed the tenet, the tkēša is no "renegade," and rārošo cannot mean "abgefallen von," but means certainly more than "sich abwenden von." The real meaning must come close to žitarta in Y.53,9, "diminishing the rtam," for in the next stanza 49,3—see under 'Ārmatiš—rtāt rarošo is followed by the other formula of the Zoroastrian creed: "rtam sūdyai, rāšayahe druχš, rtam augendum, delendam esse druχš”—like rāšayahe drugvantam, savayo rtāvanam in Y.51,9—and what the tkēša does is just the contrary. Therefore, rārošo must be attached to the root, put down in Wb. as √raš- "schädigen, damage, impair," of which only the just mentioned inf. rāšayahe and the noun rašah are safely attested.4 The close semantic relation to √riš- "suffer injury" explains the Pahl. transl. rēš-. √raš- is the antonym of √sū-, and if this, according to Bailey’s study, is a "miracle power producing prosperity," then raš-, is a "bad power producing injury," corresponding to Gath. √jyā-, whence žitarta (see under 'Hāugava'). Bartholomae refers for √raš-, against Kretschmer, to Ol. rakšas and Gr. ἐρένθω, whereas Hertel Beitr. connects it with ranyšayanḍya in Yt.10,27" the countries offending against Mithra." In Siegesf. 143, to RV. iv,4, he emphasizes that Veda and Awesta both call the powers hostile to the own gods rakšas etc.

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4 See the pres. rāšaya in Y.10,21 under 'Mithra,' in the gloss inserted into a magic charm for invulnerability, where Bartholomae remarks "one would expect short a": "though (the lance) hits the body, āṣkīt din not rēšayante, they do not wound him."

5 The places Yt.10,78 and Y.12,4 are unreliable.
This remark is rather compelling to connect the words belonging to \( \sqrt{\text{ra}} \) with ran\( \chi \text{sayant} \) and Ved. rak\( \text{s} \). ran\( \chi \text{sayant} \) has the form of a verb.denom.; cf. Henning’s attempt to elucidate \( \sqrt{\text{ra}}(n) \) — in zii, ix, 199.

m\( \text{naya} \): caus. of \( \sqrt{\text{man}} \), means, as in Old Persian, nothing but “to remain,” viz. to be left over, to survive the bandva, whose death is hoped for or foreseen. paf\( \text{r} \) “he is forfeited” and m\( \text{nayati} \) “he survives” are the logical opposites.

d\( \text{bitt} \): means “twofold”—as in OP. d\( \text{vit} \)\( \text{aparnam} \)—not “long since,” and is specified by the two lines with noit and n\( \text{ed} \). fra\( \text{sta} \) does not mean “sich beraten, take counsel, confer,” but is the juridical term “to ask, inquire=to sentence,” cf. under ‘Last Judgment.’

Nobody translates bandva. Bartholomae saw a proper name in it; Andreas, as Geldner before him, an appellative “zu Aind. bandhu, Verband, Genossenschaft, Kultgemeinschaft.” Lommel remarks: “Für das Verständnis kaum ein Gewinn. An die Sippengenossen, mit denen sich Zarathustra nach Y.46,1 zeitweilig in Zerwürfnis befand, kann nicht gedacht werden, ihnen hätte er nicht den Tod angewünscht.” For no other reason than the sentimentality of a fanciful image he misses the point on which the whole understanding depends.—Under ‘Kavi’ we have touched the subject: bandva must be a term of relationship, because Zoroaster raises the special accusation against the ahura, lord juricary, that he failed, though being his bandva, to protect him against the verdict of the hostile court, that means to have been disloyal to his duty as relative. \( \ddot{\text{o}} \text{so vida “find death for him!”} \) can be said only of a definite person. Geldner-Andreas’ identification with Ol. bandhu is incontestable, only the German translation is not exact. It is indeed a term of relationship, and corresponds to Gr. \( \pi\text{enbepos} \) as term for affinitas through women, a notion yet unknown to the original IE. language. The men in question are hv\( \text{etu} \) and k\( \text{avi} \), between which connubium existed. bandva is a brother-by-marriage of Zoroaster, either through his mother or a sister, hence approximately what modern languages express by step-brother or brother-in-law.

Nyberg speaks frequently of “Bandva and his tk\( \text{e} \)\( \text{\( \text{s} \)} \),” e.g. 243 “der
die Mysterienfeier zerstört, natürlich durch einen neuen Kult," or 191: "tkačša, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der Ordalpriester in der Mithra-
Gemeinde"; 65: "in hohem Masse wahrscheinlich, aber anfänglich war
 tkačša ein ganz spezieller Ausdruck, √tkačš- "struere, bauen" [in real-
ity: √čš-, kčš- 'to teach'] in der Ordaltechnik speziell 'ein Ordal anord-
nen' etc." However: "Die Bedeutung 'Richter' ist übrigens im Jüngeren
Avesta ausdrücklich bezeugt." Descartes: "All things merely probable
are probably wrong." Younger Avesta is an obsolete term for the non-
Gathic texts. "Judge" is the sole signification of tkčša everywhere: he
is the qāḏi al-quḏāt, the mōbaḏān mōbaḏ.

_Wb._: "tkčša, Lehrer des Glaubens, Rabbi, im Gath. spez. Irr., After-
lehrer," only on the strength of this passage, and against the right Pahl.
transl. "dātwar, judge." Further: "tkčša in Y.49,3 'Lehre,' bes. auf
religiösem Gebiet, im Gath. spez. von der Lehre des falschen Glaubens,
Irr., Afterlehre," again only on the strength of this passage against the
right Pahl. transl. dātastān. All follow, without an afterthought. To his
Gatha translation Bartholomae annotates: "tkačša gehört also wie daēva
u.a. zu den Schlag- und Kampfwörtern der zaratustrischen Zeit . . .,
später hat sich diese Bedeutung verwischt," an unfounded bias obstruc-
ting the understanding of the entire Avesta.

The words vičiro ahuro in Y.29,4 show that the ahura, the lord jus-
ticiary in whose name justice was administered, is also the one who
"decides," namely the king who śvācē; however, "vi-či-, distinguere,
śvācēvōvā" is the very activity of the judge, and the tkčša stands beside
the ahura as later the vizier beside the sultan.

With the words of Y.49,2 and 32,2 "Ārmatiš, obedience to the law,
be mine!" the neophyte confirms by oath his adherence in the Fra-
varānī, Y.12,1. The six crimes he forswears at that occasion—two against
live, two against immobile possessions, two against body and life of the
Mazdayasnians—are "Six" instead of our "Ten Commandments."* Therefore the candidate for confirmation is "ahura.tkčšo, one who
observes the commandments of Ahura," formed after an older rta.tkčša
"he who observes the commandments of rtam" in Yt.10,84. And purvya-
tkčša were the first that observed the commandments.

The _kitāb al-Aghānī_ tells 18,78: "al-Ḥadjdjādī b. Yūsuf had the

* The commandments are in fact those of the pre-Zoroastrian period, see under 'Mithra,' and the observants would be properly speaking "rta.tkčša."
choice between a good Christian and a bad Muslim teacher for his young sons, and chose the Muslim saying: It is a repulsive thought to give my sons to somebody who would not initiate them into the 'law' and the 'doctrine' of Islam." That is what matters. tkēśa is the shariʿa, the "Ten Commandments" of Zoroaster. The Pahl. transl. explains its dātastān by pēšēmārīh, and pasēmārīh, vičir u dātwarīh, all judicial terms.

Further on in Y.49.7-9, Zoroaster speaks of the frasastiš which he hopes to obtain through Žāmāspa and Frašauštra as his emissary and herald. The frasastiš is the revocation, by the court of appeal, of the dušrēriš, the miscarriage of justice, which the court, arθra, of his home town had passed.

Y.46,1 (text under 'Hospitium'):

"To which country, to hide myself, where, to hide myself, shall I go? They have cast me out from hvētu and aryaman; the vrzanahartar does not listen to me, nor the drug-ish commanders of the province!"

These verses describe the court of the province: it is located in the vrzana, the capital; Aram.Arab. madīna "seat of the court" is the Pahl. ideogr. for šahristān, provincial capital. Ragā was the capital of that part of Media. The court consists of nobles and clients, that is here magi, of the consul civitatis, and of the military commanders of the province. They do not listen to Zoroaster's defense. But the verses do not mention the judge who passed this sentence, nor the justiciary who confirmed it to make it valid. The two are revealed only in Y.49. The sentence was outcasting from hvētu and aryaman, hence loss of all civil rights, proscription. We shall soon discover what the indictment was. A lord justiciary, ahura, is a man risen from the military nobility, raθēštā, satraps and kings. Therefore this ahura is called one of the "kavištā" in Y.32,12-15 (see under 'Vēhviya'), he is kavi. His attribute mazištā, "the greatest" in Y.49,1, makes him an "ahura mazištā, successor to the throne." In Y.49, Zoroaster calls him "my bandva."

Zoroaster's style is never descriptive, always explanatory, argumentative: By listening to the wrong sentence, dušrēriš of the court, the ahura himself becomes guilty, pafrē. As bandva he injures, in doing so, the rtam, which demands that he protect his relative; thus he becomes himself a "sacrilegus," like a next-of-kin murderer, and therefore Rtam
must come as injured moral law, and Vahumano as Justitia to punish him. And even when vengeance would strike him, the mōbaḍ remains who is doubly sacrilegious, because, himself a judge, he neither observes the law himself, nor judges conscientiously. Thereby he impairs rtām, becomes rtāt rāriśo, i.e. žitarta, and has deserved death, for the commandment is: "rtām südyāi, Rtām must be increased!"

Therefore the "Gatha of the Flight," Y.46.4, says:

\[
\begin{align*}
yas.tam & x̱aθrāt & mazdā moīthāt jyātoš vā \\
ho tān frōgā & paθmān hučistoīš čarāt
\end{align*}
\]

"he who deprives him of his rule and life, prepares as leader the path of good-knowledge (čistiš = religion)."

For the style cf. Y.53.9: yo īś jyātoš hamiθyāt vaso.itoišča, and Beh. §13: hya avam ... x̱aθram ditam čaçriya. The drugvant to whom the words refer is the judge who passed the sentence. In the following stanza Zoroaster asks protection from "murderous deeds," because, as a proscript, he is threatened by murder.

Y.32 describes how at the same time his relatives and adherents are persecuted, st.11:

\[
\begin{align*}
tēñit mā mṛndān įyōtum & yoi drugvanto mazbiš čikoitrš \\
ahvišča ahuvasča & apayāti rēçnaho vēdam
\end{align*}
\]

Andreas: "Alle die zernichten das Leben, die bedacht sind, die Hausfrauen und Hausherren um den Besitz ihres Erbes zu bringen. . . ." Hertel, Beitr.253: "... die Fürsteninnen und Fürsten an der Auffindung des Erbes zu hindern."

įyōtu is not βίος "life," but βίορος "livelihood," which requires regular succession. vēda, to vīd-, vindātan, is the "falling-in," not the possessing or finding of the heritage. What is done is confiscation of the inherited estate of the lords and ladies. The maltreated and dispossessed ones are Zoroaster’s relatives. The similar expression arjiš narpīš in Y.53.9, refers to the "disinherited" nōtaryāho.—Proscriptions and confiscations were the method of Gōmāta; therefore Darius says in Beh. §14: "I restored to the nobility their vassals, and their clan and family possessions to the viθ, of which Gōmāta the magus had deprived them."
Y.32:

12: ēhṛyo mazdāa akm rōt
   yāīš grahmā rtāt varta

13: yā ʾḥsaṭrā grahmō hiṣast
   ahoš mṛxṭāro ahya
   ṭwhaya manṛrāno dūtam

14: ahya grahmō āhoidoi
   varčāhīca fradivā

 yiō gāuš mrndan rvāxš.uuxtī jyōtum
   karpā ʾḥṣaṭramčā išnām drujam
   ačīštahya dmarñe manaho
   yēca mazdā jīgrzat kāmē
   yo iš pāt darsāt rtahya
   ni kavyasācit ʾḥratūš dadat

"AhuraMazdāh curses those who destroy the peasant's livelihood with acclamations, (those) by whom the karpan, as grahma, and the ʾḥṣaṭram (hospitalable reception) of those bent on Druḫš, are preferred to Rtam, at (the occasion of) which ʾḥṣaṭram the grahma has a seat in the house of the wholly-evil spirit—the corrupters of this (human) life, there, they will groan, to the pleasure (kāmē) of the dūtam, Thy poet's, who keeps them back from beholding Rtam. For his capture the grahma and the kavis have spent thought and energy for a long time. . . ."

The following stanza 15, "because of these their actions the karpatāt, priesthood, and the kavitāt, 'kavi-ship' are cursed etc." see under 'Kavi.' For the meaning of ʾḥṣaṭram "hospitality" see under 'Hospitium'; for rvāxš.uuxtī see 'Welcome.'

The passage "kāmē . . . dūtam" is difficult. For dūta, see under 'Ārmatišt;' to kāmē cf. OP. yāda mām kāma "as was my pleasure," later "kāmist, it pleases me," construed with accusative: dūtam, but "ṭwhaya manṛrāno," in apposition, stands in the genitive. āhoidoi is noun, not inf., to √hī- "to put the horses to the chariot," by means of ropes, Germ. "siele," same root; Ved. "syāti, put the oxen to the plough"; Y.29,ii: "mā ēšmo . . . ā hiśaya dršča tavišča, Hēšm . . . holds me (the soul of the ox) in fetters," and Y.46,6: "drujo ho dāmān hēthahya gāt, he shall reach the prison of the Druḫš," not (Wb.) hēthahya, acc.pl.n. "zum Verband gehörig." āhoidi is "capture, imprisonment."

In st.11 the enemies persecute Zoroaster's relatives, in 14 they scheme ṫ To √hī- belong: "hītā, bīga"; avahāna <"ava.hayama (Tedesco); and perhaps Aw. "hētu, OI. setu, dam, dike, NP. band."
to capture himself, the manθran of AhuraMazdāh. In 14 they are called grahmo kavyasçit; in 13, a grahmo is the one who hišast; thereby the word is defined as designing an individual person, just as the words “ōṣo vida” define bandva. In 15, the abstr. nouns karpatāt and kavitāt resume the two subjects grahmo and kavyayo of 14. This connection of grahmo and karpan suggests the same in 12,c: grahmā must determine karpā.

The Pahl. transl. is, as always, a word by word rendering, without construction:

\[ \text{yālī grahmā rāt varta karpā xšaθramča ūnmā druθam} \]
\[ \text{avēšān grahmak až ahrākīh dōšakta} \kē karp ē̄nd u xvātādīh xvāhē̄nd pa drō̄šān} \]

By itself, one would probably interpret the Pahl. sentence as “by those who are karp, grahmak is more beloved than Rtam, and they want to rule by committing crimes,” but that would not be a normal Pahl. expression of the idea, and it contradicts the Aw. text which has: “by them the karpan is preferred to Rtam, as is the xšabram etc.” Therefore, only the vocable grahmak or grāmak is of value.

Withdrawing an older proposal, Bartholomae remarked in *Z.Air Wb.* 221: “grahma, with Ar. s (meaning: not to √van-)”; he took grahmā in 12,c as n.pl. “G. and his adherents.” Andreas-Wackernagel: “grahmā, in 12 neutr. man-Stamm, ‘Opferfrass’; grahmo in 13, 14 < Ar. *grasma ‘Opferfresser.’” Hertel, *Beitr.* 218, disproved this meaning. I should not assume two stems for a word which occurs only three times in such close connection in these stanzas: grahmo is nom.sg.masc. of an adj., and grahmā instr.sg. (of quality) “the karpā is preferred as grahmā.”

The origin of the word remains unknown, but it survives. *Māh i Frau.* §1: “Why do men prefer the day Fravartin of the month Harvatāt to all others?, pa mas u vēh u grāmiktar dārēnd.” In *Xusr. Rēt.* §§82 and 91, grāmikān is syn. of dōstān. grāmik, dōst dāštān is the same idiom as the Pahl.transl. of Aw. “grahmā—varta” by “grāmak—dōšaktar.” NP. girām, with derivatives,* means “carus, cherished, dear,” hence “grahma = persona grata, favorite,” a sense which fits Y.32 perfectly: the kavi and his favorite."

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*N. pr. girāmik.kirt, son of Zarēt, in Ayāt.K.Zar.* §79ff. is Girāmī of Firdaus (Dašqui). NP. girām, girāmī, girāmiñ, semantically influenced by Arab. kirmān.

*After this was written, Henning corrected, in *JRAS* 1944, 139.n.3, the reading gr7"g in
The plural "the kavis," again intentionally undefined, means the person of the bandva who is a kavi. He and his grahma scheme to throw Zoroaster into chains, as was done to Smerdis by Cambyses. St.15: "The priesthood, karpatāt, and the high nobility, kavitāt [grahma belongs to the first, bandva to the second] are sinners, ... those whom they do not allow to be masters of their lives, shall ascend to heaven!", see under 'Kavi.' Once more, intentionally undefined, the two abstracts stand pro concreto—an idiom Zoroaster often uses. Here, in 32,14-15, grahma is connected with the bandva just as in Y.49,1-2 the tkēša with the bandva. And the persons, too, are the same, for, as Y.46,1 contains the sentence, excommunication from hvētu and aryaman, so this passage that speaks of the peasantry, contains the indictment which led to Zoroaster's condemnation: he strives for a liberation of the peasantry and is banished as a revolutionary and offender against religion. One cannot help thinking of Socrates.

In Y.46,4, Zoroaster openly invites to a murder, either of the brother-in-law who confirmed, or of the judge who pronounced the sentence. In Y.49,1, he foresees, in the near future, that fate will overtake the brother-in-law, and that his favorite will follow him. The third phase is the gatha Y.53,8-9:

8: anāiš ā dužvaršnāho
dafśniyā hantu
zahiyyāča vispāho
xrōsantām upa
huḫšaḏrāiš jānām ...
rāmāmča āiš
dadātu šyātibyo vižbyo
īratu iš dvašo ho
držā mrtyāuš
mazišto mošuča astu
9: dužvaršnāiš včso rāsti
toi narpiš ārjiš
ā išsā žita.ṛto
prta.tanuvo
ku rtāvā ahuro
yo iš šyātoš
hamišyāt vaso.itoišča
tat mazdā tava ḥšaṭram
yā ržjyioi
dāhi drigove vahyō

Mir. Maṇ. m, a 13, to gr'mg, corresponding to Sogd. yrāme. The MMEd. text is: "like nomads who with their tents, horses and gr'mg move from place to place"; the Sogd. text: "(nothing can help you), neither treasure, yrṇy, nor yr'm-, neither hostel, šp'nčh, nor palace nor a strong tower, etc." This is clearly "cherished, treasured valuables." In the footnote Henning applies his translation "possessions" to Aw. grahma; 32,12 "the karpan preferred money, possessions to Right," 32,13 "they shall get that wealth in hell," and 32,14 "even the kavis had an eye on his money," (which would be Zoroaster's money), mainly because "there is no reason to deviate from the Pahl. translation." Though agreeing with several points of his deduction, I cannot accept the authority of the Pahl. translation, nor his translation of the passages; nor his assuming two neutr. stems grahma and grahmah.
To st.8: hu-χśaṭra, when connected with √χśi- or opposed to duś.χśaṭra or the notion of bad rule, means of course “who is a good ruler.” In the epithet of the Amrta Spanta, hu- may mean “co(rulership), fellow(-rulers).” The more so here, where there is no talk of ruling and quality of rule, hu- seems to me to be ‘hm-, as in huzantu, huyāxna, “he with (his) hu-χśaṭra, fellow-χśabriya.”

All mss. except K4 add to janrām (janarām?) the syn. χrūn-rām.ča “murder and bloodshed”; the text cannot be safely restored. vižbyo is dat.pl., OL. vižbyās; in Beh. §14 we find OP. vižbiš, OL. vižbhīs, the instr. which replaces the dative in OP.

dvafšah, in 44.14 dvafša, has neither etymology nor continuation; the Pahl. transl. did not understand the text: it uses frēft, hence thought of √dab- “deceive.”

dafšnya: cf. Y.10.15: “yā manyate dāvayati, hā yā daftā apanasyati, she who thinks (I am the one) who deceives (outwits), shall (be she who) perish(es) deceived.” This dafta is simple predicate; the Gath. form is an invitation or permission: “dafšniyā hantu, they shall be to-be-deceived-ones,” i.e. deceit is permissible against these deceivers. Herodotus, iii.65, makes the dying Cambyses say: “eîte δόλοφ έχουσι αὐτήν (τὴν ἡγεμονίν) κτησάμενοι δόλοφ ἀπαληπθήναι ύπο ύμεων, if they have obtained the dominion by deceit, you shall take it from them by deceit,” almost a translation of the Gothic words and entirely Persian in concept. Like the words about “Astyartes and the resurrection in the Prexaspes story, this must come from an excellent Persian source. īratu and astu refer both to the same subject, ho, and mazištō belongs to astu, “he (not: it) shall be,” cf. Hertel, rof 1.45 n.1.

To st.9: The parallelism of the two stanzas requires a close correspondence between dužvarśnaḥo dafšniyā hantu and dužvarśnāiś vēśo rāsti. The exact meaning of vēśo rāsti is here of no consequence: instead of √rāθ-, I prefer √rād- to connect rāsti with, “is prepared, destined for them”; vēśo, quite unknown, I assume, is a word for “death, annihilation.” Tedesco explained to me the difficulties of the sentence “toi narpiś arjiś ā išasā”: “narpiś and arjīś seem to be two acc.pl.; the verb
ought to be contained in ā ḡṣasā." This might be √iṣ-, ḍṣ- in the sense "to seek (a person's life)," cf. Y.10,45: yim iṣanti mithra.drujo, "to waylay," also Y.32,12: "ḥṣaṭrāmē ā ḡṣnam drujam." √narp- is syn. of √zya- "to diminish, impair." √arg- is "to be fair, have claim to," cf. Alt.Inscr. s.v. aržanam=Akk. simannu "convenience," arži perhaps "entitled (to inheritance), legitimate." Thus we arrive at the translation:

"Therefore, those whose acts are evil shall be allowed to be deceived. Deserted they shall all scream. With his fellow-χṣatḥriya he shall achieve murder and carnage among them and peace for the joyous clans. He shall bring down torture upon them and the fetters of death, and the greatest, at once, he will be!"

"To those who act with evil arbitrariness, death is destined(?). They who seek the life(?) of the deprived(?) legitimate ones(?), where is the ahura, faithful to Rtam, to deprive them of life and liberty? Mazdāh, Thine is the kingdom by which Thou wilt give to the right-living poor the Best!"

Nyberg calls these verses, 153, "an das Hochzeitsritual [Y.53,1-7, where in his opinion Puručistā pretends as goddess of fertility] angehängte derbe Flüchte über die Druganhänger." Lommel, noow, 1935, 14,137: "Damit spricht Zaratustra ... aus, dass er von guten Herrschern rücksichtsloses Durchgreifen erwartet." The two stanzas are attached in the Awesta to the "Wedding Gatha" for the only reason that both have the same rare and late meter, and because the meter dominates the arrangement. Nor are the verses an instruction for sergeants. They are a demand to kill the tkeša, mōbaḏ of the bandva. Though Nyberg portrays Zoroaster as a ḡhashšāsh, yet he was no grandmaster of the Assassins. His religion is, from the start, a political mission, but if he hopes for or recommends an assassination three times in his few songs, it is not each time different persons, but the same persons that shall be killed.

ahura, which refers to the mazišta, brother-in-law or step-brother of Zoroaster, in Y.49,1, has here, too, the meaning: somebody entitled to inflict imprisonment and even capital punishment, a power otherwise —e.g. in Y.10,109—owned only by the sāstar hāmaxṣatḥra, the military
commander-in-chief of the empire. At the same time it means “son of the king,” a title expressed in Yt.14,59 by ahura.putrāho, in parallel with putrāho bèvarpatayo, and Zoroaster promises here to the ahura who will kill the tkēśa and drugvant, the magus and impostor: mazišta mośuča astul, the ahura mazišta, successor to the throne, at once he will be!

He brings ṣyātī—the OP. syn. of rāman—to the dispossessed clans. To do that is in pre-Zoroastrian polytheism the work of a god; Mithra, before all, is the rāmaḥsayana, also Tiśtriya. Darius’ words in NiR a “hya imām ṣyātim adā” show the Zoroastrian concept of Ahura-Mazdāh as rāmaḥsayana. So does Vid.1 “azam daśām aso rāmaḥstātim noit kudāt.ṣātim” (see under ‘Vidēvdād’). Since remotest antiquity, this quality has belonged to the ideal ruler who brings an “era of bliss.” Cyrus says in his Ur inscription, as other Babylonian and Assyrian kings before him: “I made the people abide in peace” (see under ‘Mithra’). The ahura who with his companions, the huxšabrā, shall cause the ṣyāti of the viθ, is such an expected ideal ruler. “For Thine is the xšaθram, the kingly power, to give the kingdom, ārānām xšaθram, to him who now is poor, narpiš, driguš, but soon will own the kingdom!”

The words are spoken in the circle round Višṭāspa, and are addressed to the ahura, the sons of Višṭāspa and their young friends. Zoroaster expects that one of them will kill the tkēśa and grahma, mōbaθ and favorite of his brother-in-law whom fate had already overtaken.

According to the traditional date, Zoroaster was born in 569 B.C. The “Wedding-Gatha,” Y.53,1-7, is some years younger than the Memorial List, of about 527, in which Puručistā is still a child, not yet 16 years old. Yt.53,8-9, too, is younger; it belongs therefore in the last years of Cambyses or the nine months of Gōmāta. The reasons for not mentioning names are obvious.

The bandva is Cambyses, his mōbaθ and favorite is Gōmāta, the magus.

When Cambyses confirmed Zoroaster’s proscription, he was, according to Y.49,1, still successor, mazišta, and at the same time lord justiciary in the home country of Zoroaster, Ragā. In 539 B.C., the year of the conquest of Babylon, he was, quite young, “ṣar Bābili, king of Baby-
lom," but only during that year, and no western records tell where he went. The assumption closest at hand is that he learned how to rule in Media, the largest and most important province of the empire, at Agbatana, the town to which he returned before his suicide. Ctesias says that he obtained this and other provinces when Cyrus settled the succession. Tabari has preserved the documents of an analogous settlement of the caliph al-Mutawakkil: the first successor, al-Muntaṣir, not yet adult, received the west and the center of the empire, the second, al-Mu'tazz, a small boy, Khūrasan in the widest extent (so does Smerdis according to Ctesias). Thus, Ragā, as a Median zantu was under the jurisdiction of Cambyses as satrap of Media. Already at that time, he was entirely under the influence—χιχνυσο—of his magus and qādī, tkēša, Gōmāta, who apparently taught him to rule. For this there are many later examples. Mutawakkil appointed the tutors and viziers of the princes, for al-Mu'tazz e.g. Aḥmad b. Isrā'il. At the events that led to the murder of Mu'tazz, the commander of the Turkish guards, arrested this Aḥmad who played the sinister role of Gōmāta with Mu'tazz, and the young caliph said: "Give me Aḥmad back, he is my secretary and has educated me!" (Tabarī iii.1707). It is likewise customary to appoint such a man regent during a ghaiiba, an absence, just as Cambyses when leaving for Egypt made Gōmāta "coropastes" (Akk. qardupatu or NP. qahramān, Herodotus' μελέδωνς τῶν οἰκίων, major-domo), the dbītā drugvā, who deceived him too: "The deceivers shall be those to be deceived!"

The "Gatha of the Flight" was composed while Zoroaster lived in Vištāspa's hospitium, after the marriage to the Hāugavi, at the occasion of the journey of the two Hāugava to the court of appeal of the great-king, of Cyrus, while Cambyses was still heir apparent, hence a few years after 539, but before 529 B.C. The lord justiciary and the judge are not mentioned in these verses, but in st.4 it is said to be a meritorious deed to deprive the drugvant, evidently the judge, of his χαθραμ, office, and life.

In Y.32,5 the same drugvant is χσα yok, a word meaning any high position of power. The time is the reign of Cambyses, to whom the abstr. expression kavitāt alludes; Gōmāta, one of the karpatāt, of the magi, is his grahma, favorite.

In Y.49, the end of Cambyses is foreseen, the disappearance of Gō-
māta expected as its sequel, and the prophet hopes to obtain the frasastiš and therewith the revocation of his banishment. This brings the verses near to the end of Cambyses’ reign, to 523 B.C.

Y.53,8-9 is composed after the revenge of r tam and vahumano had struck Cambyses in his suicide—ōśo vida—as the oracle of Buto had announced, in the beginning of 522 B.C.

The §§11-14 of the Behistun inscription are Darius’ answer to this gatha, written only two years after. The “viṅbiś” to whom Darius restored their gētha and māniyā, of which Gōmāta, the žitarta, had deprived them, dīta krta, are the ahviścha ahuvasča of Y.32,11, whom the drugvant, Cambyses, had robbed of their rēxnaho, and the very “śyāṭibyo viṅbyo” of Y.53,8, śyāta, joyous, because they no longer needed to be “afraid he, Gōmāta, might kill many, daršam atarsa kāram vasai avājanyā, who had known Brōya-Brzyarštīś before, hyā parvam brōyam aḍānā.”

Zoroaster calls Cambyses his bandva, and bandva, like Gr. πένθερος, designates affinitas through women, mother or sister. Affinitas existed between the Spitāma and the older branch of the Achaemenid house since the marriage of the daughter of Astyages to Cyrus. According to Ctesias, Spitakes son of Spitāmas and this daughter, was a half-brother of Cambyses through their mother. bandva can express step-brothership, through the same mother, not through the father. But this relation is not true: Cambyses was not the son of Astyages’ daughter, but of Kas sandane. In reality, Spitakes and Cambyses both had in Atossa a half-sister, Spitakes through his mother, Cambyses through his father. Also this relationship through their sister would be expressed by bandva. Atossa, not born before 549 B.C., was not married before 533 to Cambyses, perhaps only in 529. The gatha 49 is later than 529. Bandva would equally cover the relation between Spitakes and Cambyses as husband of the sister.

Zarathuštra Spitāma uses for his relationship to Cambyses the term bandva which covers the relationship of Ctesias’ Spitakes, son of Spitāma, to Cambyses, in every aspect. While the traditional date for Zoroaster’s birth, 529 B.C. left enough space for his being either the Spitakes or the Spitamas of Ctesias, the word “bandva” decides that he is Spitakes, the grandson of Astyigas by his daughter, the mother of Atossa.
In *Bch.* §13, Darius says that with his six companions he killed the magus Gömãta and his principal adherents on the roth of bägayâdiš, i.e. September 29, 522 B.C. That is his answer to Y.53,9: ḫuxšâbrâiš jân-râm  yıırünrämčä dadâtu! The place was Gömãta’s castle at Sikayahvatiš in Nisaya, Media, mod. Sikawand in Nisâ, between Kirmânshâhân and Harsân.

The Greek tradition goes back to three popular reports. Herodotus and Ctesias ignore the true name of Gömãta; Ctesias calls him Spenda-dates. In Her. iii,16—the source would be Dionysius of Milet according to Markwart, vge. ii,145—the magus has become a pair of brothers; the name of the really active one is there πατιζείδῆς, the name of the other, who is put in the foreground as a natural double of Smerdis, was—by chance and with no advantage to the story—also Smerdis. A third tradition, in Trogus, according to Nöldeke Herodotus’ precursor Charês of Lampsacus, speaks also of a pair, but calls the one with his true name Cometes < Γωμῆτης, the other “oropastes, coropastus.” The endeavor of the popular tradition to make the imposture more conceivable by doubling the agents is evident.

The word πατιζείδῆς exists: Arm. pažazat “heir” < OMed. *paθyâ-zâti, deriv. of (hu)paθyâzâta in Ögmad., OP. *pašyâzâta “collateral heir.” Πατιζείδῆς hence was not the brother of the Pseudo-Smerdis, but the title of the true Smerdis, confirming Ctesias’ report on the settlement of Cyrus’ succession.—The office of the magus is explained, more than once, in Herodotus, by τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνος or ἐπιτροπος, i.e. majordomo. This is what Trogus’ coro-, oropastes must signify: a title, not a brother of the magus, probably to be linked with the OP. title rendered in Akk. by “qardupatu ša šarri,” an officer only responsible to the king, not to a satrap.

Ctesias (Phótiús) transfers the name spantadâta > Isfandiyâr from Darius to Gômâta in saying “The Persians celebrate the festival of

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1 In vii,56 (Dorikos) Herodotus uses the expression ἐπιτροπεύσατο to designate a vice-satrap, cf. βασιλεύς: βασιλεύων, βασιλεύσας, viz. Megapanos of Babylonia. To cor[d]opa < s > ta cf. Aw. krêwa “who takes care,” and NP. Arab. qahrümân “majordomo,” similar to ustâdâr, pêskâr.
magophonia, at which the magus Spendadates was killed," if this is not a fault of transmission for "was killed by Spendadates."

The day of the murder was the festival of Mithra in the middle of his month miθrakāna. It is necessary to emphasize that the murder happened at this festival, and that this was not constituted in commemoration of the murder. All Greeks describe it as the main popular festival. The king, else invisible like a god—naυτ ἀόρατος (Aristotle)—had to show himself to the people. Ctesias frgm. 55M.: "παρὰ δὲ Πέρσασ τῷ βασιλεῷ ἐβίφεται μεθύσκεσθαι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εὼ ἥ θόνοντο τῷ Μίθρῃ."

"The day on which they sacrifice to Mithra" is a correct translation of "bāgayādiś," Mithra being the baga par excellence. According to Duris of Samos (in Athenaeus) the king not only got drunk on this day, but danced in public, which was considered good exercise: τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ταύτης κίνησιν ἐμμελή τινα λαμβάνει γυμνασίων τοῦ σώματος ρόμψ. If Herodotus remarks that no magus was allowed to show himself, φανήναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, on this day, all were to stay at home, this may be true without any relation to the "murder of the magus": I believe it is the 11th day after Nōrūz where, on the contrary, it would bring ill-luck to stay at home, and the Māt. Sirōz calendar knows similar superstitions. Even Gōmāta could not break the old custom, but had to observe the pre-Zoroastrian festival and to show himself in public. Therefore, the seven conspirators chose that very day for killing him.

Markwart had recognized, as early as in his Assyriaka, 1892, p.653, and later in ugarit, 132 and 135, that Herodotus’ expression “magophonia” is an interpretation of OP. bāgayādiś, with mago- for bāga-, as often mega- for baga-. That Ctesias makes use of Herodotus’ term indicates that the passage was part of his polemics against Herodotus, and his words “the day on which they sacrifice to Mithra” prove that he knew the true meaning.² Dinon tells, Artaxerxes Ochos, being told

² In TextNode 1944, Henning attacks that meaning of bāgayādiś, (1) "only case of vrddhi in OP. month-names, not counting ṣāigrcil (of uncertain etymology)"; El. writes "so" for "θά," indicating the pronunciation "ōi"; vrddhi of ṣhir-, Aw. sir-, NP. sīr "garlic," Vči. "legere, gather" exactly Germ. "Knoblach-lese." El. transcription torwar demands also ḍhavāra hence ṣūra with vrddhi, and vāhāra in front for -vāra < vahāra. Also mārkanāšil, not "mrkā-; ōukanāšil, all vrddhi. (2) A "form of ʃ yaz-, corresponding to yādī, unknown, is OP. ʃyadana, Aw. ʃyazana in Gr. ἱσονος; cf. Ol. ʃu-, pra-yādā. (3) "Pre-Iran. ʃtr-yāziya would appear in OP. as "štr(a)ryādiya." Since OP. has gādū, xraṭū, ʃṛṣṭu for Med. -tu, it had also ṣ̄t for tr; hence ʃṭiyādiya is regular OP., with vrddhi, and -yādi-. (4) The opposition of "western and
that the Egyptians called him "ònos, ass," said: This ass shall eat your ox!, and θεος των Απων, slaughtered the Apis. Thus, φῶνος enters for √γιάη, θεου, by a popular etymology. For the Greeks, βαγαγάδις meant "slaughtering of the magi," but in the mouth of a Persian such a name for their highest festival would have been bitter sarcasm. Herodotus was too wise to say that the festival commemorated the murder of the magus, but only "the Persians call it magophonia," namely OP. βαγαγάδις, while the other Iranians say miθρακάνα. And even when he adds "after the murder, the mob assailed also the other magi"—Darius only: Gómata and his main adherents; and the notion that these were all magi is of course wrong—"if night had not fallen, they would have killed them all," the slaughter would still be limited—failing megaphone, telegraph and radio—to the small place of Sikayahvatîš.

There is no sense in doubting—Nyberg 376 (and 579)—Markwart's interpretation, and in trusting Herodotus—"si Herodoto fidem beamus, hätten die Perser noch zur Zeit Herodots zur Erinnerung (an das Blutbad) das Fest der Magophonie gefeiert," because Herodotus does not say so. ⁸

After Cyrus' death, Cambyses had incarcerated and secretly executed the paθyazāta Smerdis, and during his absence in Egypt he had conferred the lieutenantcy to his favorite Gómata, as cor[d]opates. This impostor succeeded in impersonating Smerdis, and in winning over so

eastern" use of baga for Mithra is a worn out pseudo-argument: Mithra was universal, and what we know is only a Median and Persian Mithra. If in a calendar, introduced by order of the Archæmenian government [the name younger or older Awestan is indifferent], not miθrakānā, but bagakānā > Sogd. bûyakân [and in analogy the day name buya, not miθra; > Xûr, bûry] appears, then, not the Median [Strabo's mîθrâkânu] but the OP. form of the name was introduced, and the OP. name of the month was "bagakānâ, with the festival of bâgâyâdîl.

⁸ The Man. Sogd. word "mwyẓ, killing of the Magians, not: feast devoted to remembrance of that act, ascribed to Alexander," a story the Manichaean took over from Sasanian priests, can never prove, as Henning &c. wishes to maintain, that the magi transferred Darius' act to Alexander. His words, 133: "(the Persians) instituted an annual feast to remind the Magians of their humiliation: it was called τα μαγοφωνία, Her. iii.79" are his, not Herodotus'. And Gilmore's remark to Ctesias §45: "agreement of Herodotus and Ctesias" is unwarranted, for we do not have Ctesias' full text, but two fragments which may well be polemic: the one mentions the name magophonía, the other says "ἐν θεον τῶν τῶς Μιθράην." This is a correct translation of OP. βαγαγάδις, not of Med. Mîθrâkânu. "Compromises" are always had, and so the one Henning chooses: that the two festivals, bâgâyâda-Mîhrgân = autumnal equinox, and magophonía = the 10th day of bâgâyâdî, coincided at the year of Gómata's death. The slip shows how impossible it is to avoid the right conclusion: the month was called miθrakânu and ṛagakânâ, because it was the month of the bâgâyâdîl festival,
great a following that Cambyses, in despair, committed suicide; and that the impostor became, for nine months, actual ruler of the newly founded empire. The reaction was a conspiracy of the few who knew, and a group of seven young men of the high nobility destroyed the impostor, cleverly choosing the festival for their plan: dužvaršnáho daššiñät hantul! Besides this cause célèbre of the world’s history all those of criminal history fade away, and if ever it is justified to speak of a unique case, it is here. “Dass es sich im Falle des Gaumätä um einen wirklichen allgemeinen Aufruhr von ihrer (the magi’s) Seite handelt” (Nyberg, 356) is not “über allen Zweifel erhaben,” but a misconstruction.

A general revolt of the magi would mean a general strike of the civil service, the activity of which can never have been interrupted. “Den Charakter dieses Aufstandes hat man meines Erachtens völlig missverstanden, als man darin einen Religionskampf sehen wollte: es ist die medische Herrschaft, die noch einmal ihr Haupt erhebt.” Whoever is meant by “man” but similar opinions have repeatedly been uttered since Vivien de Saint Martin and Heeren; indeed, Herodotus makes the dying Cambyses say: μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίν τοὺς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πέρικλησισ. But Gōmāṭa just does not appear as what he was, a magus—that he was a Median is not at all proved—but as heir presumptive of the Persian Cyrus, he owes his success to the uprising of the Persians in Persis against Cambyses, marries, for legitimization’s sake, Atossa, the heiress, without showing himself to her, and—since he kept himself invisible at Sikayahvatiš—would have known how to hide successfully his true aims to the very last. The second Pseudo-Smerdis, likewise, relied upon the Persians’ hatred of Cambyses. Fravartiš, the Median pretender, actually tried “to bring the hegemony back to the Medes.” The revolts in the East Iranian provinces were directed against the strict centralization of the Achaemenid empire, and were politically reactionary. The rebellions in Babylon were attempts to recuperate the lost independence. Nowhere does the hand of the magi show itself.

A “general revolt of the magi” would have been aimed at Cambyses, and would have been victorious with Gōmāṭa’s accession; it would have been no concern of Darius, not an “Aufstand den er unterdrücken

* Herzfeld, “Tod d. Cambyses: hvāmriyul amryata” in BULL. 808 VIII, 1936, 589-97; add there, on p. 594f. the example v. Rawl. 9, 33: “liššuša mišitu, his desire was suicide.”
musste." With Gōmāta's triumph, the elder line of the Achaemenids had come to a premature end, and the claim to succession passed to Ršāma and his son Vištāspa, at that time in Parthava. Gōmāta must have reckoned with being murdered and must have seen danger from the circle round Vištāspa. But that it was precisely Darius who became the agent was an historical accident. Not the alleged "revolt of the magi" was the goal of the conspiracy, but the legitimate succession. This fight would be, on p.295, "religiös gesehen ein Kampf zwischen achaemenidischem Hofkult und Staatsreligion gegen den Medischen Kult der Magier," while, on p.375, it would be "a complete misunderstanding, darin einen Religionskampf zu sehen." "Welche religiösen Motive immer die Magier in diesem Streit erfüllten, jedenfalls gingen sie nicht um Zarathustras willen in ihn ... ich leugne ganz bestimmt ... dass der Zoroastrismus ... daran Anteil hatte. ... Der Zoroastrismus hat bei den Magiern keine Kreuzzugsstimmung ausgelöst. ... Die Magier wurden die Priester der Achaemeniden. ... Kambyses' Zug nach Aegypten gab ... Wind in die Segel, und 'so' kam es zu dem Aufstand. ... Als der Kampf abgeblasen war ..., als der Sturm sich gelegt hatte, gewannen die Magier 'natürlich' ihre Stellung ... zurück." The whole fight—for this fight is a fight against windmills—the whole noise is for a false St. Bartholomew, the wrong interpretation of magophonia = bāgayādiš as "murder of the magi" instead of "sacrifice to Mithra." Darius killed the magus, but never fought the magi.

Occasionally an entirely opposite opinion has been advanced, namely identification of Gōmāta himself with Zoroaster. To this view Meillet was inclined when he said (Trois Conf.55) of Gōmāta: "un véritable sectateur de Zoroastre, ce que n'était pas Darius lui-même." Markwart, at various places, and Messina, Ursprung der Magier 90, speak similarly. One could support such a view by Herodotus iii,67, where he attributes to Gōmāta a number of measures, intended to attract the lower classes to himself against the ruling ones. As Herodotus describes it, it would be a radical disorganization of the old social order. The restoration which Darius describes in Beh. §14 puts Herodotus' story in the right light. The situation reminds one of the restoration under Xusrau I after the communist episode of Mazdak. But one cannot avoid thinking that Herodotus might give, partly, a distorted picture of reforms actually due to Zoroaster.
On Darius’ fight against the magi, Nyberg builds up, 362, his theory of Darius’ religion. As captatio benevolentiae he concedes that Zoroaster’s name need not to appear in royal inscriptions of a country uniformly Zoroastrian of old. This not being the case, Darius had every reason to make his Zoroastrism known to the world, the more so, “da er, wenn wir Hertel, Herzfeld u.a. glauben dürfen—fistem habemus—einen Kampf auf Leben und Tod mit Gōmāta für den Bestand der zoroastrischen Religion gewagt hatte.” He calls it more than remarkable that Darius has no room for the Amāša Spānta and no word for the daēnā māzdāyasnīš. A definite indication of the daēnā would under no condition be permitted to be missing. Climax: all this would be an entirely inexplicable and unthinkable (!) attitude for a neophyte.

Zoroaster deserves reproach for having no room for the Amṛta Spanta and the dēnā as much as Darius; only, the “Immortal-Holy ones” were brought into a system after his time, and the notion and term dēnā māzdāyasnīš is not older than Artaxerxes II. On the other hand, it is unjust to reprove Darius for his silence, and yet not to commend Xerxes for saying some words on aša [he writes rtam] or Artaxerxes for combining in his name two of the Amṛta Spanta. I cannot speak for Hertel, but it is certainly not my way “to risk a fight to death for the existence” of a thing that did not exist before.—A country parson may demand of his candidate for confirmation to say a word about the religion, but who are we to dictate, 2,500 years after, to the ruler of the then known world, who himself legitimatized one of the many religions of his empire, to legitimize himself by certificate of baptism and confirmation, or to tell the people something about Amṛta Spanta unknown to them. He demands, like many much smaller people today, that one knows who he is. “I am the worshipper and agent of Ōramazdā, and Ōramazdā is the greatest of gods” is all he needs to tell the 127 nations of his kingdom.
XIII. HOUSE VEHVIYA

"Thereafter, we need no other proof!"

Y.51,12, gāthā vahuṣhaṭrā:
noit tā im cśṇauḥ vyṛyv
zarathuṣtram spitāmam
yat hoi im čaratascā
kavyano prta.zimo
yat ‘ā ‘him rurost asto
odršcā zośnu vāzā

"Not listened to him, then, the Vēṣiyo, the kāvian, in (month) prta-
zimo, to him, Zoroaster, the Spitāma, when he denied him hospitality,
him and his attendants and the two-horse team that shivered with
cold!" It goes on: That is a sin for which the soul of the sinner shall
scream when the guilt will be proved at the Činvat bridge!

Because of the fundamental importance of this stanza for the life of
Zoroaster, I had briefly indicated my interpretation of vyṛyv as n.pr.
vēšīk, in amli.viii, Nov.1936; with some commentary in Old Iranian
Peership, bsos.viii,1937, p.938, and in Altp.Inschr. 1938, p.199,2. Ny-
berg's book is the result of lectures given in the spring of 1935, and
appeared October 1937 in Swedish, and April 1938 in Schaeder's Ger-
man translation. On p.403 he writes: "Die uns den vornehmen Adligen
Zarathustra malen, wie er sich auf den Höhen der achaemenidischen
Gesellschaft bewegt, ... unter den Spitzen des Reichs, gehen weiter als
es sich die Zoroastrier des Westens je haben träumen lassen." Note: "So
z.B. Herzfeld, amli.viii, 76f. Das Bild ist durch eine Emendation der
Gatha-stelle 51,12 gewonnen, die auch den abgehärtetsten sprachlos
machen kann."

He operates several times with West and East Iranian dreams, and
of hashish smokers to boot; I find it difficult enough to see the truth of
what people say when awake. The remark about my painting is more
than a year older than my alleged emendation, and refers in fact to
amli.i (1930)—where Zoroaster moves on the heights of society; the
footnote has been added belatedly with a wrong reference. So he proves
the "callousness"; as to the "speechlessness" Herakleitos said: βλαζ
ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ παντὶ λόγῳ ἐπιτηθεὶς φιλεῖ. A new translation which
Nyberg refrains from giving would have been more effective than a
mere rejection, the passion of which is easy to understand: if this vyṛyv
is a Vēšī of Iranian history, his whole structure, already considerably
shaken, tumbles down, "fällt unrettbar dahin." I, too, reject something,
namely all translations so far made, the authority of which I am expected to respect, and I would reject them even if they were grammatically correct. It is time to speak bluntly and unadornedly.

Bartholomae: "Nicht hat ihn zufrieden gestellt der Buhlknabe des kavay-an der Pforte des Winters, den Zarathustra Spitāma, indem er es ihm verwehrte, bei ihm Unterkunft zu nehmen, und als sie zu ihm kamen, auch dessen vor Kälte zitternden Zugtieren." Note: "Eine sehr bemerkenswerte Strophe. Das Ereignis das sie verwiget ist: Zarathustra, mit seinem Gefährt vom Sturm überrascht, sucht auf dem Herrenhaus an der 'Pforte des Winters' (s. Anm.12) um Unterkunft nach; aber dessen zu Bandva (s. Anm.11) haltender Besitzer—verächltlich wird er darum als sein 'Buhlknabe' bezeichnet—weist ihn zurück." Anm.11: "Bandva?"—Anm.12: "Ortsname."

Bartholomae takes čaratašča as dual pres. for praeter. (subj.: vážā "two-horse team"), audrā as gen.abl. "with cold," zoišnū as nom.acc. His explanation sounds of a miscarried carriage drive, and according to his translation, Zoroaster arrives before his horses. These, therefore, must have known their way, and we have the situation of Mas'ūdi's tale, in murūdī vii.32of., where a noble Quraishite, banished to 'Arafašt, denies having continued his orgies there, and the people of Mecca say to their Wali: "There is a decisive proof between us and him. Call for the donkeys of the jobbers and let them run to 'Arafašt; if they do not go straight for his house, as the libertines have accustomed them to do, you may accept his word! The Wali said: Therein is a proof indeed! and called for the donkeys. They were brought, set loose, and ran straightway to the plaintiff's house. The Wali was informed and exclaimed: Thereafter we need no other proof!"

The bandva, in Y.49, has jurisdiction over Zoroaster's home-town. In Y.51, also in 46, the prophet is in flight, and comes further on to Vištāspā's place. No word indicates any relation between the "owner of the manor-house" and the bandva. He is abused only because he refused hospitality to the fugitive. Matth.25.43: ξένος ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ συνηγάγετέ με. Whereas it ought to be the other way, Bartholomae drags him in

3 Mas'ūdi believes the offender to be unknown, but a comparison with the short novels, worthy of Boccaccio, in the Aghāni iv.64f. (of the Quraishite) and 76, shows that it was the singer Dallāl al-mukhmannāth.
as a support for his translation of *vyvvy* by "Buhlknabe." Thus the situation arises which Lommel and Nyberg develop: Zoroaster would have asked the Buhlknaben of his deadly enemy for night-shelter, and complained, "auf dem Höhepunkt seines Wirkens," "in feierlicherem und schwerer gewordenem Rhythmus," not to have been "zufrieden gestellt," satisfied by him.

Lommel: "Der Fürstenknecht Vaēpyō (=der entartete Lüstling) der weites Land besitzt, erwies Zarathustra dadurch keinen Gefallen, dass er ihm verwehrte zu ihm zu kommen, als seine beiden Zugtiere zu ihm eilten und auch vor Kälte zitterten." Note: "vaēpyō: v(o)ipoyo, viell. Personennname (Andreas); doch ist Bartholomae Anknüpfung an √vip- 'widernatürliche Unzucht treiben' wohl möglich: Zarathustra hat in verdammendem Zorn harte Worte gebraucht."

If Zoroaster was displeased by the refusal of the voipoyo to receive him, the opposite would have pleased him and he would better have curbed his indignation. "Satisfy" is utterly wrong; √χšnū- means "to listen to," here to the entreaty of being received in hospitium.

*kvynv*—cf. the spelling yavino—is kāvyano, normal patron. adj., the "kāvian." "Fürstenknecht" is an anachronistic blame: Darius calls his greatest grandees "manā bandakā"; the highest Arab and Kurdish grandees call themselves and their sons, in face of the caliphs and sultans, always "thy slaves." In NP. the word for "I" is "bandah, the slave." That is but an honor. One of my first slips in the East, near Mossul, was in asking a negro: Are you the servant of such and such? His offended answer was: No, his slave!

Andreas read ūdurš, judging from his translation "sie zitterten"; this plur. of a perfect would then be connected by -ča -ča with the dual of the present čaratas; zošnū seems to be translated by "vor Kälte," hence instr.sg., which cannot be reconciled with the other occurrences of the word. The difficulty existing in Bartholomae's translation is not solved.

The apodosis with yat—yat means: "when he (V.) refused hospitality to him (Z.), when (he refused it) to the accompanying-ones of his (or: to him and his) and to the shivering-with-cold two-horse team." I owe the explanation of the hidden difficulties again to Tedesco: Bartholomae, *Wb*.565 and 575,
emphasized the “auffällige Stellung des -ča -ča: man verlangte zaraθuśtram ... vāzāča yat ċarato,” an observation which in fact invalidates all previous translations. ašto is not inf., but acc. of a noun, with Benveniste. ahmi is loc., and one expects with rurōst ašto the acc. of the person, which one obtains by the slight emendation (Tedesco’s) “a’ him, suggested by the following “hoi im”: “when he refused him shelter.” This acc. stands in parallel with the acc. dual vāzā, determined by odrš zoišnū, placed in front and connected by -ča -ča with čaratas. This, therefore, is not a verb, but an acc.pl., namely of the part. čarant, which has the obj. “im.” In Altp.Inschr. 51f., I had explained OP. abičariš in Beh.§14 as acc.pl. “the attendants,” to Ol. abhicara, Gr. amphípolos. “im čarato,” here, has the same meaning, Germ. “die ihn Begleitenden,” his servants. The last verse has no verb of its own, and the repetition of yat indicates that yat rurōst is valid for the whole. The simplest translation of this yat would be “and likewise.” Whether or not the gen. hoi “whose,” is correct, is a question here negligible, because it would involve no change.

Instead of the owner of the manor-house “Winter’s Gate,” Lommel’s translation has a great land-owner whose fortune “olet.” But why, then, did the horses that have been running and ought to be all of a sweat, shiver “also” with cold, and who else shivered? In the whole of Iran and Turkestan, for at least half the year, it is so hot that the horses ought to be in sweat without running. Here, too, Zoroaster does not describe, but argues: the “Winter’s Gate” is the reason why they shiver, hence no placename, but a season. The season is December-January.

It stands correctly in the genitive, like OP. čšapa “by night,” θarda “in the year,” māhya < māhahya “in the month.” Wb. takes prto as loc.sg., instead of prtāu, written prtā in Y.51,13, of “prtā, passage, ford, bridge,” only here “entrance, porta,” to īvḥar-, prtō zamō must be a compound, hence ‘prtāzimo. The first element equals Aw. poša, i.e. prta, which enters in the compounds “prtāčanga, with claws out-spread,” Yz.15,113 describing the dragon humayaka; and “prtāparna, with wings stretched out,” Yz.14,35, describing the vāragan bird, both
proved genuine by their sculptures (see under 'Sculpture'). Wb. compares it with Ol. sphuṭa, “unfolded (leaves).” Thus the name resembles “porta hiemis” but means “where the winter unfolds itself,” a name of the same type as Aw. “zīmāhe zarā̄m, the winter’s heart” in Vid.1.3, and OP. “ṭauravahāra, where spring becomes ṭūra, powerful over the winter” or “garma.pada, heel, track of warmth.”

Nyberg 244 and 154: “Der Auftakt zu Y.51 schildert den Höhepunkt von Zarathustras Wirken im Friyāna-Stamm . . . , der Rhythmus ist schwerer und feierlicher . . . , der Auftakt gibt eine Ordalszenerie . . . , es sieht so aus, als habe Zarathustra jetzt endlich die grosse Krise (yāh) erreicht, von der er so oft gesprochen hatte. In str.1-10 werden denn auch die eschatologischen Saiten kräftig angeschlagen.” Since “strings are touched,” “Auftakt” cannot mean “arsis” but only “overture”: the curtain rises over an “ordeal scenery,” the refusal of the ṛṛṛṛv, which at the same time is the “acme of Zoroaster’s work in the Friyāna tribe.” “Heavier rhythm”: the meter has two pada less than the gāthā ahunavatī, Zoroaster never “speaks of” the crisis “yāh,” he shouts “yā-āhīl hurrah!” but only in the last act. No word hints at eschatology: the gatha is a thanksgiving to Viṣṭāspa. And yet “Auftakt to Y.51” is no printer’s error, for it goes on: “Der Prophet fragt: Wer ist Mysteriengenosse, wer hat die Ekstase im maga erlebt? Antwort: Nicht der unzüchtige kavi-Bube . . . solche fahren in die Hölle . . . seligeres Los ist den maga-Männern beschert: Das grosse Ereignis ist dies, dass Viṣṭāspa jetzt die Ekstase erlebt hat und dadurch ein vollmündiges Mitglied des maga geworden ist.”

“maga” is the feast after the racing, the “hochgezite”; “magavan, the guest at the feast,” see under ‘Maga.’ Fellow of mysteries: “ṛvaṭa, friend” means here, like amicus in Roman law, “hospes,” who gives hospitium. Everything is more blissful, “seliger” than hell. There is no trace of ecstasy. Bandva is no name, but an appellative, p.119: “Er heisst mazıśta . . . vielleicht war er ein kavi, und vielleicht war es sein unzüchtiger Bube (der ‘kavische’), der eines Abends an der ‘Pforte des Winters’ dem Spitāma Zarathustra das Quartier verweigerte, obwohl seine beiden Pferde vor Kälte zitterten.”

* One may be “volljährig” or “mündig,” but “vollmündig” would rather mean “with a full mouth.”
This gives the tale the finishing touch: “one evening” is not in the text, but is the thought simply crowding into one’s mind when reading these translations: did Zoroaster, one evening, come with his team to the “unchaste knave” to pray with him—according to the famous words of the presumptions to the Corpus Juris, or, with Hertel “um den schlecht-leuchtenden durch das Licht-des-Heils zu erfreuen”? This again reminds one of an Arab veni-vidi-vici anecdote in the *kit. al-Aghānī* 17,189: “A courtier of al-Ma’mūn, during the Byzantine campaign, in a pitch black storm night, met with the greatest singer of her time, the beautiful Barmacid ‘Arib, on horseback, and asked her: Where do you come from in such a night?—From Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid (an officer, her lover).—But what have you been doing there? And she answers: ‘Arib comes from Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, in such a night, run away from the caliph’s camp, and now riding back, and, that being the situation, you ask her: what have you been doing there?, perchance praying twenty raq’a, reading a chapter of the Qur’ān, or giving a lesson in jurisprudence? Blockhead! Cavillati, confabulati, reconciliati sumus, lusimus, bibimus, cantavimus, coivimus, abivimus!—The hearer was put to blush.”

Nyberg 297: “Die Anrufung der favartsi des Hvōgva hilft u.a. gegen öifra ‘schlechte Seher.’ ” Note: “So geschrieben für vifra ‘kundig,’ seiner- seits gleich Ved. vipra ‘inspirierter Sänger’; Bartholomaes schreckliche Erklärung *Wb.*357 ist mir unfassbar.” This is: “pathicus, statt vifra, zu √vaęp-, vgl. vaępya.” Nyberg does not seem to have come across Djuwaini’s description of the shamans, tār. *Djiḥāngūshā* 1,43s, or that in Bar Hebraeus,⁴ else he would be aware that, in describing Zoroaster as a shaman, he makes the prophet himself an effeminate pathicus, or as ethnologists call them, “hermaphrodite.” Whether the invocation of a Hāugava against inspired singers—like Zoroaster—is effective—as the silly interpolation in the name list Yt.13,104 says—or not, is indifferent, but not this preposterous interpretation. The *vppvv* plays a remarkable role in Zoroaster’s life, and therefore, the “schreckliche” translation of this proper name was to me “unfassbar.” The great family of the Vēfikān can be traced through over 1,200 years of Iranian his-

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⁵ Markwart, *Südarmenien* 141f., in the history of the Armenian king Pap.
tory. For a while, they occupied the throne. The Behistún inscription states that they were Persians.

MP. vēfīkān is the adj. vēfi, written vyrp with the adj. ending -k. The variants of vaēpyo in Y.51,12 give vyrp, read vēfiya, as spelling of the Arsacid archetype. The equation vyrp = vyrp requires no proof, but proves that Aw. vēpyo and MP. vēfik are the same name. There is no “emendation.” The question is only its etymology.

In the Gr.Bdh. 128,7 we find the gentilicium vyrk’n, vēfakān; the ending -akān beside -ikān, as in Paikuli s’s’nk’n, sāsānakān, but Ka’ba s’s’nykn, sāsānikān. The simplex is vēf, the adj. vēfik. According to Gr.Bdh. 128 (and similarly Šahr.Ēr. § Kōmīš) Kōmīš-Dāmghān was one of the residences of the family (see below); else, they are the princes of Hyrcania-Gurgān which adjoins to the north. The best known members of the house are Gotarzes I, represented in 111 b.c. on the rock sculpture of Mithradates II at Bistūn, bearing the title “satrap of satraps” and coining as “aršaka gutarza, king of Babylon” from 90 to 86 B.C. And Gotarzes Geōpōtheta, who perpetuated his victory over the Arsacid Meherdates in a.d. 50 at the side of the sculpture of his predecessor, and calls himself “adopted son of Artaban” on rare coins.⁶ There are reasons to believe that Gotarzes I was the adopted son of Mithradates the Great. In analogy of Peumithra, rewmīhr, Geōpotheta represents ġēwpuru, and the contemporary form Meherdates < mithradāta proves that -θr- was preserved in the family name only, whereas it had changed to -hr- in common language. The later form appears in the Ka’ba inscription of Shāhpuru I, ab. a.d. 265,⁶ Pahl. l.27: ‘r̥txštr vyrpīdkn Pārs. l.33: ‘r̥txštr zv vypīkn, Ārtašarōv Gwīfīrīgān all rendering Sasanian pronunciations, partly in historical spelling (v for g or b) of ġēpuhrīgān. An analogous formation with -puhrā is dāmāspurīkān, d’mṣpχrīkn in the Pārs. text l.31, of

⁶ Cf. Tor von Ašīn pl. 21-22, and p.45; AMI IV, 58f.
⁶ Sah. reading from a photo reproduced in autotype only, Pārs. from a too small photograph, both insufficient for exactly establishing the spelling; Greek after an unchecked Latin transliteration. One expects Pahl. vypīkn, Pārs. vypīkn; Gr. OYIΦΕΠΙΓΑΝ, perhaps GHIΦ.⁷ Cf. Pahl. l.24: vysprkān, Pārs. 29 ult. vspykān, Gr. ΓΟΥΑΣΠΕΡΙΓΑΝ, i.e. vēs- or vēspurīgān, and (joining) vypīlūdīn — vyrpīzvī — plīdk’n — OYIΦΕΠΙΓΑΝ.
—ΦΕΡΙΓΑΝ renders Ir. -puhrīgān.
the same inscription, as against Aw. Jáṃśpāna and OP. *dā-
māspī, in Damaspia.

In the Gr.Bdh. 197, the name Vēv ê Gōtarzān is spelled vvv, written with two diacritical points above the first v, indicating the frequent pronunciation gēv; the Ind.Bdh. has at the corresponding place giw in Aw. script. This vēv, gēv—later also bēv, bē—son of Gōtarz, is no historical figure, but merely the family name gēwpuhr personified, similar to Tōs ê Nōdarān and Nōdar.

In the Syr. Acts of St. Thomas, the Iranian heir to the throne is called wēžan (his wife manēžak), in the Greek version Ovαζάννς, var.l. Ιουζάννς i.e. Ιουζάννς, the same figure as Firdausi’s Bēžan, husband of Manēža, with “intestinal, géos” instead of “puṭra, son.” In Tabari and Hamza the same name appears with imāle as Ar. wāja < vēžan. This vēžan, too, is no real person, but the family name or the title of the heir apparent vāspuhr ḍ vēžan; it is OMed. *vvv.zn. Its OP. equivalent vvvdn stands for OP. vivāna in the Aram. text of the Behistun inscription, Pap.El. Sachau pl.54,8. From this OP. form the others are distinguished by vṛddhi of guna: vēva.ṇana etc. In OP. vivāna (Akk. "wi.wa.na, El. wi.wa.na) the ā is the product of a contraction. The Aw. correspondent is vīvanḥana, patronym of Yama in Y.13,130 and Vid.2, deriv. of vivahvant; in Y.9,5 vivahvato pūtra “son of Vivahvant,” Ved. vivasvant in RV. 10,14,5, cf. 8,5,1. The etymology of Gath. vṛpyv, vēḥiya, hence, is not “vaēpiyo, pathicus,” but the name of the god.

The MP. forms vēv and vēf both descend from *vēhiya, -iya adj. with vṛddhi of *vivahva-, a plain dialectic difference: the much discussed change hv > f (see under ‘Hvarnah’) belongs to the home land of the family, Kōmiš-Gurgān, western Parthava. But the appearance of vṛpyv in Y.51,12, does not fix the time of this change as that of the gatha, one cannot possibly assume that vēhiya was actually the Old Parthian form of the name in 530 B.C. The family was a Persian one and had come to Parthava at that very time. One must consequently assume that the notation vṛpyv was chosen when the Avesta was first fixed in writing, for rendering *vēhiya or *vēhiya of the oral tradition. This was
done under Volagases I, A.D. 51-77. He also used for the first time Aramaic script—attested 70 years earlier on the Awramān parchment—on his coins, while under his predecessor on the throne, the ēwpurh Gotarzes II, A.D.41-50, proper names appear for the first time on Arṣacids coins. Gundofarr of Sigistān was their contemporary, the central figure of the Acts of St. Thomas; his name is old vindat.ḥvarnah, written guduvnara on his Indian coins. At that time, the name of the dynasty was pronounced vēṣikān, and nothing was closer at hand than to note vṛpyv for oral vēhviyo. It is the time when the Hyrcanian Vēṣikān contended with the Atropatenian Arsacids for the throne of Iran. The scribes were on the side of the Atropatenians, and they may have chosen the writing in order to make the identity of the names—to them a matter of course—understood by everybody, because in these verses Zoroaster cursed the ancestor of their enemies.

Only a phonetic or graphic problem remains. In Y.51,12 Zoroaster uses the form vṛpyv for the name of his contemporary and peer, whom he calls "the kāvian, kāvyano" as vispatiś of the house. At that place vṛpyv must present the form generally used. But for the mythical eponym Zoroaster uses in Y.32,8 the form v(a)ivahuṇo, a nominative, to which in Yt.19,35 the abl. v(a)ivahuṇat is formed. v(a)ivahuṇa is derivative of *vivahuš, weak stem or nominative (Bartholomae: vocative) of *vivahvah. In the memorial document Yt.13,139, about 530-525 B.C., the OP. name visataruṣi appears, fem. of the -ya adj. from the n.pr. masc. visataruṣ <*visatarvah. At the same time OP. forms ṣaḥāmanisīya from the nom. ṣaḥāmanis, see under 'Nōtarya.' Those are simultaneous neologisms of the end of the 6th century, and only vivanāhana in the Yama myth, Yt.13,130 and Vid. 2, is a traditional form. What we transliterate by -ṇh- is merely the Aw. notation of old -hv-, hence *vivahvana. This is the real and the oldest form of the family name, from which all others descend. OP. vivāna and Gath. vṛpyv must belong to the same stem as this *vivahvana, hence to *vivahva(n).'

The Pap. El. presents the name, written in OP. (Beh.) vahyaz-dāta, by vyzdor, cf. vyomr *vahya, gmata and the other examples

* (n) indicates difference of zero and normal grade only.
given under 'Mem.Doc.' These are cases of -ahya- > e, and vivâna is the analogous case -ahva- > a (for Aw. a): vivâna < *vivahvana. Med. vivahvana, OP. vivâna and vrvâna are no longer used in later phases; we find only vêžan < Med. *vrâva, the compound gêwpuhr, and the simplex vêv (and gêv, bêv) or vêf (with adj. vêf/*kân), the last corresponding to vryvv in Y.51. All these forms descend from old vṛddhi formations, and vṛddhi was no longer active in MP. OP. vivâna < vivâhvana and vyrzâr < vahyzdāta show, about 520 B.C., the vanishing h in these phonetic groups. Therefore, vrvâna, i.e. vêva’dâna shows vêva < *vêvava < *vêvahva, but Gath. vrryv, less than 20 years older, shows vêﬁya < *vêﬁya *vêvahviya, -iya adj. with vṛddhi of *vivahva.

The Vêﬁya are the third known historical name in the gatha of Zoroaster: (1) Zoroaster’s own family name Spitâma=Σπιτάμας, a Median house. (2) the name of his protector Vištâspa=‘Υστάσπης, a Persian with a Median name. (3) the Persian house of the Vêﬁkân=Γεόπτεροι.

So far, this house has been known to us since the time of Darius, cf. amliv, 58-64. One can hardly assume that the Median kings would have given fiefs in Parthava to Persian families, and obviously it was Cyrus who invested the Nôtarya with Tôsa, the Pâtiśhvârî with the country after which they were called, and the Vivâna with Kômiś-Gurgân. The Vivâna of Behistun, in 522-21, only called by the family name, must be regarded as the vispatiš of the clan. The event told in the gatha happened in the year of the flight, shortly after 539 B.C. Thus, the two might be the same man, but rather father and son. The refusing attitude of the father is comprehensible: he was subordinate to Vištâspa as satrap of Parthava, but it is before Vištâspa had acted, and Ragâ, where Cambyses had jurisdiction, was so much nearer than Tôsa. In the course of Cambyses’ reign, the son may have joined the party of the Nôtarya.

Judging from their name, the Vêhiya regarded Yama as their heros eponymus. Among others they bore the peculiar title “nâfapatiš, paterfamilias” as lords of Dahistân, written nprty and n’nprty in Paikuli.

* The opposite: OP. avâhana, instead of avâna < ava.bâna, and sauravâhara instead of saurâ- vára El. to.r.war < *sauravahāra, both inverse historical writings.
Although they were Persians, their hereditary possessions were Gurgân and Dahistân, the former a part of Parthava. Conditions in the east and the west of the empire were similar; the vast domains of Medes and Persians e.g. in Asia Minor are known. As late an author as Tabari has preserved (1,685) the old tradition that Bištâsp, when constituting the “Seven Houses” with the title ‘üzamâ’, i.e. vâspuhr, kavi, had given Dahistân and Gurgân to the nâhabâd, whom he mentions as the first of the seven; this means the time of Zoroaster and is historically correct. They owned also land in Arachosia, e.g. Darius’ satrap Vivāna, to whom belonged the “rmatam Ršâda,” a study (see under ‘Ārmatiš’), and the Šahr.Èr. ascribe to them the foundation of Raχvat, capital of Arachosia-Harahvatiš.

Zoroaster speaks of the kâvyano Vēhviyo when fleeing from Râgâ to the residence of Vištâspa, hence between Râgâ and Tôsa. That is the situation of the district KÔmiš. Gr.Bdh. 128: “âtaχs č frambar, its appearance, pêtâkih, is unknown, for without needing food, aχvârišn, it burns always, in day time as smoke, by night as fire. . . . One writes: it is beside the palace of the Vēfakân. One writes: a fire of this type is in KÔmiš. Also: its name is âtaχs č aχvârišnik, fire not needing food, no need to breathe on it, it consumes fire-wood which one puts on it, if one does not, it burns equally well. One writes: the Frambar fire is even this fire.”

Mas‘ûdi iv,74: (cf. Markwart, uce n,240f.): “In Kômis there was a famous fire temple the founder of which is unknown, called χuriš; they say, Alexander, having conquered it, did not permit to destroy it and to extinguish the fire.” The name frambar means pell-mell. Ptolemy has Φ(α)ραμβαρα, his source being the Bematists of Alexander. The place is the oil-sources of Shâhkûh i bâlâ, less than 20 miles north-northeast of Dâmghân, capital of Kômîs, Hecatompylos of Alexander’s time. Not far to the north is the natural marvel of the Tang i Shamshirburr, “sword-cut cañon,” which Diodorus 17,75 describes under the name Stiboites, Curtius 6,4,4 as Ziobetis, Ir. *stuvî.vati; also Tagai of Polybios

*NRO. 34: “yō[štātim] bûmimi, El. pf.ra.m.pe.lam, i.e. OP. *framparam or *framfram; Vfram: “excitari” (Bailey, bâxu v11,297) = Vyu8; cf. “fra.frav,” to see-saw, rock, and excitari. The type of the name is the same as that of the fire Bâbâ Gurgur, Sem. qnq, cf. Gr. bâbaros, with onomatopoetic reduplication, IE. “gâ†retay."
10.29, Ṭaq of the Arabs. The Greek knowledge goes back to the general staff of Alexander, who must have personally visited the oil springs, like those of Bābā Gurgur and Mandali. In this region, Darius III was murdered.

The palace of the Vēfikān, “the manor-house Winter’s Gate,” thus lay near north of Dāmghān through which passed the great highroad from Ragā to Tōsā. Sahr. Er. §18: “ṣahrīstān ē Kōmiš . . . mānīs[n] ē pahlavikān anōd būt, town Kōmiš: there was a residence of the Pahlavikān,” meaning the Vēfakān, cf. Moses of Chorene [in Hübschmann, Arm. Gramm. 63]: “These are the pahlavik kings: Aršak . . ., Aršavir, who had three sons and one daughter: Artašēš, Karn, Suren and Košm [district Kōmiš, personified as daughter], hence the houses Karn Pahlav, Suren Pahlav and Asphahapet Pahlav.” Similarly Tabari (Nöldeke, 437): “Kāren, Sūrēn and Sfandiyār Pahlavi,” the last name faulty for Spāhbad. The group is frequent in the Sasanian inscriptions. In reality, Tōs belonged to the Spāhbad (see under ‘Nōtarya’) and Kōmiš to the Vēfikān. The Armenian confounds them because at the time of the Arab conquest, the Kāren bore the title “spāhbad i Xurāsān, šād [< χ̄στα] of Padišxvārgar [Kōmiš] and Gēl Gēlān.”

The great highroad from Ragā through Kōmiš to Tōsā, the Khurasan road of the Arab geographers, had been constructed during the Achaemenian period as a post-road, see under ‘Post and Travels.’ Banished from Ragā by the sentence confirmed by Cambyses, Zoroaster fled through Kōmiš, residence of the Vēhviya, to Tōsā where Vištāspa was satrap. That is the “rzuš pāpto, the straight road” of the gathas on which he traveled in his vāzā, the two-horse coach. I have made the long 500 miles on horseback, and once drove from Ragā to Kōmis in the month of prta.zimo, through deep snow, shivering with cold.

In these verses, again, although the picture is full of life, the style of the poet is not descriptive, but causative. This affects even the use of the names (see under ‘Poetry’). Where names of other great families appear, he calls himself not merely Zoroaster, but uses his family name. The obtrusive contrast of the family names Vēhviya and Spitāma in Y.51,12 means entirely true to his style: “a Vēhviya, a kavi like myself, has refused hospitium to me, a Spitāmal!” That is the crime against Rtam, the mores.

10 ZIMO (1926) v.279, Reisebericht. I never had an occasion to publish my photographs.
Nyberg loves comparisons, for instance 357, speaking of the identification of the two Viśṭāspa: "Wenn dies möglich ist, so kann man eben- sowohl Karl XII von Schweden mit Karl II von Spanien oder Wilhelm von Hohenzollern mit Wilhelm von Oranien gleichsetzen!") The emperor William may have asked himself in 1918: "Will the lady of Orange, the queen, receive me, William of Hohenzollern?" Thus speaks Zoroaster, explaining, not describing. As a Spitāma he hopes to find refuge first with the kavi Vēhviya, then with the haṣṭāmaniś kavi Viśṭāspa, himself a kavi, as the grandson of the last kāvian great-king of Media.
XIV. POST AND TRAVELS

"Non quasi mansoria dilectio et dilectatio
sed transitoria potius tanquam viae, tan-
quam vehiculorum."


The royal Achaemenian post had an old history, going back to high
Babylonian antiquity; but its organization over the whole empire and
for a long duration is due to Darius. Not only the Greeks, but also later
Persians report it.¹

The loanwords, Gr. ἀγγαρός "courier, letter-carrier" in Herodotus
iii,126, Xenophon Cyrop. viii,6,17: ἀγγαρῆμον "the post," Her. 8,98;
ἀγγαρόν πῦρ "fire signals," Aeschylus Agam. 273, have not yet been
ascertained in Iranian; their origin is, with Landsberger, Akk. egirtu
"letter, message."²

Aristotle, de mundo, Berl.Ak. p° 398, mentions the light-telegraph:
specularii excubitores qui ignes edere praenuntios et tollere e speculis
soliti sunt. Fire signals were used in Iran in pre-Median antiquity.
Sargon, 8th Camp. (714 B.C.) ll.249ff., Thureau-Dangin: "pour faciliter
leur observation de la province sur les pics des montagnes des tours,
dimâţâ, étaient construites et se dressaient . . . qidât abri ša šêpe² nakri
ullu (s’agit-il de ‘feux’?) . . . matin et soir ils regardaient, puis faisaient
connâtre. . . ." Luckenbill ii,163: "To . . . the look-outs of the districts,
towers were constructed on the summits of the mountains and set up to
. . . the fire of brushwood, by which means they saw the approach (lit.:
feet) of the enemy from a great distance, morning and night, and made
it known to. . . ."

Ayâtk.Zar. §5: "On the mountains and highest summits let them
light fires, announce [azd kun, by azdâkara, heralds] to the empire,
announce by couriers, biyaspân: Except the magi attending the fires, no
male between 10 and 80 shall stay at home!"

The towers called dimâţâ in Assyrian are meant in the verses Yz.10,45,
on Mithras look out men, by the words:

vispâhu pati brzâhu  vispâhu viďayanâhu
on all mountains,  on all viďayana.

¹ E.g. lhu al-Balkhi, Fârs., p.56, under "Dârâ i buzurg b. Bahman."
² Cf. "āγγαρία, bondage, corvée" under 'Social Structure.'
In 46, the lookout men are called spas vidētar. In Yt. 10,7, Mithra is "prūu. viḍayana, outstanding far and wide," i.e. over the whole earth, not "auf breiter Warte (Wb)." Yt. 14,13: The he-camel stands "vididd(i)vā, looking to and fro like a sāstar, commander."

These towers were erected along the roads, also above the entrance and at the corners of caravanserais, and serve for observation of traffic and military purposes. The Arabs call them mil or burdj, which belongs to viḍayana as to type, to brzah as to etymology. Tabari, when speaking of Afshin's campaign against Bābak, early 9th century a.d., describes flag- and fire-signals; the signal troops are called "kūhbāniyya, mountain-guards," the towers dayādība, pl. of didbān <*dēta.pāna, Arm. det, to ṣdi- like viḍayana. I have noted such watch-towers on my map in "Paikuli" along the old Turco-Persian boundary; another series can be seen between Teheran and Kum along the salt-desert.

Carrier-pigeon post, too, is said to be of Persian origin, but I know only of much later reports. Pigeon towers—for guano, not for post—characterize the landscape around Isfahan. A poem of Khadidja, daughter of al-Ma'mūn (Aghānī 14,114) speaks of these burdj lil-ḥamām, and the 1001 Nights (ed. Cairo 3,101, night 698) tell of the cunning Dalila: "Her husband had been bārrādīj (inspector of the pigeon-towers) with Hārūn al-Rashīd, with a salary of a thousand gold-pieces a month; he bred carrier-pigeons that fly with letters and messages, and each of these birds, when needed, was dearer to the caliph than one of his own sons." Dalila gets the office as reward for her ingenious pranks. That is really true to life.—Ibn Shaddād, in ibn Shiḥna's "durr" p.75: "The Mongols under Hulagu had destroyed the citadel of Aleppo at the first conquest, Febr. 1260; after returning from Palestine, they found that a pigeon-tower had been built there, declared that to be a breach of treaty and under this pretext destroyed the citadel completely in February-March 1261."

Hecataeus and Herodotus describe the "Royal Road" from Sardis to Susa with its relay-stations, σταθμοί, avahāna; watches φυλακαί, pāṭraka; bridges, prōu; and "gates," i.e. toll-bars. Under Alexander

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4 Against S. Fraenkel, loanword from Gr. pýrgos, not Lat. burgus.
the section beyond Susa, the ἄμαξιτή ὁδός from there to Persepolis is mentioned. These causeways were surveyed and provided with milestones, parasangs. So was the Great Trunk-Road of India, mentioned by Megasthenes. Ctesias, in Diodor. 2,1,5, tells Semiramis had built such a highway from Babylon to Agbatana, κρήμνους κατὰ κόψασα κοῖλους τόπους χώσασα, leveling the eminences and filling the depressions, “in order to leave an immortal monument, and it is called to the present time Σεμιράμιδος ὁδός,” a designation in which Semiramis must be substituted for a Persian word similar to, or equivalent of, the name of the queen. Ctesias’ words strikingly resemble Isaiah 40,3-4: “In the desert clear the way of ḫwḥ, make straight a high road for your God in the ‘aràbhāh. Every valley shall be raised, and every mountain and hill made low; and the crooked shall become straight and the rough places a plain.”

“King’s road, girru šarri” is already an Assyrian term, e.g. in Sanherib’s texts, and it lives on as appellative. Ammian Marc. 23,1: “At Carrhae the road to Persia branches in two viae regiae, laeva (via Nisibis) per Adiabenam (= Assyria proper) et Tigridem, dextra per Assyrios (= Sas. asuristān, Babylonia) et Euphratem.” In the parable of the five gates, Mir.Man.11,14,22 (T.Pārs.) we read: “like a man who travels with many treasures on the king’s road, pd r’h ‘y bg rft.” Henning translated “auf sicherem? Wege,” but “bg, god” is here royal title, as in IPārsīk; on the contrary, “by” is the number 2 in by’sp’n, the epithet of Mani, usually translated “god’s messenger.”—On the pass of Tāq i Girrā, the “Zagros Gates,” a point of the “Semiramis road,” where Antiochus III, in 220 B.C. had crucified Molon, the dismembered body of St. Pethion was exhibited: “the crowd was so large because the ‘road of the great-king’ passed at the foot of the mountain: this road goes to the utmost confines of the kingdom.” In a.d. 800, al-Asma’ī says of the great poet abu l-‘Atāhiya: “His verses are like the ‘king’s road, sāḥat al-mulūk,’ upon which fall jewels, gold, earth, potsherds and date-stones.” And still today šāh rāh, rāh i šāh is the word for great highways.

A source contemporary with the Achaemenian period, the book of Esther 8,10 and 14, says: “So the posts that rode upon mules (and)

488 See Sidney Smith, Isaiah Ch.xl-Iv, Schweich Lectures, Brit.Acad. 1940, p.65, with the remark “this must be the earliest known allusion to the Persian highroads in literature,” and the definition of the locality: the Wadi ‘Arabah east of the Jordan.
camels went out (Kg. James)"; (Luther:) "und die reitenden Boten auf Maultieren ritten aus," and "And he wrote in the king Ahasverus' name and . . . sent letters by post on horseback (and) riders on mules, camels (and) young dromedaries"; (Luther): "und er sandte die reitenden Boten auf jungen Maultieren." Cf. Beh. §70:

El.: me.ni 'tip.pi.me am.min.ni 'ta.i.i.o.s mar.rī.ta ha.tī.ma OP.: pasāva ima dipi[š---]āma [-]āvata [ ] antar dāhyā[vā] "thereupon I sent out the documents to all countries."

The much discussed words in Esther 8,14 are: rōk'bē hā.rākāš hā.-"ḥašṭ'rānīm bēnē hā.r'mākīm.

rōk'bē are the Akk. rākbu, rā.gāb "riding couriers"; cf. the unclear passage of the kudurru L.W.King n° vii, where a mār Ḥanbi receives from a courtier, rēš šarri, as payment for arable land:

6 rak.kab sīsē (horses), value of 300 shekel silver,
2 rak.kab imēr (donkeys), value of 50 shekel silver,

hence the first at 50 shekel, the second at 25 shekel each, while in the same list a fully harnessed chariot is worth 100, one amurrū-donkey 30, one ox 30 shekel. If rakkab sīsē were "saddle-horses," a "western saddle-donkey" would be cheaper than a "western donkey"; if rakkab were "saddle," a donkey's saddle would cost half as much as a horse's saddle, and almost as much as a donkey, and the list would have no instance for the value of a horse. On the other hand, 50 shekel for one saddle-horse would be in proportion to 100 for a chariot with its harness (not including the horses themselves).

To rākāš cf. the letter Harper n° 71, K.113, time of Assurbanipal, Delitzsch Hub. s.v. rks: sīsē rakkasute (adj.) mesajā (from Mesa in Man, mod. Ṭashtepē) ša kajamanja urakkasuni, of doubtful meaning, and Eg. "reksu, team."—The "ḥašṭ'rānīm, ṭṣrā'nī, are Med. Ḫaθṛāna, syn. of Ḫaθrī, "thoroughbred mares" and ramāk is "mule" as in NHebr., equus mulus, whose mother is a mare, not eq. hinna, hinny.

Comparison of 10 and 14 shows that the first place is enlarged by an apposition, certainly a gloss, which begins with "bēnē . . . , the sons of . . . ." There is a proverb, widely known in the East, Arab.: "Ask a mule who is your father, and it will answer: my khāl, maternal uncle

* See de Goeje, in B.C.A. Gloss. s.v. shihriyya.
is a noble stallion!”, or Turkish: “qatyra sormuşlar babañ kimdir, anam at demiş, the mule was asked who is your father, it replied, my mother is a mare!” This idea is implied in the gloss, which must be “the sons of noble mares.” That is the meaning of hstårynım, and one must reverse the order of the words: rök'bê hâ.râkâš hâ.r'mâkim b'nê hâ.-håtrânîm, riding couriers on râkâš mules, “the sons of noble mares.” râkâš r'mâkim and Ass. sîsê rakkasute may mean either saddle- or carriage-horses or mules.

That the royal post used two-horse teams is shown by the Med. word for coachman, postillion: bıyaspân, MP. *dëspân in Arm. despan, Arab. dusfân, from Olr. *dvi.aspâna, lit. “two-horse-man.” At first I believed it to mean “rider with a lead-horse.” But Arm. despak, Talm. dyspq, is NP. du.aspah “two-horse team,” of the “royal carriage, the golden, drawn by two mules,” according to its etymology by a pair of horses. Arm. bastern, Lat. basterna, “sedan-chair carried by mules,” is evidently a modern kajâwah, with one mule in front, one behind, for it is dva.-astaranâ. Also the Roman post used pairs, M.Lat. reda < Celt. dérid = biga.

Zoroaster uses “raûya” for the road, Y.50,6-7: “AhuraMazdâh . . . will point out the rules, to be a raûya for my tongue.” raûya > râh is the track of the chariots in the circus, then a carrossable road. As the passage in Isaiah shows, the conception of the rzûs pabo “the straight roads on which AhuraMazdâh dwells” in Y.35,6 and more often, is derived from the great highways. And it was on the longest and oldest highway of Asia, which was measured by Alexander’s bematists, described by Isidorus of Charax for C. Caesar and by the Arab geographers as the “Great Khurâsân Road,” that Zoroaster drove, as fugitive, from Ragâ by way of Kômiş to Tôsa, with a two-horse team, vâzâ, Y.51,1: “when the Vêhviya denied him hospitality, him and his attendants, and the pair of horses, shivering with cold.” The dual vâzâ means a traveling coach, and the word implies that there were raûya, carrossable highways, without which one could not drive in the mountainous country.*

The normal team of such a coach would be mules which, when

*According to a document quoted by B. Meissner and A. Ungnad, C.4564, "eriqqu qûtim, Gutian waggons,” heavy cars were used for transportation in high Media before the period of the Aryan immigration.
ambling steadily, cover the long distances in less time than horses do. Alone and for short distances a horse outdoes a carriage, but where there are roads, in the long run, the carriage is quicker. In 1924, when suddenly called to Teheran, from Shiraz, Firuz Mirzâ Farmâyân told me that his ancestor, Agha Muhammad Khan, in 1779, covered that distance of 600 miles in three days, and thereby won the throne.

Gr.Bdh. 210, description of the mythical Kang: “kē ač dar ō dar pat asp xxii rōč u pa vāhr’ xv rōč šāyēt raftan, from gate to gate it is a travel of 22 days on horseback, of 15 days in a coach,” hence three or two weeks. Driving was reckoned to be quicker by the half than riding.

In Yt.5,4 (= Y.65,4) the circumference of a sea is given as “caθwar-satam ayar.barānām huvaspāi nārē baramnē, 40 days’ journey to ride for a well-mounted man,” and the Gr.Bdh. reduces this distance to 1,900 farsangs, another number for infinite.

Another term of postal affairs is parvānag. Maf. al-‘Ulūm 64: “al-furānīq are the carriers of the post-bags, for (Ar.) khādīm is in Pers. parvānāh.” parvānak, therefore, is a deriv. of MMed. parvān, corresp. to MPars. pēš, “coram, in adspectura”; parvānak, or pēšenik, cf. pēšenikān sālār in Ayātk.Zar., is “officer, servant in waiting.” Qudāma, 184: “It falls to the duty of the šāhib al-barid, postmaster, to superintend the service of the farwānaqīyyīn, and he must control the ašhāb al-kharā’ī.” kharīta is post-bag, then money-bag. Ibn Khurdādbeh, 153; in his description of the post, says, the furānīqin are placed under the yanādīra, chiefs of the stations. Mir.Man.11,7,11: “Men need a parvānag and rāhnamūdār who shows them ‘r’h v vdr, way and passage’ (Aw. vitāra, NP. gudār) to salvation.” Syr.: “parwānqā, courier, runner,” Arab. barwānāh, defined by Quatremère as “ministre” and “chambellan, ġādjīb”; cf. van Berchem, Inscr.Arab. de Syrie 88,1, where the Jamdār Ḫūsām al-dīn Ladjin is a barwānī: the Jamdār were diplomatic couriers.

parvānak is not necessarily a person; it can be, like the simplex parvān, an object “in conspectu, a visa.” Salemann, Mél.As. ix, 1886, read

5 Text: “vāhr u pa,” transposed; Tavadia, in Christensen Kayaniides 84 proposed: “à cheval en 23 jours de printemps et en 15 jours (d’été).” The characters must be read v’hr, not vhr, from Aw. vṛta or varta, spelled vāla. NP. gārdūn, MP. vārdyōn, against NP. gird < Aw. ’vṛta, supports the reading varta, against Andreas’ rule, Massow 1931,ii,307: “lig. vṛta, nie aus *arr(h).”
parvānāk in Māt. Čatr. where the Bombay edition presents "fravartak, letter." The Pers. glossaries give it the meaning "ḥukm, decree" or "farmān, rule, patent" of the government. D. Hoshang Jamasp translated it by "pass, passport" in his glossary, and as such the obsolete word has been revived in the latest NP. to replace Ar. djawāz. Pahl. Vid. 1,2: "če ač kišvar ő kišvar bē pa parvān ě yazdān nyš? raftan nē tovān, from Kišvar to Kišvar, except with a divine passport, visa, one cannot travel."

Apollonios of Tyana, middle of the 1st century A.D., traveling from Agbatana to India, says: "The guiding camel bore a golden tablet on the forehead, as a sign for all they met with, that the traveler was one of the king's friends and traveled with royal authorization." Twelve hundred years later, Marco Polo describes the Mongol "paizah," e.g. in China "silver tablets with: Our imperial order for post-horses, urgent"; under Ghazan Khan in Iran: "brass tablets for persons traveling in official mission with post-horses." A few gold and silver paizah are preserved in the Hermitage.

The usual word for traffic, traveling is "वच-ar-, versari, circulate," cf. under 'Hellenism,' the edict of the Byzantine autokrator in Yt.9,24: "not shall, henceforth, an ādravān (fire priest) travel, čarāt, in my country!"

Yt.62,8: The Fire observes the hands of all "para.čarantām, passing travelers": "what present has the friend for his friend, the traveler, fra.-čarðwant, for him who sits quiet, armē.šađē." The Pahl. transl. is armēšt, a word in which this armēzd and armēštā "still-standing" have coalesced. MP. armēšt means in general "sick, invalid," e.g. in Pahl. Vid.5,59; 7,19; their place is the armēštān gāh, Pahl. Vid.9,33, Aw. arimē gātu. This word does not contain the notion "isolation"—any more than does vittra.tanu [Wb.: "wobei der Leib, die Person (an einen besonderen Ort) weggebracht, isoliert werden muss," rather "(leprosy) by which the body becomes mutilated"]. armē.šad, here, does not mean simply sitting quiet as opposed to traveling, but being

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8 Syn. of the demin. parvānē; the deriv. parvānāzi is "secretarius"—cf. Minorskiy, 856, 9,96: "registratar," and Notices et extraits xiv., 250 n. 1. parvānāg-burtār is an "animal which goes in front of the lion," metaphorically "peštan ě laškar, dux exercitus."
9 Cf. Henry Yule's Remarks in Marco Polo 1,351 ff.
10 Smirnoff, Argenterie Orientale, pls. 93 and 94.
unable to move, invalid. The armēštān gāh is a “house of invalids,” the bimāristān of later times, “hospital,” and Islam has taken over the institution at the very earliest period from Iran.

The comp. āčar- means “to alight, to put up (at a station).” Yz.10, 137: “Mithra āčarati, puts up at the farmyard of the pious,” and Vid. 13,49: “If a couple want to put up, čara, in this house, they shall not forbid them, apa.rodāya11 to do so.” About 1903, in a hotel in Patras, was written: “Messieurs les voyageurs sont priés de ne pas introduire ici des demoiselles avec lesquelles ils ne sont pas légitimément mariés, jusqu’à 11 heures, après quoi ils paieront le double.”


aštah is, according to Benveniste, Infav. 39, “la halte, halting, resting place, shelter”; Wb. attaches it to √ans- “anlangen, arrival.” It comes near to Arab. manzil from nazala and marharga from rahala, and means the mansiones or stathmoi along the post-roads, which Ctesias call “empória, caravanserais”; cf. the placename aștaḵōst, 3 fars. from Marw, Yāqūt 1,277 and 293. One usually connects it with “așta, ašti, messenger”; the god Naryasanha is ašto, Mercury, with AhuraMazdāh, also the saviour Astvattra is so called, as Mani is “biyaspān, courier,” but cf. under ‘ApāmNapāt.’

In the Mongol period the term for the post-houses, which originated from the Iranian institution, is yam, yām, yamb, jam, jām, a word spread over the whole of Asia and Russia. I discovered it once in the inscription of the khān Ortmah in Baghdad, which is the only such building known to exist, under the Arab. form yam < OP. *yuman, gen. *yummah (attested by the deriv. OP. yāumani) to √yu- “to put (the horses) to” and “to brace” (both: Germ. “anspannen”). Herodotus says karaλwēs “place of unharnessing,” Germ. “ausspann = halting place,” while relais and relay are lit. “Anspann,” cf. Altp.Inschr. 365 and Arch.Reise 11,187ff. The postmaster is called, already at the end of the Sasanian period, yundār, Arab. pl. yanādīra, [پنادرة], in Ibn Khurdādhhīb, 153, with wrong points, bānādīra, [پنادرة], also several times in Tabārī. It is the Old Turk. loanword yamṭar.

11 Cf. čarasača and rurōst ašto in Y.51,12 under ‘Vēhiya.’
Qudāma, 241: “In Kaskar was a canal called ḣanb, and the track of the post-couriers to Maisān . . . was on the area of its southern bank”; later, when the baṭāʾiḥ became swampy, the swamps on the side of the post-road, ṣarīq al-barīd, were called “āḍjam al-barīd, post-swamps,” the other side, in Nabataean, “agmē rābtā, i.e. al-āḍjām al-kubrā’, the great swamps.”

The mamluks had a numerous corps of pages, called al-khāṣṣakiyya, from which came all their officials and even the sultans themselves. Whether khāṣṣah be genuinely Arabic or not, at any rate the Persian formation khāṣṣakī proves the institution to come from the Seldjuq court in Isfahan. Many of these pages were jamdār, or barwānī—like the above mentioned Ḥusām al-dīn—and served as diplomatic couriers. Jamdār is the younger form of yundār and merges with jāmdār “cup-bearer” and jāmadār “keeper of the wardrobe.”

*varta.yōna > gardūn, Benveniste J.As. 1936, 201, “attelage de char, place of harnessing of coaches,” belongs to the same radical word. Henning, in Mir.Man.n, translates vrđvyn by “gefährt”; and in Art.Vir. Nām.xiv, where “dahyupat and heroes” appear in resplendent apparel ṣyn zk ỹ škvft lh v vtppn p’n ᵇbd škvv (or škn’?), it seems indeed to be a vehicle. But p.16,8, m’h vrđvyn means rather “orbit of the moon, meeting point of gods, ’mvrdn bg’nyg’; cf. Bartholomae, Sas.Recht v,31 (Pahl.Riv.Dād. 57,12): “ćiğōn biyaspānān āvarišn ọṣṣṣṣṣ[i.e. yvnβ] yazdān.īc rasišn ő mān ē ātāχš ē varhrān, as the couriers hurry to the post-station, thus the gods arrive at the place of the Varhrān Fire.” And Mani says, Mir.Man.11,19,12: “For your sakes I will wait above at the water-station, vrĎyn ’byn [= moon-station as navis vitalium aquarium], to send you help evermore!” Also 19,19: “Brighter than the light of the sun, the vrĎyn shines,” that is one of the spheres. m’h vrĎyn is but a more figurative expression for normal m’h p’yg.

This yōna is the first element in the epithet of the fox, yōna,χvata, which describes its kennel, on account of which the Arabs call the fox “father of the little fort, abu l-ḥusain.” Aw. χvata, i.e. hvr, must be read “-hūt, who builds his yōna with skill” ; cf. ḥvāyōnāhō pantāno (below). gardūn, like the syn. s’panj, “inn” is the usual metaphor for “world.” s’panj, spinj, is the first element of Aw. spinjāyra and spin-jaruška. According to Wb. the first would be the “Name eines daēva, der vom Feuer væžišta [Andreas: “superl. of vzraka ‘great’”] be-
kämpft wird,” on the strength of an irrelevant passage. The second would be “name of an unbeliever ... ruška = Lat. luscus?, spinja perhaps tribal name?” Justi, Namensbuch 508: “spinjaruška, enemy of post-houses, hostellries, a charitable state institution ... spinjaryiya, der mit Gebrüll (Lithuan. spengti, Gr. φθέγω) gellende, Verkörperung des Donners.” spinja > sipanj is hostelry, inn; ayraya (der. from ayrā “scab, mange”) = NP. āir, ēr, is something like boils, pustules. The alleged dēva is called “boil-host” or “lousy fellow.” I once had a shepherd bitch, whom I had called, because of her golden coat and her behavior like a diva, spinjaruškā “Flohberger,” per antiphrasim, as the beautiful wife of the caliph al-Mutawakkil was called “al-Qabiha.”

There is a traveler’s song in Yt.16,2-3:

us.hišta hača gāθva rise from thy couch
frašusa hača dmānāt go forth from thy house!
yazi ahi parva.nēmāt If thou art (there), from the western half,
āt ahma avi nmāniyā come to us, lady!
yazi [ahi] paska[.nēmāt] If thou art (yonder), from the eastern half
āt ahma avi apaya here come to us!
aboana aχštā būyān May security be ours
yaabo būyāt - - that we may find
hvāyōnako pantāno the highways having good hostellries
huvāpońanā garayo the mountains having good byways
huvātačinā arzūrā the forests having pretty brooks,
huprōviyā aś nāviyā the ditches having good bridges,
ahmāi sōkāi frasastayāi for our safety, our permission,
fravākāi uta framānyaī our vocation and our craft!

Lommel translates the beginning: “Sie (Čisti-dēnā) verehrte Zarathustra, von seinem Sitz aufstehend, aus seinem Hause herausgehend” and remarks: “Zarathustras Gebet an die Einsicht in v.2 enthält in naiver Form wirkliche Weisheit, wie sie einen, bei Beschäftigung mit dem Awesta, für den Augenblick erquicken kann,” a condemnation of the Avesta, smashing but mainly due to wrong interpretation. There is enough deep and true wisdom in it. As everywhere else, one must elimi-
nate the stereotyped introductory words on Ahuramazdâh and Zoroaster; the “Lament of Rtiš” is a perfect analogy. The verses are naive, and that alone would prove that they are not Zoroaster’s, to whom it would have been an easy matter to make verses also in Awestic, though none are preserved. It is a pretty song, which the caravans sing before sunrise, the only good piece in the Dên Yasht dedicated to Čistišdēnā, and it shows at once that these abstractions “Insight-Religion” are merely substituted to the old Ušâ-Eos. The beginning of the song resembles Od.v,1:

'Ἡν δ’ἐκ λεγέων παρ’ ἀγαύου Τιθωνοῦν  
ἀρνυθ' ἵν’ ἀθανατοὶς φοίως φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖς

Zoroaster uses another word for the post-house in Y.33,5:

yas.tē vispā.mazištam srōšam zbayā avahānē  
āpāno drga.jyātim ā χśādrai vahoš manaho  
rtāt ā rzūš paθo yešu mazdā ahuro šēti

“I who want to call forth Thy most-high Srōšo, at the stage, when arriving at the eternally-living hostelry of Vahumano, on the straight roads on which Ahuramazdāh is dwelling!”

Bartholomae: “Der ich Deinen Srōša als den allerhöchsten anrufen will bei der Vollendung usw.” vispā.mazištā is a courtly word: Srōša is subaltern, but “most-high” as servant of the Most-high, see under ‘Poetry.’ The name means “hearing, ear” as title, i.e. police, Arab. shūrta.12 χśādra may be the common word, the kingdom, empire, but that would stop and weaken the metaphor, while χśādra=hostelry fits in perfectly, see under ‘Hospitium.’

zbā- is “to cry out, call forth”; thus Pārva the sailor, in Yt.5,62, calls the same Ušā out of her house. Mithra’s old companions, Srōš ē nēkōk and Rašn ē razišt, are on sentry duty at the heavenly stage; one must call Srōša to open the gate, for the yards of the stations are always closed because the horses are in them. I have done it many times, in 1905, when traveling čapar from Shiraz to Teheran, and, here below, had always to wait a long time.

Wb. puts Gath. avahāna “Abschluss, Vollendung im eschatologischen

Sinne" to √ḥi- "anschirren"; but OP. avahana "Wohnplatz, Flecken" to √vah- "weilen," cf. Arm.Lw. avan < OP. ḍavahana." Andreas, NÖGW 1916.1, p. 5 n.: Die von mir herruhrende Gleichung Arm. avan = Ap. ḍavohonom, ZDMG. 47, 1893, 702, hielt Hübschmann Pers.Stud. 170 und Arm.Gram., für unsicher, "da h < ursprgl. š im Pers. zwischen Vokalen nicht schwindet." This whole equation falls with the etymology. As early as 1885, G. Hoffmann had explained Arab.-Syr. awānā as "post-stage," syn. of Arab. sikka. This is of course not a loanword from Gactic poems, but from OP. official language, an OP. ḍavānā. In the inscriptions, Zuzu-Suca in Armenia and Abirāduš in Asia Minor are called avahana; both must be sought along the Royal Road, hence the first probably in Van on the lake, the second not far from Sardis and Kyzikos (OP. χῦζ . . . ). Gath. avahāna and OP. avahana are identical, the letter an inverse, historical spelling for spoken ḍavānā < ḍavahāna[<stdio.hayana, Tedesco], from ava + √ḥi-, "place of unharnessing, Germ. ausspannen, abseilen," cf. OP. Vivānā < ḍvivahvana. avahāna and yōna are synonyms, because the roots √yū- and √ḥi- have a similar meaning. Arab. Wānā < avānā is the name of a place well-known to me, south of Samarra opp. 'Ukbarā, on the road to Baghdad, cf. Yāqūt mu'djam 1,395 and muṣṭ. 30. Another Awānā Niqtūr, mentioned by G. Hoffmann, Syr.Akt. was situated at the foot of the Nukarópiov ἔρως (Strabo), where the battle of Gaugamela took place, hence equally on the Royal Road. Cf. Bāna in Kurdistan. Elam. ḍuwonis seems to be a deriv. of the same avānā.

Nyberg translates Gath. avahāna also by "Lossspannung," but explains: "Die 'Lossspannung' kann . . . nicht sowohl ein eschatologisches Ereignis meinen, . . . sondern . . . es handelt sich offenbar um eine Befreiung der Seele vom Körper und ihrer Flucht zu den himmlischen Wohnungen . . . , die Himmelfahrt der Seele in der Ekstase. Die 'graden Wege' sind ein für uns nicht deutlicher Ausdruck, zeigen aber Aša's nahe Verbindung mit dem Paradiese." On p. 147 he counts it among the "Erscheinungen (phomena), die mit Sicherheit auf ekstatische

12 Also the etymology of NP. "χανα, house" falls therewith.
15 ḍha, ḍha and ahā > ā corresponds to āva and avā > ā; áva and ayā > ā, against ava > ō, aya > ē. The change is pre-Iranian, cf. Bartholomae, ZairWb. 97,4, and works in Iranian.
Erscheinungen in der Gatha-Gemeinde hinweisen." The other "Erscheinung-appearance" of an ecstatic "Erscheinung-phenomenon" is the wrong translation of "hvafna, sleep" by "trance," see under 'Yamā.'

The verses of Y.33,5 are a metaphor: life as traveling, the cammin di nostra vita, or death as journey to heaven. Cf. Y.32,15: "they shall drive, bryānte, lit. be driven (in a coach), to the house of Vahumaνo." The Qur'ān 39,73 says: "Those who believe in their Lord shall be driven in multitudes to paradise, and when they arrive there, the gates shall be opened and their keeper says: Hail! you were good, enter for evermore!" In heaven, the roads are straighter and plainer. Zoroaster’s "straight road" is no less "clear" than Isaiah’s "make straight a highway for our god!" There are so many mountains in Iran—2,244 according to Y.19—that one imagined the transfigured world to be a perfect plain; Plutarch, de Iside, 47: τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπισέδου καὶ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης.

It is a similar metaphor, when Mani calls the spheres of the soul’s journey vardyŏn, and the thought continues. In the Andarz, Testament of Xusraw I:

\[
\begin{align*}
gētih & \text{ pa spinj dār} \\
nēvkīh & \text{ pa krt' dār} \\
mēnūk & \text{ pa ḥveš kunišn} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
u & \text{ tan pat ast ('.st.n < 's'ν.n)} \\
u & \text{ bazak pa roč spōž}^{18} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Full of difficult readings and hardly correct, meaning: "Regard the world as a hostel, and the body as an inn, regard a good deed as a completed?, a sin as a delayed day’s journey, the heaven as to be made your own! (your very goal)."

Similarly in Dēnk. M.478:

\[
\begin{align*}
\chi vātāyih & \text{ magavan? ĕ ḥvāstak, ḥvāstak magavan? ĕ tan,} \\
tan & \text{ magavan? ĕ rāvbān} \\
\end{align*}
\]

where mgvn?, as in Pahl. Texts 131: tan pa magavandīh ē dēn dāštān, must mean something like "hostel, host": "to regard the body as the hostel, host of the soul," cf. under 'Maga.'

Islam has developed the poetical metaphor into a veritable doctrine, cf. the inscription of the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudja' at Persepolis, AMI

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18 Cf. Hübschmann, Pers.Stud. 73, Arm. spučēl "to delay," spučunna "delay."
viii,100f.: “This world is a house to pass through, not to stay in.” Bazaroff says, with Turgenieff: “I have discovered here in my trunk an empty place and pad it now with hay as well as I can. Thus one must do with the trunk of life: pad it with everything that falls into one’s hand, anything rather than leave an empty place therein!”
Zoroaster was a great poet. The gathas are poetry. Be there ever so much darkness in them, the train of thought clears up with the progress of study.

One perceives traces of IE. connections in metrics, archaic syntax, grammatical forms and vocabulary, standing formulas and metaphors. In some verses one can observe an imitation of the style of older passages in the Mithra yasht; Y.29, the "Cow gatha" is the transformation of an older poetical theme, the "Lament of the Cow," of which an example, incorporated in Y.10, is preserved; the "Gatha of the Questions" is related to "Mithras Questions" in Y.10. Other verses, alluding to Yama, son of Vivahvant, or to the "Twins, yamā, Sleep and Death," presuppose that the hearers were fully acquainted with those myths, which therefore were parts of an epopee, the primal form of which existed before the oldest preserved parts of the Awesta.

Those are features of old tradition, in sharp contrast with an entirely personal style, rooted in the philosophy of the poet. The main characteristic of his style is that he never describes, but always speaks didactically. This we can wholly recognize only through Duchesne's analysis of the "explaining" Gathic compounds, in contradistinction to the "descriptive" Avestic compounds. Zoroaster was also creative in language: many words were certainly never used before or after in the sense he gives them; he prefers certain forms, e.g. abstract for concrete ones, and has created some of them. Even a superficial comparison between the gatha and the Yasna haftahāti is enough to show that these qualities are personal, that all gathas bear the stamp of the same personality, for in the Yasna haftahāti—though composed in the same dialect—all these qualities are lacking. The gathas are no popular poetry, but one ruled by art, and are all of one and the same poet.

They themselves express this claim more than once. Y.50,6 begins: "The manθran who raises his voice, vāčam barati, befriended, rvadha, with rtam, after prostration, namahā, is Zoroaster!"
It has not been recognized that this is an isolated sentence and a self-introduction of the poet, certainly a conventional formula of this old poetry. H. H. Schaeder once called the introductory formula of the OP. inscriptions “I, nn, the king, pleno titulo” a “self-introduction of the kings.” There it seems to me wrong to supplement an “ahmi, I am”; the formula rather means “In the king’s name!” similar to a Muhammedan “Bismillâh!” But a connection exists between the two formulae, and the antique fashion is maintained throughout Iranian poetry, known to us mainly by imitations of Oriental poetry by our Romanticists. Häfiz mentions his name regularly at the end of his verses.


All poems were sung. The word for it is ṣvāk-, as in the n.pr. manṭrivāka. That is not the “Stimme in der Ritualliteratur”—what after all is a “voice in literature”?—but a singing voice, “voice.” The MP. mahrnāmak is the index of a hymnbook. The Arabs render vāč-, used for the praying of Zoroastrian priests, by “zamzama, to murmur,” but the old poets “vāčam baranti, i.e. vociferantur,” sang loud like the “cock that raises his voice at the dawn, vāčim barati upa.uşanham,” Vid.18,15; cf. ‘brza.vačiča > buloč under ‘Māda-Pārsa.’ Occasionally, “brzam vāčam, high voice” means “shouting,” e.g. in Yt.10,113; 17,61; antonym of namravak in Frhg.Ēv. 3, the low, polite talk.

By his self-introduction, Zoroaster describes himself expressly as the author, in the first place as author of gatha 50. But in most gathas, I believe in all of them, one finds quite distinct signs of his authorship—apart from the style. All counterarguments rest upon wrong translations—examples under Y.50,8—and on sophisms like the insignificant change between first and third person, which the poet uses as he likes, even in one and the same gatha. Meillet, l.c. 15, criticized adversely

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1 Aw. *vidra, written ūlfra, in Yt.13,104, where the invocation of the name of the Häugava is recommended against such “vidra and parikā,” Peris, which shows that the interpolation was made at a period devoid of understanding.
the gatha which we number Y.50: “dénue de caractère, fait l’effet d’une œuvre d’école”—the common brass plate in picture galleries. Such a stylistic censure I consider as not possible in principle, and I feel that Y.50, once it is entirely understood, will take its place among the best gathas, beside the psalm: “The heavens declare the glory of God!”

But the formula in 50,6 proves that with st.6 a new gatha begins, and that Y.50, therefore, actually consists of two. In Y.53, likewise, a new gatha begins with st.8. On the contrary, the end of Y.29 must not be separated, as Andreas considered. The tradition of the gathas is amazingly good, yet their arrangement is not absolutely correct. The reason is that they were collected and arranged not according to their historical sequence, but to their meter, a formal point of view, similar to the arrangement of the sûras of the qur’ān according to the number of their verses.

The attempt to restore their chronological order has never been made and would be still precocious. A few instances have been given here under ‘Bandva.’ But Y.50,6-11 is better fit than any other gatha to count as the first one. In that case, the self-introduction of the poet would stand—a fact at all events probable—at the top of all gathas, expressing the authorship.

Y.29,8:
ho no vaśti čarkrērā sravayahe
yat hoi hūdham dyāi vaχdrahyā

“Zoroaster wants to sing our (the cow’s) praise. Sweetness of tongue shall be given to him!”

sravaya, caus. of śru-, the verb for reciting verses, often with fra-, NP. surūdan, MHG. “singen und sagen,” cf. Mir.Man. u.15,4 in the parable of the maiden in the fortress: “a man ky pd bvn ‘y dyv’r nv’g ‘y šyryn frsvd, who at the foot of the wall sang a sweet song.” čarkrēra “glory,” to “čarkrmahi we praise, glorify,” also “to quote, laudare.”

In st.7-11 the speaker does not change, as is usually assumed; it is always Zoroaster speaking through the mouth of the “Soul of the Ox”: “Nobody listens to Thy commandments; Zoroaster alone have we (the

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2 śru- is insufficiently treated in Wb.1639-43. Wrong is: srōtu in Y.49,9; strāvī in Y.32,7,8; 33,7; 45,10; 53,1; strūvātēm in Y.30,3; strūtvām in Y.34,3; strusruṭa in Y.50,8.

3 In Altp.Inschr. 197 is an erroneous remark on the wrong Pahl. transl. ċārak kirtārīh.
cow, i.e. peasantry) found, vistō, who, following the commandments given in our favor, has our interest at heart. He wants to sing our praise. Therefore you, A.M., must give him the gift of poetry. But he is a poor nar=χσαθριya only, and what we need is a rich one, iša-χσαθριya. When shall come the one who gives him practical help, zastavat avo?" The last words aim at Žāmāspa. In these verses Zoroaster glories in his being a poet, like Mani in being a painter.

Y.50,8:

mat vā padāiś yā frarsruta 'ižayā
parijsāi mazdā ustāna.zasto
āt vā rtā ardrahyača namahā
āt vā vahoś manaho hunartātā

"With dithyrambs recited with passion I want to circumambulate Thee, with hands outstretched, with the prosternation of one ardent (with joy) and with the skill (gift) of Vahumanol!"

Zoroaster sings here like Hans Sachs in the Meistersinger or like R. M. Rilke “Ich kreise um Gott . . . und ich weiss noch nicht, bin ich ein Sturm oder ein grosser Gesang!” With padāiś I walk around Thee, my songs walk around Thee, stretch out their hands, prosternate themselves, are my sacrifices. “Und meine Lieder rinnen rauschend zurück in Ihn!”

Bartholomae: “Immer (wieder) will ich mit den Versen, die bekannt sind als die des frommen Eifers, vor Euch treten.” Always again the same, known verses which he had not made himself. Lommel: “Mit Versen die erhört werden wegen (meines) Strebens”—reminds one of Faust “Wer immer strebend sich bemüht . . .” Nyberg, 162: “Mit Versen, welche von ižā (= ārmaiti, dem Stamm) gesungen werden, umgehe (= nahe ich mich) Euch . . . die Hände ausstreckend, . . . mit den Anbetung des brennenden Mannes . . ., mit guter Manneskraft.” Interrupting an invocation of the god, a descriptive clause “welche gesungen werden” would be a footnote of the scenario or a sotto voce remark spoken to the audience, revealing at once that the poet was an actor posing as prophet.

pada, metrical foot, is the same term as in the Veda. Zoroaster speaks of something like hexameters and dithyrambs, frarsruta does not mean
known" or "heard, granted"; to hear, grant, is \( \sqrt{\chi \theta n} \), never \( \sqrt{sru} \), in Gothic as in OP. When the poet "circumambulates the god with these verses" he is the author, he cannot fool the god by presenting him what actually is the "tribe's," \( \text{i} \text{z}\text{a} \)--cf. under 'Harvatát'—belongs to "\( \text{qaz} \), desire, passion"; frasruta \( \text{i} \text{zay} \text{a} \) means "recited con passione," just as the "prostration of the ardent one" is one made con fuoco.

Lommel and Nyberg explain "pari.gam-, circumambulate" by "sich nahen, to approach," hence do not know the rite. Equally p. 159, in Y.43: "Als das (Göttliche) mich umging (umschloss) mit Vohu Manah." It must be: "when the god in his quality (shape) of Vahumano circumambulated me." Lommel-Andreas, to Y.43.7: "pari.gam-: 'besuchen' ist abschwächende Übersetzung für 'umschreiten.' Dies, sonst Huldigung gegenüber Höher stehenden, ist von Seiten des Gottes gegen den Propheten auffallend. Markwart und Hertel geben keine wirkliche Erklärung ... etwa: jemanden (mit seinem Besuch) beehren." In mod. Persian every visit is a "bringing and carrying away of honor, taṣrīf āwurdan and burdan," but such a phrase can of course be used only by the one honored, not even the Shah could say that in the first person, let alone one who prays to his god. Hertel understands the words perfectly, Beitr, 240 and NRF VII,191, and refers for Y.51,20 to the Rigveda. In Y.43, the "Gatha of the Vision," AhuraMazdāh in his aspect as Vahumano circumambulates the prophet five times, asking and answering questions. This rite means a worshipping of Zoroaster by the god, and Markwart described Zoroaster there as Arhat, very much to the point and better than Nyberg's "pneumatischer Mensch."

In Buddhist India the rite is called pradaksīna. The Sasanian fire temples were planned for the same ceremony of circumambulation of the fire as are the modern temples. Already the pre-Islamic Arabs circumambulated the cella of the Nabataean temples and the Ka'ba, calling it tawāf. Aghāni,19,142: "The poet 'Ali b. 'Abdallāh al-Dja'fari al-Ṭālibī told: Once a woman passed me at the tawāf of the Ka'ba, while I was just reciting to a friend my verses: 'I love the religion with eagerness, but I love the worldly pleasures not less. What am I to do with such a mind, can holy and worldly love be combined?' Just then, the woman turned to me and said: Let one of them go and keep the other, no matter which one!" In Shi'ite Iran and 'Irāq, the tawāf is
part of the cult of the mashhads, the tombs of the Imāms, cf. Arch.Reise 1,85, 11,52 and Arch.Hist.Ir. 93.

ustānā.zasta: Ved. uttānā.hasta is used in a similar way; it is Δû χέπας ἄναρχον. The outstretched, open hands are of course the gesture of imploration. Duchesne, Comp.av. 221 says: "Est employé dans les gatha ... avec une signification précise: la strophe 50,8 est un abrégé de liturgie: l'office rituel comporte geste, ustānā.zasta v.2; parole, ardhahya namahā v.3; pensée, vahōš manaho hunartātā v.4; cf. Y.28,1 ustānā.zasta désignant le seule acte matériel admis dans le culte Réformé [Meillet's term for the true Zoroastrism], résume, en quelque sorte, une doctrine à lui seule."

√nam-, MP. namāz, is "to bow, down to the soil," salutation to men of higher rank, as Herodotus describes, called proskýnesis by the Greeks. The MP. ideogram is scw = Arab. sadjadi for the same posture in praying. Thus, namah is another gesture of praying, whilst hunartāt is every skill, art, here poetry. Even when these words do not represent "parole" and "pensée," Duchesne's description of the formula as "doctrine" and "office ritual" stands. ustānā.zasta is a Zoroastrian gesture of prayer; on the other hand, Ātar in Y.62,1, Mithra in Vid.3,1 are invoked "ēsma.zasta barsma.zasta gō.zasta hāvana.zasta, with fire-wood, barsman, milk and mortar in hand"; to Anāhitā one prays, in Y.5,98 with barsman in hand, and, since the goddess herself holds in Y.5,127 the libation cup, 'bātiyaka and barsman in her hand, probably with hydria or phiale for the zōbra.

hunartāt is not the "Manneskraft des brennenden Mannes," ambiguous, not to say equivocal, words, by which Nyberg crowns his translation, but means "skill, art," as it has always been translated. hūnara—see under 'Architecture,' is derived from √hū- "to produce skillfully"; the popular etymology "hū + nar, good man"—as in Goethe's poem—is wrong. AhuraMazdāh's activity when creating the world is called so; Darius calls his sportly skill, karā tō σωμα ἀρετα, "hūnara received from AhuraMazdāh" and Zoroaster his poetry "hūnartāt received from Vahumano."

The whole verse is very picturesque: Zoroaster executes the divine service according to his own rite by circumambulation, out-stretching of the arms and prostration, and his songs are his sacrifices, yasna, as he calls them in the first verse. In the same way he says in Y.51,22: "To
whom, for my sake, A.M. through [the mouth of] Rtam has destined paradise as reward for their worship (sacrifice), those . . . I want to circumambulate with songs of praise!” (text under ‘Maga,’ commentary under ‘Dēva’). The last words mean an adoration of his helpers.

In Y.46.16-17, text under ‘Hospitium’—the situation is: The two Häugava, Frašaustra and Zámāspa, set forth on their journey to the place “where obedience to the law, ārmatiś, follows right, rtam, where power, χαθρα, is in the possession of the good-will, vahumano, and where AhuraMazdāh dwells in abundance (or “joy”), vardman.” Like the following sentences, this description of the purpose of the journey is a wish: where justice ought to be found, the highest court, the great-king himself. The purpose of the journey was to obtain the frasastīś, the revocation of Zoroaster’s banishment. At their departure Zoroaster sings “in Zamaspem et Prexostrem legatos Agbatanam proficiscentes”: “You, Frašaustra, go there, ardraś tāiś yān usvahi uštāstoi!” “ardent, aglow” are here, once more, not the travelers, but Zoroaster’s wishes, the word for which is “uštāstoi, inshallāh!” “Both our, i.e. Zoroaster’s and the Häugavi’s ardent wishes for your success accompany you, my father-in-law!”

St.17:

yaθra vā  
noi̯ t anaʃmām  
hadā vās.tā  
yo vičinōt  
dahrā mantū  
afšmāni sanhānī  
žāma.aspa hāugava  
vahmān srośa rādahō  
dādhamča adādhamča  
rtā mazdā ahura

“While I shall speak verses, real verses, o H. Žāmāspa; always I shall sing the praise of your protection, you who know to judge what is art and what is not, as a learned guardian! O AhuraMazdāh as Rtam!”

Lommel-Andreas: “(dort) wo ich eure Verdienste verkündigen will, nicht eure Schuld, o Yāmāspa, du Nachkomme des Hugu, (und eure) Gebete samt diesem eurem Gehorsam aus Bereitwilligkeit (dem verkünden), der den frommen und den nicht-frommen unterscheidet, (nämlich) der Weise Herr, durch

* Andreae: “vorāson, loc-ig. eines man-Stammes, ‘Freude,’ ” with reference to MP. “vār- < vard- ‘to rejoice.’”
seinen wunderkräftigen Berater, das Wahrsein!” Note: “a: 2 Silben fehlen; Henning ergänzt aдра vor Դՙա bra. afšman ‘Ver-
dienst,’ anafšman, das Gegenteil, so auch Kent, Language iv,
106f.” I wonder whether somebody else can find rhyme and
reason in this translation, according to which Zoroaster, by
passing over the “guilt” in silence, would tell in Žāmāspa’s
favor a half-truth to his god, who through his adviser, Truth,
knows better. Bartholomae translated: “wo ich eure Nachteile
melden will, nicht eure Vorteile,” the way Arab satirists used
to threaten their victims with a satirical poem.

With srōša as noun, the construction, if possible at all, is very
difficult. Tedesco saw the solution: srōša is s-aor. of √ sru-, i.p.
aor.act., cf. Grdr. §373, and the med. srōśani in §156, xṣnaviša
in §157. The first sentence means: “I must remain at home and
can only express my wishes in poems.” afšman or afšman is
the “chain,” the term for the verse consisting of pad. noit an-
afšmām, with double negation—stronger than the positive—
“not non-verses” are really good ones. Cf. Y.46,8: “hušyātois
noit dužyātois, good-life, real good-life.” In order to judge the
verses one must be able to distinguish between dātham and
adātham. These words may refer to something that would make
the Häugava especially fit for his mission (see under ‘Hospit-
tium’), but the parallelism between the two pairs of words with
negation is so obtrusive, that one must relate the neutr. dātham
to the “verses.” Zoroaster calls Žāmāspa a “learned” man who
knows what education or lack of education (or skill and lack
of skill) really means, calls him a Dr. jur et phil.

As to etymology, Bartholomae, Grdr. §33 attached afšman to √ pas-
ṇīgyo, Lat. pangere (versus). The composing of poems is also
called “to weave,” and Gath. vaśis is “carmen,” thus in Y.43,8 and 28,3:
“yo vā . . . ufyāni . . . aparviyam, I want to make poems to Ahura-
Mazdāh as never before!” as good as never verses have been “woven”
to him. The same etymology is the best one advanced for Gr. hymnos.
The word for “strophe” is “vača.tašti, i.e. voces + texere, like sermones

8 The spelling with š in Y.46,17, with s in Awestic, makes no difference; the Pahl.transl. for
both is the same, with right: putmān, not a “Verwechslung,” Wh.114.
Andreas' objection, in NOGW 1931, III,315, is difficult to understand: "Bartholomae's Kombination von uṣyāṇi mit dem verbum des Webens wird dem Sinn nicht gerecht." The tertium is the artificial joining of the words, like threads in weaving a pattern. In just the same way "hazār.bāf, thousandfold-woven" is the term for artificial assemblage of bricks. Gath. afsman, too, means the "chain" (opp. weft) of the weaver's loom. The figurative expression has analogies in all languages. The Aramaeans "weave, zaqar" the speech, the Romans' speeches and letters. They use also "faber," as Germanic languages "to spin" and "to forge." Abu l-Atāhiya, the poet, when asked whether he was really a potter, answered: "I am a rhyme-potter, my brother is a potter by trade."

Certain expressions of this poetical language, e.g. addresses, belong to a "courtly" style and are significant for the "Horatian" character of these carmina: instead of the direct pronouns derivatives in -vant are used.

Y.44.1: "θwāvans may tell it māvans" does not mean "one like you to one like me," but in Zoroaster's causative style: "although you are so great and I am so small, you will tell me because (I love you)." Y.44.9: "θwāvans... hadmoi... šyans," according to Lommel-Andreas "einer wie Du, o Weiser, der mit... im gleichen Hause wohnt" means rather: "Your Highness who is dwelling in the same house." Or Y.43.3: "(ardro) θwāvans hożantuš spanto mazdā, of the same kind, essence, as Your Highness, holy!" The derivatives in -vant intend to avoid the vulgar "I" and "thou," as recognized already by Markwart, Gāth.ušt. p.63.

In Ar.Forsch. ii,155, Bartholomae called māvant (1.p.sg.) and θwāvant (e.p.sg.) correctly "nur Umschreibungen für ich und du"; Wb. 1304: "yuṣmāvant, χσmāvant, 2.p.pl., nur im Sinn von 'Ihr' mit Beziehung auf die Götter gebräucht"; but erroneously Ar.Forsch. ii,169: "gemeint ist: Du, der du am besten dazu imstande bist." The NP. grammarians call this -vand "i taśbih (similarity) or i ziyyādah (increase)." Here it is not similarity.

The 1.pers. māvant means "my unworthy self," thus in Y.46.7: "Who will be given as protector, pāyu, to one as humble as me?" Today one says "bandah, the slave" or "al-faqīr, the poor." For the 2nd pers. one
says “janāb i ‘āli, sarkār, hażrat, high presence etc.” MP. renders the 2.p.sg. by “to havand,” 2.p.pl. by “śmaχ havand.” The word for the 3.pers., hvāvant, only in Yt.13,146, lives on in modern language. The passage is a late interpolation into the memorial document and speaks of the “manṭra spanta, the revealed word,” the lieutenant, ašta, of Ahura-Mazdāh, which Zoroaster has allotted to men as hvāvantam, Bartholomae “als einen wie er selber ist.” It means “as master.” The real meaning of the passage is expressed, in a slightly different idiom, in the Manichaean frgmt. 1278 (Mir.Man. ii,18, cf. Altп. Inschr. 212): “and they receive the niśān (a sealed manṭra) from him and keep them with such reverence, as if one would regard as his master, χydv’y, something over which oneself is master, χyv’s χydv’yd,” hvāvant contains the notion χyvadāvand, which itself is the same -vand derivative of χyvadāy “autokrator.”

In NP. the word appears as χyvnd, χv’vnd, χv’n’d [beside the comp. with ā- and the short-form χvn]. The Burhān explains χyvand from its usage, not etymologically, as “śahib, master of the house.” It is hvāvant, as courtly expression for “he” in the address. χvand < χyvand is the predicate of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, and one usually follows Quatremère, Hist.Sult.Maml. 1,67 and 96, in assuming that the word had been introduced only after Timur, in about A.D. 1400. The earlier use of χyvandgār, as predicate of the Seljuks of Rūm, disproves that date; this word is not a short-form, but a syn. of χuḍāvandgār. The address “yā χvand!” is older. al-Ṣafādi, Ms.Berl. f° 170f., says in the biography of Yelbogha, founder of the mosque in Damascus which bears his name: The young Yelbogha said to the sultan Nāṣir Muḥammad [before 741 H.] when he mentioned 20,000 gold pieces: Sire, yā χvand, I have never seen so much money in one pile!, and the sultan sends him that much money with the baχšiš to be given to the carriers.

Yet earlier, the word appears in the biography of Shirkūh, ibn Khallikān n° 297, p.121: The prince malik al-ashraf mużaffar al-din Mūsā, son of nāṣir al-din Ibrāhim of Himṣ, explained to ibn Khallikān at Damascus, in 661 H., how he got his name: “My father received the news of my birth returning from the campaign in Anatolia, in ramaḍān

6 This havand is Aw. “avant, tantus,” used with correl. yavant or ḍivant, which Bartholomae considered as possible neologisms, whilst he remarks to the same, merely aspirated havant of Vid. and Nir. “eigtl. ihm ähnlicher.”
627 (July A.D. 1230) and said to al-ashraf Mūsā “Sire, yā ḥvand, you have one slave more!”; the sultan answered: “Call him after my name!” Therefore these Kurds, the Ayyubids, brought the word with them, which they certainly had learned at the Seljuk court. The meaning has not changed in the 1,700 years from Cyrus to Saladin.

There is also “servus,” e.g. Y.32,1: “θwoi dutāho ahāma, we want to be Thy servants!” see under ‘Armatish.’ And Y.29 ends, emphatically, with the words of the “soul of the ox”: “Invite us to the wedding, ahāma rātoiš yuṣmāvatām!, we want to be among the servants of Your Highness!”

The opposition of greatness and own humbleness appears also in verses like Y.49,12:

kat toi rtā      zbayantāi avaho
zaraduštrāi      kat toi vahū manahā
yo vā stōtāiš    mazdā frīnāi ahura
avat āsants      yat vā ištā vahīštām

“How little would it matter to Thee, as Rtam, to Thee as Vahumano, to help Zoroaster who is imploring Thee, me, who wants to please Thee with songs of praise, only asking for something that, as the best, is in Thy power!” That means, what is the best for me and an easy matter to you.

Bartholomae: “Was für Hilfe hast Du, o Aša, was Du, o Vohu Manah, für mich, den Zarathustra, der ich rufe? der ich mit Preisliedern um Eure Gnade werbe, o M.A., nach dem verlangend, was in Eurem Besitz das beste ist?” Most exacting.

Lommel: “Was hast Du durch das Wahrsein, was hast Du durch das Gute-Denken an Hilfe für den Zarathustra, der (Dich) anruft, der ich Euch, o Weiser Herr, durch Lobpreisen gen erfreuen will, um das bittend, was nach (entsprechend) Eurem Wunsche das Beste ist (oder: was Eure begehrtesten Güter sind?).” Note: “Andreas betrachtete ištā als instr.sg., vgl. Ai. iṣṭa- n., ‘Wunsch,’ ebenso Y.46,16: wo das χαθραμ entsprechend dem Wunsche—ištā—des VohuManah ist.”

68 In mod. Persian the king is addressed with “qurbānat mišavam,” or simply “qurbān,” may I be thy sacrifice, offering, exactly as in Kassita, fourteenth century a.c. “ikribu,” and at the same time the scribe Marduκ.muballit calls himself “ikribtu fa ili u šarri, consecrated to the god and the king,” viz. Assur.muballit of Assur.
"kat toi" is NP. ba-tu ėi?, what does it matter to you?, or "what concern is it of yours?" The instrumentals are instr. of quality "you (in your quality) as Vahumano." avaho is governed by kat—cf. Y.50,1: kat moi under 'Hāugava'—this in the sense of "quantillum," but put behind zbayantāi, for which an avahe must be supplied from avaho. Cf. Qur'ān 19,21, legend of Miryam: "huwa 'alayya hayyinun, it is an easy matter for Him." Therefore, ista is the normal "have power over."

Bartholomae translated Y.46,5: "es wird ihm AhuraMazdāh das (zweite) Leben schenken"; Lommel: "und ihm wird der Weise Herr das Leben geben, er wird ihm durch Gutes-Denken Vieh und Leute fördern." Both fail to hit the character of the sentences: Zoroaster "weaves" into his verses the ancient beggar's cant: A.M. shall give him life! Mazdā dadāt!, =χudā bidihad! Allāh ya'tik! God will give you! Mazdā ahum dadāt = Allāh yuṭawwil 'umrak!, God make your life—of course not the "second"—long!, Aw. dṛgajyāti and hujyāti. A.M. as Vahumano shall increase his property and family! Mazdā gēθā fradāt! = Allāh yu'ammir baitak! The Sasanian epistolary guide, Nāmak nipišnik, says dēržīvišnih ē jān ut āpātih ē hēr, or dēržīvišn u χvāstak, long life of soul and flourishing of possessions, long life and wealth! Spanish: salud y pesetas!

Andreas translates Y.32,9: "Mit diesen Worten, die der Ausdruck meiner Gesinnung sind, o Mazdā"—l'expression de mes sentiments—one cannot help going on "I have the honor to be yours truly," and the verse actually contains something of such polite phrases of an epistolary guide, highly developed in the Nām.Nip.—All these things come under the category of "narma.vak, MP. āpātgowišn, NP. narmgōy, cultivated, polite, courtly speech."

One can include Y.33,5 (see under 'Post and Travels'): "I, who wants to call forth your most-high Srōšo at the stage." Srōšo is subaltern, most-high only as servant of the Most-High. For exactly this reason, Xusraw I, the Theos, calls his ambassador theios (Menander, Exc. de Leg. 11.3). There is nothing "divine" about the ambassador himself. The same style is also Byzantine.

Among the ancient traditional patterns of this poetry are the meta-
phors taken from racing, often conforming to metaphors in the Veda and in Homer. On our understanding of them depends much besides the Iranian conception of the "aeons," discussed at the beginning under 'Chronology.'

The Husravah legend, \textit{Y}15,50 (\textit{=} 19,77) speaks of a race-course:

\begin{itemize}
\item yat vispānām yuḥtānām that of all teams
\item azam fratamam ūnajyā(ṇi) I may drive the foremost
\item ana 'tacartām' yām drgām along the long race-course
\item nava. fraθwrṣām razurām the Nine-round-forest
\item yat mām mariyo 'nrmano when the slave N. competes
\item aspēṣu 'pati.pṛtati* with me in the horse-racing!
\end{itemize}

rzurā \(>\) NP. lur; the place is to be looked for in Luristan, the region famous for the Nēsaian horses. Nine rounds are the maximum, as the tablets of Kikkuli of Mitanni describe it, see under 'Chronology': nāvartanē vaż' anasaja. One circuit of the course is a rvēsa, etym. = Gr. ṭουκός and assuming all connotations of Gr. κύκλος, "round, course, cycle." *asp.a rvēsa \(>\) NP. aspṛēs "hippodrome." Another term is "ṭwarsah, section," whence on the one hand ṭwarsah as term for the nine millen- nia of the world's history, on the other the nine ṭwarsah of the "var i Yamkirt." pati.pṛtati is "compete, contest."

The MP. term for the paradisiac condition after the end of the world, "apatiyārakih, being-no-longer-contested," and the old word frašam—always with ellipsis—"beyond (contest by evil)" are taken from the races: the ninth and last turn round the 'meta' is the image of the ninth and last millennium. When the victorious chariots go through the goal, all shout: Yā-ahil!, triumph! To Lat. meta Gr. "terma" corresponds, and "meta vitae, terme de la vie" is the universal metaphor.

From the time of Kikkuli and Husravah to the present day, the style of the yearly races for testing the Turcoman and Arab horses at GümüşTepe near Astarābād in Hyrcania has not changed. One races round the course three, five, seven, and nine times, nāvartanē, only one no longer drives chariots, but rides on horseback. The nine rounds measure together one double parasang or about seven miles. The course, of necessity, is an elongated ellipse, the spina of which measures about

\footnote{Text: čartām, 1 syllable short; archet. 13 for tač-, erroneously transliterated by Ḍ.}

\footnote{Text: yo, in Y19,77 yat and pṛtati; the lines are taken over—as all corresponding ones—from the epic, where they appeared in narrative form, and are deficiently adapted to the meter.}
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700 yards. One tačara, the length of one round, hence would be over 1,400 yards. Frhg.Év. 27a says: "biś ētavat hāḥram yayat tačaram, two lengths of a hāḥra equal one tačara," and the hāḥra is determined as "M gām č do pāy, 1,000 paces at 2 feet," which gives the hāḥra exactly the normal length of the spina and the tačara the double of it.

The old myth of Yama's var describes the four sides of this castrum as 1 tačara long; this is actually the size of the qāṣr Balkuwārā in Samarra. Vid.2,25, there, writes "1 čartu.drażah," Pahl.Vid. "aspřes drahνād, one race-course long," with note: "= 2 hāsr." The archetype must have had ṭaṣḥ, with ṣ for č and v in the joint of the compound, read *tačarta.dražah. Tazar remains a placename; one of them, which the early Arabs mention near Dastagird Xusrau, is called hippódromos by the chroniclers of Herakleios.

Another word for race-courses is NP.-Arab. maidān, used, like tazar, as placename. Many towns had several maidān in front of their gates; Aleppo e.g. had four or five, and besides a quarter aspřes. Ibn Shaddād describes a column there, the meta of the antique hippodrome, the shape of which one can imagine from the remark that it had the power of healing urinary troubles. In Iran, the double posts of polo-gates are always phalloid, e.g. the oldest ones preserved on the largest and most beautiful maidān, the one in Isfahan. This maidān, at present the center of the town, was before the Arab conquest outside the south-gate of the old City of Gay, as the name of this gate, bāb aspřes shows.9

Thus, aspřes and maidān are synonyms, and both are Iranian words. Olr. maitāna appears as placename in the list of 45 Median chiefs in the Hamadan region who bring tribute to Sargon, when he added the region to his province Parsua, with the seat of administration in Harhār-Nihāwand; Prism A: *is.te.liku and *a.di[t?]ri.pa.ar.ru, bel alānī9
ša ma[t][m]ai.ta.ni. maitāna is der. of mita, Lat. meta, V/mei10 and is identical with Ar. ma.i.te.ni in the letter of Sauššatar, founder of the kingdom of Mitanni, to his vassal, the king of Arrapḥa,11 which is the oldest form of the name of the country, mita.na of the Amarna letters, transformed to mitanni in Akkadian, probably from the Ar.

9 abu Nu'ain, akkhār Isḥāḥān 1,10,17: *dryn inst. of *dryn.
10 Cf. OP. mayyuxa, > NP. mēχ = Akk. zikkatu, and Lat. uīnō, which explains the phalloid shape.
11 E. A. Speiser, Jaoe.49, 1929, 269ff., and e.g. Knudtzon, Amarna no.86.
locative. The group of horse-breeding Aryans which segregated from the main body on the way from the Oxus and Iaxartes to Sarasvati and founded a kingdom in Mesopotamia, called the vast plains—which they reached when leaving the Iranian mountains—"hippodrome," as the syn. asp tāz is used in NP. for an entirely plain country, zamīn i ham-vār.

Not a few metaphors in the gatha refer to the races.
Y.50,6:

dātā χratoʃ hizuvo raθiyam stoi
mahya rāzan vahū sāhyāt manahā

"AhuraMazdāh, who as Vahumano has given me χratuʃ, will (also) point out the rules that shall be a way for my tongue."

Previous translations differ only in the interpretation of rāzan and sāhyāt. Benveniste takes the verb as absolute, the infinitive phrase as contents of the "proclamation": "Que ses commandements soient la voie de ma langue!" Andreas-Lommel take rāza as object, "the direction," not to rāzar, -ūzān, but like paθo sāh in Y.34,12; 43,3, or Ved. anu.śās: "Damit für meine Zunge eine Bahn sei." Nyberg needs "rāzan, Heilige Regeln" for his "Ordalterminologie."

The rules and the way are those of the "tongue," the language, not "holy," but philological. In Y.31,19 Zoroaster says:

rū.χαθāi vačahām χšayamno hizvo vaso

"having full mastery of my tongue as to correct speaking of words." "rū.uxta vaxš, correctly spoken word" in Y.11,3, see under 'Yā-ahil' "vaso χšayamna," with vaso lit. "as you like," cf. "vaso.χšaθra, absolute ruler"; OP. "manahā hvēpašyahya daršam χšayamna ahmi, over my will I am severely ruling." Full mastery of the language of poetry and its rules means professional study of language. "Way, method," the only thing worth while learning and the only thing a good teacher can give his pupil, is a figure for study the world over. Aw. raθya is—with Lommel—the carriage-way in contradistinction to paθo "foot-path," cf. OL. "rathyā, street," MP. rēh, NP. rāh, der. of "raθa, carriage." It was first the race-track, then the highway.

The metaphor goes on in the next stanza, Y.50,7: "I will harness for

12 χratu unites power of understanding and volition.
You the speediest racers, the..., the broad ones, of Your praise, the strong ones; with them You shall reach the (winning) post, be ready to help me!

Bartholomae: “Ich will Euch anschirren die raschen Renner, durch die Anregung Eures Preises, die breiten, die starken, o A.M., mit denen Ihr herankommen sollt. Zu meiner Hilfe macht Euch bereit!”

In Wb. 604 he remarks to “jaya, Anregung”: “d.h. sobald der Preis der Götter angestimmt wird, schirrt sich ihr Wagen zur Herfahrt.” Jayāś is obscure, probably an attribute of the horses, similar to “viśta(aspa), excited at the start.” Lommel-Andreas: “..., die durch die Gewalt der Euch (gewidmeten) Anbetung breit(?) (und) durch Wahrein und Gutes-Denken stark sind. ...” In the supplement: “(das befremdliche ‘breit’) allenfalls zu stützen durch Sophokles, Aias, 1250: πλατεῖς εὐρύω-τοι.” A. v. Gutschmid, in his review of Nöldeke’s Tabari translation, explained the surname of Shāhpuhr “dhū l-aktāf, shoulder-man” by εὐρύωτος, εὐρις ὄμωσιν, which would be OIr. prthuvarah. Race-horses, too, are not flat-, but deep-chested, but the metaphor of the “song-horses,” misinterpreted by Bartholomae, is in fact not driven to that point. Lommel takes mazdā rtā and vahū manahā, in which Bartholomae saw vocatives, but they mean, as they stand in the verses, “(dedicated to) you Mazdāh as rtam and vahuman.”

Nyberg: “Um Euren Siegespreis zu gewinnen, Mazdāh mit Aśa, will ich Euch die nützreichen, raschen, breiten, durch Vohumanah kräftigen Renner anspannen, auf dass Ihr mit ihnen hierher kommen möget; möget Ihr mir zu Hilfe kommen!” And: “Der eine Wendepunkt der Rennbahn ist der Himmel, wo die Götter wohnen, ... die Hymnen (Pferde) laufen von der Erde zum Himmel, von wo sie als Preis die Götter herabholen, der in den Göttern selbst und ihrer Seligkeit besteht.” According to 303, the “Ausgangspunkt, start” of the race course would be the “Urschöpfung,” the “Endpunkt” the “grosse Ordal.” This concept is derived from Bartholomae’s translation, but with a mistake: Germ. “Preis” is (1) price, (2)
prize, (3) praise; the Aw. word in the text is vahma, Lat. preces, song of praise, not Aw. mižda, Lat. praemium. The verses do not speak of a “Siegenspreis.” Moreover, the “Preis” is not won at the “turn” which Nyberg puts in heaven, but at the goal or post; a race course, as the names rvësa and vartana say, is of necessity a closed curve, Herakleitos: ἐγὼν γὰρ ἄρχῃ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλῳ περιφερείας. The tired horses do not draw the chariot back, be it loaded with all the bliss of the gods. Already Kikkuli describes, about 1380 B.C., how they were cared for by their grooms, moved, washed, rubbed and fed.

The song is the chariot in which AhuraMazdăh drives in the shape of his aspects, Zoroaster’s verses are the racers. azăthă, too, must stay inside this figure: “With them you shall arrive at, reach. . . .” The god shall help the poet to win “im Kampf der Wagen und Gesänge” (Schiller).

Zoroaster’s songs, the gatha, are carmina or rather “odes.” Nyberg, 291: “Yasht-Dichtung ist im Kreise um Zarathustra nicht eigentlich zu Hause.” In a circle around a poet, the center, the poet, makes the poems. This circle was not a school of hymnbook poets of the 17th century. “Yasht-dichtung” never existed in any circle. The Awestic yashts are not created as such, they became liturgical yashts step by step. If one dissolves, with the acid of criticism, the glue which the diaskeuasts have smeared over the yasht during a long period, the residue consists of fragments of poems and some prose pieces of various kinds, among them mythical, scientific, juridical, bucolic and martial ones, and a few larger parts of hymns to gods, as they may have been sung at many places in different ways. Sometimes, for instance in the Mithra, Tištriya and Vṛthragna yashts, one can form an approximate picture of their original whole. But over against the songs of Zoroaster they are all naïve, like a folk song against a work of literature.

The poet was Zoroaster, and around him there were many inca able to do the same, and a few, able to distinguish dātham and adātham. The brighter Greeks, yet, called Herakleitos “dark, σκότεινός.” With him, Zoroaster has much in common—as to form also with Horace,
and one cannot imagine any poems that would have a better claim to the motto: odi profanum vulgus et arceo. Therefore, although his doctrine was officially recognized as a “community, vzranam,” one can only speak of a “Zoroaster community” in the sense one says “Tolstoy, Goethe community.” The high dignitaries, all belonging to the court and clan of Vištāsp as head of the younger branch of the Achaemenids, are enumerated in the memorial list of Yt.13, altogether 240 names.

Zoroaster calls himself “manthrān, poet, inspired singer,” and claims to own, beside “sweetness of tongue” just virtuosity and perfect mastery of language. But he does not call himself “prophet” in the sense of “rasūl Allah,” God’s envoy.

The claim is justified. The gatha are works of a high art, full of archaic forms acquired by study, but in style and thought entirely individual. This is a quality one rarely finds in Eastern countries, where more artists sign their works than is usual in the Western world, and yet their works look non-individual. Some of the good fragments in the old yashts—the rest, even when not younger than the Achaemenian period, is not worth mentioning—are very typical and conventional, and would be anonymous even when the authors were known by name. But however high and studied the art of the Zoroastrian verses be, they are no longer “classical.” Everywhere their art is on the verge of mere virtuosity. To use an archeological term: the gathas are “archaisant,” not “archaic.”

Some Awestic passages flaunt their “erudition” and “correct language,” and though just these are post-Alexandrian, yet what they express is valid for the entire redaction of the Awesta.

Yt.3,18 and Niy.1,16: “hizvo danahā manthrāca vačāca ūyōhnāca zothrābyasāca rś.uxōbyasāca vāyzybyo.”

Bartholomae’s translation “mit Zungenfertigkeit . . . und mit richtigen Sprüchen” misses the meaning (cf. Wb.681 danah, 746 √danah, and 1815 hizu-). Hertel, who in Beitr. 28 says: “d.h. mit einem Lied in awestischer, nicht mittelpersischer Sprache,” perfectly to the point, yet translates: “mit der Gelehramkeit der Zunge . . . und mit leuchtend gesprochenen Worten.” rś, in rś.uxδa, means, as always, the “correctness” of speech, here the grammar; and “danah, to √danah, docere” is not rhetorical fluency of speech, but science of language, philology,
such as the bilingual or trilingual Achaemenian scribes owned, whose serious philological studies enabled them to keep the inscriptions of Darius free from faults—while all others are faulty. Yt.3,18 means “with words correctly spoken,” e.g. the instr. pl. vāγzbyo of vāχś, according to Bartholomae’s phonetic law, in contrast to rś.υχδεbyo.

In Yt.5,17 and 104, and Yt.9,26; 19,13, the expression hizvo danhammad is also applied to the prayers of AhuraMzdāh and Zoroaster, who both therefore would have known Awestic, as the authors of these verses believed themselves to do. They claimed to be danha, doctores, but, as the examples prove, no longer spoke rś.υχδa, correctly. The false topic name ‘airyanam vaējo vahyā dātiyayā’ places these verses in the time of Vidēvdād I, the 2nd century B.C.

I once came, a little late, to a meeting of a literary society in Teheran. In a large reception room a poet stood on a pulpit, reciting verses in one and the same difficult meter with always the same rhyme. When he had at last finished, a second stood up and continued, and then a third. While I asked myself how such an improvisation and inspiration—eclipsing Firdausi’s examination—was possible, the chairman rose and said: “And for our next meeting we prepare this meter and that rhyme!” Agha Furughī expressed more than once his opinion to me that there have been no more poets since Sa’di and Hāfiz, which would give a period of almost 2,000 years, with one high point at the beginning and one at the end, and gaps in between.

The opinions about the two dialects, Gothic and Awesitic, cannot be expressed in short sentences, and have shifted much since the study of the problem began. But in general it is still admitted today that the Gothic dialect is older than the Awestic which continued as lingua sacra. Unless one would assume that Gothic was an older phase of Awestic, this would mean a change of language and would involve problems of religious history which nobody has even tried to formulate. The assumption of a difference in age is justified only when speaking of the character of the dialects, in the sense in which e.g. the character of the Baltic languages is very archaic, that of German younger, of English still younger. But the conclusion that the Gothic songs were older than the Awestic hymns is totally erroneous. The phase of development, the linguistic character of a dialect does not allow a conclusion as to the date of poems composed in it. The gatha have found a place
in young surroundings, the Yasna; the yasht, product of a redaction older than the yasna but younger than the gatha, also include old parts, and these, though in Avestic, not in Gathic, are pre-Zoroastrian, hence older than the gatha.

Meillet, *Trois Conf.* 41, says on the Irish epics: "Si l'on les rapproche des gâthas . . . , on comprend d'où vient l'obscurité et pourquoi le vocabulaire y fait presque à chaque strophe quelque difficulté . . ." and p.42s, on the lyric verses of the Greek drama and those coming near to prose: "La différence profonde entre les deux parties est soulignée par le fait que les parties lyriques ont une couleur dialectale qui les sépare de la langue courante." By these analogies, Meillet described exactly the relation of the two Iranian dialects.

Treating both dialects as living ones, as is usually done, can be maintained only with strong qualifications. Zoroaster's virtuosity was so superior that he composed his songs in the learned language of an archaic, traditional poetry. Gathic, like Homeric, has never been the common language of any tribe or region. It is the language of poetry. The gatha are carmina, no people and no community. Not even Zoroaster's name belongs to the dialect of his verses.

I wonder whether the quotations from the epics, of the stratum preceding the Husravah legend, could be translated into Gathic, a problem connected with that of the Yasna haftahāti, which perhaps contains also a few epical fragments in Gathic. The Avestic quotations are hardly ever free of metrical and other deficiencies, which might be cured by such a "retranslation." That means it is not impossible that Gathic was the language of the original Epic, and that the fragments were transposed into Median when the quotations were inserted into the yashts.

In the following chapter we shall study some specific terms of this poetical language of Zoroaster, namely yā-ahī, maga, myastra and vahu āgmata, behind which one has looked for deep secrets, but which disclose themselves as the simplest notions and therefore make plain sense of a number of verses, incomprehensible before.
XVI. YĀ-AHĪ!

"Conquer, fortune of the Blues!"

In Y.49,9 and 46,14, also Yt.11,3, a word yā.ahī appears, the case of which cannot be determined; in Y.50,2, after parā, we find the abl. yā.āho; in Yt.13,41 and Y.36,2 (= 58,7) the acc. yā.ahām. The stem is considered to be yāh, which Wb. assumes to be the first element of the adj. yā.s.krt (with compar. and superl.). This adjective appears only at very bad places of Yt.13 or worse ones, and may belong together with yaso.brta.—yā.ahī has no true etymological connection.

Bartholomae translates, in Wb. "Krise, Entscheidung, Wendepunkt, insbes. eschatologisch von dem entscheidenden 'Schlusswerk,' das den Sieg der ahurischen Welt vollenden wird." Nyberg, 227: "Der Ausdruck 'letzter Wendepunkt der Schöpfung' ist von der Rennbahn hergenommen... fällt also mit dem yāh zusammen, das Zarathustra demnächst erwartet... Man pflegt, wohl etwas zu unbestimmt, dies Wort mit 'Krise' zu übersetzen. Wahrscheinlich war es ein gewöhnlicher Ordalbegriff, der seinerseits den entscheidenden Augenblick der Ordalhandlung ausdrückte." A term unknown, but congruent with a term of sport, can "with probability" only be another term of sport.

The word has been totally misunderstood: it is no noun of undeterminable case, but an exclamation, yā-ahī!, the inciting cry at the endspurt of the races. When Kurds and Lurs yodel their yā-ahī-yā-ahī today, it carries for miles from mountain to mountain.

Y.46,14:

zaraduštra
mazoi magāi
āt ho kavā

kas.tē rtāvā rvātho
ko vā frasrudyāi vašti
vištā.asp o yā-ahī!

"Zoroaster! which faithful one is your friend for the great festival? Who wants to be praised in song? He: kavi Vištāspa, triumph!"


Lommel-Andreas: "O Z.! Wer ist dein dem Wahrsein ergenbener Freund für die grosse (Gabe?) und wer wünscht gerühmt
zu werden? Nun, das ist der Fürst V. bei der Entscheidung."
Note: "yāhi: yōhi (Andreas)."
Nyberg: "Z., wer ist dir ein aša.gläubiger Mysteriengenosse
für den grossen maga? Oder wer wünscht gehört zu werden?
Er, der k.V. bei der Krise."
maga is the celebration of victory—see under 'Maga'; √sru-, "recite,
praise in song" especially with fra-, as in frasrudyāi, cf. frasruta in Y.
50,6. Here and in the following stanza Zoroaster speaks entirely in the
figurative language of old poetry, that drew its metaphors mainly from
the race sport.
Y.499:

srōtu sāsnā           'frasanhyo suvē tašto
noit rš.vacā           saram didans drugvatā
yat deśā               vahiśte yujan miždē
rtā yuṅtā              yā-ahi žāma.aspa

"He shall proclaim the orders, the herald destined for my salvation, who
as a duly-speaking one rejects all fellowship with the drugvant,—when
those who are harnessed to rtam shall harness the best prize of victory
to the chariot of their faith! Triumph, Žāmāspa!"

Nyberg: "Möge derjenige, der sich (von Vohu Manah) binden lässt, der geschaffen ist heil zu verschaffen, diese vorschrift-
ten hören: der recht-redende kümmert sich nicht um Vereini-
gung mit dem Drug-Anhänger, wenn die mit Aša verbundenen
ihre Schauseelen im besten Lohn bei der Krise vereinigen, o
Žāmāspa!"

Bartholomae translated the last sentence: "wenn die mit A.
verbundenen ihr Ich beim Schlusswerk des besten Lohns teil-
haftig machen." Lommel: "wenn sie . . . bei der Entscheidung
die geistigen Persönlichkeiten mit dem besten Lohn verbinden."
Markwart protested in Gāth.ust. against translating savah by
"Nutzen, profit" instead of "Heil, welfare, salvation."
suvē tašto: √taš- is the word for AhuraMazdāh's purposeful
creation; cf. Y.44,8: "for whom (else) hast Thou destined the
cow?" under 'Ārmatiš.' The purpose is here suvē, dat. of "sū,
welfare" produced by miraculous power. As term of handicraft
√taš- means "to timber." suvē tašto means in Zoroaster's
didactic style “because A.M. created, sent him for my salvation,”
exactly “a godsend.”

rś. vačah: “proper, becoming talk.” Žámāspa talks, the verses
do not speak of Zoroaster issuing orders. The “commandments,”
sāsnā, are those of the government, the frasastiš of the preceding
stanza, proclaimed by the herald, frasanhya. noīt didans: the
negation reverses the sense of the verb: “not-wanting” means
“rejecting,” cf. Y. 49, 3. The “drugvant” is the bandva’s tkēso.

In the preceding stanza, Frašauštra is the fra.išta, envoy, and the ques-
tion is “which hvētu will obtain the frasastiš for the vrzanam?” Here,
the brother, Žámāspa, is frasanhya, herald; srōtu, to √ sru- “to praise”
replaces here √ sanh- “to proclaim,” viz. the sāsnā (to √ sanh-), the
order proclaimed by the frasanhya, see under ‘Social Structure’ and
‘Hāugava.’

The play upon the words yuβan and yṳxtā shows that the original
sense, the harnessing of the horses to the “yoke,” was not lost; cf. Y. 50, 7,
where Zoroaster harnesses his verses to the victorious chariot. The rtā
yuxtā are the victors, because they are harnessed to rtam. The victor
harnesses himself, i.e. his chariot, to the prize of victory, or drives home
the prize tied to his chariot; cf. Y. 10, 38, under ‘Mithra’: “the cow goes
the way of captivity on the raṭa of the thieves,” tied to their off-driving
chariot.

The verses address “those harnessed to rtam” who (lit.:) “harness
their faiths (plur.) to the prize of victory.” This moment comes when
(yat, temp.) Frašauštra and Žámāspa have obtained the frasastiš, and
Žámāspa announces it as frasanhya.

Y. 50, 2:

srōta gošaiš vahištā āvanēta sučā manahā
ā var nā vičiθahya naram naram hvahyāi tanuvē
parā mazo yā-aho ahmāi saṣdyāi bōdanto pati

“Hear with your ears, see with your eyes, in Good-Will, come here
to us, man by man for his own person, before the great triumph of the
decision: it shall become true in our favor, (you) who (shall) perceive
it!”

Bartholomae: “Höret mit den Ohren das Beste—sehet es euch
an mit dem lichtesten Sinn—für die Entscheidung zwischen
den beiden Glaubensbekenntnissen, Mann für Mann für seine Person vor dem grossen Schlusswerk darauf bedacht, dass er es zu unserem Gunsten vollenden!

Andreas: "Höret . . ., sehet . . ., die beiden Wahmögliche-
keiten, die zur Entscheidung stehen, indem ihr darauf achtet, dass jedermann für seine Person uns vor dem grossen Entschei-
dungskampfe gefalle!"

Nyberg: "Das grosse yāh in Y.30,2 ist das grosse Ordalurteil: Höret . . . sehet mit brennendem Sinn (manah) das Beste; kommt hierher zu uns zur Entscheidung, Mann für Mann [ein jeder] für seine Person, darauf bedacht, es für uns vor der grossen Krise (yāh) zu vollenden!"

These translations are at variance mainly in the conception of b: Bartholomae: å varnā; Andreas: āvarnā; Nyberg: å var nā (with cod. k5). A dual of device or decision is out of the ques-
tion, Zoroaster does not invite votes against himself. The impers. "å var nā, come here to us!" is the only possible reading; srōta and āvanēta are equally imperatives, sazdyāi and bodanto have imperative meaning. The instr. vahištā manahā (superl. of vahu manah) refers to the three imperatives. There is no other regens for the gen. vīcidāhya but parā mazo yā.āho. vīcidā is "choice, decision," cf. Y.33,3 rš viṣyāta, Y.49,6 rš vićidyāi, and tat moi vīcidyāi in Y.31,5 (Benveniste Inf. av. p.81).

sazdyāi: as in Y.51,6 "aṭā no sazdyāi uštā, thus it shall be-
come apparent for us, if He wills!" cf. under ‘Fravarāni.’ The verb ñsand- means "to become ēpīnýs, apparent, manifest, reality"; the subject "it" is the decision; the dat. ahmāi is "for us, in our favor." pati.bōdanto is participle, at the end of a stanza, as usual, vocative: "you (who are) perceiving ones, spec-
tators"; ñbōd-, "sentire," scil. perceiving (srōta, āvanēta) what shall "become manifest, sazdyāi." pati.bōdanto, hence, means "qui vivra verra," you shall witness the decision in our favor, you all shall live to see the yā-ahī, the triumph.

Of the three Awestic passages only the first, Yz.13,41, has some value:

dāṭriś ahmāi vahu hvarno yo hiś aṭā frayazate
kahmāičit yā.āhām jaso kahmāičit anzhahām biwivā
The sentence is part of the mythical description of the Fravarti who help in all fights and troubles: "who bring luck to him who implores them constantly, whenever it comes to a yā.ahī, whenever he is in trouble."

hvarnah = tyche, at the end of the 5th century = fortuna, also in the gatha. anzah = anger, anxiety, Germ. "Enge" and "Angst." biwivā, re-dupl.perf. of √bi- "to become frightened," NP. bim; its etymological connection with OHG. bibēn > beben, bibbern, to quiver, is contested, but that is the meaning, here and elsewhere.

yā.ahī, again, is the triumphant shouting that accompanies the last spurt in racing. The "pire misère intellectuelle" of the redactors has disfigured also this passage by interpolating "like the orthodox Zoroaster, the iudex of the material world, the koryphè of the two-legged ones, baṝnuṣ bipatištānayā," thereby making Zoroaster the one who lives in a continuous state of fright.

Yt.11.3: rš.uxdo vaxš yā.ahī vr̄brajānstanamo.

The verses speak of the ahunavarya prayer as magic charm, and one must translate: "the correctly pronounced (ahunavarya) word is the most conquering yā-ahī!"

Y.36.2, repeated in Y.58.7: Ātaṛš shall come to meet the worshippers namištahya namahā nā mazištāi yāhām patižamyā, at their "footfalett" footfall at the greatest of yā-ahī!

On a little church in front of the east gate of Ruṣāfa I once discovered an inscription: νικά ἦ τύχη Ἀλαμονδάρου, "Conquer fortune of al-Mundhir!" In circuses one often finds: νικά ἦ τύχη τῶν Βενέτου, Conquer, fortune of the Blues! There is also Lat. nika. It is the usual cry of applause at the end spurt, the victory in the race. But one finds also νικά ἦ τύχη τῶν ΧΡ[μοιτον], hence the figure under which Zoroaster speaks of his religion applied to the victory of Christianity. In Constantinople and in Syria the spectators—bōdanto pati—shouted nika, in Iran yā-ahī! The exclamation belongs to ῬΗΗΕΠΟA, or ΗΗΟΣ,

1 Text: nam-, equally worthless whether superfl. of namrā, nāman, or as I take it, of namah.
iáwos as call of the Apollon of Delphi, or to εὐοῖ. Lat. euhoe, Germ. eia, heia, juchhei etc., and is of IE. age.*

The antonym of yā.ahī, equally old, is Gath. Aw. vayoi, vayū, āvōi, Lat. vae (victis), Got. wai, e.g. Y.53,7: "then, vayoi shall be your cry at the very end!" or Y.54,6: "to the vayū.brdbyo they serve hellish food," a typical example of Zoroaster's "causative compounds": they cry vayū because such food is served to them. And just as yā.ahī in Y.50,2 and in the yasht, vōya, āvōya are inflected like a noun in Had.N. and Vid. 18,9.

In Psalter, Ps.122, avoy is written with inverse d: 'vov, cf. χυσλόv = χυσrōy. This word occurs also in Mir.Man.11,24,11, where the meaning does not fit, and Henning tries "rette!"; it may be Aw. avahē, help!—In Mir.Man.11,39,20, Henning translates TPārs. v'γ—which can scarcely be anything but vayoi—by "triumph(?)," that is the sense of yā.ahī. There, it might not be synonym, but antonym to "hail!"

When an exclamation "yā.ahī=hurrah!," of which we have discussed all instances, is translated by "crisis," strange concepts are bound to originate, and did so beyond expectation. Nyberg, 194: "Die Gatha 46 ist die Gatha der Grossen Krise," beside smaller nervous crises. 191: "Über die Bedeutung dieser Krise ist eine lange Diskussion geführt..." Representative specimens of interpretations are: "akuter Konflikt zwischen den beiden arischen Hauptvölkern, Iraniern und Indern; oder inner-iranischer Konflikt; a) kulturell: Ackerbauern gegen Nomaden; b) sozial: Klassenkampf der Armen gegen die Herren; c) lokal: West Iran gegen Ost-Iran." p.196: "Halten wir fest: Ausgangspunkt des Streites ist: ein neuer Kult, kombiniertes Hauma- und Stier-Mysterium dringt in Zarathustras Stamm ein. Wer sich in der Nacht mit Hauma berauschte, konnte unmöglich am Tage danach arbeitsfähig sein." 288: "Zarathustras grosse geistige Krise wurde dadurch verursacht, dass der Hauma-Kult... sein Werk vernichtete..., den er selber in seiner Gemeinde einführete." 201: "Der Angriff des neuen Kultes ist eine le-

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* Ir. bax bax, Arab. baḥ baḥ has the same sense, whence baḥbūḥa (see under 'Hospitium'). I heard also, in Persia, baḥ baḥ! which I regard as the otherwise obsolete pos. vahu, of the compar. bēh < vahya. At any rate it is the same as xval xval, e.g. in Art.Vir.Nām. 3,18. Zamakhshari, Lāz.-Ar.-Pers. 84: "alkā nikā dar waqt ī ridā guyard, ahsan ahsant!" On the so-called baḥj-dīrham baḥx baḥx is written like rāst on Sa. coins, or like babānu, Akk. transl. of OP. naḥa (mē, nkā) applied to Seleucid coins: "good, of full weight," Stickel, Bleisiegel, zornig 20 (1866), 346, quotes Fleischer, zornig 9, 612, Turk. Qāmūs: "everyone who sees these dirhams, because they are unalloyed and good, says: baḥ baḥ!"
bensgefährliche Bedrohung dessen, was der Herzzpunkt in der Religion der Gatha-Gemeinde war: des maga-Mysteriums, der Ekstase." 202: "Der neue Kult ist nicht nur negativ schädlich, er enthält auch ein positives Übel, eine neue Mysterienfeier, welche die alte aufhebt. Das ist die wirkliche Bedeutung der Krise" (emphasis in the original).

The "real signification" of the "crisis" yā-ahī is "hurrah!" The word was mysterious, but has nothing to do with mysteries.
Maga was more mysterious even than yâ-ahî! The accepted translation was “league, Bund,” first advanced by Geldner and Justi, without etymology, merely on the strength of Y.54,7: “if you desert this maga.” Bartholomae defined it (Wb.): “Bund, Geheimbund, spez. von der zarahothrischen Religionsgemeinschaft, ein term. techn., dessen eigentl. Bedeutung nicht zu entscheiden.”

Messina, Ursprung der Magier and Markwart saw in it Ved. “magha, gift, present,” and interpreted it as the “Zoroastrian religion”; similarly Andreas, as an abbreviation of “vahōš manahō maga, gift of Vahumano,” NCOW 1931, iii,323. In Altp. Inschr. 171, I described it in analogy to the figure of the racing for the victory of religion as a metaphoric expression, referring to something similar to the modern zörkhānāh, half Greek gymnasium, half takiya of dancing darwishes. Nyberg’s explanation is, 201: “Das maga Mysterium, Herpunkt in der Religion der Gatha Gemeinde” and “maga, to √ māng-, mag- (x) primarily the ‘Sangschar’ der Ekstatiker, deren vornehmstes Mittel zur Erreichung der Ekstase der Gesang war; (2) secondarily: der Platz wo sie die Ekstase erreicht, der magisch geschützte Raum für Daemonenaustreibungen.” Since demons used to be especially active during a prima nox, in Y.51,7 this consummation takes place on that protected area; finally, the “magisch geschützte Raum” alone remains. Darwish exercises are well known to me, with their long hours of “huwe, huwe, huwe,” that have the same “virtus dormitiva” as “duce, duce, duce,” “cuius est natura sensus assoupire” (Molière). None of these ways leads to cognition.

The rarely used word is not a common term—as e.g. dēnā is—for the religious group around Zoroaster, but its use is restricted to a certain metaphor: wherever the word appears, the verses speak of friends, guests or banquet, praising and singing. The term is solely a figurative one. It appears only six times, the derivative magavan twice. Of these eight instances three are in Y.51, two in 53, and there one must look for the solution.
In Y.51,7 the exact meaning of maga is plain. The train of thought begins in 51,5:
saṃvānī vazammābyo kanibyo mṛōmi
śmabyasācā vādayamnā mancā i dazdvam

"I will tell commandments for the bridal maidens and for you, bridegrooms, impress them on your memory (and grasp them in your hearts)!

The many var. lect. of vādayamna lead to archet. v(’)dymn, regular caus., lit. "those who lead to marriage" (Germ. "zur Ehe führen"), bridegrooms, as Geldner already foresaw. They must of necessity be mentioned, among other reasons because they are addressed in the vocative, whereas the brides, vazammā, are spoken of only in 3rd person. Bartholomae’s interpretation "mahnend" is as impossible as Nyberg’s "(Priester) der mit seinen Kräften (=kraft seines Amtes) zur Ehe gibt." The "giving away in marriage" was done by the "pātiś," in whose "potestas" the girl was, the father who gives away a daughter, or the brother his sister, cf. Y.9,23 or upa.vāḍaya in Vid. 14,15.

St.6 begins: "This is true, you men and women!" What follows is much disturbed by infiltration of glosses. If a charm against demons should be found in these verses, it would be no more significant for the religion of Zoroaster, than the bismillah, the Muslim is supposed to pronounce in the same situation, for the religion of Muhammad.

St.7:
āṭcā vo miḍdam ahat ahya magahya
yāvat āžuś zarzdhiṣto bunoī haxtiyā
parā mrōčans ērēcā (rest corrupt, gap)
vizāyaṭa magam tam
āt vo vayoī ahati apamam vačo

"Yours shall be the award from this maga, simulacque penis in infima parte femorum vehementissime ardet, prorsum retrorsumque movens—But if you desert this maga, yours shall be cries of woe at the very end!"

The Pahl. transl. had correctly understood the decisive sentence: kā āžūk rawēt pa bun ē haxt ē zan kuš haṃāk pa tan andar.štavēt bē āyēt.... Also Kh. E. Punegar:1 "and-also unto-

you there-shall-be a-reward of-this eminent-act (enterprise) [i.e. maga]. So-long-as the-most-heart-felt passion [i.e. āžuš] is-going off and down into-the-bottom of-the-sexual-organ [there the text becomes incomprehensible: whither reaches the spirit of the wicked . . .]." Nyberg gave already the Latin translation, only omitting parā mrōčans ērāča, but without recognizing that he had, thereby, the solution of the problem of maga in his hand.

In this passage the meaning "marriage, wedding" of maga is unquestionable. With the prohibition of divorce in st.7, the "Wedding Gatha" ends, and with st.8—as in Y.50 with st.6, see under 'Poetry'—a new gatha begins.

Bartholomae remarks: "Die einzige Gatha, von der wir den äusseren Anlass zur Dichtung kennen: es war das Fest der Vermählung Jāmāspas mit Zarathustras jüngster Tochter Poručistā. Bei dem kirchlichen Akt, dem der Fürst Vištāspa, ferner Frašauštra und ein Sohn Zarathustras bewohnten, wurden noch einige weitere Brautpaare zusammen-gesprochen." When reading these "Society News" of an old-fashioned provincial paper, one believes one hears the princely guests singing, in church, hymn n° 53, verse 7, which Bartholomae had failed to understand.

Nyberg sees, on the one hand, in vādayamna the priest celebrating the marriage ceremony, but says on the other hand, 27: "In Y.53 wird ein Versuch gemacht, eine spezifisch zoroastrische Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin einzuführen, nämlich Zarathustras Tochter Poručistā," against two old rivals, Ardvī and Rtiš; he believes the attempt "suffered shipwreck"—one of the many shipwrecks in the book—because Rtiš "was too deeply anchored," and allows finally the old Ardvī to come out as victress.—The Goddess of Fertility in modern literature is simply sickening.

The rule given about marrying off young girls is preserved in Vid. 14.15: "kanyām a škandām an.ūpā.itām (nrbyo rtāvabyo rtaya vahvya rune āθim nisrinvyat dātar ... kā ṣa kanyā? āt mṛōt AhuraMazdā) hvanha vā duyā ṣa nāmanī mat gōšāvarā pasča pańcadasayam sarōm nrbyo rtāvabyo upa.vādayanta," "they (scil. the patayo) shall give a healthy virginal maiden, whether her relation be (their) sister or daugh-ter, equipped with earrings, after her fifteenth year, in marriage to
orthodox men." This fragment of a civil law code is, in the Vidēvdād, worked into penalties for a blow by which an otter has lost its eyesight, besides many other disbursements in kind, all measured by ten thousands, which the whole Iranian empire at its apogee would never have been capable of delivering.

The "Wedding Gatha" is a few years younger than the memorial list where Puručistā is yet unmarried, but Zoroaster has already a little grandson, Rvatatnara aparazāta, and Žāmāspa has a namesake in a grandson or rather great-grandson, Žāmāspa aparazāta. According to Bartholomae's interpretation, universally accepted and I believe based on the so-called "tradition," Puručistā would have married the elder brother of her grandfather. It is customary to marry at sixty a girl of sixteen preferably, but those are wives of such and such a degree, and Zoroaster could never have given his daughter, and moreover have made a poem, for such a misalliance.

The verses address at least two bridal pairs. Zoroaster's son and daughter are both quite young and marry for the first time. The instruction—even without the "Einschärfer" (incalculator) whom Bartholomae saw in *patyāstim, st.3—cannot be meant for people of sixty, but only of sixteen. If none but the children were mentioned, one ought to conclude that they married each other in hvētvādeda. But Vištāspa and Jāmāspa, of the generation of the fathers and grandfathers, can only be present, like Zoroaster himself, as giving away their own children or grandchildren. The children of Zoroaster, hence, did not marry each other.

Both son and daughter are called with double gentilic: zārābūstri špitāma and špitāmi hēcataspānā. A passage in Masūdī, mūrūdi v,80, elucidates what that means: "The insolence of the army of the Zandj was such that women of the house of Hasan, Hūsain, 'Abbās, Hashimites and Quraish, of the most noble Arab houses—abnā al-nāṣ—were sold at auction. The price of a girl was from two to three dirham, and the outcrier shouted: Such and such, daughter of such and such, of the house of such and such!" The double gentilicia of the gatha express that Zoroaster's children marry, as of equal birth, into the families Häugava and Nōtarya (Haḵāmanīšiya). Puručistā, here expressly called "youngest" (daughter or child), was a daughter of Zoroaster's third wife, the Häugavi; the reason for Žāmāspa's presence is that he was her great-uncle and vispātīš of the clan (not that he marries her).
As eligible husband for Puruçistā in this circle, only Vištāspa’s eldest son Pišīšyōthna or Žāmāspa’s grandson (or great-grandson) Žāmāspa II are in question. Not much speaks in favor of the first: Vištāspa may be present as giving away a granddaughter to Zoroaster’s son (Hvarčītra); no other reason, but the role, Pišīšyōthna plays in the eschatological legend, which makes him the helper of the sōšyant—analogy to Vištāspa as protector of Zoroaster—but also the superior of Hvarčītra. This feature reminds one of ‘Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad, in shi’ite eschatology which borrowed many features from the Iranian: the son-in-law, deified against all historical deserts, is the ancestor of the Mahdi-sōšyant. Žāmāspa’s grandson has much better claim: Arta-xerxes I married Damaspia-Žāmāspi who may well be a granddaughter of Puruçistā’s marriage to Žāmāspa II, hence a great-granddaughter of Zoroaster and the Häugavi (cf. under ‘Häugava’).

For the other occurrences of maga and magavan, the signification “marriage,” fitting in Y.51, is too narrow; it is not the act of marrying, but the ceremony of the “wedding,” Germ. “Hochzeit” especially in the wider meaning of MHG. hochgezite, OI. mahāvrata, festival, celebration.

In Y.29,11, end of the “Gatha of the Cow,” the soul of the ox speaks, also in the name of the cow:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ät mā(m) rtā} \\
yūžam mazdā fraššnanē \\
ahura nū nō āvar \\
\text{mazoi magāyā patizānta} \\
\text{ahāma rātoiš yušmavatām}
\end{align*}
\]

“You, Mazdāh, honor us by letting us be guests at the great celebration, come, we want to be of your Highness’ servants!”

The style is courtly, the soul of the ox speaks like a servant, only “nū nō āvar,” an imperative, Arab. ta‘āl!, come here, do it! seems to be intentionally unpolished. In Tabari m,1544, Bāïkbāk, leader of the Turks of Samarra, says to the caliph al-Musta‘īn in Baghdad: “If you really have pardoned us, then come and ride with us to Samarra, the Turks are waiting for you! The Ťahirid Muhammad b. ‘Abdallah gives somebody a wink, and the man gives Bāïkbāk a cuff on the mouth, saying: Is that the way to speak to the Commander of the Faith-

\footnote{fraššnanē and patizānta see under ‘Hospitium’ and ‘Myastra.’}
ful? You are to ride with us! Musta‘in laughed and said: Those are a pack of barbarians, quam min al-‘udjm, they have no idea what one may say and what not” (dâtham and adâtham).

Y.46,14 (text under ‘Yā-ahī!’): “Zoroaster, which faithful is your friend, rvaθa, for the mazoi magāi, the great festival, who wants to be praised in song? He, kavi Vištāspa, io triumphel!”

rvaθa is hospes as well as xenos; the dative of intention “for the festival” means “invited or inviting to” the celebration of victory, at which one eats, drinks and sings odes or panegyrics. rvaθa is here equal to magavan.

Y.51,11: “Who is the Spitāma Zoroaster’s friend?” with rvaθa in the sense hospes; “ko vā vahoš manaho ‘āčista magāi rśvo, which high one is ready for Vahumano’s festival?”

rśva designates the high rank, OP. tunvant. Vahumano, as always, has the twofold meaning Good-Will as way of thinking and as aspect of AhuraMazdāh. āčista, if to čiθ-, is “persuaded,” if to Včiθ-, “intent,” cf. Včiθ- “promise”; at any rate, it means accepting the invitation. Nietzsche: “Freund Zarathustra kam, der Gast der Gäste.” The names of the “high ones” follow: not the kavi Vēhviyo who rejected Zoroaster, but kavi Vištāspa, the hvētu Háugava, and others.

Y.51,16:

tām kavā višta.aspọ magahya χ̣aθrā nansat
vahoš padbiš manaho yām čištim rtā manta
spanto mazdā ahuro aha nō sazdyāi uštā

“Kavi Vištāspa has obtained her by the banquet of (or: by being guest at) the festival on the paths of Vahumano, her, the čistiš, whom as rtam the holy AhuraMazdāh has devised. Thus it shall become apparent (reality) for us, as He wills!”

Čistiš is “cognition” and AhuraMazdāh’s partial figure, devised by Zoroaster, and substituted, by him, to Ušā, the Dawn. At the end of this gatha Zoroaster offers to these high ones his songs as sacrifice and circumambulates them in worship with his songs of praise.

“magavan” expresses “belonging to the maga.”

* See χaθra under "Hospitium," and cf. Y.32,9 “where Cistiš will be at home” under ‘Myastra.’ uštā = “if God wills” see under ‘Fravarāni’ and “Yā-ahī!”
Y.51.15:
hyat miždam zaraðuštro magavabyo čoįst parā
"the award, Zoroaster has promised the magavan, celebrators."
Y.33.7:
yā srūyē paro magavano
"that it may be praised (extolled) also outside the magavan, the celebrators."

While in Y.51 maga has the narrower meaning "marriage," at all other places it is "wedding" in the wider meaning, like γάμος in the parable Matt. 22 (see under 'Hospitium'). It is a celebration, part of which was singing and music, as in Greece and Arabia. maga is far from being a technical term for Zoroaster's community, but solely a metaphor: just as racing serves as figure for his strife, so the celebration as figure for his success.

magavan appears in the Rgveda. In Hertel's translation, Siegeful. 142, rv. v,16,5 says: "Bei seinem Preise sind die Reichen in der Freundschaft des Agni."

Die "Reichen, maghávanaḥ," are the magavano. "In der Freundschaft sein"—opp. to Lat. essere in odio, to be hated—means "to be loved." The gathas use the same idiom: Y.43.10 "parštā ahma, to be in-the-question," i.e. such that are to be questioned, judged; or Y.32.8 "θωħmi vićiðoi ahmi, I am in-separation by you," i.e. you must separate me from, cf. Benveniste, Inf. av. 33. "Bei seinem Preise" corresponds to "yasné pati" in the last stanza of Y.51.22:
yahya moi rtāt hača vahištam yasné pati
vedā mazdā ahuro yoi āharča hantiča
tām yazāi hvǎiš nāmaniš pariča jasāi vantā
"To whom, for my sake, A.M. through [the mouth of] Rtam has destined paradise 'at' (as reward for) their yasna,—those who were and those who are—those I want to circumambulate with songs of praise!"

Accordingly rv.v,16,3 means: "the maghávanaḥ are treated by Agni as friends (rvaθa=guests) when [occasion and reason] they praise him" [by yasna and vahma]. The conformity between the Vedic and

*The stanza is the origin of the "yahya hātām," see text under 'Dēva.'
the Gāthic concept and wording proves that the whole notion comes
down from high Aryan antiquity. Only traces survive in India and
Iran. Those who participate in the maga, the magavan, are men who
celebrate; songs are always mentioned in the neighborhood of maga.
It is therefore possible that maga belongs to √mang-, as Nyberg as-
sumed, only in a different sense.

√mang- appears only as mimayżo in Y.45,10:
tam nō yasnaīš årmatoiś mimayżo
yo anmani mazdā srāvi ahuro

These verses stand in parallel with Y.45,8:
tam nō stōtāśi namaho āivrśo
āt hoi vahmān dmānē garo nidāmā

And 45,9:
tam nō vahū mat manaho čiṣśnūśo

(8:) “trying to win Him with hymns of prostration, for Him we
want to lay down our songs in the store-house (of heaven),” (9:) “try-
ing to be obedient to Him together with Good-Will,” (10:) “wishing to
glorify Him with offerings of Ārmatiś, Obedience.” Zoroaster’s sacri-
fices are never sanguinary ones, but his songs. “Sacrifices of Ārmatiś”
means “Obedience to the law, replacing sacrifices.” Bartholomae Wb.:
mimayżo, desid.praes. “zu verherrlichen suchend, sva. feiern.” In this
way, maga, to √mang- “celebrate,” is directly “celebration, festival,” the
main part of which was originally singing, song.

This touches the problem of mazā in Gath. mazā.χṣāthrā Y.49,10
(and in mazā. rayi, Y.43,12). With its striking nasal ā, it might not be
the “normal form of composition of mazant, great,” an interpretation
that rests on the assumption “χṣāthrā to √χśi-, rule, empire,” whereas
it is “χṣāthrā to √χśan-, banquet, hospitality” (see under ‘Hospitium’).
As in Y.45,8 the vahma are laid down in the garo dmānē, so in Y.49,10
the mazā.χṣāthrā are laid down* together with the “souls” of the faith-
ful, their prayer, namah, and their obedience, ārmatiś. It is tempting
to attach *mangza (?? with ā for ang) to √mang-. On the other hand,
with manza=mazant, one may compare Skr. mahā.vrata.

In ZAirWb. 152, Bartholomae quoted, from F. W. K. Müller, the

* In parallel with “tēs, draught of health” and “nectar and ambrosia,” see under “Harvatāt.”
Turfan frgment. (=Mir.Man. ii,14,18): “pas dūsmēnān spāxṭ virāst sṛōd u nuvāg ē vas, thereupon a banquet was served up by the enemies, much music and song; the besieged looked at it covetously.” Salemann Manichaica iv,45 took spāxṭ as “Täuschung, tricks” in the sense of “Gaukler, Akrobaten u.dgl” (jugglers, acrobats). The passage of Ayāk. Zar. §§41-42, quoted by him, does not at all support this interpretation (see under ‘Industries‘). Henning accepted it, Mir.Man. n. Whether Bartholomae’s etymology “to us + pačati=Festmahl” is right or not, the word must contain the idea of eating, for at nothing else would the besieged look “covetously.”

The place decisive for the understanding of maga is st.7 of the “Wedding Gatha”; maga means just that: “wedding.” In Zoroaster’s style it means as much as and not more than γάμος in the parable of the wedding in Matth. 22. As metaphor for the acceptance of the religion, the wedding-feast with its celebrating guests is an analogy to the expression “sar, connubium, with Vahumano”; “vahōš manaho maga” would be exactly the same: to live in sar with Vahumano. In a broader sense maga is Gr. ἐορτή, and “maza maga” corresponds to Skr. “mahāvrata, the great festival, hochgezīte.” Nietzsche: “Die Hochzeit kam für Licht und Finsternis.”

\*Not to be confounded with spēhr, spihr < spayaṭra, but perhaps connected with a corrupt word, in incomprehensible context, in Y.51,6, transcribed by Bartholomae by *ḥōṣ ṁīṣṭa*, to be read hūpiṭa, redupl. perf. of ṣṭīṣṭa-.
XVIII. MYASTRA

"Nun feiern wir das Fest der Feste, 
Freund Zarathustra kam der Gast der Gäste."

Y.46.14 (under 'Yã-ahî!') "Zoroaster, which faithful one is your friend for the great festival, who wants to be praised in song?" goes on:

\[ \text{yâns.tu mazdâ} \quad \text{hadmoi minaš ahura} \\
\text{tân zubâyā} \quad \text{vahoš uxdâiš manaho} \]

"Those whom Thou, A.M. wilt gather (?) in the same house (with Thee), those I will announce with words of Good-Will!" The great triumph, yã-ahî!, is celebrated in AhuraMazdâh's house, and in continuation, the train of thought passes to the contrary, to hell, where the drugvant are "hadyā astayo, fit guests" for the table of Ahriman.

zbayâ- (the meter requires zub/vaya-) means "to cry, call out," OP. patiyazbayam, done by a herald. Zoroaster will announce—not only "He, kavi Vištâspal!"—all the entering guests, rvâthâ. The metaphor is full of court ceremonial. In Vid.19,30, also in Art.Vir.Nâm.xi, it is Vahumano, Good-Will, himself who greets the souls with Welcome! as mihmândâr or andêmânkâr. There is no difficulty, except the hapax "minaš," for which the context requires the meaning "to gather, receive hospitably" or the like.¹

The idea of the same festival recurs in Y.30.9:

\[ \text{ātça toi vayam hyāma} \quad \text{yoi im frašam krnavan ahum} \\
\text{mazdâsça ahurâho} \quad \text{ā myastrâ barana rtâça} \\
\text{yat hadrâ manâ bavat} \quad \text{yaṭâ čistiš ahat mētha—} \]

"We want to be those who make this world beyond (contest), Mazdâh and you other ahura, and Rtam, grant hospitality, so that the souls may come together in the house where Čistiš will be!"

Bartholomae: "Und die möchten wir sein, die die Menschheit tauglich machen! Mazdâh und ihr andren Ahuras, heran

¹ Bartholomae, at first, in Ar.Forschg. ii.170, defined minâš as "2. sg. pres. act. Ar. "minačâ", cf. mēxtan." This V. mič-, mē-, cf. Hübchmann, Pers.Stud. 9, is represented by mēkânt, Y.Haf.38.3, "the mingling (not, W.8.1104: hervorsickernd), gathering, forthflowing waters, in which is good swimming, good bathing." Later, W.8.1190, Bartholomae put minâš as nasal pres. to V.myas-, a verb else only attested by the obscure hamanyâsatê in Y.33.1, in Pahl.Vid. hâm ya saite, which refers to the hamêstâgan gâh, the purgatory. In Sar.Recht iii.33, he put hamêst (which can hardly be separated from ham.myâsatê), as part.perf.pass. to "the verbal base in myastra." This he connected not with V.myas-, but with V.mîd-, in Aw. hamid.âti. I conjecture that minâš belongs to this group.
(kommt)! Eure Bundesgenossenschaft gewährend, auf dass die Gedanken sich sammeln, wo die Einsicht noch schwankend ist!"

Andreas: "---, die dieses Leben zu einem herrlichen (oder: Wunder) gestalten. O A.M. und ihr andren Herren, und Du, Rt., gewährt euer Bündnis, damit sich die Gedanken auf einen Punkt richten, wo die Einsicht falsch ist!"

Nyberg, 144 (cf. 226, 228): "damit die manah (pl.) dort zusammenkommen, wo die Paargenossin (Doppelgängerin) Čisti ist." Thereupon follow reflections on the divine powers, simple or combined as plural, which dissolve themselves, totally or partially, in the highest god, moreover on doubles.

The frašam-making takes place after the great yā-ahīl, at the end of the ninth millennium. It is always again the same metaphor of the race course: the frašakrtiś, apatiyarakiś is the condition after the races, when the world, itself the struggle of good and evil, will be "beyond (struggle)." After the contest comes the feast with eating, drinking and singing. In Y.49,9 (under 'Yā-ahīl') it is the dēnā (pl.), the faiths of the faithful that carry home the victory harnessed to their chariots; in Vid. 19,30 they are called "ruvano, souls, lives"; here "manah, mentes." They gather at the festival at which AhuraMazdāh is present, in all his garments, especially as Rtam, granting societatem—"hospitality," not alliance, confederacy—myastra barana. Andreas read 'maistra; OP. would be 'mīsθ'a > misa; the meaning is "party, Gesellschaft."

The guests are here the manah, there the dēnā; host is here the one who is myastra barana, in 46,15 he who minaś hadmoi, receives in his own house: the date, too, is the same: the 1.1.9000. The address cannot possibly have been lacking: "where Čistiś is mēθā[-]" corresponds here to "hadmoi with AhuraMazdāh." The word is one syllable short; the Pahl.transl. is "andar mēhan, at home." Čistiś replaces Usā-Eos with Zoroaster, and Eos' house Usidam is known; Mithra, too, gets a mēθanam "apportioned" by AhuraMazdāh on the High Harā, see under 'Mithra.' The final -ā in Arsacid script is hardly distinguishable from -ny; the text which the Pahl. transl. used had mithny = mēθanē, andar

Nyberg, 143: "maēθa, fehlgedeutet als "schwankend, wandelbar," heisst immer "paarweise verbunden," "maēθa, Paar."
mēhan, and “mēθanē” must be restored. In Odyssey xii.3, dancing took place in the house of Eos.

The verses describe the feast in heaven after the victory of Good over Evil, at the end of the world, and this metaphor is continued in the next stanza, Y.30,10:

adā zi ava drujo bavati skando spayaθrahyā
āt āsiṣṭā yōjante ā huṣitoiś vahōś manaho
mazdā rtaḥyača yoi ‘zaznate vahāu sravahī

"Then, collapse of the vault of the druχs will come to pass, but those will partake of the promise of the fair abode of Vahumano, Mazdāh and Rtam, who in (their) good reputation are deemed worthy (of it)."

Andreas: “Dann wird stattfinden jene Zertrümmerung des Glückes der Lüge, dann werden der Verheissung auf die gute Wohnung des Guten-Sinnes, des Weisen und des Rechts, diejenigen teilhaftig werden, die im Besitze des guten Rufes sind.”

The two last lines speak once more of dwelling in heaven, the house of AhuraMazdāh. To dwell in the same house with him is promised to the pious.—Where āsiṣṭi appears for the second time, in Y.44,9, see under ‘Hospitium,’ it is equally associated with the rśvā χśaθrā, the “high halls” of paradise.

The pious are qualified by the rel. clause “yoi ‘zaznate vahāu sravahi, who are deemed worthy’”; Pahl. transl. nāmakhī, for the loc. vahāu sravahi. This expression alludes to hāusravaha, the worldly, epical fame, and means the ethically good reputation. Andreas followed Bartholomae’s explanation of zazanti (Wb. 1795 and Grdr.): “redupl. them. praes. of √haz-, sie halten fest, die sich guten Ruf erwerben.” Except for zazvah and its superl. zazuṣtama, no form ascribed to √haz- is free from objections. The clause yoi zazanti/ē āsiṣṭā yōjantē huṣitoiś expresses a similar thought as fraχśnanē magāya patizānta in Y. 29,11, viz. to be deemed worthy to partake of the maga, or here of the huṣiti. In the parable of the wedding, Matth. 22,8: “they which were bidden were not worthy.” Cf. the noun patizanti and Yt.15,36 patizantā in the nmāna of Viśtāspa, under ‘Nōtarya.’ Tedesco explained to me that in reading ‘zaznate the form can be attached to √zan-, γινώσκω."
The first sentence of the stanza must stay inside the same picture: while the pious move into heaven, something corresponding to heaven, but belonging to the Druḵš collapses, her spyaṭra. Though not recognized, this is a well known word: TPahl. 'spyhr, in BPārs. usually spelled sp'hl for spyhl, all = spēhr > NP. spīhr “vault of heaven,” see under 'Astronomy.' The “vault” of the Druḵš is the same as her “hēθa, prison” in Y.46,6.

In Y.30,9, Mazdāh and his partial figures are “hosts” in the house of Čistiš. AhuraMazdāh minaš hadmoi, i.e. gives hospitality, is receiving the guests in his own house, and Vahumano is greeting them like a mihmāndār. The ētrapatīš Manthravāka, son of Śāimūziš, bears in the Memorial Document Yt.13,105 the second title “hamidpati.” He follows in the list upon the family of Vištāspa and the Häugava, and precedes Rtastu, the son of Mādyomāha, cousin of Zoroaster, who in Y.51,19 is described as Spitāma, and in Yt.13 follows Zoroaster as the very first. Manthravāka, hence, was one of the very great ones among those around Vištāspa and Zoroaster. As ētrapatī > hērbaḏ he was a magus, hence an aryaman, client of Vištāspa. The magi were judges, priests and financial officers. Vištāspa had his ētrapatīš > hērbaḏ just as Cambyses had his tkēša = mōbaḏ in Gōmāta. The late legend transforms the client, nōtaryāno, into Mahrōk č Nōdarān, son of Nōdar. Together with Vištāspa and Mādyomāha he was drawn into the apocalyptic literature, cf. Altp.Inschr. 85,2; 135f., and as Mahrōk, son of Huvahtmā become one of the magi who came to Bethlehem. Finally, in the Kārnāma, the wise Kēt (or Kēhan) č Hindūkān, prophesies Ardašir that only a descendant as well of Ardašir as of this Mahrōk—there called “č anōšak-zātān”—could become monarch of Eran.

Bartholomaei abandoned a former interpretation of hamidpati, the second title—Grdr. §§264, 268: “Herr des Brennholzes, OI. samīt.pāni,” whence Lommel’s “Flammenherr”?—and advanced “Meister der (Gelehrten) Genossenschaft,” where the scholars for once would be indispensable. hamid without object is no “society,” but a social meeting; as chief of this activity the man is the mihmāndār, maître d’hôtel of

8 Instead of “father of Vahmēdāta.” There are no other names formed with vahma, except Ass. wamitiaršu < “vahmāyat.rša-, the nēr, dāhyupātiš of Media under Esarhaddon at the time of the foundation of the Median empire.
Vištāspa, a financial officer. As ēḍrapati, considering his prominent place in the list, Manthravāka was surely the mutawalli of the waqf, the leading priest of the memorial fire founded by Vištāspa, and as hamid-pati he was his mihmāndār. In both qualities he must have had business with Zoroaster ever since Vištāspa gave him hospitium.

Both myatra and hamid must be attached to a root √mid-.

A synonym of hamid-pati would be OP. "misṭ' a.pati. That is the origin of a name which has harassed me since my first journey through that region in 1906: Maṣraḥbānī, Meṣraḥbānī, Arab. māsabadhān. The occasional Arab. spelling with māḥ- is merely an assimilation to the many names formed with Māḥ = Media. Meṣraḥbānī, māsabadhān is not one of the frequent compounds with -pāta,¹ but one with -pati, scil. "mēsbaḍ, mēsbaḍ < OP. "māisṭ' apati, vrddhi of "misṭ' apati." The same office is called in MP. NP. χvānsālār “dapifer, High Steward.” The n.pr. Maṣraḥbānīs in Plutarch, Artox. 17 may be that title.

Therewith the name of Darius' general in Beh. §§29, 30, Vahumisa, Pap.El. vhmvs, Gr. Ωμiōns, is explained: OP. "vahu.misa < "vahu.-misṭ' a. He "bewegt sich,” it is true, “auf den Höhen der achachmenischen Gesellschaft” (Nyberg, 403), but that is not the meaning of the name, but “(cui) Vahu(mano) societatem (praebet),” with the same abbreviation of vahumano to vahu as in the name of Darius.

As derivatives of √mid-, myatra, mistra, misa and hamid belong together with Aw. myazda, Ved. miyédham, MP. myazd “meal.”² The Median form appears probably in the names Amûstrēs and Amēstris “he or she who keeps a good table.” Kitāb al-Aghānī, 14,113: “Shāriya (the singer, pupil of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi) used to visit Hārūn b. Shu'aib al-'Akrī, whom she called ‘my father.’ He was the cleanest of Allah’s creatures as to his table, mā'īda, and the most generous in all things,

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¹ Atropates and the country Atropatene, *ātarpātakāna > ātarpātakān; also Tab.Peut. Thermaic, i.e. ᾨ(ί)δρα(ν)ιστίκα, *vrdr(a)pātakāna > Gulpāgān, cf. vrdrpt as name or title, and vrdrptka as patr. or nisba in the Ka'ba inscription.

² To "h" cf. miśrāpāta, already in Herodotus, time of Cambyses, and in Xenophon, Mihro-bātās; also Oprosēbārēs, satar of Kari in Arrian 1,23, 5,5,7, but on his coins Povtovātēs, evantpēta, important for the reality, contested by Andrēs, of the Olr. anlaut rv-.

³ In Sūr Afr.: "mēḥ u vēḥ kē yazdān pat ēn myazd arzīk kīr, the good and great whom God has invited to this meal." The word goes on in NP, in the artificial forms miyāzda, mizād, Genuine is mēz, syn. of χvān “table, meal,” with deriv. mēzānd, host,” mēzāndi, syn. of mihmānī, hospitality,” explained by ḫiyāfat; and many more. myazd > MP. myazd > NP. mez shows zd > z, cf. H. W. Bailey, 506, 85. √mid- may help to explain OP. "hamaspāṭhmēdāya, muster of the army,” as foreseen by R. Roth, 2050, 1888, 706, cf. Altp. Inschr. 44.
and had a house in Samarra, in which was a great garden." And ibn al-Athīr concludes his great Chronicle: "On the 12th of rabiʾ I, 628 (18. 1.1231) died at Aleppo my friend, abu l-Qāsim 'Abdalmadjid al-'Adjamī. He and his family were the leading persons of the Sunnites of Aleppo. He was a man full of muruwwa, virtue, and loved to live well. Who had ever a meal with him, loved him. . . . Allah award him amply in His mercy!"
XIX. WELCOME

"Willst du in meinem Himmel mit mir leben,
So oft du kommst, er soll dir offen sein!"
—Schiller

Y.44,8:  kā mo ruvā vahū    rvāṣat āgmata

The stanza begins: "This I ask Thee, answer me truthfully!" and the short sentence is that question. At the first glance one recognizes: "Will my soul with vahu āgmata..."

In modern language the everyday greeting is χος āmadī, and NP. χος replaces old vahu. āgmata is NP. āmad, part.perf. of √gam- "to come," with prev. ā "to arrive." Obviously, vahu āgmata is "welcome, willkommen, bienvenu, benvenuto" and so in almost all languages. vahu-āgmata is a variant of vahya-gmata "welcome," as n.pr. in the memorial list, and Behāmadā as name of one of the Three Magi.¹

The pos. vahu disappears from the language, unless it survives in the exclamation bah bah! χvās χvāś!, perhaps because the word was unusual in OP. In the salutation "drva, whole, healthy" takes its place. IPārs. and TPārs. have "dvost 'vr, lit. well-come," with 'vr (cf. nū nō āvar in Y.29,11) as imperative of the threefold suppl. system part. 'mt, pres. 'y; as n.pr. drüstāmad. The farewell is correspondingly pa-drōś! < druat, Arm. drvat, <Aw. drvatāt, the abstr. noun instead of the superl. druyist in the welcome; Aram. bišlām = ēv εἰρήνη, Lat. salus, salutare. Yāqūt 1,677,22 translates the archaic NP. hilēdě va-drōś by ḥallūhā bi l-salām!

In Vid.19,31, Vahumano asks the souls that enter paradise: "kaḍā iḍa rtāvan no āgato?, how have you, faithful, arrived?" Wolff-Bartholomae's translation "Wie (ist's geschehen) aša.Gläubiger, (dass du) hergekommen (bist)?" makes of the "how do you do?" a "how did you do it?", an inconvenient expression of surprise instead of a welcome. The souls do not even reply as much as "vahu," but "go satisfied" by the hearty welcome straight to AhuraMazdāh's golden throne. Ŭgmadeča 10 says: "yātakgowb bavāt pa rāvān ē avē ē anōšakravbān vahman ē amuhraspand u handēmān ē ohrmizd bavāt, advocate (interceder) for the soul of the blessed ones will be Vahman, the amuhraspand, and he

¹ The spelling is one of the many unwieldy and cumbersome ones in the Avesta. The majority of codds. has urvāṣat āgmata tā, κ'5' better urvāṣat āgmašti. Tedesco wrote to me: "The grammatical value can be as well nom.pl. as sg. or instr.sg. of a neutr.abstr."
will lead them to the presence of Ohrmizd." Vahumano acts as hāndmānkarānsālār, exactly as Zoroaster in Y.46,14: "Those whom Thou A.M. wilt gather in the same house (with Thee), those I will announce with words of Vahumano!"

In *Art.Vir.Nām.* 10,2 the souls of the blessed "drvē pvrςynd v ḫpry n. ḫvnr.d, ask after Artavirāz's health, get a blessing" as answer, and then say the same words of greeting as Vahumano in *Vid.*19,31. In the next chapter, xi,8, Vahumano himself greets Artavirāz with "namāz o tu, artavirāz, drust-āmat, prostration to you, welcome!" and again the words of *Vid.*19,31. He then leads him into AhuraMazdāh's presence, demān, who is surrounded by the amuhraspandān, archangels. Qur'ān, 39,73: "The gates of paradise shall be opened and their keeper [in *Art. Vir.Nām.* Srōš and Ādār] says: Hail, you were good, enter for ever-more!" This is followed by "You shall see the angels circumambulating the Throne!" Thus Islam has adopted the Zoroastrian notion.

The more so it is this reception which Zoroaster himself has in mind in Y.44,8. The understanding of vahū āgmata decides at the same time the correct reading of the verb and the case of vahū āgmata: rvāṣat is right against rvāxšat of several codices: s-aor. of √rvāz-, "laetari, to rejoice at" with the cause in instr. Hence, āgmata is instr., the exclamation itself, vahuāgmata! is inflected like yā-ahīl, āvōyā1 "kā" is the particle of interrogation. Thus the question is: "Will my soul rejoice at 'welcome'!?"

Bartholomae: "Wie wird meine Scele des beglückenden Guts teilhaftig werden?" with āgmata as 3.p.pret.med. and rvāxšat "acc. sg. n. of rvāxšant, adj. aus einer Basis, die mit urvād- und urvāz- verwandt ist," *Wb.*1542. Together with this rvāxšant, the support for other semantic definitions falls. Nyberg, 158, recognized rvā(χ)šat as verb, but attached it to √rvag-.

Other places where √rvāz- appears, speak equally of the admission into paradise, e.g. Y.50,5, where AhuraMazdāh is named in a, and b says

yat yuśmākāi man̄hranāī vavrāžaβa

1 In agreement with the inflection of short proverbs, cf. Y.29,7: tam žutoīl (gen.) man̄hram gavoi, xvividamča (acc.) huhrūkhyo, under 'Harvatāt'; and Y.49,2: dōrṣt: shmāī stōi ārmatimi! (acc.) under 'Bandva' and 'Ārmatī.'
The verb is 2.p.perf. of √rvāz-. In d the god makes “zasta.ištā, a wink”; beckoning with the hand is a mudra, thus called in India, or something like pollice verso and recto in the Roman circus. This mudra of the judge is the permission to enter: from vavrāzāda the thought leaps at once to paradise, and the perf. of rvāz- must have a more intense meaning than Bartholomae’s “freundlich gesinnt sein,” rather NP. qābūl kardan, “to agree, approve, sanction,” Arab. taqabbal Allāhu minhu, or “rīḍā, being well pleased”: εὐδοκήσα in Matth. 3,17.

Y.31,1, text under ‘Ārmatiš’: “If only the hvētu, vrzana, aryaman and the dēva (gods) would strive to obtain AhuraMazdā’s rvāzman, then He would say: We love your obedience, Ārmatiš, she be ours!” There the god accepts, with rvāzman, graciously, the offer of gods and men, just as Allāh ‘accepts’ men and their work. The words he speaks express this rvāzman, are his rvāxš.uxti, “word of greeting.”

Y.30,1: “I will speak . . . of the rvāza, grace [if from god to men, if vice versa ‘delight’] which he who takes it [my words] to heart, will perceive [darsata, “live to see, erleben”] together with the luminaries [of heaven in paradise].”

It is hard to believe, but this simplest of all questions (“Will my soul rejoice at welcome?”) has been made by Nyberg the “cornerstone” of his “Theory of Ecstasy”: “Wie wird meine Seele verzückt werden mit der Schar der guten Angelangten?”, 159: “vohū āgmatā kann nichts andres bedeuten als ‘der gute Angelangte,’ in kollektiver Bedeutung ‘die Schar der guten Angelangten,’ die seligen Abgeschiedenen, die in VohuManah’s Welt gelangt sind.” 158: “Die guten Angelangten ist das Kollektiv der Toten des Stammes; also: Wie wird meine Seele eine solche ekstatische Vereinigung mit VahuManah gewinnen, dass das Ziel damit erreicht wird.” At another place one learns that the “Ziel” is “not to forget a previous vision.” “Verzückt werden, to be enraptured” is not a higher degree of “rvāz-, joy,” but is extracted from rvāxšat to √rvag- “to wander”: “Wandern bedeutet die Vereinigung mit VahuManah in der Ekstase: der Ekstatiker, nicht der Tote geht über die Činvat-Brücke.” Ātarpāt, who knew the Avesta, for he wrote it, says in his Andarz 139: “Though he live a hundred years, at the end every man must go the way to the bridge.”
Vrag- is only attested by rvāxšat, 3.pl. s-aor., in Y.34,13, to OL.
vrarjati “procedit.” rvat.čaya in Y.13,11 (22 and 28) translated in
War., under wrong presumptions, by “wieder verbinden,” is a
causative, describing what the Fravarti do to the embryos,
something like “make grow, develop.” An interior -tč- is always
a wrong spelling for an unusual orthography of the archetype.
If τš = č, the stem may be vrak-, to be connected with the hapax
rvāxra in Y.19,69, anton. of Ṕta “cold,” hence “heat,” as verb
“to heat.” Hertel, Venus 41, translates “bei den Auseinander-
kochungen werde ich mit Glut erfüllen”; for “Auseinander-
kochung” read “pregnancy.” Perhaps the warmth of the body
was conceived as an inner fire, causing and preserving life. If
-tš- stands for -xš-, rvat.čaya would belong to Vrag- “pro-
cedere,” caus. “to bring into existence, make born.” The text, in
both cases, is a syllable short, and no decision can be reached.

In Y.46,10-11 and Y.51,13, the two places where Zoroaster speaks of
the Činvat bridge—which leads to heaven over the chasm of the nether-
world—he himself “leads all followers safely across into the ‘King-
dom,’” whereas the sinners, arriving at the bridge “shiver with fright
and become—[precipitated]—yavoi vispāi, for all eternity, guests in
the house8 of the Druxs.” Nyberg defines, 185, Činvato prtuš as “Über-
gang (aus dieser Welt in die andre) des (zu jener Welt) hinzielenden
(Ekstatikers),” but 234: “Nicht nur der Weg des Toten, sondern der
des Ekstatikers,” and “Činvato prtuš ist also hier in erster Linie der
Weg der Ekstase . . . , die Schlussworte ‘für alle Zeit Gäste . . . ’ können
jedoch darauf hindeuten, dass die Stelle von der endgültigen Trennung
vom Irdischen im Tode handelt.” This backstepping recalls the poem
of the child nearing the “Liar’s bridge,” the Činvat bridge in German
folk-lore. The final sentence is in no way ambiguous: heaven and hell
mean eternity. √ći- in Činvat does not signify “hinzieilen,” but always
—also in Vedic—“légere, pick out, select.” What happens at the bridge
is illustrated by some Turfan fragments: “ud dušqerdagan az dê[n-
varān] vičārēd ušān ô xōy ārag ēstēnēd” and “ud dēnvarān ke aj dašn
ēstēnd,” sinner and pious are “separated, vi.čārēd, √či-,” the sinners
are made to stand to the left, the pious to the right, or in the words of

8 Dative, not loc., as in Y.45,14 (under ‘Yā-ahil!’): “your friend for (= at) the festival,” mazoi
magāi, meaning “destined for, invited into the house.”
Matth. 23,32: "καὶ ἀφορίσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾿ ἀλλήλων ἐπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν έρυφων." No man ever came back from the bridge. It is Job's "path without return," leads to the "land without return" of the Babylonians.

But Zoroaster believed in the last judgment, and this notion and the mythical notion of the bridge are incompatible: if the judgment should take place before coming to the bridge, the apparatus would be of no use; if after, the fallen souls would be condemned without being judged. Therefore, in Zoroaster's mouth the ancient notion is merely a metaphor, no part of the creed.

rvāzišta and rvāza in Y.Haft. 36,2—see under 'Ya-ahil'—have the same meaning as the verb rvāz- in Y.50,5 and 31,1, hence belong to it. Ātarš is invoked: "rvāzišto ho nā ... patijamya āṭar ... rvāzištahya rvāzaya, as most gracious one come to meet us, o Fire, with most gracious greeting, to the great triumph, yā-ahil" meaning: "it would be extremely gracious if. . . ."

"coming to meet" is a well known ceremony: pati, gam- is an istiqbāl (to qabala); not merely is the guest met at the door of the house, but one rides as far as a day's journey to meet him, with many attendants. The Pahl. transl. uses for rvāza, rvāzišta, the same expression as for rvāxš,uxti (word of greeting), spelled 'vlv,x,manv', i.e. urvāx,saxvan "word of greeting," salutation,4 perfectly right.

Bartholomae: "Als wonnigster komme du uns, o Feuer, mit der Wonne des Wonnigsten entgegen, zu der grössten der Entscheidungen." Wb.1545: "bezieht sich wohl auf den Metallsstrom beim letzten Gerucht." Similarly s.v. initī: "Pein, in Y.30,11. Die worte beziehen sich auf das Wohlgefallen der Gerechten und die Pein der Gottlosen beim Durchschreiten des glühenden Metallsromes im letzten Gericht, wovon (Ind.)Bdh. 30,19 erzählt." huvitiča initī in Y.30,11—see under 'Fvarārāni'—do not aim at any ordeal, though the Pahl. transl. seems to think so, but are "paradise and hell," predetermined end of history. The Ind.Bdh. 30,19, after describing how, at the end of the world, the

4 In Nirang. 84 corrupt 'vlv,x,manvnit, either (u)rvāx,goyeṭ, or (u)rvāx,meneṭ, the first to guttam, goyeṭ, the second to mēnātā, "speaking" or "thinking."
4 Under ayah, Wb.159, to which he refers, he interprets in the same way the passages which speak of ascertaining guilt through ordeal. And under "āṭar," Wb.316, even more material is implicated, wrongly.
metal in the mountains melts, says only: "all men pass through it for purification, the pious feel as if they walked through warm milk, but to the sinners it is really like molten metal." This description, written in the 10th century A.D., has been developed from Zoroaster's scanty allusions to the ordeal as means of ascertaining guilt at the last judgment, and out of the pre-Zoroastrian, mythical conception of the end of the world in fire. But even there no word speaks of "rapture" at the crossing of the metal stream. The idea is purely negative: the pious do not feel it as the impious do.

Nyberg 279: "Selber erfüllt von grösster Verzückung mögest du zu uns kommen zur Entscheidung (?) ... zu uns (während wir) in der Verzückung des Verzücktesten ... (sind) mögest Du zur grössten der Krisen (yāh) kommen!" and comments: "Schwerlich eine maga- oder Ordal-séance im Still der gathischen Zeit ... der Ausdruck yāh [hurrah!] leitet die Gedanken der Gemeinde zu dem grossen Ordal hin, bei dem sie in der Verzückung um das Feuer die Verzückung der aṣa.Gläubigen bei der grössten der Krisen erleben." An ordeal is the drinking of sulphur water and the like, not the "Ewige Wonnebrand" of the Pater Estaticus in Faust.

To the "Wonne" in the footnotes of the Wb. he then adds an overdose of Hertel's "radiation-theory" and thus produces the perfect "theory of ecstasy," 201: "Der Herpunkt in der Religion der Gatha-Gemeinde war das maga-Mysterium, die Ekstase." "Der maga [= wedding, see under 'Maga'] wird als göttliches Kraftzentrum aufgefasst." He describes also the methods and techniques of the ecstasies, abstracted from those harmless words, (245): "Jāmāspa u.a. haben sich für das Kraftzentrum [power-center, as if it was a central power-station] des maga entschieden"; 139: "Für eine Vision ist erforderlich, dass eine göttliche Strahlung mit einer menschlichen zusammentreffen." "Cisti, die Sch.-strahlung, geht sowohl vom Menschen wie vom Göttlichen aus; diese beiden schneiden einander im maga." "irixtam [= relietum, what is 'left' over], die Kraft, die für alle losgelassen ist, entlädt sich oder wird entladen, vgl. Y.48,7: Vohu Manah's Entladung durch Aṣa, also ein himmlischer Kraftausfluss. . . ." That sounds explosive—Schiller: Wehe, wenn sie losgelassen!—and what I have learnt, as student, of statics and physics is out of date in view of these metastatics of ecstatic kinetics.
In Yt.10,73, Mithra “raises his voice joyfully, rvāzamno abaroi
vāčam,” and then follow exactly the same words as in Yt.10,63, where
he “wails” before AhuraMazdāh. The passage belongs to the mazdayas-
nian “rehabilitation” of the god, see ‘Return of the Gods,’ and is late,
but important, because the phrase is the verbal expression of the gath.
compound rvāxš.uuxtī.

Y.32,12:

yoi gauš mrndan rvāxš.uuxtī ūjōtum

“who destroy with rvāxš.uuxtī the livelihood of the peasants.” ūjōtum is
not “life,” Gr. bios, but “livelihood,” Gr. biotos; killing the ox would
not destroy its livelihood, hence gauš is not the ox, but in Zoroaster’s
figurative style the peasant. Cf. the Assyrian expression, Sargon, 8th
Camp. 1.275: “ebūra tuklat nišešu u sambu e napšat bulšu, I destroyed
the harvest, the support of its people, and the chaff, the life of its
cattle.”

Bartholomae: “Die das Leben des Rindes unter Freudengeschrei zu
grunde richten,” note: “Es handelt sich um mit Orgien verbundene
Tötung des Rindes zu Opferzwecken.” He thinks of Y.32,14 (text under
‘Hōma’) where Zoroaster makes the Hōma priests say: “The ox is to
be killed, gauš jadyāi, that it may inflame to help him-before-whom-
death-flees, durōša.” i.e. Hōma, whose name Zoroaster does not let pass
his lips. Wb.1549: “Hauma wird dazu veranlasst, indem man ihm vom
Opfer einen Anteil zuweist,” according to Yt.11,4 the jaw-bone.

In Y.Haft.38,5 is a highly archaic sentence which could be Vedic:
apāśča vā azišča vā mātrāśča vā agnyā drigu.dāyaho vispā.pitiš āvōčama,
we invoke you, waters, as the pregnant ones, the mother-cows, the not-to-
be-slaughtered ones, the providers-of-the-poor, them that-water-all (-crea-
tures).” The description of the cows as “agnyā, Ved. āghnyā, not-to-be-
slaughtered” implies that steers were slaughtered and that the later
Indian attitude did not yet prevail. The reason for Zoroaster’s rejection
of sanguinary sacrifices in general is not a peculiar bias against the
cult of a certain god, but his general attitude towards “cult,” and
his standing up for the peasantry. There have never been anything like
continuous hecatombs of horses and oxen. This wrong notion is only
the result of the quotations from the epics in the yashts, where “a hun-
dred [horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand] sheep” are slaughtered
every time. The deficient meter of the verses alone proves that the passages are retouched; if one eliminates the words between “a hundred” and “sheep,” the meter is correct. Only hecatombs of sheep are historical: Darius ordered the slaughter of a hundred sheep for celebrating the birth of his first grandchild Artystone II, according to the Persepolis tablet, which books the expense. It means a big “banquet, misθʻa,” and everything beyond that is unreal.

Bartholomae adds: “Die mit Tieropfern zu Ehren des Hauma verbundenen orgiastischen Feste . . . fanden jedenfalls, wie die Dionysien zur Nachtzeit statt.” “Jedenfalls” means nothing but “probably,” and the comparison with the Dionysia is the only support of this assumption, not only of their happening by night, but of their happening at all. But the idea has taken root. Nyberg 244: “Orgiastische Feste mit Stieropfern gehören in Zarathustras Predigten (?) unauslöslich mit Hauma-Orgien zusammen.” Zoroaster always declaims, 286: “gegen die nächtlichen Orgien des Hauma-Kultes,” and yet, no word about “nächtliche Orgien” appears. His proof for these nocturnal orgies is the magnificent verse Y.50,10: “The works, past and future, the sun’s light and the dawn of day, whatever the eyesight perceives, praise Thee, AhuraMazdā.” “Diese inspirierte Huldigung an die Mächte des Tageslichts ist eine versteckte”—“bien caché,” he says at another occasion—“Polemik gegen den Hauma-Kult, ein neues Beispiel für Zarathustras diskrete Art, empfindliche Punkte bei den neuen Freunden zu berühren.” Obviously, the new friends did not take the hint, for the Hōma cult went on. Never have such conclusions been drawn from the psalm: “The heavens declare the glory of the Eternal.”

Such is the background of the translations of rvāxš.uxti: Bartholomae’s “Freudengeschrei,” Andreas, gentler “unter Freudenrufen,” Nyberg, “ekstatische Rufe.” Against these Hertel’s remark is aimed, Venus 77: “uxti, Ol. ukti, immer nur ‘Aussage’ rvāxš.uxti kann also nur bedeu-
ten durch die Aussage (Angabe) dass”—so far right, but not the anti-
climax:—“die Aussage dass der Genuss von Rindfleisch rvāxš, Glut verleihe.” gauš is not the beef consumed, but something that consumes its ūyotum itself. In the related case of compounds with -vāk,—e.g. kkravāka, he who says krka, “kikeriki,” cock—the element before uxti is the “saying” itself, here “grace, thanks”: “Give thanks to the Lord, for His rvāzman, kindness, rvāza, grace, lasts eternally!” The “ecstatic
cries” are the common “words of welcome and of thanks,” for instance
vahu āgmata, or alḥamdulillāh, in general “thank God” and applause.

The Činvat bridge contracts, in old belief, under the sinner, to the
width of a knife blade. Therein it is like the “way of ecstasy,” one falls
down from both. We are all sinners.

A problem is, whereto the n.pr. “rvāχšaya” belongs. It is the name
of the brother of Kṛśāspa, whose titles are in Yt.9,10 tkēša and dātarāza.
He is killed by Hitāspa, of whom Kṛśāspa takes blood-revenge, kēna,
Yt.15,28. The two titles describe him as magus; how this is compatible
with being the brother of Kṛśāspa, the two fragments of the myth do
not allow us to perceive. When the “dāta” of a judge is “rāzan, law,”
he is what was called till recently “mudjtahid.” I remember the answer
of an octogenarian mudjtahid of Isfahan, whom I had asked long ago
for a written fatwa, referring to a precedent a hundred years before:
“Certainly I could give it to you, but the precedent was under Fath
‘Ali Shāh; today, I am not sure whether the people would obey such
a fatwa by me!”—Nyberg 68: “Der Name deutet auf ekstatiche Übun-
(Ordal)regel (AhuraMazdāh’s) Gesetz ist.” This would be an anachro-
nism, since “rāzan” is the term of the polytheistic period, and
Kṛśāspa and his brother belong to a phase of the myth where Ahura-
Mazdāh may still have been called Varuna.

The two titles recall those of Manthravāka in Yt.13,105: ḍhrapati and
hamidpāti, fire-priest and introducer of guests, mihmāndār, see under
‘Myastra.’ Bartholomae interpreted rvāχšaya as “der Freude bring-
ende?”; Hertel assumes a causative stem. I prefer abbreviation of a
compound, e.g. rvāχšabara, cf. Ctesias olβάρας < *vahyabara, which
he translates by agathángelos; cf. rvāχš.uxtī “salutation.” If the name
be a “talking” one, it may mean “who welcomes,” mihmāndār.

In Kārn.Art. (Nöld. p.51) Ardashīr gives the town he founded for
joy at the rediscovery of the Shāhpūhr child, the name vlš- or vlyš-šāh-
puhr. The first element cannot be the Arsacid name valāš < vlgs, thus
on the coins of Volagases I, the etymology of which is obscure. Ka’ba
inscr. Pārs. 131 has vrd’χšy for Pahl. vlgsy, G.ΟΥΑΛΑΣΣΟΥ, with inverse
rd < l. The name of the town may be rvā(χ)š: vrāš-šāhpūhr, “Wel-
come” or “Thanks-Shahpuhr.”
XX. LAST JUDGMENT

"Dies irae dies illa
solvet seculum in favilla."

Law was administered under the power of an “ahura, lord justiciary.” He decides, δικαζε, by making the verdict of the court valid or not. The task of the court is διαγνωσα, vi.či-. It consisted of a jury of members of the vzranam, presided by a judge, tkēša—qadi, mōbād—who knew the “laws, tkēša.”

Many words for the procedure are derived from √ar-, “adjudge”: arθra, trial, causa, task” and “court”; arθa, legal contest” and “plaintiff”; dušθriš, miscarriage of justice.” A remarkable shifting is to be seen in the notion of “passing a sentence,” expressed by √prs-, fras—to question, interrogate,” cf. inquisition. OP.: “hufrastam aprsam, I have justly punished.” The expression reveals that the inquiry, χσνυτ, hearing, was the essential part of the procedure. The notion “atonement, adjustment” is rendered by √par-, = Lat. par, see under ‘Bandwa,’ with many derivatives. The word for “pronouncing” a sentence, and likewise for the “deposition” of a witness is √sanh-, cf. Y.43,6: “Armatiš sanhati, pronounces the sentences, ratuš, of the undeceivable χρατuš,


2 Wrong interpretation of the Ofr. words affects also Mfr.—Mir.Man.11,15: “vt m’ prm’y’sh ky ‘z th ‘frswy on ‘pdrk’t’nd ‘byč ‘zh ‘z’nh ‘kv ‘yyv ‘blyrvng ‘my ‘h’d ky ‘mvyx ‘zd ‘kgd ‘sy’yd ‘byč ‘v’k ‘mvyx ‘yd, (Henning): und lass dir’s nichts ausmachen, wenn sie von dir dauernd Trivialitäten erfragen(?), sondern wisse, dass es noch nie einen Schüler gegeben hat, der das Haus (des Lehrers gleich) als Gelehrter verlassen hat, vielmehr jeden Tag lernt er zu.” Thus the words recall the quadrivium of a university. ‘frswy is misunderstood, following Andreas’ aβrōs ‘epa (Mir.Man.11,321,4 and 311,233) “Tpās, ‘prg’y, mit begriffserneinendem apa, zu NP. rāsā(y), “Verächtlches.” ‘frswy is used as adverb, a priv. + frsw, “unpunished,” cf. “ayō-gātān, without investigation”; Pās. ‘prg’y is n.absbr. or adverb; prm’y’sh means, like OP. frāmāy, “to allow,” not “to command,” and pdrk, as always, “to contend, contest,” not “befragen, to query.” In Nīr.21, a passage likewise speaking of disobedient pupils, Aw. pnaṃnē and appnām (with a supplied as in p[na]mē Frkg.Ēr.-4,4) are equally rendered by “avē ẓ pākārēt.” Finally: ‘mvyx is “to learn, be educated, wādekišshua.” Hence: “and do not allow them to remain unpunished when refractory, but understand that never was a pupil who left school his education finished, unless he had been educated day by day.” This is no “dies diem docet,” but ʿā māh dārēs ḍōrpreo os wādekišša. The text goes on: “There are obedient and refractory, pλv, pupil; one must tolerate all of them in the same way, you must not become nyhmʾng of one of them, but in hvxvxdyft (equanimity, justice, here opposed to nyhmʾng) . . . to each who yʾdyd the hand, . . .” the last words give the etymology of “dastyarak, pedagogue, lit. handholder,” cf. Hübshmann Arm.Gr. 135.
mental power of the god," who, in Y.29,4 (see below) is the vičiro ahuro and "sahvar,mārišto.

Legal procedure also includes oath and ordeal. Bartholomae defined "varah, oath, ordeal" as "eigentl. Beglaubigung, Erhärtung des Rechts, der Unschuld." V.var- is "to choose," but in many Aw. passages it means "to swear." It furnishes also terms for professing, embracing a religion, with or without prev. fra-, cf. the relation of Gr. pístis, Lat. fides to the oath, and Arab. shāhid and shahid, witness and martyr, shahāda "confession of faith," ashhadu'llah, "God be my witness." Oath and ordeal come down from the IE. epoch and are often expressed by the same word in IE. languages, thus also in Iranian. The passage decisive for OP., Beh. §57, is mutilated: "aurm zd----rtiyiy yāba ima haḥyam nē druștam adam akunavam," evidently a current legal formula, I presume a verbal form of fra.var-, or denom. of fravartī: "Ōramazdā be my witness that this is the actual truth (what) I have done!" The modern word for swearing is "sauγand ḟurdan, to drink sulphur water"—āpo sōkantavati in Vid.4,54—to suffer the most common ordeal.

The oath, Aw. yōz(dā), Lat. iūsiūrandum, an oath of "purgation," is a curse upon one's self. Some peoples of antiquity, so the Elamites, called forth the ancestors, also the whole clan, as witnesses, "Eidesbrüder," and often the oath took place at the ancestors' tombs. These "seconds, compurgators," Teut. "der Umstand (those who stand around)" are not produced as witnesses of the alleged crime, but in order to manifest the number of the followership, the power of the "friendship."²² That is what "rvaθā, amicitiae" means in the "Rašnu" or "Ordeal-Yasht," 8: "the rvaθā . . . I call forth to the ordeal, varah-, here arranged!" Therefore, "fravartī," term for the "manes, OL. pitārāḥ, ancestors" may originally mean "compurgator, witness of the oath." The "amicitia" as "Umstand" is also the role of the Roman "vindex," to "vin-, clan" and "deico, dico, to point out." Daily life, especially law, requires the confirmation by oath of many things. At the trial of Afšīn, in Samarra, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, cousin of Ťāhir I, says, when Afšīn ad-

²² The caliph al-Muhtadī, Ṭabari iii.1791f., says "I take no oath except in presence of the Hāšimids [his clan], the gāḍī's . . . and the ašhāb al-marātib," i.e. "people of the steps" such as descendants of Uthmān, Umayyads and Ťālibids.
mitted to have tolerated the address “god of gods”: “Woe to you, Khaidar, how can you swear to us by Allah, and how can we believe you and accept your oath, and treat you as a Muslim, if you are overweening like Pharaoh?” It is instructive to compare the attitude of modern law, which does not abandon the oath that has lost its old significance, but tries to maintain its holiness by fear of a penalty for perjury.

Between oath and ordeal there is only a difference in degree. In the severer form, the ordeal, “Gottesurteil,” the knowing gods manifest, at once, guilt or innocence unknown to men. The ordeal is the “testimony” of the gods, a deposition. The Dēnkart expresses this plainly in the chapter on the tradition of the Avesta: Ātarpāt ē Māhraspāndān corroborated the accuracy of the Avesta-text, as he wrote it, by an ordeal: “pas aē bōxtan ē Ātarpāt pat gowiśn ē passāxt, after A. had been acquitted by the ‘gowiśn, deposition’ of the ordeal.” The Art.Vir. Nām. describes the form of this ordeal, 1,16: “Ātarpāt ē Māhraspāndān mny p’nś p’n’sχt yz p’n.dyn krt rvy vĨχt mnm vl lỹxt, who underwent an ordeal relative to the religion (Avesta) by molten brass poured on his breast.” See Bartholomae, Z.Sas.Idurcht 11,9: “dem Beschul- digten ‘geschmolzenes Erz auf die Brust giessen’ wird Dēnk. m.644,18 als eine Methode des var-Vollziehens, var passāxtan, bezeichnet,” and Salemman, Grdr.1,292, §87: passāxt, ordeal, to √sāz-, sāxt, caus. of √saz-. Y.32,7: “yā - - sanhatē - - hvēnā ayahā, which is ‘spoken’ (√sanh-, saxvan, deposition) by the red-hot brass,” the same as “gowiśn (= saxvan) of the ordeal.”

The “Ordeal-Yasht” 8, a poor compilation of formulæ, mostly picked up from other yashts, does not contribute more than the detail of the “rvaθa, amici-compurgators” to this picture. One can just recognize the traces of these immemorially old institutions in Iranian.

The Avesta does not describe an ordeal that actually took place; still less do the gatha contain any allusion to an ordeal to which Zoroaster

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9 Nyberg 418f.: “lit. nachdem A. ‘auf die richtige Rede hin’ erlöst worden war,” freely translated “nachdem er glücklich die Ordalprobe ‘für die Richtigkeit des religiösen Wortes’ bestanden hatte.” In translating “passāxt” by “right talk, rightness of religious word” he reveals that the word for “ordeal, passāxt” is unknown to him who developed a whole “Ordalterminologie.”

9 Not, as M. Haug translated “on whose breast, in the tale which is in the Dēnkart, melted brass was poured.”
had been subjected. I believe Markwart introduced this error by an interpretation of Dēnk. vii.4,3 (vol.xiv.37 Sanjana). Not even this passage, based on material dating from the time of Xusraw I, says that Zoroaster had submitted to an ordeal, but only that "he had made 33 kinds." That means, the legal procedure, about A.D. 500, knew many kinds. But not even the number is real: all multiples of 11 are mystic. Instead of $3 \times 11$ one finds only three kinds in the whole literature. At the end of the 9th century A.D., Žatsparm paraphrased the Dēnk. passage: "The amuhraspand 'shows' three kinds of ordeals (1) by fire: i.e. ādrā of Y.31.3; (2) by red-hot iron, i.e. hvēnā ayahā of Y.32.7; Zoroaster walks three steps on it without burning his soles; (3) by molten brass, i.e. ayahā χσustā of Y.51.9, poured on the chest; Zoroaster seizes it with his hands and offers it back to the archangel," a story one could find in acts of Syrian martyrs. It does not report an event, but describes, figuratively, the introduction of the institution as such by Zoroaster. Of course, he was believed to have created, at the beginning, all judicial institutions existing at that time, and, of course, he had not introduced the ordeal which existed for many centuries before his time.

Oath of purification and its severer form, the ordeal, are constituent methods of judicial procedure, especially for ascertaining guilt during the inquiry. The ordeal is neither the eruption of a volcano, as one might think when reading "Ašas Reich kommt in der Sturmgrut des Ordals," Nyberg 111, 126, 246, nor a Greek tragedy, "der Auftakt giebt eine Ordalszenerie," 154, 244, nor a masonic meeting "tkēša, Ordalpriester, zu struere, bauen maурern." "Ordalgenosse, Ordalmmeister, Ordlkollegium, Ordlseance, Ordalszenerie, Ordlurteil, Ordlregel, Ordlbegriff, Ordltechnik, Ordlbutter, Ordlverbum" etc., all this "Ordalterminologie" are exciting, empty words. I once was the only foreign guest at a military dinner given by the commanding general in honor of the occupant of the Djamshid throne, which passed in complete silence. When the kämkārtar patišāy at last rose from the table, he turned to me and said, over the head of our host, perfectly to the point: I suppose that was the worst dinner you ever had in your life! And while I stuttered some answer, he called to the minister of the

*Germ. "mauern" is to make a "mauer, wall"; "mauern"? would be "do mason's work, be a mason."
court: Repeat it to him in French! That one could call an "ordeal-séance."

The same constituent methods of judicial procedure Zoroaster assumes also for the last judgment, and wherever he uses some of these terms in the gatha, the last judgment is the subject.

The gathas mention three kinds of ordeals:

Y.31.3:

yām dā manyū āthrāca rtāca čoiś rānōbya χśnūtam

"the hearing, χśnūt, that Thou as (Spanta)manyuś ordainest by fire, and (which) as Rtam Thou hast constituted, čoiś\* for the two parties, rānā."

Y.51.9:

yām χśnūtam rānōbya dā θwā āthrā suxrā mazdā
dayahā χśustā abi ahvāhū dāxštam dāvoi
rāšayahē drugvantam savayo rtāvanam

"The hearing which Thou, Mazdāh, ordainest for the two parties by Thy red fire, by molten metal, to impress into the minds the brand: the drugvant shall be destroyed, the rtāvan saved!"

Y.32.7:

cēšām ēnahām nēčit vidvā ōjoi hadrōyā
yā īţvā sanhate yāīš srāvī hvēnā ayahā
yēšām tu ahura riṅtam mazdā vēdīsto ahi

Wb. gives √χśnu- the meaning "zu Gefallen sein, please," and hence χśnūt, as a derivative, "Belohnung (reward) in gutem und bösem Sinne." Others tone it down to "Vergeltung, requital," merely masking the offence: the ordeal is neither reward nor punishment. √χśnu- means always "to hear," like NP. šunūdan, and "χśnūt, hearing." The procedure of inquiry is a trial by ordeal; both parties submit to it, receive "audience" at this "hearing." The tenet is: Nobody shall be sentenced unheard. rānā, used as dual only, are the "two parties," not "two hostile

\* Wb. 429 puts čoiś as pres. to √kēś- "to teach," whereby the god would teach also his enemies. It puts Čēšāma in Y.19.93 as part.fut. under √kēy- "to stone." This passage I understand as "Vīštāspa, the 'founder, organizer' of the armies of Rtam." Thus, both, čoiś and Čēšāma, seem to belong to √kēś-, "to build, found, constitute."
parties," but a metaphor taken from the two litigants in court, for "pious and sinners," to be distinguished only by the ordeal.

Y.32,7 contains three entirely obscure hapax: ējoi, hadrōyā and jōyā. For the first two lines one must compare 32,6: "ēnā yāiś srāvahyati, the misdeeds for which epics are sung to them" and 32,8: "ēsām ēnahām vivahuśo srāvī yamasčit, among those villains (or: for such misdeeds) Yama V. of all is praised," see under 'Yama ħśēta." Therefore, "yāiś srāvī" refers to "misdeeds," "that are testified, made notorious—as jōyā?—by the hvēnā ayahā, ordeal." The knowing god is speaking, sanhatē, through the ordeal. Last line: "What they have left behind, rišta, Thou A.M. knowest best." rišta, to vrīc-, rē-, lin- quēre, (hereditate re)licitum, "left" property—cf. rēxnah "heritage" in 32,11 under ‘Maga’—is in general the balance of men’s good and evil actions. The verses evidently oppose the testimony of the "most knowing god," yēsām tu riṣtam vēdiśto ahi, to the ignorance of men, ēsām ēnahām nēcīt vidvā, as the Pahl. transl. understands: "avēśān kēnik nē.čiē ākās, expl. čē čand nē dānēnd." Cf. Y.32,7: "he who knows shall not defend them," under ‘Yama ħśēta.’ "nēcīt vidvā" may mean "even though unknowingly." As far as the verses are intelligible, they forbid Bartholomae’s translation: "keine von diesen Unthaten soll der Wissende verüben, im Verlangen nach der Erreichung des Gewinnes, der wie bekannt durch das lohende Metall kund wird, i.e. der Metallstrom beim Jüngsten Gericht," which sounds as if somebody might try to reach paradise by illicit means.

The three ordeals are: āhrā suxrā, by red fire; hvēnā ayahā, by red-hot brass; ayahā ħśustā, by molten brass, certainly nothing to inspire rapture or ecstasy.

Y.31,19:

θwā ābrā suxrā mazdā vahāu vidāta rānayā

"(when) through Thy red fire, M., the vahāu of the two parties will be established."
Y. 47.6:

tā dā spantā
āthra vahāu

manyū mazdā ahura
vidātim rānōbya

"as Spanto manyuš, o. A.M., through fire, Thou ordainest the vahāu
vidātim, establishing of guilt or innocence for both parties."

Bartholomeac (WB.) explained "vidāti" with loc.sg. "vahāu"
as "Einweisung (installation) auf das Guthaben (in the sum
due to him)—in gutem und üblem Sinne—wie es sich beim
Abschluss der Buchungen, dātha (closing of accounts) er-
giebt."" He failed to see that the verses do not speak of passing
sentence, but of collecting evidence. The primary meaning of
vi-dā- is "to establish": √dā- = rīθημ�, prev. vi., Lat. dis., im-
ports "in detail"; the word comes near to "analyze, examine."
It is the activity of the examining magistrate, inquiry, διαγνωσµ�
of the vi.čiro, and the Pahl. transl. "giving vičarišn" is right:
ascertain guilt or innocence. Therefore, vahāu cannot be a loc.
sg., but only a dual, corresponding to "rānā, the two parties,"
"savā, the two returns" (cf. hvafnā, the two sleeps), hence
"vahāu, the two goods, their good and bad actions," the balance
both parties "leave behind."

In Y. 48, the train of thought is: St.1, when Rtam will have defeated
druḫš, the dēva and martyia, θεοι τε βποροὶ τε, receive their "savā, two
returns, good and evil." The victory of the good principle at the end
of the "mixed world" is a fact, not conditional; to achieve it, all men
must "choose r Tam," vi.čiθa in Y. 30.2, under 'Yā-ahīl!' or swear to it,
√var-. St.2: The human bearers, rtāvan and drugvant, replace the
powers rtam and druḫš: "Announce to me, A.M. who knowest what
shall come: will the rtāvan defeat the drugvant before the atonement,
prθā, which Thou hast planned?" The atonement, payment, takes place
at the Last Judgment which is part of the primal plan of the god. St.2
ends:

hā zi ahoš vaḥvi vistā ākrtīs

"That is: the good ākrtīs of the world has taken place!" or imprecativ:

8 Bartholomeac refers to the verb vidāya- in Y. 43.12 and 34.12, to which WB. 722 attributes
six meanings, a different one to each place. For the two places quoted "etwas verteilen an,"
the same error as in the translation of the noun.
"that would be the transfiguration, the end of the struggle of good and evil."

Bartholomae: "Das wäre ja gewiss eine der Welt frommende Botschaft!" or alternatively: "das ist bekannt als." Lommel: "Denn das ist bekannt als die gute Gestaltung des Daseins," note: "Andreas: äkrtiś, cf. Ol. äkrti, äußere Form, Gestalt." Why should Zoroaster ask, if it was "bekannt, a known fact"? vista cannot belong to √ vid- , "to know." Nyberg attaches it to √ vid-, but his translation "befunden" means "judged, ascertained as," whereas √ vid- is "to find, obtain," pass. "to take place." √ kar- with prev. ā is "to make into something." Wb. puts ā.krnam, with obj. nmānām, in Vid. 22,1, under √ kart-, "durch Schneiden gestalten," meaning "to shape into something." The words are synonymous. Here, the existing world is made into another one, hence "ā.krti = transfiguration." krstī < kart- would have a bad connotation: to fake.

The question means: "Will the victory of the religion, of good over evil, become a reality while the world lasts, before its end?" The double signification of the "Coming of the Kingdom" is the same as in earliest Christianity.

The problem is inherent in every doctrine that teaches a final compensation in the hereafter. Nobody can teach: We live in the year 3030, after 5,970 years you will rise from your tombs to be judged! The founder of the religion believes that he brings the kingdom of heaven, not only an era. The kingdom must come in the lifetime of the generation that hears the promise: "bōdanto pati! you shall live to see!" And it is significant that Zoroaster speaks only of "rtāvan" and does not distinguish, as Xerxes does soon after, between "śyāta in life, rtāvan in death." Only after the prophet’s time the contradiction between a resurrection at the end of days and the passing into the beyond at death becomes apparent. Various solutions are tried; for instance in the late Art. Vir. Nām, xviii: The tortured soul of the sinner in hell says "'Mt III yvm v ṣp'n ṭḥ[vn]t ymnv[n]v. yt ṣk, when only three days and nights have elapsed, ḫ m šnt b[vn]dk ṭḥ[vn]t 'p.m vr' l' šbkvn.d, the 9,000

* An anecdote, already belonging to history: I once brought a portrait of Rizā Shāh Pahlavī to the emperor William, and said, answering a question of the emperor "He believes himself to have inaugurated an era!" The emperor said: "I did so once myself!"
years are completed, and yet they will not release me!" There, reward and punishment begin with death, and punishment even comes to an end with time, with the beginning of eternity.

The notion, Zoroaster expresses by "äkrtiš, transfiguration," is clearer in Y.30,9, see under 'Myastra':

ätca toi vayam hyāma yoi im frašam krnavān ahum

"and we will be those who make this world here frašam!" This is what a "sōšyant, saviour" does, and on this and a few similar passages rests the later doctrine of the sōšyant. Andreas translated "die dies Leben zu einem herrlichen (oder: Wunder) gestalten," Norg, 1909. A whole literature grew up around this note. I too allowed myself to be misled and corrected the error only in Altp. Inschr. s.v.: frašam means solely "beyond," always used with ellipsis, "beyond (the post, the target etc.)." fraša + √kar- is originally a term of racing; as such it formed frašakara, as epithet of Vṛthragna in Yt.14,28 and as n.pr. in Yt.13,102. The moment of which Zoroaster speaks is the last day of history, when the world has finished its ninth round, when time stops and eternity begins. From the verbal idiom frašam krnavān in Y.30,9 the Aw. abstr. noun frašakrτti has been derived in analogy to ākrti. frašakrτti "the making-beyond" is no good model of a word and occurs only once in the Awesta, in a gloss interpolated at the end of the old verses Yt.13,57—see under 'Frawarti'—behind rvēsam: "yam frašakrτtoit vahviyā." It is the "good" frašakrτti, like the "good" ākrti, frasasti. Actually, MP. fraškirt has been coined after "frašam krnavān" and has been transposed into a learned Aw. frašakrτti. Pahl. tāk fraškirt zamān means "ilā yaumi l-qiyāma, till resurrection day," syn. of apatiyārakīh "state of no-more-being-contested." It is the counterpart of the notion expressed in Vid.2,20 (see under 'Chronology'): "3,000 years spiritual existence and 3,000 years material existence without antagonism; then comes patiyārakīh, contest: 3,000 years from the beginning of human history to the coming of the religion, and another 3,000 years to the last judgment," after which apatiyārakīh reigns.

Zoroaster speaks many times, in singular and plural, of the sōšyant,
whereas notion and word do not appear—as even a glance at the arrangement of the places in \textit{Wb.1551} shows—in any old passage of the yashts.\footnote{About the insertion of their names in the memorial list of \textit{Yz.13} see that chapter.} It appears only in \textit{Yz.19,88ff.}, post-Zoroastrian verses describing their activity at the resurrection. \textit{St.92,a-c} are the beginning of this song, 88,c-i its end. The same verses recur in \textit{Yz.19,11} and 13ff.

The formula by which the verses are inserted into the Hvarnah yasht at the mazdayasian redaction, is: "We worship the hvarnah, which follows (belongs to) \textit{NN}, in order that he may \ldots," i.e. "and which enables him to \ldots," In \textit{st.11} AhuraMazdāh who needs no "kāvian hvarnah" to create the living beings, is the \textit{NN}. To this the words "yat krnavān fraṣam ahum" are ungrammatically appended, which imitate \textit{Y.30,9}, "that they (viz. the sōšyant who are dropped at this place) make the world fraṣam." In \textit{Yz.19,13ff.} the verses are appended, likewise unbesfittingly, to the Amrta Spanta. In 88f. the same introductory formula is used, with hvarnah, but the \textit{NN} is not the god nor the immortal holy ones, but

\begin{align*}
yat & \text{upa.hačāt sōšyantam} & vrθrajanam \\
uṭa & \text{anyasčit haçaṃyo} & yat krnavāt fraṣam ahum
\end{align*}

"the hvarnah that belongs to the varthragnian sōšyant and his other companions, that he (sg.) make the world fraṣam." He needs the hvarnah no more than AhuraMazdāh, and the non-Zoroastrian epithet "varthragnian," which brings the relationship of the hvarnah (not of the sōšyant) to the god Vṛthragna into prominence, is added only to adapt the originally independent verses to the hvarnah yasht, to which they did not belong. In 88 and 91 the hvarnah-formula is twice interpolated, tearing the original asunder and forcing the insertion of a "yat" that spoils the meter. \textit{Yz.19,11} and 13 may be left alone as mere repetition, out of place, of the original in 88. The verses themselves are disfigured by a few additions, but have suffered neither changes nor omissions. The line "uṭa anyasčit haçaṃyo" must be admitted, because the plural of the verb krnavān, grammatically faulty in 11a, is not introduced directly from \textit{Y.30,9} in \textit{Yz.19,11}, but in the "Song to the Sōšyant" which was taken over as a whole, and became faulty only when the subject was changed from the plural to sg. AhuraMazdāh. Thus the original verses were:
Aastvatr.to frahištāte
haça apāt kansaviyāt
aštō mazdā ahurahya
uta anyascit haχayo
yat krnavān frašam ahum
azaršyantam amaršyantam
afriḏyantam apuŋyantam
yavějiam yavēsūvam
yat ristā pati us.hištān
jasāt jivayo amṛtiṣ

dadāti frašam vasnā ahum

Aastvatrta will set forth from the water Kansaviya
the champion of AhuraMazdāh and his other companions,
that they make humanity frašam, not-aging, not-dying,
not-decaying, not-rotting, ever-living, ever-flourishing.
When the dead will rise up, the reviver, the imperishable will come,
he will make humanity frašam, please God!

Herodotus m.62, in the story of Cambyses and Prexaspes renders the thought of these verses by: el μὲν νῦν οἱ τεθνεότες ἀναμαρτάντε ᾠτήρεα (read: Ἀοτήρεα) τῶν μῦδον, faulty gloss of Herodotus) ἐπαναστήσεσθαι [astvat.rto frahištāte]. The whole notion was too foreign for Herodotus to understand it rightly, a cogent proof that he did not invent the story, but heard it from the best source. The name astvat.rta [Median, OP. astva.rta, Ἀοτήρες] is derived from Y.43.16, end of Gāth.uṣt.: astvat rtam hiyāt uštāna ojḥahvat, and means Rtam in human shape. The Achaemenid name ὦξύρτης12 i.e. vaχṣyat.rta, OP. vaχṣya.rta, name of the second sōṣyant, attests that the tripling of the sōṣyant was known in about 420 B.C., and Herodotus’ words, about 440 B.C., project that conception back into Cambyses’ time, 529-523 B.C. The time of the ‘Song to the Sōṣyant’ is the middle or second half of the 5th century. At that time the n.abstr. “frašakrtiṣ, the making-beyond” was not yet in use.

In Māh Fava. and some other Sasanian works, the name uχṣyat.rta is spelled χαρᾶχτ, revealing how these eschatological speculations worked. The Gr.Bdh. 92f., speaking of the “var i avinast, the sinless lake” which—since avinast replaces anāhitā as epithet of Ardvi, e.g. Gr.Bdh.82—is another name for the “source of Ardvisūrā, the immaculate,” quotes a lost fragment of the Awesta “čgvn ymljn.:’yk, as is

12 Oxyartes, bei Athenaios xiii.89 nach Phylarchos, b.19, Frgm.Hist.Gr. 1.343, son of Darius II, brother of Artaxerxes II and the younger Cyrus. A brother was called Artostes, shortform of Gath. rtam.yahmāti.ustā.
written": χυλύτ πτίκκμντν 'dvpm [var.l. -pn, read -pmn] 'vyn'st vly ἡξυτν.τ' zk [or zy.ʔ?] my' plśkr' vyl'stn' l'd byn 'pyst, Xvaršēt, the sun, pāhramēhana adaβyamna, saw the sinless lake and needed its water for preparing the transfiguration."  This is the rest of an old myth, of the same kind as that of a god of thunder setting the world ablaze by his lightning.

"adaβyamna, undeceivable" is a frequent epithet of Mithra, and once, in Yt.10,80, he is called "mēθanahya pātā, keeper of the farm-yard." The compound pāhra.mēθana lives on in the n.pr. p'tmyn, on a Sasanian seal in the Calcutta Museum. Both are divine epithets, fitting Hvarχšēta as well as Mithra. In Gr.Bdh.197 and Dāt.Dēn., Pišyōṭna, son of Viśtāspa (Yt.13) has the epithet pāhromēhan (corrupted into Či°-) as immortal helper of the sōγyant. The Dēnk. ix,40 says: "Pāhromēhan, also called Pišyōṭn," and the Bahman Yt. speaks of "Pāhromēhan, son of Viśtāsp."

Hvarčītra, son of Zoroaster (Yt.13), another helper of the sōγyant, is called in Gr.Bdh.235 "the artēstar, knight, spāhsālar, commander of the army of Pišyōṭna, son of Viśtāspa." The posthumous career of the historical Pišišyōṭna, after eschatology had taken hold of him, is that he disappears behind his surname pāhra.mēθana, originally a surname of the gods Mithra and Hvarχšēta, while Hvarčītra—i.e. xvarštr > xvarśytr, as if it be a comparative of xvarśytr—takes the place of Hvar, the sun—like Sas. manuščītra for manuš—and disappears behind the coalescent names of uχšyat.rta and hvar.χšēta. The actual process was that the legend substituted these human figures for gods of an older period, conferring upon them the divine epithets, and that these old epithets survive, clearly revealing a much older phase of thought, where gods like Mithra, Hvarχšēta, Anāhitā and Vṛthragna took part in the final ἐκπόρωσις of the world.

The name of the lake Kansaviya, mod. Hāmūn, is derived from an unknown 'kansu. From the Kansaviya rises mount Ušidam, as the meaning of the name, "house of dawn" shows, originally a mythical

18 Messina, Orientalia 1,2,15, misunderstood my old remark in AMI II,57 on this passage of the Bdh. that had escaped attention: "l'affermazione riguardante il sole (as sōγyant) si fonda sopra una etimologia del termine ušētart-xvaršētart etc." I never considered an etymological connection of xvaršētar and uχšyat.rta.

19 Readings like ēdiṭramēnōy etc should be given up.
mountain imagined at the east point of the border of the Ocean, but at the time of the verses of Yt.19 already located at the hill in the lake, the modern Kōh i Xvāja, "mountain of the Lord," whose name was, in modern belief, Sarā i Ibrāhīm, i.e. a son of Ibrāhīm Zardušt. It is regarded as holy, and is the only mountain invoked as "yazata, adorandum" in many yashts. Moreover, in the same yasht 19, in st.66, verses are inserted which give a detailed description of the Sealand with the lake, the mountain in the lake, and the ten rivers which fall into the lake, the like of which is not given of any other country in the Avesta. A commentary of this description is the Āwduhā ē Sigistān, "Mirabilia of Sistān."

The placenames in the epical fragments quoted in the great yashts are motivated by the action of the mythical heroes. The placenames in the description of the sunrise in Yt.10, equally, have a good historical and geographical reason. The description of the Sealand has no motive and no connection with other things, it is simply the description of a country as a Holy Land. The saviour, expected from there, is a reincarnation of Zoroaster, his son [Sarā i Ibrāhīm Zardušt, in Māh Frav. Zoroaster himself]. I do not believe that a prophet can be expected to return as saviour from any special place or country, unless he has been there. Therein I see the reason for the peculiar holiness and, with it, the description of the country in the Avesta. Zoroaster actually sojourned there.

On the weird table mountain of basalt in the lake, one cannot "als Missionar wirken" (Nyberg), but only live as a hermit, perhaps with a few pupils. I stayed there twice, altogether four months. It is a place provoking visions like no other one. The Indian ascetics used to go "in the forest," the Arabian "into the desert," the Iranian "on the mountain," for instance Sāsān according to ibn al-Balkhi, Fārsn. 54,11; Vištāspa according to Baidawī, niżām, a passage which comes from the Iran. "Zamāspnāmāk and, by its Greek translation, the Xρησις 'Yostá-

15 The shi'ite Mahdi is expected in Samarra, an analogy familiar to me, as I lived in closest neighborhood of the "Ghaiba." This cellar, in which the Mahdi "disappeared," is actually part of the basement of the vast palace in which his father and grandfather lived in the ninth century.
tāspa, and under his protection Zoroaster sojourned there as a hermit.

He speaks of this hermit life in the ‘Gatha of the Vision,’ Y.43.15:

dāxšat ušyāi tušnāmatiš vahištā

"Thinking in silence has taught me to announce . . ."

Lommel’s attempt to connect ušyāi with Skr. “ucyati, to like to do” (Orient.Stud.Pavry, 28ff.) is no improvement: one thinks in silence considering what one wants to say. As to the form cf. Y.32.4: *vašyantē dēvazuṣṭā, text: vaḫšontē. Mount Uṣidam is the place of the Gatha of the vision. Zoroaster’s sojourn on the mountain is the origin of the traditions told in the Mirabilia, also of the notes on Sēna Ahumstut “from Bust” in western Arachosia, and that Bust was founded when Viṣṭāspa, at lake Frazdān (Ziriḥ), created the religious law, in Sahr.Ēr. It is also the reason, long since forgotten, for the pilgrimages, attested since the fourth century A.D. and still performed today during the first fortnight after the Zoroastrian Nauroz, to the Kōh i Xvāja, the mountain of the Lord.

The gatha Y.48—with “ākritiš”—speaks of the last judgment, not of an “Ordal das Zarathustras Religionsstreit entscheiden soll” (Nyberg, 227). I do not know whether Bartholomae was the first, or somebody before him, to ascribe to Zoroaster the Middle Iranian concept of the last judgment as a “destroying and purifying stream of fire” (see under ‘Welcome’). The end of the world in fire, caused by lightning, is a thought of the oldest stratum of the myth; Zoroaster’s concept, on the contrary, is the judgment, as all the verses here already quoted express, and very clearly the Gāthā uṣṭavati, 43.5-6 (see Markwart’s translation):

5: dāmoiš rvēsē apamē
6: yahmi spantā ṧwa manyū rvēsē ṣaso 
mazdā χšaϑrā ahmi vahū manahā 
yahya šyōϑnaiš gēϑā rtā frādantē 
ēbyo ratuš sanhari ārmatiš 
θwahya χratoš yām nēčiš dābayati

After the last rvēsa, the last turn of the nine millennia, AhuraMazdā appears as SpantoManyuš and in all his aspects, χšaϑrā, vahū manahā; Ārmatiš pronounces the sentences of the undeceivable knowledge and will of the supreme judge.
For this last judgment the dead will rise, us. hištān, Ys. 19, 88; the verb, with us- and pati, used with the ablative, e.g. up from the sea, from the bed, means originally "from the graves" see under 'Vidēvdād.' The reward after death, for good and evil actions in life, is Zoroaster's fundamental thought, expressed in every single gatha, and equally in Darius' inscription Beh. §§73 and 76, and Xerxes' daiva, Persepolis. The entire dualistic concept of the world rests on this thought. Resurrection, being the necessary premise of the judgment, is the unavoidable consequence of reward, an integrant part of Zoroaster's doctrine. Prēxaspes speaks doubting—"if"—to Cambyses; but Darius and Xerxes believe in Zoroaster's doctrine of resurrection.

Nyberg says, 310: "Der Auferstehungsgedanke ist in den Gathas mit keinem Worte berührt; mehr, es fehlen alle Voraussetzungen, die Vereinigung der Seele in der Ekstase mit der himmlischen Welt hat die Todesvorstellung vollkommen überwogen." "Heavenly world" is a "Vorstellung-concept"; "ecstasy" is a mere "Vorstellung-imagination" of Nyberg; death is neither conception nor imagination, but a fact, the most stubborn, that nothing can "overweigh." "Wenn die Himmelsreise der Seele der alles beherrschende Gedanke gegenüber dem Tode ist—[it is not]—so giebt es keinen Boden für den Auferstehungsgedanken," a conclusion that would be wrong even if the premise were true. "Zoroaster borrowed from the tribe among which he founded his community, den auf die Erdbestattung begründeten fravāši Kult and den darin wurzelnden und ohne ihn nicht denkbaren (unthinkable) Auferstehungsglauben," which was however "nichtsdestoweniger natürlich eine kühne Neuschöpfung grossen Stils." Whence comes such knowledge, when no word as much as touches the subject, and why did Zoroaster do so, when there was no "Voraussetzung, premise" and no "Boden, premises" to build on? Zoroaster never mentions the Fravarti in the gathas; more than that, in his 'Creation Gatha' he describes Ahura Mazda in their old cosmologic role, that means, he rejected the popular notion of these "manes."

In the whole Fravardin Yasht, 13, see under 'Fravarti,' there is no hint of any transfigured life. On the contrary, the "tušnišad, those who sit, live in silence," continue to act on earth as dead ones. The same concept prevails in Greece and Italy, and since the Ir. fravarti are also female "valcyries," this is the primeval Indo-European concept of
existence after death. Pre-Zoroastrian and Zoroastrian notion are totally different and clearly distinguished.

The cult of the fravarti, the Ol. pitáraḥ, Greek “héroes,” Roman “mānēs,” depends in no way on the special and varying modes of disposing of the body, nor these different funerary customs on that cult. Whatever is done to the body, the “uštāna, life” which has left the “astvant body,” does not die, but lives, somehow bound to the place where the material shape rests, with which it was endowed. Nor is there any connection between the funerary customs, whatever they were, and Zoroaster’s idea of resurrection, which does not “root in the Fravarti cult, founded on and ‘unthinkable’ without interment.” “Es ist keinen Augenblick daran zu denken”—one ought to have a minute of thought for everything—“dass der Zoroastrismus [means: after Zoroaster’s death] eine solche Grabsitze übernommen hätte, die er zu allen Zeiten mit dem grössten Abscheu betrachtete,” another revelation, since the yashts are just as silent as the gathas. A minute of thought and many things “unthinkable” become thinkable; but coexistence of transfigured life and life in silence is indeed unthinkable, as is a “borrowed thought, and yet a bold new creation in grand style.” As remarked above, the word pati us.hištān presupposes “rising up from tombs.”

Zoroaster’s picture of the last judgment is that of a court, of a settling of accounts, hankrti. Y.31,14: “yaθa tā ahan hankrtā hiyāt, when it comes to settling accounts.” The good and evil acts are put to account, their balance is the riṅṭa, which is “left” behind.

Y.32,7:

yēḥām tu ahura  riṅṭam mazdā vēdištō ahi
“what they have left, Thou, A.M., knowest best!”

Y.44,2:

ho zi rū̄a  spanto riṅṭam vispabyo
hāro manyū
“He, the holy one, . . . who regards in spirit what every one has left behind.” Ahura means lord justiciary, mazdā “to bear in one’s memory”; the verses paraphrase the name of the god as “the omniscient judge,” not as “der Weise Herr.”
Y. 49.4:

"whose good works do not make level the bad ones." Pahl. transl.: "kuš kirpak vinās bē nē kanēt, whose good deeds do not make even their sins." Similarly Y. 31.1: "with whom false and right hāmāmyāsaitē, is (equally?) mixed?", cf. Art.Vir.Nām.vi, chapter ‘Hamēstakān’: kēśān kirpak u vinās rāst būt, those whose good and evil deeds are even."

All terms are clearly such of accounting and the beginning of the notion "zero." Bartholomae translated 49.44 "bei denen nicht die Gutthaten (sondern) die Übelthaten überwiegen," as sole instance of intrans. √van-, "superare"; it is OP. √van- "fill, heap up" said of "θiκā, gravel, pebbles, calculi." Counting pebbles is the beginning of "calculare, calculate." Calculating and weighing are intimately connected. The picture of an account takes the form of a banking house in heaven in the later notion of the "ganī i hamīša sūd, the treasure of eternal interest."

The origin of the whole conception is the old custom, inherited from Babylon, to keep written records of everything the king did and ordered; examples are found among the tablets from Persepolis. The word for these records is "hypomnēmata, memorandum," in Ezra 6.2: dkrvn', NP. yād.dāšt. From these deeds the ephemerides were excerpted, the βιβλία ὑπομνηματικῶν, spr dkrvn' in Ezra 4.15, spr hzkrnv in Esther 6.1, explained in 2.33 by "spr dbry hymym, deeds of daily acts." Excerpts from longer periods were the βασιλικά διαφέραι, deposited in the byt gzny', the "archives" (not "treasure-house"). The "garo dmāna, house of collecting" is the heavenly counterpart of these earthly archives.

Special merits to the king were recorded like his own actions, and the honorific (OP.) ὄροσάγγαι, Gr. εὐεργέται was conferred upon such men. Herodotus vm.85: "Phylakos was recorded as Euergētēs of the king." Xerxes writes to Pausanias, Thukydides 1.129.3: "Regarding the men from Byzantium whom you have saved for me beyond the sea, the εὐεργεσία lies booked for you in our house for ever!" And Darius speaks similarly in the Gاداتas inscription (Dittenberger, Syll. n° 22).

Markwart tried an etymology of ὄροσάγγαi together with παρα-

16 NP. ba zamīn rāst kart, e.g. Baʿdawi, nisām, twice; Buṭnasṣar makes bāt al-maqdis, Jerusalem, "even with the earth."
σάγγας: oro- for vuru- "wide," -sangai to √sanh- "announce," unconvincing, because "euergétau" would be no translation of it. F. W. Thomas, Sakastan, JRAS.1906, was on the right track; the title must hide one of the words for "good works"; but vrzy.anhvā, Wb. "mit energischem Antrieb, Schaffensdrang" is a misleading translation; vrziyahvāho in the Hōma-verses Y.10,14 means "in full possession of one's senses" as opp. to "drunk." The Gr. translation is as precise as possible: εὐ < hu, ἐργος < vrzyah "work(ing)"; existing compounds with duṣ- can be paralleled by such with hu-, hence 'hu.varzyah. There was a noun "srāvanha, deriv. of sravah, of which srāvanhyati is the denom. verb; similarly Aw. upōśanha, deriv. of upa.uṣah, MP. Pōšang. Hence, the deriv. 'huvrzychanha gives ὅροσάγγας.

Y.29,4:

mazdā 'sahvar.mariśto yā zi vāvrzoi paričītit
dēvāiśca martyāiśca yāča varšate apičītit
ho vičiro ahuro aθā ahat yača ho vasat

"Mazdāh is the best witness-rememberer of what is wrought in the past by gods and men and of what is wrought in future. He is the justiciary who judges, His will be done!"

What AhuraMazdāh remembers or calculates are the actions of men, recorded with attest in the archives. The worldly institution is transferred to heaven.

sahvār mariśto is written in two words, so that the relative clauses "which have been" and "which will be wrought" refer to sahvār; this would be an acc.pl. with the meaning restricted to "actions, intentions." But Bartholomae's "Anschlag, Plan, eigtl. Ankündigung (eines Vorhabens)," Meillet's doubtful "indications?" ("Anschlag" would be "plot"), do not fit √sanh-, OP. thah-, pronuntiare, authoritative or solemn speaking. The Pahl. commentary says: "pa vinās u kirpak amār kunēt, he keeps account of sin and good deeds." The same words are used for the compound hātā.marāni in Y.32,6, all but a synonym, "meriti memor." sahvār must be freed of the relative clauses, therefore be read as compound, like hātā.marāni, cf. also naśta.rāziśta in Y.10, under 'Mithra.' It is a superl. of *sahvar.mar(ant). The relative clauses, then, relate to the participle: "the best rememberer or accountant of what has been done etc."
The Pahl. transl. of sahvar by σχύν is right. In Y.32,7 “sanhate, pronunciatur” is used for the “deposition, speaking” of the ordeal; equally Dênk. uses “gowišn=sahvan” for the “speaking, testimony” of the ordeal. Y.31,5: “hyat rvatam čazdahvabyo,” Y.44,5: “yā manōthriš čazdahvantam arthaḥya,” where rvata, Ol. vratā—cf. Ir. rvāta, ρητῶν—is “sentence” in the juridical meaning; “artha,” here “daily task,” but also juridical term. Pahl. transl. of čazdahvant is both times “amār vičārtar, who determines the number”; Geldner translated “berechnend,” referring to Ved. kiyedhās. The “number” is obviously the “amount” of punishment. “amār vičārtar” combines the two words of 29,4, (sahvar)-mar(išto) and vičiro (ahuro). Therefore, “sahvar, spoken word” is the deposition of witnesses, the attestation of the action. “marant” means “mental arithmetic,” a “marant” is a “hamāra.kara, accountant.”

The idea of Y.29,4 resembles Thales’

σοφότατον ὁ χρόνος ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα,

which again returns in the zurvanistic saying in Gr.Bdh.

 zamān adawakān adawaktar
 zamān pursišnikān pursišniktar
 Time is the most undeceivable of undeceivables,
 Time is the greatest inquisitor of inquirers.

Bartholomae was right in speaking of “heavenly book-keeping.” Nyberg objects, 211: “Woher sollten die Rinderhirten der Steppe, die keine Ahnung von der Schrift hatten, . . . den Gedanken an himmlische Geschäftsbücher genommen haben?” The book-keeping cannot be denied; the “cowboys of the prairie” are a mere theory. The book-keeping is not absurd, but the cowboys are. The Iranian bureaucracy came from their Babylonian neighbors.

Zoroaster’s thought of the judgment as account passed into the other religions. Daniel 12,1: “Thy people will be saved, all those who are written down in the book.” Or Daniel 7,10, vision of the judgment of the four beasts: “The court set, the books were opened.” The vision was conceived in Babylon under the Achaemenids, that is place and time where Zoroastrian thoughts went over into Judaism and thence into Christianity, and thus influenced universal history.

Enoch, 92-104, in the treatise on resurrection: “For the spirits that
died in justice everything good . . . is written down as reward," and "The sinner may say [Yt.10,105: iða manyatē duš.hvarnā]: Our sins will not be investigated and recorded [noit imat vispam dušvarštam miðro vēnati . . . ]; and yet, the angels write down all your sins every day!"—Islam, too, borrowed the idea: "athābahu Allāhu wa-ḍāʾafa lahu l-ḥasanāt wa-dja'ala dhukhrahu l-bāqiyyatu l-ṣāliḥāt, Allāh reward him and double him his charities and make him a treasure of good works!" And Qur. 9,5: "Allāhu khabīru bimā ya'malūna" is word by word "Mzdā sahvar.mārišto yā zi vāvrzoi."
Y.45,2: "The good one of the two manyū prviyā, primordial spirits, said to the bad one: Neither our manā, nor our sanhā, āratavo, varnā, uyoḍā, śyōtnā, dēnā, ruvāno join, hačantē."

"Spirits" is no accurate rendering of manyū: they are something spiritual, nothing concrete; they speak, but they are neither anthropomorphic, nor theomorphous. The best translation would be "the two forces" or "principles," Good and Evil.

Lommel: "Nicht unser beider Denken, ... Reden, ... Verstand (Wille?), ... Wahlentscheidung, ... Worte, noch Thaten, ... geistige Natur, ... Seelen gehen zusammen." The eight hardly definable notions cannot be really translated: complexes of phenomena are compressed in single words, and there are not two languages where these coincide, because the notions behind the words are no realities. One could say "thought, sayings, will, love, words, deeds, essence, soul." It is not yet a psychologic system like that which Mani developed from beginnings already foreshadowed in Darius' tomb inscription, cf. Altp.Inschr. 84ff. The eight words have the same purport as kardēn, ṣuṣṭi, diāvōs in the Gospels. The definition of "ruvān, soul" in the Gr.Bdh. is elucidating: "Soul is what by the senses in the body sees, speaks, and perceives," or "the soul is the master over the body, like the chief of the family over his house, the horseman over his horse, it is the rāyenitār, patron, of the body." It is the same with Gr. μένος, ἰσχύς, φρεν, Lat. mentēs, sententiae, animi or Hebr. rūẖ = nvēma, mēmrā = λόγος, khōkhmā = σοφία. The verses seek to convey: in all the faculties and motives of our spiritual life, we, Spantamanyuš and Ahramanyuš, Good and Evil, are incompatible, unreconcilable opposites.

The verses do not say that good and evil were "twins," not even in a figurative sense. The "Gatha of Good and Evil" is Y.30, and there the expression "the two principles" appears once more.

A chapter in Dēnk. ix (statement of contents of the VarstmnarNask, ch.7) has been interpreted as being a sort of exegesis to Y.30,3-5, cf.
Schaeder, *Beiträge* 288 and Benveniste, in Monde Or. 26,207ff. Translations and inferences therefrom are both erroneous. One must read (cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 130): “ać avēšān amuhraspaṇḍān ān ē vattar dōṣit, lit. he [viz. the demon Araš of whom the paragraph speaks] chose the worse share than the Am.Sp.” i.e. the share worse than that chosen by the Am.Sp., or better: “in opposition to the Am.Sp. the wholly-bad share,” “paṭān kā.ś ḥ śnāsakān dēvān āyaziśānīh guft, in teaching: those who know shall worship the dēvī!” and “bring offerings to the planetary gods!” These gods are not Xuršēd, Māh, Tir etc., but astral gods imported from Babylon. Nothing can be gathered from this paragraph for the interpretation of Y.30.

Y.30,3:

āt tā manyū prviyē yā yamā hvafnā asruvātām
manahiça vačahiça śyōbnoi hi vahyo akamča
"ayāsēa hudāhō rś viṇyāta noit dużdāhō

“But those two primordial manyū that are praised in song as the ‘sleep-twins’ are Good and Evil, in thoughts, words and conduct. And between these two [Good and Evil] the good-minded have chosen right, the not-ill-minded.”

Bartholomae: “Die beiden Geister zu Anfang, die sich durch ein Traumgesicht als Zwillinge offenbarten, (sind) das Bessere und das Böse in Gedanken, Worten und That.” Ar.Forschg. n,120: “Dass die beiden Urgeister Zwillinge genannt werden, ist gewiss auffällig.” In fact, it is only “the two sleeps” that are called so. At that time, he translated hu.afnā asruvātām still by “sie (dual) schufen kunstreich.”


One must not render the Iranian by the German (or English) comparative: “the better” would be “better than bad,” the lesser evil, while it is a comp. abs. “the wholly good”; vahya comes near to Aristotle’s *aivroaγαθόν*. “yā . . . asruvātām” is a relative clause, but does not signify “which . . . are called”; it is no parenthesis, and all the less signifies “as has been transmitted” (Nyberg, below); it says “who have been praised in song,” in
perf.pres. “who are praised in the epic,” see under ‘Poetry’ and ‘Yama χάστα.’

Bartholomae compared the dual “the two sleeps” with “sāvā, the two returns,” viz. reward and punishment. Other analogies are “rānā, pious and sinners,” “vahū, good and evil,” see under ‘Last Judgment’; also “dva narā” in Vīd.2.41, a human pair, man and woman; “hvarθή” in Yt.19, eating and drinking. The dual means “sleep and its brother.”³

The manifestations of spiritual life are usually combined in the stereotyped formula “manah, vačah, śyōtha,” from which the three virtues originate: “humat, huχt, huvarṣt, good thought, talk, conduct.” This most natural idea is found all over the world, in Christianity and earlier, e.g. Democritus: τὸ εὖ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ εὖ λέγειν, τὸ πράττειν ἃ δεῖ ὁ γίνεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φρονεῖν τρία ταῦτα: βουλεύεσθαι καλὸς, λέγειν ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ πράττειν ἃ δεῖ.

Xenophanes says merely “form and thought”:

εἰς θεὸς ἐν τε θυττοίοι καὶ ἀνθρώποιοι μέγιστος
οὐτε δεμάς θυττοίοι δμοίοις οὐτε νόημα

The triad always means the total of functions of the soul. Corpses that neither think, nor speak, nor act, are beyond good and evil. The eight manifestations of the soul in Y.45.2 have the same purport as this triad.

The mere mention of the dual-name is enough to remind the hearers of the myth which they knew as well as that of Yama Vīvahvato puḥtro, “to whom epics are sung, srāvahyati,” and of other heroes, not from lectures at a theological seminary, but from the old epic tales, “yāiś asrōždvam būmyā haftaθē, sung on this seventh of the earth,” Y.32.3, in the whole of Ėrāṇsahr. Cf. Xenophanes:

tou κλέος ᾿Ελλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφίζεται οὐδ’ ἀπολήζει

and Homer, e.g. Il. ix.264:

tou δῇ νῦν γε μέγιστον ὑπονόμων κλέος ἔστιν.

In these verses, Zoroaster gives the myth—which, as a thing known

³ Cf. the very same idioms in Arabic: al-Imrāqain, al-Baṣratain etc; as early as in the inscr. of Imrāqain b. ‘Amr, “the two Asad” mean “Asad and ‘Anaza,” see Mihatā, Ῥήνα and Bādiya in Jahrb.Preu. Kunstlg. 1921, 108ff.
to everybody, he does not detail any further—a new ethical interpretation: “Your epics speak of the primordial twins sleep and his brother; I speak of the two principles Good and Evil.” They are two different pairs.

Y.30,4:

ātēca hyat tā ham manyū   jasētām prviyam dazdē
gayamēcā ajyātimēcā   yātha(ča) ahat apaman ahuś
ācīsto drugvatam āt   rtāvanē vahīstam mano

“When these two spirits [Good and Evil, which I have compared in st.3 with your twins, and defined in my gatha 45,2] came together, they first established life and death, how it shall be at the end: hell, for the drugvant, but paradise for the rtāvan.”

That is the passage which Ed. Meyer, following Bartholomae’s “they agreed” for ham.jasētām, believed to prove that Zoroaster himself knew already the “agreement” of 9,000 years between AhuraMazdāh and Ahramanyuš, of which Plutarch, de Iside, speaks. The number 9,000, though not uttered, may have been in Zoroaster’s mind, but the form is not that of a treaty. The “ham.jasētām, coming together” is neither procreation nor a compromise, as Bartholomae interpreted the sentence in Ar.Forschg. 11,122: “Lat. convenire, übereinkommen, weil sie schon beisammen waren.” The words of the Gr.Bdh. “u.śān miyān tuhihī buṭ, hast kē vāy gōyēnd, between them was a void, others say the atmosphere” are wrong speculations of Sasanian theologians who thought of creation instead of history. “ahu” is the period of “patiyārak, contest.”

The address by the good principle is the challenge, the false twins were not together, but come together for battle, the πατηρ ἀπάντων, cf. Yt. 14,47:

yat spādā han.jasāntē   raštam rasmā katarasčit.

Or OP.:

pasāva hamid’iyā hangmata parasita hamaranam čartanē.

The law gayamča ajyātimča, that all life must die, and the dwelling places for the dead, paradise and hell—called “huvitiča iniś” at the end of the same gatha—are predetermined at the beginning of the “ahu, i.e. the human world.” When the fight of history is over, the frašam, apatiyārakih begins, the zrvan akarana, eternity after the end of time.
Y. 39,5:

ayā manyuvā vartā  ya drugvā aćišta vrzyo
rtam manyuš spaništō ya črōždištān asáno vastē
yēča čšnōšān ahuram  hadyāiš šyōθnāiš fraVRT mazdām

"Of these two manyū, the drugvā (manyuš) chose to work the wholly-
bad, but (to work) the rtam the spaništō manyuš, who is clothed in
the most-solid heavens, and all who, by conduct as it should be (atra),
are voluntarily obedient to AhuraMzdāh."

Gathas and OP. inscriptions use this type of inversion. In these verses
the two principles make themselves the moving forces of the world's
history. The realm of the one is heaven, of the other hell. The verses
do not speak of creation, but of history.

Creation, cosmology is the subject of the “Gatha of the Vision,” 43,
and of the “Gatha of the Questions,” 44. In 43, Zoroaster says, speaking
as a poet, not a theologian, st. 5:

spantam at θwa  mazdā manhi ahura
hyat θwa ahoš  zanbōi darsam prviyam
hyat dā šyōθnā  miždavān yāča uχdā
akām akāi  vahvīyām rtim vahvē
θwā hūnara  dāmōiš rvesē apamē

“As the holy one I knew Thee, A.M., when I beheld Thee at the pro-
creation of life, as the primordial one, when Thou ordainedst the works
and the words to be bearing return, the bad lot for the bad (deeds)
and the good for the good, through Thy handy-work, at the last turning
of the creation!”

The birth of life is not the law of dying, and paradise and hell for
good and bad ones is merely the execution of the law of reward given
by the god at the creation. There is no contradiction.

hūnara, to  Vhū-, whence “hūti, handicraft,” is the handy-work,
δήμουργία, AhuraMzdāh is the demiurge of the world. Hertel is
mistaken in relating the last words to the last act of the creation “bei
der letzten Wendung der Spendung,” instead of the end of the world.

The sentence “as the holy one, spanta, I knew Thee, when he circum-
ambulated me as Vahumano,” many times repeated in this gatha, makes
it perfectly certain that AhuraMzdāh himself is the Spanta who ap-
pears in the aspect of Vahumano. In Y.30,5, the manyuš spaništa is clothed in the most-solid heavens, asãno vastë, as is Mazdâh in Y.13,3, vastë vahanam, and “those who are obedient to Mazdâh have chosen like Spanto manyuš” = Mazdâh. In 43,6, he appears as spanto manyuš and as Vahumano and in all his aspects simultaneously at the last judgment.²

Bartholomae wrote in Wb.1621: “Dass Geldner u.a. sich ... wieder dazu verstehen konnten, spanta von KSl. svetu loszureissen, ist mir nicht begreiflich, ... ohne die Pü. awzûnik würde niemand auf den Gedanken kommen, spanta anders als mit ‘heilig’ widerzugeben.” Lommel translates, almost thirty years later, “klug” und “der klügere”; Nyberg “wirksam.” Hertel objected to “heilig” and contributed an interesting treatise on the origin of the German word, starting from Wulfila’s Bible translation. H. W. Bailey established the etymology of the Iranian words derived from √sū- and their Slavic correspondents and other IE. words. Markwart said “heilig,” especially insisting on the fact that “Nutzen” (profit) does not belong to Zoroaster’s sphere of thought, and contributing the explanation of Skol. ἔκαμπται = ἵππος ὄδοι, äfsand = spanta. After all these investigations, one must go back to “holy.” Starting from different notions, the semantic development of Ir. spanta, Lat. sanctus, “holy” and “heilig,” has taken such a turn, that the notions coincide to a large extent. It is a delusion to believe that greater accuracy can be reached at all in worlds of ideas so far removed in space and time.

Thus, spanta manyuš is the Spiritus Sanctus, the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, akam mano—equally clear in other gathas—is Ahramanyuš. But nowhere is there a trace of a corresponding organization of evil in aspects of Ahramanyuš, as e.g. aka manah, čšma, drug etc.

Vahumano, well translated in Greek by ἔνωσις or ἔνωσα, is Good-Will, as Markwart emphasizes, Gâth.ult. 62, “keine Eigenschaft des Intellekts (Sinn), sondern des Willens.” It is sometimes “conscience,” always contrasted to “malevolence,” an opposition meaning much more than that of truth and lie. Vahumano is the force by which Spanta-manyuš effects Rtam in the “ahû, human life.” This notion of Good-Will foreshadows already the Christian “Love.”

² Cf. Y.31,3; 33,12; 43,1,2; 47,1,6; 51,7, with “Mazdâh as SpantaManyuš” in instr. of quality, mostly in connection with the last judgment.
If in Y. 30, 4 the two principles Good and Evil establish first of all life and death, and reward in heaven and hell at the end of the ahu, if in Y. 30, 5 they are the moving forces of history, and if in 43, 5 the primordial Ahura Mazda “procreates life” and “ordains the works to bring return,” then the two primordial spirits, manyū prvyā of 45, 2, compared in 30, 3 with the “twins sleep,” are none but Ahura Mazda (in his quality as Spantamanyuš) and Ahramanyuš.

But here again no word says that Ahura Mazda and Ahramanyuš were twins, descendants from the same parents. The verses contain not the slightest indication of Zurvanism. That is a doctrine attested first by Eudemus of Rhodus, Aristotle’s pupil, who is quoted by Damascius, de prim. princ. 125 (ed. Kopp, 384): “The magi and the whole nation of the Aryans call—the ones ‘topos, space,’ the others ‘chronos, time’—the homogeneous primordial being from which either a good god or an evil demon, or light and darkness, dissociated themselves.”

Nyberg, 122, translates Y. 30, 3: “Jene beiden Ur-manju, die Zwillinge Schlaf (und sein Bruder) waren, wie überliefert worden ist, das Bessere und das Schlechte,” and infers from this translation: “Die Vorstellungen von den Zwillingen bilden also einen Bestandteil einer traditionellen Theologie, die es vor Zoroaster in der Gatha-Gemeinde gab. Die beiden manyü sind zwar von Anfang an Gegensätze, aber sie sind es nur in Gedanken, Worten und Thaten; mehr wird nicht gesagt.” Nobody could say more than all. “Die Aufteilung in Gut und Böse beruht auf Wahl, nicht auf Erschaffung. Sogar die manyu (sind so) durch Wahl, nicht aus innerer Notwendigkeit,” which reminds one of squabbles of Byzantine, Sunnite and Protestant sects, typical for religiously unproductive periods. “Die Gatha-Gemeinde [all in spaced print] hat eine gegensätzliche Perspektive ethischen Inhalts auf einem monistischen Hintergrund.” This “traditional theology in the Gatha-community before Zoroaster” also “theology of the pre-Zoroastrian community,” presupposes gathas before the gathas, and is the foundation of the “theology of the Gatha-community.” The gathas are “carmina, odes,” and all this results from the wrong translation of “yā asruvātām” by “as has been transmitted,” instead of “that are praised in song.”
A conception different from Y.30 seems first to appear in the very late, identical passages of Y.11,12 and Y.57,17, where Srōšo is described like Argos in Hesiod’s hymn:

yo noit pasēta huśhvafa who no more slept
yat manyū dāmān dāditām since the two spirits created the world,
yasça spanto yasça ahro the Holy and the Bad one.

This is late enough to be Zurvanism. A few lines after, the dāta vidēva, Vidēvdād is mentioned: the preceding lines, too, must be dated in the time of the Vidēvdād, the Arsacid period. In Zoroaster’s concept, the bad spirit is no creator, he merely “works the evil” in the existing creation. It is only 1,500 years later that e.g. al-Khwārizmī says: “ahraman khāliq al-sharr, Ahriman is the creator of Evil.”

The Sasanian theologians were the first to advance the doubly false interpretation that the “two principles” were themselves the “twins,” and that Zrvan, Time, was their father. Without seeing the first error, which makes every discussion useless, Nyberg declaims against the second, 104: “In den Gathas ist AhuraMazdāh unzweifelhaft der höchste Gott; eine Vorstellung, nach der er ein abgeleiteter Gott wäre, würde der gesamten gathischen Religion zuwider laufen. AhuraMazdāh, der Vater der Zwillinge, ist eine dem Zurvan des Westens parallele Erscheinung im Osten. Hieraus folgt ein sehr wichtiger Schluss: AhuraMazdāh steht jenseit von Gut und Böse. [Nietzsche: jedenfalls nicht jenseit von gut und schlecht!] Er hat die Schöpfer dieser Gegensätze hervorgebracht, aber nicht sie selbst. ... Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass in der Theologie der vorzarthuhrischen Gemeinde Ahuramazdāh wesentlich [essentially] ein deus otiosus war.”

Whether “derived in the west” or “parallel in the east,” in no case is he the “father of the twins” with one of whom he is compared. Neither is he the “creator of the creator of evil.” In Y.44,3, Zoroaster asks “Who is the procreator of Rtaš?” but does not go on “Who is the procreator of Ako manyuš?” These verses do not describe an “unessential” interruption of the “otium,” Y.44:

3: kasnā zanθā patā rtahya prvyo
kasnā huvan stāramča dāt adwānam
ko yā mā uḫṣyatī nṛfsati ŏwat
3: Who is the procreator of Rtam, the primordial father?
Who has created the sun and the course of the stars?
Who is it through whom the moon waxes and wanes?

4: Who supports the earth below and the heaven,
that it do not fall? who the waters and plants?
Who harnesses to wind and clouds their racers?
Who, Mazdāh, is the creator of Vahumano?

5: Which master created light and darkness?
Which master created sleep and wakefulness?
Who dawn, midday, and night?
The reminders of his task to the thoughtful?

The verses are like Ps. 33,6-7: “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made. He gathereth the waters of the sea as in a skin, [he layeth up the depth in store houses].” Or Ps. 19,1: “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.” St.4 transfers the cosmologic activity of the Fravarti, Yt.13,2-16, to Ahura-Mazdāh: the continuous movement of the Universe, without a minute of “otium.”

From these verses Nyberg quotes only the line “Who created light and darkness, sleep and wakefulness?” in the erroneous belief that these were the “Sleep and its brother,” and says: “Die Antwort ist ohne Zweifel AhuraMazdāh.” This is aimed against Zurvan of the Sasanian theologians, for, sharing their assumption that twins must have a father, and doubly mistaken in the belief that sleep and wakefulness were sleep and its brother and these good and evil, he wants to lay them at AhuraMazdāh’s door.

hvafno can no more be a son of AhuraMazdāh than hypnos, the master of all gods, a son of Zeus. As “primordial,” the twins are a rare
case of "Iam yülíd." A recherche de la maternité would probably find clues leading to "nakta, nyx, night"; but neither Zurvan nor Ahuramazdāh was their father; they are "prvya," with no father at all: dinanzi a me non fur cose create!

What we know about the twins is: they belong to an immemorially old myth, bear the dual-name "the two sleeps," and Zoroaster says: "You have twins, so do I!" He uses the pair as a metaphor for his two principles. From the mistaken premise Nyberg draws the "justified conclusion": "Der Schlaf repraesentiert das Licht [= Tagesgott]. . . . Nicht die physiologische Erscheinung die wir Schlaf nennen ist gemeint, sondern—well Schlafen und Wachen letztlich in uralten kultischen Verhältnissen [what about animals?] begründet sind, und weil der Kult des Tagesgottes mit Trance und hypnotischer Betäubung verbunden war—darum heisst der manyu des Tagesgottes xvafna 'Trance.'" There is still: "Der Umstand dass 'Schlaf' als Name des wirksamen [= spanta] manyu auftritt—122: Spanta manyu trägt den Namen xvafna 'Trance'—zeigt, dass der trance-Zustand des Schamanen gemeint ist, in dem sein Geist sich auf dem Fluge befindet. . . ." This sounds like a solution of one of the darkest sayings of Heraclitus: οἱ καθεύδοντες ἔργαται καὶ συνεργοὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων.

Raving madness, ecstasies, frenzy and the epileptic conditions, exhaustions, stupor, trance connected with them, have been expertly described by Iamblichus, "On Mysteries" and Cicero "On Divination." The Gr.Bdh., too, speaks of trance, in the chapter on opposites, P. 47f., where the words are arranged under two columns, evil and good. Under "evil" it gives "trance, bušasp < bušyanstā," under "good" it gives "sleep, χυάρ < hvafrna." Bušyanstā, with the epithet "zarinā, making decrepit," is a specially pernicious female demon; in frgm. Westerg. 10, she calls "hvafrsata maršiyakāho, hvafrsata mrzujīyāho, hvafrsata mrzu:jītayo, go asleep mortals, go asleep short-living ones, go asleep short-lived ones!" Bartholomae, KZ.29,547, explained bušyanstā as "condition of him who will become, i.e. will come to," euphemistically for unconscious trance, which was believed to be a temporary death. So, what Nyberg describes as the "Holy Ghost," is in Iranian belief the work of the most-unholy ghost.
Zoroaster quotes a name from an antique myth, well known to his hearers, but not mentioned in the yashts. This name is a dual of hrafna, hypnos, somnus. He compares this pair with his Good and Evil, the powers which determine first of all that all life must die, gayamča aýātimča. These words, hence, contain the tertium comparationis, which is neither trance nor wakefulness, but death.

Homer, ll. xiv,231, calls hypnos-hrafna κατάγεμπτος θανατοῦ ἀνὰ
πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ’ ἀνθρώπων. Hesiod and Heracleitos, too, philosophize on the brothers Hypnos and Thanatos. More than “partir” the sleep is “mourir un peu,” and death is the sleep from which no one awakes. Sleep generates new life, is the good death, belonging to light. Death is wholly darkness. Nyberg 231: “Für den aša-gläubigen Ekstati-
ker ist schon jetzt der Tod eine bedeutungslose Episode, und er wird es in noch höherem Masse in der verkürnten Welt sein, wo alle Schranken des göttlichen Ewigkeitslebens gefallen sind” [sic].

This gallimathias can indeed “auch den abgehärtetsten sprachlos machen” (482).

μὴ δὴ μου θανατῶν γε παραίδα φαίδιμε Νύβεργι!

The thought of the twins, sleep and death, pervades all myths, legends and fairy tales of IE.-speaking peoples, and the myth to which Zoroaster alludes was certainly one of the primeval period. The whole conception derived from this verse, namely of a Gatha-community with traditional theology and contrary perspective of ethical contents on monistic background, of a deus otiosus, A.M., who, beyond good and evil, restricts himself in his otium cum indignitate to create the “effective spirit,” called “sleep, trance” for working only with senses fuddled, and the bad spirit, bad without inner necessity, and who then leaves his creation—Zola: “jamais on n’abandonne une oeuvre!”—to these creatures, altogether a ghastly picture, and moreover the “much more highly insignificant episode of death in the limited life of eternity (or life in limited eternity?),” the whole Gatha-community, a kind of theological seminary, in the steppes of the Tūryan tribe of Friyāna, “stürzt rettungslos zusammen,” as a construction “die so unsinnig ist wie nur etwas sein kann” (357).
Y.32 is Zoroaster’s song against the dēva and dēvayasna, the gods and heroes of a “heroogonia” or of an epopée, of which small fragments are preserved in the Awesta: Yt.5, Ardviśūra, Yt.9, Druvāspā, 13, Fravarti, 14, Vṛthragna, 15, Vāyu, 17, Rti, and 19 Zam-Ārmatiš. Among them, Yt.13 stands by itself, while 5, 15, 17 and 19 conform wholly as to the three oldest cycles of Yama, Kṛśāpa, and the Kavi; of the fourth cycle, of Viśtāspa, parts have been subsequently introduced, with variants, in Yt.5 (with more detail) and in 15, 17 and 19 (quite short).

The Median history of Herodotus, in which myth and truth are mixed, and a few legends told by Ctesias as if they were history, show how widely the old myth, including the kavi cycle, was spread among the people during the fifth century B.C. Xenophon’s words, Cyrop.1,2, ó Kúros légetai kai ξεδεταί ἔτη καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, attest the Husravah legend at the end of the 5th century, and, in the middle of the fourth, Dinon apud Cicero quotes from it the tale of Cyrus’ dream. Chares of Mytilene tells, at the end of the fourth century, the most explicit version of the legend of Viśtāspa and Zarivariš. Some of Ctesias’ tales show also how soon historical events of a near past were absorbed by the legend: the “mythic thinking” of the people worked quickly and constantly, using the old patterns over and over again.

There was no reason to have the fragments arranged in the yashts in any specific order. If Yt. 5, 9, 15, 17 and 19 have them in an identical sequence, this is because the tales had been subjected to a uniform redaction. If Yt.13 deviates in some points, it is because something belonging to the phase before that redaction has been preserved.

The feature most conspicuous to us, of that redaction, is the chronological arrangement of the stories, which is fitted into the old system of nine aeons. We can observe it best because it was maintained throughout the Arsacid period, which was especially fertile in transformations and alterations, and it survived unaltered in the Sasanian xvātāynāmak and Firdausi’s Shāhnāmah. The redaction therefore consisted in collecting formerly isolated tales and welding them together into a great epopée. The fragments preserved in the Awesta are quotations from this
epopee, the uniform redaction of which, hence, is older than the redaction of the yashts themselves, and must have taken place during an early phase of the Achaemenian period. We shall see that it was done after the time of the gathas. The younger legend of the Viṣṭāspa cycle originated at that time, and, to be quoted in the yashts, must first have been added to the epopee. But the variants show that it was not subjected to so strict a redaction as the older parts. Before the time of Alexander it was admitted into the Avesta redaction made under the reign of Artaxerxes II. Thus the development of the epopee and of the Avesta took place in parallel to each other, and both unite materials that had existed for a long time. But the epic materials were the first to be collected: the “proto-Shāhnāmah” is older than the Avesta.

For the introductory stanzas 1-2 of Y.32 see under ‘Ārmatiš.’ St.3-7 speak in general of the gods and heroes. St.3:

āt yuṣ ḍeṃvā vispāho akāt manaho stā ċīthram
yasča vā maṣ yazatē drujaśča parimatoiśča
śyōmām api ḍbitānā yāiś asrōždavam būmyā haftaθē

“You, the gods all and who worship you, are the brood of the evil Spirit, the Druya and Pride, and the deeds are double-sided for which you are praised in song on this seventh of the earth!”

The “seventh of the earth” is the middle krṣvar,—see under ‘Krṣvar’ and the words say that the epics were sung over the whole of āryānām xishaθram. Cf. Vid.2,20: “Yamo xšēto sruto āryanē vējahē, Jamśēd, praised in song in Ėrānvēj.” “Pride,” parimatiš, Gr. hybris, is the typical vice of the Iranian nobility, see under ‘Ārmatiš.’ “dbitānā, double-(sided, -faced)” is defined by the following stanza, st.4:

yāt yuš.tā framimītha yā martiyā ačištā danto
vaśyantei dēvazuṣtā vahoś siṣdyamnā manaho
mazdā ahurahya χratoš nasyanto rtātē

“For you tell fables of wholly evil deeds so that men doing them are

¹ Text: vaḫyante, Bartholomae: subj. of Vvak-; Duchesne: vaḫyantai, to V vaxi- “ils deviennent.” The verb must be Vvak-, beside framimēθa, asrōždavam etc, and rather vaśyante than vaḫyante.
called ‘beloved-by-the-gods,’ while they are a horror to Vahumano and sinners against AhuraMazdah’s will!”

“yat, ex quo,” only here, cannot be temporal “since” (Wb.), but only causal, or perhaps, referring to sravah (to be abstracted from asrōzdvam) “in which songs,” the causative connection of the stanza being already expressed by “tā—yā.” This would give the meaning “For in your epics you invent tales of such a kind that. . . .” For dēvauṣa, i.e. ōṛu’ ān phλy ūeōs, see under ‘Dēva.’ St.5:

\[
\begin{align*}
tā dabhōtā martiyam & \quad hujiyātoś amrtātasča \\
hyat vā akā manahā & \quad yān dēvān akasča manyuś \\
akā ṣyōdhnam vačaha & \quad yā fračinas drugvantam ḳṣayō
\end{align*}
\]

“Thus you cheated man out of his good-living and immortality etc.” Instead of “thereby” perhaps better—like “yat” in st.4—“in those (epics).” With these words the prophet alludes for the first time to the Yama myth: hujiyāti describes the paradisiac life of the golden age, when men were still immortal. The rest, with “the evil Spirit contrives a drugvant to be ruling,” seems to allude to AžiDahāka, who succeeded Yama, and at the same time to establish an analogy between AžiDahāka and Gōmāta (or Cambyses?). St.6:

\[
\begin{align*}
poru ēnā an.āxstā yāiś & \quad sravahyati yazi tāiś aθā \\
hātā.marānē ahura & \quad vahiştā voistā manahā
\end{align*}
\]

“Theyr many acts of violence and discord, for which epics are sung, Thou, Lord remembering-men’s-merits, knowest as VahuMano!”

sravahyati, as denom.pres. of “srāvanha, vṛddhi deriv. of “sravah, fame,” must be an expression more intense than the simple vrṣru-, “to praise in song,” viz. “to sing epics.” “hātā.marānī, merit-memor,” resembles sahar.māriṣta in Y.29.4. The Pahl. commentary to both words is the same: “he keeps account of sin and good deeds.”

St.7: (text under ‘Last Judgment’): “The testimony of the ordeal will reveal their true rixta, the value of what they leave behind, well known to Ahura.”

The whole tenor of these verses is of the same spirit as Herakleitos’ oũ te γενώσκων θεοῦς οἴδ ήρως στινες εἶτε.

vrṣru-, sravah, Gr. ἱλιος, OHG. hliu, is by etymology and sense the word for the singing and reciting—NP. surūdan—of the epics. It appears in this gatha more frequently than anywhere else, clearly
indicating its purport: the gatha is a declaration against the "heroes, helden lobeberen" (=Ir. "sravahvant") of the "Proto-Shāhnāmah." *srāvanha is apparently the word for the epopee itself. Not to have grasped the meaning of *sru- is the reason all translations went astray.²

In st.8, Zoroaster chooses, for explaining his transvaluation of moral values, the individual case—to which he had already alluded in st.5:

čsām ēnahām vivahušo srāvi yamasēt

"among these villains, Yamo Vivahušo of all is praised!"

Christ explains his doctrine in the Gospel of Matthew by saying: "Have you not read in the law . . . but I say unto you . . ." Zoroaster's way is the same, only his audience is different, and therefore, instead of the Law and the Prophets, it is the epic from which he takes his example. If a very short quotation in a verse of Zoroaster was enough to remind his hearers of a myth, that shows that the epic not only existed, but was known by heart by almost every man. Like the quotations in Yt.13, Zoroaster's allusions do not conform with the uniform redaction of the epic reflected by the great yashts; they represent a phase older than the early Achaemenian redaction, and that phase—of separate epics—is older than the gathas.

The figure of Vivahvant-Vivavunt is common to Iranian and Indian myth, hence at least of Aryan antiquity. From the Veda we can infer that Vivavunt was, in the Aryan myth, a god of light, father of Ušā-Eos and of her brothers, the Aśvin twins. In Iran, his son is Yama, i.e. the twin; of the father—beside the patronym of the son—nothing is left but a short remark in Hőm-yasht Y.9.4, that he was the first to press Hóma, and therefore was rewarded by having a son like Yama xšēta.

Bartholomae, Wb.1452, qualifies as "mir höchst zweifelhaft" the usual

² V.sru-, MP. stād, "song," NP. surūdan "to sing," means MHG. singen und sagen. The translations, Wb. gives of śrāvi in Y.32.7 and 8; 33.7; 45.10; 53.1; of sṛūtu in Y.49.9; of frastruta in Y.50.8, are all wrong. Y.50.8: padāī/yā frastruta hāyah, means "verses sung con passione"; the denom. śrāvaya in ho no valti ēarkrārā śrāvayahe, means "he wants to sing our fame"; ēnā yāi śrāvahṣati "the misdeeds for which epics are sung to him," not "by which he has succeeded [a wrong etymology of anāxēta, i.e. "unpeaceable"] to get in ill-repute" (WB.). Cf. Ass. wa.xm.ti.ar.šu, king of Medes, presupposing an analogous verb.denom. vahmaya-te (part.) from vahna "praise, prayer." Y.46.14: ko vā frastrudyā valti, "who wants to be praised"; Y.46.34: "frasrudyā rōwo, who is worth to be praised?" Vid.2.20; "yamo xšēta sruto āryanē vējahe, Jamšīd, praised in song in Ērēnviē," etc.
combination of vivahvant and OI. vyúchati, √vah-. This root, also
with vi-, appears in Iranian only as inch. pres. "usa," and only for the
"flashing up" of Ušā. Zoroaster uses a neologism, vivahuśa, for the tradi-
tional vivahvana, OP. vivāna (see under 'Vēhviya'), and for the vulgar
language, the word seems to have been merely a name no longer con-
veying any meaning.

His epithet χσέτα Yama shares with the sun, hvar, and with Apām-
Napāt. The fem. χσोίθνι is the epithet of Ušā and Rtiś. H. Collitz, in
Orient.Stud.Pawry, compared Yama χσέτα with the Nordic Baldur, i.e.
king, prince, and with sāturnus, old saeturnus, this to *sātus < *saetus as
taciturnus to tacitus, and *saetus equal to Ved. ḱṣetaḥ "ruler" in RV.
9.97.3; ḱṣetavant in RV.6.24.1. Aw. χσέτα survives in Soghd. ḱxšd, NP.
šd, with Arab. ḱmāla šad. It may have been by the influence of the epic
that this title, like kay < kavi, never quite disappeared though its sense
was lost.

In Yt.13 and Vid.2-3, Yama is the first man and king, ruler of the
primeval golden age. The fact that Zoroaster chose just him as example
proves that to him, too, Yama was still the first, whereas in the uniform
redaction of the great yashts the strangers Hōšyana and taxmo Rupiś
precede him. In the original myth, the whole earth was Yama's king-
dom, but this earth was limited by the horizon of Ėrānvēzh, the old
home of the Aryans, it was not yet Ėrānšahr. There, men lived in eternal
spring, eternal youth and immortal.

A first man and king of the old myth is something quite different
from the incorporeal, theological figure of the first man "Urmensch,"
gayamart, which was created in connection with eschatologic specula-
tions. The "Urmensch" is more than once subject of Nyberg's discus-
sions, e.g. 388: "Unser Awesta giebt . . . keine Vorstellung davon,
welch zentrale Gestalt der Urmensch im iranischen Glauben war";
84: "Eine Urmenschgestalt wird im Mithrayasht nicht sichtbar . . .";
300: "Die Urmenschgestalten dürften in der Gatha-Gemeinde nicht
stark entwickelt gewesen sein; dort interessierte man sich mehr für den
Urstier und die Urgüuh"; 96: "Die Grosskönige haben keinen Anlass
gefunden, Zarathustra besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken . . .
Es besteht aller Grund zu glauben, [the quoted passages cannot be that
reason] dass sie interessiert zuhörten, wenn Magier ihnen vom Urmen-
schen erzählten." He says himself "what they thought in their innermost, we do not know," but an analogy might help: *Kit. al-Aghāni*, 6,8: "Ubaid a b. Hilāl used to call, when people gathered round him: Some of you come forth! Thus, two young fellows of the army stepped forth and he asked: What do you like better, something from the Qurān or poems? They said: The Qurān, wallâh, we know as well as you, recite us poems! 'U.: You rascals, now I know, you prefer poems to the Qurān! And then he treated them with poems till they were full. They did not part sooner." Likewise, Darius may have said to the magi: "Zoroaster—I know him better than you rascals, tell me something of the first man!" But, from talks I had at Takht i Djamshid, on "Yama's throne," with successors of Yama and Darius about their predecessors, I got the impression that the first-man was Hecuba to them.

The text of Y.32,8 is:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{čšám ēnahām} & \quad \text{vivahušo srāvi yamasčit} \\
\text{yo martiyān čišñušo} & \quad \text{ahmākān gāuš bagā hvaramno} \\
\text{čšám 'čitā ahmi} & \quad \text{θωahmi mazdā vičiðoi api}
\end{align*}\]

"Of these villains Yama Vivahuša of all is praised, who hearkened to the mortals (still) immortal, by eating beef. From them, at the revenge, I want to be separated by Thee!"

The second line, a fragment of the myth itself, will be discussed later.

Bartholomae translated the beginning: "Zu diesen Frevlern gehört wie bekannt, auch Yima der Sohn des Vivahvant." The Aghāni tell a nice anecdote of abū l-Atāhiya, where he says: "All men make verses, they just are not aware of it!" Andreas: "Als einer dieser Frevler wurde zumal bekannt, Yama der Sohn des Vivahvant." Nyberg: "Als solcher Sünden schuldig ist Vivahvant's Sohn genannt worden."

In the last translation, "guilty of such sin" brings in a new thread of thought, whilst Zoroaster declaims already in five full stanzas against the same villains. Andreas' "zumal" is right: it puts an accent on the greatest hero as greatest "ēnah, ḫβρίοντα." But in the epic Yama was exalted, srāvahyati, not as criminal, but as the first of heroes, radiant, with eyes like the sun, who surpassed the gods, and the poets,

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* Tedesco: "perhaps better: verb.finit. crixinulat."
* Cf. drša.ēnah in Y.34,4 "causing severe pain," NP. durult < MP. drult, OP. *drulţa, not (Wk.) "sichbare Gewaltthat ausübend."
with human understanding, felt only sympathy when he finally sinned and lost immortality. If this "Urmenschgestalt der Mithra-Gemeinde" had been generally rated—"wie bekannt"—as criminal, or had been enumerated—"genannt"—among a list of such, there was no need for Zoroaster to get excited. Just the contrary is the case, and his words purport: "You glorify Yama, and yet your greatest hero is the greatest villain."

In 32c one used to read "čšām čit ā"; the emendation "čšām čitā" is Andreas'. Justi translated "in deiner Entscheidung, vičīboi, bin ich," meaning "es steht bei Dir, in Thy discretion." H. Collitz, l.c. 91, "hierüber will ich Dir die Entscheidung anheimstellen," with api as postpos. to vičīboi. "vičīboi ahmi" is not "anheimstellen," the prophet would not dare but to "leave everything to his god's discretion." Bartholomae, Wb.: "ab his sum in tua separatione postea," improved by Benveniste, Inf.Av. 33, who compares Lat. "esse in odio," hence "(loin) d'eux je suis désormais dans ta séparation," i.e. "je serai ... par toi séparé d'eux." It is imperative: "I want to be separated by Thee." Andreas: "bei deren Bestrafung (čitā—rūris) bin ich alsdann unter Deinen Auserwählten"; vičitoi to ṛā- "auserwählt" is wrong. The same thought is expressed in Mir.Man. ii.24 by "and do not count us together with the vištābagān, rebels." The sentence means: "When the revenge of the last judgment overtakes the sinners, do not let me suffer with them!"

Abandoning the special example, Zoroaster continues in st.9: "duś-sastiś sravā mrndat, telling of ill(-fame) spoils fame!"

duś.sasti, Wb. "uble Lehre, evil doctrine." There is nothing doctrinal e.g. in ṭāti dārayavaus ḵšāyātya. sasti, to ṛāsanh, OP. ṭah-, is simply "pronunciatio, proclamatio," usually a solemn speaking, but even that not always. Y.62.7: to all those for whom he has cooked dinner and breakfast, Āṭar—the Fire—addresses the "sasti, call," viz. "Come and get it!" The similar word duś.sravah, δυσκλεφής, means "ill-famed"; and Gr.Bdh. 47f., chapter on opposites, says: "deceit and lies, antonyms of rāsīh-sravbih, saying-truth." But in Zoroaster's idiom "duś-" is syn. of "miṭah, wrong," and has a moral quality; duś.sasti
is close to "miθa.vačah, saying the wrong thing." Y.45.1: "noi t\(\textit{t} \) ddbitiyam du\(\textit{s} \) sasti\(\textit{s} \) ahum mrndat, not shall, a second time, (=never again) saying-things-immoral corrupt the human-world!" The evil (du\(\textit{s} \)\), the telling of which destroys fame (srav\(\textit{a} \)), is "du\(\textit{s} \).sravah, shame." One may consider whether srav\(\textit{a} \) means here straightway "the epopée." At any rate, κλε\(\textit{f} \)ο\(\textit{s} \) is "epic fame," and the sentence says: "The Iranian epics glorify what is shame, tell ignominies!"

This criticism of the θε\(\textit{o} \) κα\(\textit{t} \) ἄρως οἰκτιν\(\textit{e} \)ς εἰςι is revolutionary and would hurt still today. The whole gatha makes manifest how unpopular Zoroaster’s ideas were, just as unpopular as Heraclitus’ "Homer deserves a thrashing!" And he knew it, for st.9 ends with the words:

\(\text{tā uχ\textit{dā} manyo\textit{s} mahya mazdā rtā\textit{iča yu\textit{s}mabya} grzē,} \)

"these words are of my thinking, I lament them for you, Mazdāh and Rtām!"

In st.5, the words dahnōta martiyam hujiyāto\(\textit{i} \)š amrtātās\(\textit{a} \) allude to the Yama myth, by describing life in the golden age. The very verses of the epics are preserved in quotations in Yt.19,32 and 5,26. The first place has the introductory formula in the 3rd pers.: "yo uzbarat hača dēvēbyo," the second in the 1st pers.: "ya\(\textit{t} \)a azam uzbarānī hača dēvēbyo." The verses on the races of Husravah, Yt.19,77 and 5,50, show the same difference, which is a clear evidence of ‘quotation’ from the epic, and it is not permissible to restore the meter, because it was of necessity wrong in the yasht. In the epic the beginning may have been: "Yamo vivahvato pu\(\textit{b} \)ro uzbarat hača dēvēbyo." Yt.19,32:

\(\text{uwē i\textit{stišča} sōkāca uwē l\textit{šo}n\textit{iča} vanθ\textit{wāča}} \)
\(\text{uwē θra\textit{n\textit{f}š\textit{ča} fras\textit{a}s\textit{ti\textit{ča}}} \text{uwē h\textit{va}r\textit{dē ajiyam\textit{m\textit{n}}} \text{a\textit{m\textit{a\textit{r}ś\textit{a}nt\textit{a} pasū.virā \text{a\textit{h\textit{o}š\textit{a}m\textit{m}}} \text{a\textit{p\textit{a}uarvarē}}} \text{}} \)

There are three dvandva connected with ča—ča, and three with epithets in form of participles. The first three are: riches and prosperity, cattle-breeding and herds, satiation and "proclamation." All—except the last—have an archaic air, and, not necessarily so, but the symmetry of the composition makes the authenticity of frasasti probable. This

* Text: aha\(\textit{o} \)šamma, perhaps *a.hu\(\textit{y} \)am\(\textit{m\textit{e}}} \).
would be possible, if the word meant a kind of professional licence, as in the “Song of the Caravan,” Yl.16.2-3, see under ‘Post and Travels.’ The three duals with participles are: “the two foods, i.e. eating and drinking, never decreasing,” never becoming scanty; “cattle and men not dying”; “water and plants, i.e. the fields, never dry.” Altogether this is “hūjiyāṭi, good-living,” or “vispā.hujyāṭi” (see under ‘Harvātāt’), and in all this Yama “uzbarat hača dévébyo, surpasses the gods.”

Lommel translates these words “brachte er von den Teufeln weg nach oben”; Hertel, Siegesf. 43: “welcher den dēva raubte, wörtl. von den dēva heraufbrachte; die Heimat der dēva liegt unter dem Erdboden.” hūjiyāṭi, one of the things the beggar wishes his benefactor—see under ‘Poetry’—was never in hell. Not even this absurd conclusion could induce the translators to doubt the supposition, the equation “dēva = devil.” dēva is divi, the divine ones.

uz.barati is a clear expression: uz—hača means “up from the point where the measuring starts,” “higher than” in direction or degree, syn. of pari and upari; OR. uz—hača is MP. ač—apar, NP. az—bar. Purs. 37,ff.: “yo upari hūnaram mano barat, lit. who carries his will beyond his skill”—i.e. attempts a thing beyond his capacity, overrates himself; Pahl. transl. “kē . . . apar ač hūnar mēnīšn barēt, expl. χψεσταν pat.ān hūnar mēnēt kē.ś nēst, who fancies himself to be so skillful as he is not.” upari barati is ṭeρπήσεις; uz.barati hača, in 19,32, is Lat. efferre, excellere: “he surpasses the gods in wealth etc.”

The verses describe Yama before his fall, Yl.19,33: “parā an.ādruyōtoit, before his not-temptation,” with the inimitable negation “before he wasn’t tempted.” Hertel, Siegesf. 43,9: “vor der Aufhebung der nicht-Vernichtung!” The following words explain it: “parā ahmāt yat him ayam drōgam vāčam ahaṭyam činanæ pati.barata, before he admitted drōga, the voice that-speaks-forbidden-things in his appetites,” and 19,34: “Then, after having admitted the voice etc., the hvarnah parted from him.”

haṭya is Gr. ἡ δεῖ, “as it should be”; the anton. a.haṭya is “forbiden.” Thus opposed, the words correspond to Arab. halāl and ḥaram, and “a.haṭya” means “taboo.” Wolff-Bartholomae:
"Aber als er anfing, sich in Gedanken mit ihm, dem lügnerischen, unwahren Wort zu beschäftigen." “drôga” is not "mendacious" and "vač" is “voice,” not “word”; “sich beschäftigen,” even if “be preoccupied with,” misses the point.—Of the following words, avêno hvarno fraišto yimo, Benveniste says “décie l’analyse.” I take “avêno hvarno,” whatever fraišto means, as part.abs. “with the hvarnaha no longer visible.” Lommel goes on translating “wurde er wegen seiner üblen Gesinnung gestürzt und verbarg sich überall auf der Erde.” After having brought up from hell—Lommel’s translation—all good things of life, Yama would suffer the blackest ingratitude for his pain by such a revolution in paradise.

Yt.19,34 (see under ‘Hõma’) says only:

brásat—yamo ašâto Yama roams about peaceless (= outlawed)—
dâušmanahyâiča ho strto prostrate in misery
niďārât—upari zâm he hides—over the earth.

The verses are deranged by interpolations, but could be restored by inserting χâeto, as opp. to ašâto, and changing the sequence of the words. dâušmanahyâ is Ved. daurmanasya, formed like hâumanahyâ.

In Yt.32,8b, the verse we have left to be studied, Zoroaster reveals what Yt.19 (and 5), the Hôm yasht, and Vid.2-3, pass over in silence: through whose “voice” the temptator speaks, and what was the “taboo”:

yo martiyâñ ĉîxšûśo ahmâkân gauś baga hvaramno

Bartholomae: “der um die Menschen zufrieden zu stellen, den unsrigen die Fleischstücke zu essen gab; nach uralter Sage der Fürst, der seine Untertanen durch Fleischspeise unsterblich gemacht hat.” “Fleischstücke” would be an unnecessary “rationing” in a country where “the two foods were a-flyama, not diminishing” however much they ate. The food of immortality was vegetarian, see under ‘Harvatât.’

The paraphrase is totally wrong. Since Yama’s time men are mortal, so,

* Wh.1634.—Cf. dâušâdâhyâ in Ögm.56, Wh.: “wegen Mangel an Einsicht,” Duchesne “par ignorance.” It is rather deriv. from “dâta, fixed date” and means—similar to ayanima—“unexpectedly,” scil. as bad surprise (death comes), Germ. ‘zur Unzeit,’ untimely, opp. to Gr. ebeûpos, and equal to Ass. ina èmes la šêmtu.
a priori, he cannot have made them immortal, but only the contrary, as Zoroaster says "have cheated man out of his good-living and immortality."

čiṣṇūṣo—or here, with Tedesco "čiṣṇūṣat—desid. of
√čṣnu- "to hear," means "hearken, listen to," with the connotation "to something forbidden," see Y.49,1: yo duṣṭṛis čiṣṇūṣo
under 'Bandva.' The acc. martiyān—ahmākān belongs to this
verb, not to hvaramno, which in no case means "give food to.
Translating "bagā" by "Fleischstücke" means confounding por-
tion and ration: it is not the portion the butcher cuts out as
a beefsteak, but the share God allots to men. gauś bagā is syn. of
Akk. pitipabagu < OP. "piṭwabaya, Gr. deriv. ποτίβαλις, a
diet, habit of life, see under 'Harvatāt.'

The only improvement in Andreas' translation "der den zu uns
gehörigen Menschen zu gefallen suchte, indem er Stücke vom Rind
ass" is that martiyān ahmākān are objects of čiṣṇūṣo. Nyberg's "der
um den Menschen zu gefallen, die Unsren Stücke vom Rind zu essen
lehnte" is a step back: teaching to eat pieces could only mean "not the
whole ox." Andreas had already rejected the causative interpretation
of hvaramna, however near at hand. It is everywhere the task of the
"first one"—Arab. al-awā'il—to teach all imaginable things, and in
the late legend of Yama, e.g. in Thā'ālibī, Yama-Djamshid teaches the
fabrication of weapons, saddles, bridles, other tools and implements,
spinning and weaving of silk, linen and cotton, the whole national
economy, quarrying and masonry of stones, making chalk and cement,
arccitecture, hydraulic wheels and mills, bridge-building, mining, per-
fumery, pharmaceutics, medicine, ship-building and pearl-fishery. He
is a university without theological, philological and juridical faculty,
with enough work for the 716½ years of his rule. But "Stücke vom
Rind essen" is not among these subjects; on the contrary, according to
the legend even under his successor Dāhāk men did not yet eat meat.
Under Dāhāk only, Iblis-Ahriman had the bright idea of offering him-
self as chef and giving him the habit of an exclusive meat-diet, in order
to make him bloodthirsty. Iblis starts, to Dāhāk's delight, with
partridges—toujours perdrix—goes over to lamb, then to mutton, and
finally to nothing but beef: "the stomach is a cursed Satan!"
The three translations quoted are worse than wrong. ahmākān qualifies martiyān, the men in Yama’s paradise, who lived 3,000-2,000 years before Zoroaster. Yama could not “satisfy” his men by giving something to eat to Zoroaster’s “Unsrigen, ours.” Neither can ahmākān have the meaning of “ahmavant, (mortals) like ourselves,” for man lost his immortality only by Yama’s fall. So says Zoroaster in Y.32.5: dabnōta amṛtāta, and Yt.19.32: amaruṣantā pasū.virā. There is no problem: ahmākān is a clerical error for amahrkān, i.e. “amhrkān, immortals”: “Yama who listened to the (still) immortal mortals and ate beef.”

This was the taboo. Gen.3,17 says: “Thou hast hearkened, čixšnušo, to the voice, vāčam ahaḥhyam, of thy wife, and hast eaten, ḫvaranmo, of the tree!” In both cases, immortality was bound to the interdiction of a special food, here beef, there an apple. Gen.1,29 permits the eating of “every herb bearing seed, to you it shall be for meat!” The yahwistic version, Gen.1,9 and 2,17, permits eating from every tree, “but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die!”

The seducer is, in the Biblical story, the serpent, which first seduces Eve, to whose voice Adam listens. In Yt.19,33, drōga is the seducer, and in Y.32.8 Yama listens to the voice of the martiyān who—seduced by drōga—claim meat. This feature was transformed, in the late legend, into Iblis as chef of Dahāk. There is a story in Num.11,4, where “the mob fell a lusting, who shall give us flesh to eat?”, and whereas Moses says “sooner kill me!” Yama gives way to public opinion and trespasses the taboo. Thereupon, the ḫvarnah, his “Fortuna” parts from him, and men, created immortal, lose their immortality, Y.32.5.

In contrast to this mythic concept, Zoroaster makes the law “gayam ajyātīmiča” be established at the very beginning.—To consider eating and dying as complementary is common in the East. Nām.Nip. §80, says in a letter of condolence: “There is no remedy against death and dying for the food-eating humanity.” And Shā’ūl b. Salmān of Hillah, my manager in Samarra, who had the whole wisdom of Solomon tanumāntra, in his body, used to say: “We all die from eating.”

For his sin, Yama is expelled from paradise and hides as an outlaw without peace. The fact that he was being killed (sawed in two) by Aži-Dahāka could be combined with this motif, though the fragments of
text preserved do not show how. But the motif is unreconcilable with the other one, of which large parts have survived, that the paradisiac life ended with winter and flood and extinction of two-thirds of all life. This is announced to Yama with the instruction how to save himself and the remaining third, Vid. 2, 22, cf. 2, 23 under ‘Ardvi’: avi ahum astvantam ayam zimo Jahnantu! Bartholomae (cf. ZAirWb. 98): “Upon the evil humanity the winters shall come!” Justi, on the contrary, “upon humanity the bad winters.” The Pahl. transl. has indeed, like Justi, “apar d aṣv e astowand an e vattar zamistān rasēt,” and ayavant is adj. to “winter” in Vid. 7, 27. Language and grammar are too inferior to decide whether the announcement implies “punishment for their guilt” or not.

Against this winter, Yama builds his “var” in Vid. 2, 30. AhuraMazdāh prescribes: “make the var one tačara long on all four sides; the fra-tamam daḥyauš, front part of the deḥ, village, make nine, the middle six, the back part three prθwo, alleys?”—a text grammatically deficient; on the first nine prθwo a thousand men and women shall dwell, on the second 600, on the third 300. The sum—1,900—means “infinite.”

In Vid. 2, 28, Yama is ordered to bring into this var the biggest and handsomest of all men and women, of all animals, the highest and most fragrant of all plants, the best tasting viands: “tē kṛnava miθwarē aṣjyamnam ā ahmāt yat aite naro varṣṭva ahān.”

Bartholomae regarded this varṣṭva as a loc.pl. of var, confused with the verbal varṣṭva of st.10, and so arrived at the startling translation: “die lass sich paaren ohne Unterlass, solange Männer in den varṣva sind.” But there is only one var, and, of necessity, the sentence speaks of both sexes and moreover of humans and animals. The adv. aṣjyamna is not “incessantly,” but “not-diminishing”—see under ‘Hāugava’—in the sense “that their number may not decrease,” and “naro varṣṭva,” corrupted as it is, hides probably the dvandva nara-pasu with vā—vā, meaning “not to let the number of men and animals become less than when they entered.”

Excluded from entering the var are people with infirmities and sicknesses, a list of ten words, related to those excluded from sacrificing in
Yama Xšēta

Yt.5,92-93, but composed in such poor language that only a few can be determined with some certitude.

In the epic of Gilgamesh, the building of the ark is thus described: "Timber a house, build a boat! Equally long shall be its breadth and length! From the plan? 120 cubits were - - - Its walls, - - 120 cubits the - - of its roof. I covered? it sixfold, divided it at the outside? sevenfold, inside? I divided it ninefold." One cannot fail to see a connection, perhaps a closer one than the mutilated text allows to see. The comparison shows also that the measurements are part of the original story. They are given in archaic "lengths of a race-course," "(ta)čarta.drājah, Pahl. transl. asprēs-drahnâd (see under 'Poetry'). The length of an old race-course must have been one-ninth of a double parasang or almost four-fifths of a mile.

St.31: "Thereupon Yama thought: by what means shall I build the var, as AhuraMazdâh has commanded?" and the god says: "Handsome Yama, anhâ zmo pâšnabyo vispara zastâbyo viḫađa (mānayan ahe yaθa nū martiyâka χšivisti zmē višāvayante)," "stamp the clay with the heels, knead it with the hands," Pahl. transl.: "ēn zamik pašnak bē uspurr u pa dst bē afxâst (humānâkîh ō čigön nûn martom ŝusr zamik bē šâvenēnd)." The gloss says: "just as, still today, men stamp liquid and earth," which is still true at our time. The gloss is old, for the Pahl. translation takes it as a part of the text and paraphrases "liquid-earth they make go asunder." "hušk u χvēt, dry and wet" is a standing idiom, e.g. Ayâk.Zar. 2,14; and in a cosmologic fragment Mir. Man. "'v hvšk v χvyd v'ryst, it rained on dry and wet." The Aw. formula is interpolated in Yt.19,58:

uwayam hamrēθwayâñi vispā tršūca χšudrâca

Wb. takes the impossible χšivisti as a loc. χšusti, and zmē as loc.sg. "syntaktisch nicht in Ordnung." The language is indeed Middle Persian, with incorrectly reconstructed endings.

What the verses describe is the fabrication of sun-dried bricks, adobe. In Vid.8,10, the pair zmoištve và zarštve appears, i.e. sun-dried and burnt brick (see under 'Industries'). OP. išti > NP. χišt is the only genuine, old form; zmoištve is not an Avestic, but an artificial pseudo-Aw. compound of MP. zam u hišt, clay and brick. χšusti zmē, likewise, is an attempt at rendering an old dvandva "liquid and clay." The verb
for making adobe is "ažāni, to batter" in Dar.chart.Sus., and višāvaya in Vid.2,31. "bē-šāvēn-, to make go asunder" of the Pahl. translation, is a mechanical transcription: višāvayo is not caus. of √ṣyu- "to go," but, like "awišhūta < āwišūta, pressing (of grapes)" in Y.11,3, caus. of √ḥū- "stamp, press." The activity is the same when making sun-dried bricks or wine: treading with the feet. The sandhi-form of the word proves the pre-Iranian age of the technique. However badly the verses are transmitted, but χšusti zmē višāvayante is a formula inherited from Aryan antiquity. In their homeland the Aryans lived in adobe houses and drank wine.

St.32: "Thereupon Yama did, as AhuraMazdāh had commanded, he trod the clay with his feet, he kneaded it with his hands (the gloss, too, repeated)." St.33: "Thereupon Yama built the var, as commanded, one stadium long on all its four sides etc."

The fact that sun-dried brick is the building material precludes the translation "Höhle, cave" of var, advanced by Lommel. The purport of the story is: Yama must learn how to build, for before the threat of winters men had no need of houses in the paradisiac country. The god first describes the square plan, and on Yama's question "which material?" he teaches him to make sun-dried bricks. Then Yama builds the large castrum, four-fifths of a mile square, the plan of which one can understand with the plan of the qāsr Balkuwārā at Samarra, exactly as large as that, at hand.

There is a very obscure point in Vid.2,6: Yama receives from the god two tools: "(yat he) zayā (frabaram azam yo ahuro mazdā) suwram zarānēnim, āstrāmča zaranya,pēsim, Pahl.transl. z'y sūrākawmand ut āstrici zarrēn.p(e)sit."

In the original myth it was not AhuraMazdāh who told the story. Eliminating these mazdayasnic additions, we have a genuine metrical fragment. Bartholomae translated "zwei Geräte (Hoheitszeichen), einen goldenen Pfeil und eine goldgeschmückte Peitsche"; Darmesteter: "scail and dagger"; Lommel: "Ring? und Treibstachel." Certainly both are insignia, but primarily practical tools.

āstrā, RV. vi.53,9 āstrā, cf. aśtra, had in Y.10,112, to √az-, Lat. "agere, to drive," is a stick with (iron) point for goading cattle, originally the oxen at the plough. Whence "to kick against the prick, Germ. wider
den Stachel löcken"; Engl. goad to Teut. *gazdo, Lat. hasta, Nord. geisl. When used for horses, it becomes a whip, OHG. geisala. As insignia it corresponds to the shepherd's staff and bishop's crozier, the skeptron, scepter of the king or military commander.

√had- in the comp. aspa.had and vira.had in Ógmad. 78, descriptive adjectives of a snake, aži, which "attacks, bites, stings" men and horses; cf. the figurative zarizāfar, the arrow "with golden mouth" in Yt.10.129. The verb appears in Yt.14.56, a song of Iranian soldiers, mocking the Vyamburadiva soldiers, "hadāho saḍan noit haḍan, it looks as if they would punch (or just their lances), they do not punch." In RV. 6.53.9 paṣuṣādhani is the epithet of āṣṭrā, "the goad for stinging, goading or punching cattle." "To punch" is used in an old translation of Ezekiel 34.21 for Lat. impingebatis, from pungere, pungent, "because you punch (Kg. James 'push') all the weak with your horns." Thus āṣṭra.had and paṣuṣādhani are exactly Amer. "cow-puncher." An old explanation of this word says: "at the end of each stick is a sharp iron spike with which they punch the beasts and force them into the cars."

Vid.2.10 (repeated in 13 and 18) shows the use of the āṣṭrā. When the earth had become too small for the increasing humanity,

ho imām zām awišvat / suwraya zarānēnya /
Pahl: ḫN zNH zamik MDm.spt / PʾN svlʾkʾwmnd ZHBʾ.ynʾ /
avi dim sifat āṣṭraya
ʾpʾš bkʾ ZK svpt PʾN štr

The end is clear: "Yama stroke the earth with the stick." The verb sēf-, sif- is used in a soldier's charm, Yt.14.35 and 44.45* "strike the body with

* Jarl Charpentier, in Orient.Stud.Papyrus 81ff.: Ol. pūsan, Aw. Būšan, a bucolic deity of cattle-breeders, Aw. vāstrya,fluyah, is equipped with the āṣṭrā, the epithet of which, paṣuṣādhani, of course, means "providing cattle." The epithet of the attribute has nothing to do with the etymology of the name pūsan, which may belong to Ved. V han- "obtaining, acquiring possession of," syn. of Vih-, ēš-, in Aw. isant, ēši, avīštar etc [but cf. Aw. V han- , Ol. sānati]. The stick is for goading, not for "providing" cattle, paṣuṣādhani contains V sad-, Ir. had-, like aspra.had.

* In the first charm, separated in the yahit, carrying a wing (feather) or bone of the vāranjan bird as amulet, or hammering oneself with it, makes invulnerable. In the second charm, which must be united with it because else the indispensable name of the bird would be lacking, four wings are held up against the four directions. In the third charm, two such wings shall fly? (ā-, vi-, fra.đwāžan), two shall "rub, sweep" perhaps "be shaken" (ā-, vi-, fra.Čarazon). The translation "to fly" of mrz- in Wh. is unfounded, cf. Hertel, troy. wiv.182.
that wing!"; the noun sēpa in Vid.8.87-90 is "forge," where metals are "hammered," see under 'Industries.' There the Pahl.transl. writes spt, here svpt, apparently thinking of "sunb-, suf, to pierce." For the verb awi.švāt in the first part of the sentence, Bartholomae noted an otherwise unknown "šav-, švā, ritzen, to scratch." Darmesteter linked it to √hu-, "to press (grapes, hōma)"; "he stamped the earth with the seal." Lommel: "er trieb sic an mit dem Ring," to √hū-, erroneously "antreiben," in fact "produce with skill." All translators derived the meaning of the verb from the unproved sense they gave the noun suwrā. The right explanation is that of Dastūr Peshotan Sanjana, in cod. dps of the Pahl.Vid.: "mdm.spt, better švt or rft, for Aw. awi.švāt." It is nothing but awi-švāt, to √šyū-, šav-, "to go." Yama walks over the earth, in the four directions, with the stick, and makes the earth widen. The suwrā, which misled the translators, has no reason there, and since the verse is metrically deficient, the words have been inserted after the model of Vid.2.10, and must be eliminated. The text was a good verse:

ho imām zām awi šavat  avi dim sifat aštraya.

suwrā: Justi translated "plough"; Bartholomae "arrow," on account of the assonance of Shighni "surb, arrow," cf. ZAiwWb. 233. Darmesteter "seal," adducing a passage in Ind.Bdh., where Yama, by virtue of these insignia, is absolute ruler, and one in the Shāhnāmah, where Faridūn invests Ėrič with "sword and seal, ring and crown," and thereby with the suzerainty over his elder brothers. Neriosengh's "ring" could only mean "seal-ring," but that form is too young for the age of the myth. The seal of Solomon, too, was no "ring." The Pahl. transl. renders suwrā by "svl'k'wmnd, provided with a hole, tube." This is glossed by "mtr'k dstk," the first word of which is obscure, the second is "handle"; the words mean scarcely "seal," rather "lock and key."

Vid.2.30 (as order), and 38 (as execution) show the use of the suwrā:

awiča tē varfśva  and (imperative) . . .
suwraya zaranēnya  with the golden suwra
apica tam varam marza  and this var (acc.) (imperative)
dvaram rōčanam hvarōxšnam  its door, vent-hole, window
antara.nēmāt . . .  from inside. . .

* See the description of the mythical water-works, with pipes, under 'ApāmNāpāt.'
awi varfšva must contain the verb of the first sentence, an imperative, in parallel with marza of the second sentence. The Pahl.transl. misunderstood varfšva as "var.mānišnān rād, for the dwellers of the var," must therefore supply a verb "(apar)kun," and by retaining the instr. suwraya makes the sentence an anakolouthon. The object of marza (Pahl. "māl, to mālidan, to rub, wipe," not "contrive," Wb.) is "this varam," detailed as dvaram, rōčanam and hvarōxšnam; the first is "door," the second "window" in the old sense of "opening in the roof," the third a real window for light, not "self-shining." "This" shows that "var" was mentioned in the first passage, in the corrupt varfšva. "antar.tara.nēmät, from inside": whatever was done, it was done from the inside, and Yama must first "go into the var." Therefore the first line was: "awiča tum varam šava, and thou go into the var," in 38: awiča ho varam šavat; nothing but a misreading of m for p (f).

"marza" must mean "shut!"; "and shut the var, the door, the vent-hole, the window!" The Akk. legend of UtNapištim says literally the same: after the ark was filled and the announced weather signs had come, "he entered the boat and shut its door," and when the flood at last receded, "I opened the vent-hole, nappāšu, the daylight fell upon my nose!"

This is a cogent proof for the emendation awi šavat in Vid.2,10, and for eliminating, there, suwraya zarānēnya. It is only 2,30 where one can see what purpose the suwrā serves: a tool to shut the door from inside. Old doors and windows had bolts at the inside; a Germ. term for them is "vor-reiber," "reiben, to rub = mrz, mālidan," which may well describe the shutting and opening of the bolt.10 Somewhat later, there was a contrivance to open and shut the bolts also from outside through a key-hole with a key. The words sur'k,'wmnd and mtr'k dstk may have this meaning. Such a key is the attribute, the sungod Šamaš holds in hand in old Akkadian glyptics, when appearing over mountains, having opened the gates of heaven. The key as attribute may originally have belonged to Hvar χšēta and have been inherited by Yama χšēta.

The ark of UtNapištim, a boat on high seas—see under 'Navigation'—had a captain, and his description throws some light on suwrā. "To

10 Cf. Lat. clavis, Ital. chiave, and chiavare = mālidan; and similar Arab figurative idioms: wulādj al-mirwad fi l-mukhula, pin of the kohl-box, Aghāmi 14,45, tale of 'Umar and al-Mughira.
the píhu of the boat, the awél malāḥi, I handed over the ākallu and its stores, buše." The awél malāḥi is the Arab. "raʾis al-mallāḥīn" or "ṣāḥib al-matā al-maḥmūl fi l-safina, overseer, supercargo, of the merchandise transported in the ship." The same words gloss also Arab. is/štiyām, a loanword from Aramaic.11 S. Fraenkel, Aram.Fremdwörter 294, quotes an explanation of Aram. īštiyāmā: "an epitropos in whose hand are the key and seal, overseer of . . . the magazins of an (other) owner." The supercargo keeps his stores under lock and key, just as Yama locks the anbārs of the var, in which the animals and stores are kept. "(h)anbāštan, to put into the anbār" is written with the ideogram ḥtymvn, to seal, and signifies also "to seal." Locking and sealing are always combined: as early as the stone age, seals are impressed on jar stoppers. Once, when I had obtained from Aḥmad Shāh permission to make a catalogue of the bronze treasure of Baznagird, which was kept in the throne room at Teheran, the first attempt failed, because the cupboards were locked and sealed, and the officers in charge no longer alive. The next day, representatives of seven ministries were appointed, the seals were broken, and when I had finished, the cupboards were locked and sealed again.

Thus, seal, lock and key are closely connected. Yet one feature restricts the meaning of suwrā in the Vidēvdād to "key": a seal is never impressed on the inside, and the shutting is done antara.nēmāt. If suwrā is a true Iranian word, I see no other word to connect it with, but MP.NP. "suftan, sunb-, to pierce, perforate." In the Vidēvdād it is once written sufrā. The Pahl. translator of Vid.2,10 must have thought so when writing svft for Aw. sifat, with regard to the preceding suwraya. To the same root belongs the Arab. loanword suftadī, suftah < OP. "suf-taka—cf. Aw. suftidṛgā under 'Mithra'—which means "bill of exchange, money-order" sent by post and certainly sealed, probably sent in padlocked mail bags.

The close similarities between the var of Yama and the ark of Ut-Napištim are worth noticing, the more so as it is natural for the ark to have but one door and one vent-hole, while a building one taČara

11 raʾis al-mallāḥīn—the Sumerian word is still alive—is magister nautarum, cf. de Goeje, loc. iv, Gloss. 271; two recent articles by 'Abdalqādir al-Maghrahi and Saлим al-Djundî, in Rev. de l'Acad. de Damas, 17, 1942, mai-juin and sept-oct., adduce a passage of abī l-Ālā al-Maʾarri, kit. 'abth al-walid: "The navigators in the sea of Hudjāz call the raʾis al-markab, captain, al-štiyām; a big fish bears the same name."
long on each side, like the var, ought to have, in the style of the Iranian legend, "a thousand doors, ten thousand windows." A feature proper to the ark seems to have been retained without change by the Iranian myth. With all its divergencies, the myth of the var belongs to the motif of the ark of Noah. The Iranian legend, somehow, combined the flood with the expulsion from paradise. The fact that it mixes different motifs proves that it is not independent, but had admitted elements from abroad, long before Zoroaster's time. Another Babylonian motif is, for instance, the seven walls of Kanhā, built with the seven metals that are attributes of the Babylonian planetary deities. As early an author as Herodotus transferred this legend to the town Agbatana. This contact with Babylon had been taking place since the ninth century, when the Iranians first appeared in West Iran, and before the foundation of the Median empire—that is at a period when both Parsua-Persians and Māda-Medes had been subjected to the Assyrians, whose province Parsua extended over Kirmānshāhān, Nihāwand and Hamadān.
Zoroaster, who cursed other gods, has blessed Ārmātiš. In the gathas she bears often, in the yashts always, the epithet “spantā, the holy,” hence her MP. name Ssandārma. She is the goddess of earth, zam; ārmātiš is an epithet, of Aryan age, for it is Ved. arāmatiḥ in the RV. In the archaic verses of Y.Haft. 38—see under ‘Dēva’: “This earth here—together with the wives—who bears us—who are Thy wives, Ahura!” the earth is the barbri, that is the primeval IE. notion of the “mother Earth,” surviving e.g. in TPārs. “zamig kê harv čiž barēt.” In the Greek world the name δαιματρι, Dēmēter, maintains the old notion; in Thrace her name was Semēlē. The Scolotian Scyths, Herodotus iv,23, called Zeus ἀπαῖος and the earth ἀμν, “father and mother”; in Phrygian the opposition of “ζεμάλως=terrestres,” to “δεος=caelestes,” in Thracian the n.pr. Zámolxis and Díaixis (Aisch.), “qui regnat in terra” and “in coelo,” express the same idea. Also in the Iranian world, Varuna-AhuraMazdāh and Zam-Ārmātiš must once have been a couple, but Zoroaster’s god had neither wife nor children.

The chthonic signification belonged to the goddess since the same high antiquity. In Greece it is attested by a remark of Plutarch: “της νεκρον Ανθρακιν Δημιουργων νομαζων παλαιων, the dead were called by the Athenians of old ‘those belonging to Demeter.’” Such a notion must have existed in Iranian, for a form of the name identical with OP. “santā ārmati passed into Armenian as “sandarmet,” with the meaning “netherworld,” whereas “spandarmet,” derived from the Median form, means there “Bacchus.” With the Greeks, Demeter and Dionysus are closely connected.

2 In Babylonia, the gods of the earth, ilāni ērēti are the same as the gods of the netherworld, ilāni erek.kīgal; their king Nergal is “lār ērēti” or “lugal ursara.” In the Samarra-tablet, Thureau-Dangin, REAL IX,1921, he is called “lār ḫawilīm,” which is Hebr. ḫawilā, l.x.x “ ReSharper, in Gen.2,10: “from Eden goes out a stream . . . . and divides . . . . in four branches; the name of the first is Pishon, the one who flows round the whole ḫawilā.” Here, ḫawilā, like Akk. ḫawilum, means “the earth, erētum.” But a gloss says “and there is the gold,” like Job 37,22 “from midnight comes the gold.” The midnight point of the horizon is mount Arallu, “mountain of gold,” gold is the “product of the netherworld, nānin arallī.” The midnight point is the gate of hell. And the gloss takes ḫawilā in this meaning, just as the Samarra tablet in calling Nergal “king of ḫawilum.”
In Yz.13.29, the fravarti, the “manes” of the dead, are called “tušnišad, sitting in silence,” not as posture, squatting, but as abiding, living in silence. The association of silence and death shows itself also in the name of the Roman festival in commemoration of the dead, the silicernium: the rest is silence. The form of the word is archaic: tušnišad, not *tušnišhad—cf. armēšad in Y.62.8 against arime.had in Yz.13.73—and it was created at a time when the dead were still buried in the earth: the tušnišad live in the hadiš of the dead, the netherworld, ārmatiš.

In the gatha of the vision, Y.43.15, Zoroaster condenses the visions he saw into the words: “daḫṣat ušyāi tušnāmatiš vahišṭā, thinking-in-silence has taught me to announce . . .” see under ‘Harvatāt.’ vahišṭā has been regarded as object of ušyāi “to announce the best,” or as attribute of tušnāmatiš, in the vocative “o best one!” and the whole expression has been interpreted as an allusion to ārmatiš as chthonic goddess. This is not necessary, but in both cases possible: tušnāmatiš as silent meditation can mean ārmatiš, patience, keeping still. In Yz.13, 139 tušnāmatiš, thinking in silence, appears, strikingly, as the name of a woman.

It is as goddess of agriculture, Agricultura, that Zoroaster introduced the mother earth, with other dēvas that had “chosen” Ahura Mazdāh, into the more than τετραπρόσωπος nature of his god. These aspects embody on the one hand the forms of human society, thus ārmatiš the peasantry, on the other hand that which the good principle has laid into the souls of these human groups, their specific virtues. This usage, in the case of ārmatiš, seems not to be an innovation due to Zoroaster, but an older thought modified.

The passage most important for the understanding of the Zoroastrian Ārmatiš are the first two stanzas of Y.32.8

1: ahyača ḫvētuš yāsat ahya vrzanam mat aryamnā
    ahya dēvā mahmi mnoi ahurahya rvāzmā mazdā
    ḥwōi dūtāho ahāma tān dārayo yoī vā dhišanti
2: ēbyo mazdā ahuro sāramano vahū manahā

8 Other stanzas of Y.32 see under ‘Yama ḷēta.’
χσαθράτ hača patirmōt  rtā hušhaḥā huvanvatā
spantām vā ārmatim  vahvim vrmađi hā no ahat

"Would that the hvētu, the vrzanam with the aryaman, and the gods, dēva, would endeavor to obtain AhuraMazdāh’s grace, willing?: Thy servants we want to be who hold back those who are Your enemies!—then AhuraMazdāh, wedded to Vahumano, would reply through the mouth of Xšaθram, he the companion of the sunny Rtam: We love your ārmatiš, she be Ours!"

Thus the god receives Ārmatiš in “sar,” into the group of his aspects: Vahumano, Xšaθram and Rtam. In Y.31,21, in a similar way, Harvatāt-Amratatāt are received in “sar” like Rtam, Xšaθram and Vahumano.

Gods and men endeavor to obtain AhuraMazdāh’s rvāzman by readiness to obey, for which NP. has the picturesque word “kamarbandi, having their belts tightened.” ārmatiš is a passive attitude: “patience, keeping still.” For the definition of rvāzman see under ‘Welcome.’ But instead of the normal formula “dēvā martiyāča, gods and men,” a triad of men, hvētu, vrzanam and aryaman is here opposed to the gods, a peculiar qualification which must have a good reason.

mahmi mnoi: Wb.: “man-, n., Mass, Art und Weise”; “mahmi, to ‘ma, mine,’ together: in dem Masse wie ich sie gebe.” The words are corrupt: the older Mss. have mahmi manoī, -noī, -nō, but the larger number have maha manoī. Andreas emended “homoī monoī, in demselben Sinn.” The Pahl.transl. explains: “ku mān mēnīšñih ētnō frārōn čiḡōn Zartuşt, that we, as to our willingness, be as excellent as Zoroaster,” hence saw in mnoī the √ man-, and read perhaps “hama, same” as Andreas emended. The root man- is beyond question, because direct oration, characteristic for it, follows; cf. OP. “yadi avaθa man-yāhi, if you think, want this” or Aw. “uti avaθa manhāno” in Yt.19,49, ApāmNapāt hymn. The form was a participle or verbal adjective, most probably manimna; cf. “manhamna and the denom. manahyamna; prev. ham- is possible, cf. MP. “homānāk, just as, like.” But the whole situation is imaginary, not real; the answer is conditional.

Gods and men offer their service as dūta, Pahl.transl.: tu davāk bavēm, avēsān apāć dārēm ku śmāx bešēnēnd. “θwa dūtāhō ahāma”
can only be a variant of "ahāma rātoīś yuśmāvātām, we want to be of your Highness' servants," Y.29,11, a meaning supported by the parallel in Y.49,7: "yavoi vispāī fraįśtāho ahāma."

dūta appears once more in Y.32,13: "kāmē dūtam yo iš pāt ārāsāt rtaḥya, as pleases the dūta who keeps them back from beholding rtam." In both cases the activity of the dūta is to keep hostile people back, not that of a "messenger" who brings something. In the Veda, Agni is devānām dūtā, usually translated "messenger of the gods," but Hertel remarks, Siegesf.: "wird nirgends von einem deva zum andren oder gar... von einem deva auf die Erde gesandt, um den Menschen eine 'Weisung' zu überbringen." In Y.32,1, the Pahl.transl. davāk is explained by "rāyēnitār, who puts in order," in 13 by "pēśopāy, forerunner." Such runners, on horse or on foot, hold back the crowd, like the modern farāsh, who were originally cubicularii, but already at the Ṣafawid period forerunners and executors of punishment, equipped with hatchet and stick, like the Roman fascigeri. farāsh is only the generic name of the class of servants to which also janitors belong, darbān, πυλωροί, cf. Arab. "ḥādjib, huissier, and chamberlain," from "ḥādjaba, to keep back." Still in 1905, in Isfahan, one used to go or drive out with such forerunners or foreriders.

*Wb.* connects dūta with a verb "dav-, to distance, remove," whence "dūra, far," but the two verbal forms it attributes to it, Y.1.1,29 and *Vid.* 5.24, do not belong. dūta may be related to MP. "dūtak, familia" as possessions or servants.

AhūraMazdāh answers "through (the mouth of) Xṣaṭram," because this is his social-political aspect. The words "we have chosen your obedience" express his rvāzman, and are, with "She be ours!" part of the true Zoroastrian creed, as in Y.49,2: "spantām āhmāi stōi ārmatim," followed in st.3 by "rtam sūdyāī, rāşayahe druχš," articles of the faith. Y.12 quotes the formula in the mazdayasian profession. The god returns the declaration of his adherents by his own, because it is a relation of fealty, a miḥra, and this is uwayā, binding both parties.

The late Fravārāni, Y.12, joins to the ārmatiš formula an oath in which six crimes, theft and robbing of live property, damage to and unlawful use of immobile property, bodily injury and homicide are sworn off. This observing of the simple "six commandments" is a kind
of exegesis of the formula "Ārmatiś be mine!" As ethic norm of actions, she is obedience to the law, tkēśa, morals itself. Society is founded on feudal relations, and obedience to law is at the same time fealty. Lommel spoils his translation "Fügsamkeit" by adding "kluge" (for spanta), for that gives a bad connotation in German: "acquiesce even without approving."

In the Kārn.Art. 12,14 one reads: "Artaxēr pa vēhīh u dēndōstih ut ēkānakih u framānbūrih ē avēšān apēgumān būt, A. convinced himself of the sincerity of their vēhīh-vahumano, their dēndōstih-dēnā, their ēkānakih, being adyūś, and their framānbūrih = ārmatiś." This is exactly "we want to be your dūta!—I love your Ārmatiś!" and shows the old idea still alive.

In Y.32,3 the thought leaps from ārmatiś to its opposite parimatiś (text under 'Yama χščta'): "You gods all and who worships you, are the brood of Akam mano, the Druχš, and parimatiś, and your deeds for which they glorify you on this seventh of the earth, are dbitāna, dubious."

parimatiś, hybris, is the specific vice of the Iranian nobility, the hvētu, chastised at the example of Yama. Heraclitus: ὑβριψ χρή σβεννύμε μᾶλλον ἡ πυραίην. The "motif of hybris" goes right through the whole epic. Yama, Sām, kavi Usan, Herodotus' Deiokes, all catch hybris. In history, Cambyses goes insane. The medieval Heraclias says of Xusrau Parwēz: "er nam sich an er waere got." An Arabic ḫadīth* says: "These are they who go to hell without hearing: ... the Arabs because of their racial fanaticism, 'ašābiyya, the Persian noblemen because of their arrogance, kibar, and the scholars because of their jaundice."

To the hvētu, vrzanam and aryaman, Y.33,4 adds as fourth group the "gāuś vāstra, peasantry"; the same four are also mentioned in the preceding st.33,3. Instead of parimatiś the similar notion taromatiś appears in these verses: "Zoroaster 'prays away,' removes by his song, disobedience, aunštīm, and evil-mind, akam mano, from four groups: taromatiś from the hvētu, nazdištām drūjam from the vrzanam, *nidanto from the aryaman, and ačištām mantum from the gāuś vāstra."

The context is: to whatever station in life a man may belong, he shall

love the faithful and hate the disbelievers. Or, adherence to the religion shall replace membership of the tribe. Islam proceeded similarly. Until 1914, an Oriental, asked for his nationality, would answer “muslim,” an answer entirely right, because religion, not race, rules the actions, and what he who asks wants to know of a man is how he will act under certain circumstances.

Evil mind and disobedience are qualities of men, and it is unimportant that vrzana and gāuš vāstra are topical, hvētu and aryaman social terms. Such terms are always exchangeable. Neither must we expect in these odes a systematic terminology, nor see in such terms a social system distinct from others, for instance that of the Y. Haft. or the yashts. The terminology is rich and nowhere complete, but the choice is full of meaning. The four groups, without being all, represent the totality.

For the moment it is enough to ascertain that the group gāuš vāstra, i.e. “cattle-pasture,” figurative for neat-herds and shepherds, are lacking in Y.32.1-2, where the peasantry should be represented first of all, since ārmatiš is the theme.

The specific aka manah of the four groups belong to two categories: they are either the “vices of their virtues” which Ahramanyuš has implanted in them, or his “gifts” for which they suffer innocently.

Y.45.11 elucidates taromati: “Who, therefore, in future, will depise, taro mansta, the dēvā and martiyā, gods and men that despise Him [AhuraMazdāh, mentioned just before], instead of, anyān ahmāt yo, respecting Him,—the holy dēnā of the sōsyans, the dampatiš, will be his friend, brother and father!”

“taro-man, pensée hors (de la règle),” is not a quality bad in itself, but good or bad according to the right or wrong object. The wrong taromati of the hvētu is directed against other countrymen, aryaman, vrzanya and vāstriya. In the legend of Sām, the Gr.Bdh. 197f., says: “He was immortal until he tarmēnīt dēn ē māzdēsānān, despised the mazdayasnian religion,” whereafter the arrow, shot by a Hiyōn, puts him asleep, see under ‘Ardvisūrā.’ Y.45 is an early gatha, in which Zoroaster still fights the polytheism, and the “Imitation of Zoroaster” means, like his own exile, to leave friends and family. The dēnā of the sōsyans, religion of the saviour, takes the place of the social relations
renounced; the followers enter in “sar”—reciprocal relationship of the hvētu—with him. Therefore, the sōsyan is called, just here, dampatiś, paterfamilias. One may take dēnā collectively as religion, or individually as the organ that senses religion, karpēṇā; at any rate, the sōsyan is Zoroaster himself. Cf. Matth. 19,29: “And everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name’s sake...” and 12,50: “Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.” And the Qurān, 9,23-24 says: “If you love your father and children, your brothers and wives, your relatives, the property you have acquired, the business the ruin of which you fear, the houses that please you—more than Allāh and his envoy and the holy war, then expect that Allāh will visit you.”

The specific “shady side” of life in a vṛzanam, MP. “hamsāyakhī, life under the same shade,” is the nazdiśta druṣī, druṣī being one’s close neighbor. Cf. Y.50,3: “yāṃ nazdiśțām gēθām drugva bāçeśati, the man who by the power of Rtiś will make prosper the farmyard, [be it] one neighboring [one] ‘hat is the lot of a drugvant.” The expression nazdiśta druṣī, characteristic for Zoroaster’s diction, reveals at once what vṛzana is: oppidum and civitas. In town, the neighborhood, the narrow dwelling among disbelievers is the rule. But this is no vice, but an Ahrimanic evil from which the vṛzanya, citizens, suffer.

‘naddōnto’, ‘nidanto’, the detriment of the aryaman is less clear. Bartholomae took it as belonging to a base ‘nadd-, Lästerer Meillet “qui l’outragent.” It belongs apparently to √nīd-, nēd-, Gr. voreōs, OHG. nōt > Germ. Neid; also to “nīda.snāthīs, defying, challenging the arms.” It may be the defiant, provocative attitude, or the envy, jealousy of the aryaman, or envy directed against them; probably the first: see “noit aram,” here below.

The ačištō mantraś of the peasants is not a vice, but a suffering; the “worst patron” means their being deprived of rights. They have no freedom to move, vaso.yāti, vaso.śiti, they are serfs bound to their fields and pastures. The Fravarāni comprises them under “gauś,” live property. Y.29,3 speaks of their lot: “nobody knows how the lofty, rvāho, deal with the lowly, adrān,” that is they are at their mercy.

A complicated case of putting words governing a relative clause, into this clause.
Or Y.51,14: "the karpāno, priests, act noit aram, disregarding the rvāthā dātobyasča, lawful customs established for the västra, pasturage-peasantery." Because it is property and slave, gauš, the ox is in Zoroaster's figurative speech the symbol of the peasant: ačīsta mantu describes his living at the mercy of the hvētu. In the whole gatha Y.29, Zoroaster, himself an exile without means and protection, is the mantuš of peasantry. In Y.32,15, he says, referring to the special case of those persecuted as his own adherents: "For this suffering of theirs, those whom they (the hvētu) do not permit to be masters of their own life, shall drive to the house of Vahumanano." They are restricted in their ķyātuš, livelihood, like the anēr ákληρος ὁ μὴ βίοτος πολὸς εἰν in the Odyssey. But they abiyābryānte, are driven to heaven in a carriage like a high lord: μακάριοι οἱ διδωγμένοι ἐνεκεν δικαιοσύνης ὅτι αὐτῶν ἔστι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Gatha of the Questions, Y.44,6:

yā fravaχšyā  
yazi tā abā habyā
rtam šyōdnāiš  
dbanzati ārmatiš
*tēbyo χšabram  
vahū činas manahā
kēbyo azīm  
rānyaskrtim gām tašo

Bartholomae changed another translation in Ar.Forschg. (1886) in 1905 to: "Ob denn das auch wirklich so ist was ich verkünden will? Wird Aša mit seinem Thun (dereinst) Hilfe leisten? Wird von Dir her Vahumanah das Reich zuerkennen? Für wen (sonst) hast Du das glückbringende trächtige Rind geschaffen?"

Lommel: "... was ich verkünden will, ob das auch wirklich so ist? Giebt die Fügsamkeit dem Wahrsein durch Thaten Unterstützung? Hast Du für diese (Thaten) durch Gutes-Den-

*rvāthā, Pahl.transl. dōstih, and dātā correspond to rvati and mīθrā in Y.46,5, and are the "amicitiae et societates," foundation of "mores" = rāzan, see under 'Hospitium' and 'Mithra.'

† Since the application of the words bull, steer, ox, cow, next cattle differs in old and modern languages, OIr. gav- cow, is difficult to translate. It is as well the generic term—even far beyond the bovine race—as that of the female. Y.29 is the "Gatha of the Cow," the speaker is "gāuš urvā," st.5: "mā urvā gāušča azyā, my soul and that of the pregnant cow," hence "soul of the ox." azy qualifies the female not so much as "being with calf" but as "grown up." Without azy and without being opposed to a male, gav- is ambiguous, in a degree which "cow" cannot equal.
ken die Herrschaft verheissen? Für wen hast Du die glückbringende Kuh geschaffen?"

Hertel, Beitr., 1929: "Ob das auch alles so wahr ist was ich zu verkünden gedenke? Stärkt die Siedlung (ārmatiš) durch Werke das Licht-des-Heils? Hat sie die Herrschaft Dir zuerkannt durch den lichten-Gedanken? Wer sind die Leute, für die Du die fruchtbare Kuh hast gebildet, die die Erquickung uns spendet?"

A complete translation is yet far away, but there is enough to show that this illogical picture of perplexity and helplessness is wrong. haθya, part.fut. "what will be," also "what should be," without moral quality, means the coming true, realization. The first question does not express a doubt in the truth of his own teaching, but: "Will you, god, make come true what I shall say?", viz. what you have inspired me to say. And then follow, in form of questions, but as certain as the glorifications of the Gospels, his annunciations.

The verb of the first is obscure: dbanzati. Bartholomae's first translation "wird Ārmati sich erwerben?" rested on a comparison with Y.46,15: "durch solches Tun erwerbt ihr euch..." In Wb. he assumed "unterstützen," without any other support. √dbanz-, Aw. banz-, is some judiciary activity of AhuraMazdāh's aspects at the last judgment; also of the dogs at the Činvatbridge, who, in RV. x,14,10, watch or waylay? the dead, as animals of the ruler of the netherworld. The activity seems to be connected with the "investigation" of the acts of men. As long as the verb is not determined, one cannot say whether rtam or ārmatiš is the subject. But ārmatiš is apparently the subject of činas in the following verse.

Of this second annunciation the end is clear; rānyaskrti is a word of old poetry, originally associated with food, which later took the acceptation "paradisiac," Arm. erani = μακάριος. Bartholomae's "für wen (sonst)?" is necessary; otherwise the cow would appear like a bos ex machina, and the questions would be disconnected flashes of thought. If the two verses were syntactically connected, the interrogative kēbyo would change

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* Cf. Bartholomae, Ar.Forschg. 11,62; Benveniste, JAAS. 1934, 184; Hertel, Beitr. 102.
into the relative. Bartholomae and Hertel follow a text-critical pattern, unfit for Avestic text research, in reading “tabyo, to Thee,” thinking of AhuraMazdâ, although Bartholomae read originally “têbyo, to them” with some Mss. “To thee” would make Ārmatiś judge over the god: “will Ārmatiś (a partial figure of the god) through Vahumano (a second figure) confer—or not—upon the god the third figure, χσαθραμ,” a question without sense, still more, when translating Ārmatiś by Fügsamkeit: “will passivity by acts support truth?” tabyo/têbyo and kêbyo is so conspicuous for ears and eyes—cf. anâîś â—avâîś in Y.32,15—that, whatever be the textual tradition, one must read têbyo. But it is not the “ta, referring back” to “for these (acts)” but the one referring to direct oration that follows: “those, to whom . . . for whom else?”

χσαθραμ in 44,6 is not the “empire of heaven,” but the abstract expression of ownership of cattle, the free command over the livelihood of the peasantry, which, in Y.32,15, priests and noblemen will not permit the followers of Zoroaster to enjoy. The same idea is expressed in Y.51,6: “Shall the peasant who [because he] is rîtâvan in his doings, obtain the ownership of the cow through Rtam [according to the law]?” and in Y.31,9: “If the cow had the choice to belong either to the västriya or to him who is no cattle-breeder, it would choose the västriya because he is rîtâvan.” And the conclusion: “Therefore the non-farmer shall have no share of the accounting!” in 31,10, see under ‘ApâmNapât.’ There is no less certainty in these questions than in μακάριοι οἱ πραϊτὶς ὃς αὐτὸι κληρονομήσοντος τῆν γῆν!

The verses speak of an agrarian reform for which Zoroaster stands, and which the former owners, priests and nobles oppose. That is the indictment for which he was sentenced to proscription, see under ‘Bandva.’ However, Zoroaster did not want to dissolve society, he did not come to kataλύσειν τὸν νόμον, but to replace serfdom by the voluntary, sworn-to obedience of the vassal.

Y.30,5: The good in the world’s history is wrought by all

γέε µαρ νσαν ahuram ḫadyaiś ṣyōḏnais fravrvt mazdâm

“that obey AhuraMazdâh voluntarily by the right conduct.”
Bartholomae, *Ar. Forschg.* 11,123: “die durch rechtschaffenes Tun es dem Gotte Mazdäh gern recht machen.” ṭb.: “frarost, lies fravr, adv. ‘gern,’ zu Ṽ var- [to choose, love], eigtl. ‘mit Vorzug.’” *fravr,* always connected with Ṽχšnu- “hear, obey” and Ṽ hak-, “follow, obey,” is more than “gern,” viz. “by their own choice, free will.” It corresponds to MP. kāmakawmand, opp. akāmakawmand, e.g. *Art. Vir. Nām.* 1,38-39. With Ṽχšnu-it is the word for “free obedience.” ḥāṭya is ā ṭeī.

“Wedding Gatha,” Y.53.2:

ātča hoi sčantu manahā uχđāiš šyöđnäišča
χšnuvam mazdā vahmāi ā fravr yasnansča

Vištāspa, the two Háugava, the son and the daughter of Zoroaster, “shall voluntarily follow [sčantu to Ṽ hak-] AhuraMazdā’s obedience and worship.”

A similar idiom is already used in the *Mithra Yt.*10,9: yatārā

vā dim prvā frayazāti
fravr fraχšnī avi mano
zrazdātoit (ahvayāt hača)

(by their own initiative) to sacrifice to Mithra, those Mithra will help.

Zoroaster fights against what is called in *Exod.* 22 ’NH, or in Islam “mazālim,” injustice, despoothing of right, a thing apparently adherent to the shepherd’s life—not at all an “ideal” one—in the East through all its thousands of years. Islam created against it the “diwān al-mazālim, the court of appeal” under the personal presidency of the sovereign. The last origin of the institution seems to be Cyrus’ highest court of the βασιλῆοι δικασταί, Herodotus v,25 and m,31. The rulers who took care of it are always specially praised, e.g. the caliph al-Muhtadi in ɪbn Khaldūn, Tabari and ɪbn al-Tiqtaqa. Ibn al-Athīr says, in the necrologue of Nūr al-din, this remarkable ascetic on the throne: “He built everywhere in his countries dār al-adl, a house of justice, in which he used to give audience together with his qāḍī al-Shahrazūrī, administering

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*a"Es einem recht machen" means “do a thing as another wants it done"; "es einem nicht recht machen können” means “being unable to do a thing as the other wants it." Even "es gern recht machen" expresses that it is the will of the other, and that the agent is indifferent.*
justice to the oppressed—be it a Jew, against the oppressor—be it his own son or first amir.” And just so Darius begins his testament entirely in the spirit of Zoroaster: “I love what is right, I hate what is wrong! It is not my pleasure that the lowly suffer injustice for the sake of the lofty!”

Y.33,5 speaks of the specific vices or detriments of the various classes; Y.Haft. 40,3, one could say, of their specific virtues: “Give that the nā (= hvētuš) rtāvan be rtačanah, eager to fight, that the vāstriya, peasants, be adyūš, vassals, for long (= continuous, hereditary) zealous, bāzvate 210 vassalry, ḥāxman, both in-fecality-towards-us, ahma.rafnah!” These verses are post-Zoroastrian.

Zoroaster uses gauš and vāstra, alone or together, as metaphoric expression for peasants; in the same way, ārmatiš is on the one hand their transcendent personification in the multiple nature of his god, on the other hand their specific virtue, their patience, obedience to law, founded on or being the foundation of Rtām, the social order. In Y. 33,4 the antonym to ārmati is “asruštī, disobedience,” as aka manah to vahu manah. In Zoroaster’s phraseology, therefore, this specific ārmati of the peasants is the virtue, āperī, itself: the patient resignation to the order, Rtām, to God’s will, or with Darius’ words in NiR A.57: “hyā ōramazdāha framānā hō.tē gastā mā ṭandaya! what Ŭramazdā has allotted to you, shall not seem hellish to you!”

That is the reason, why, in the passage Y.31,11, from which we started, where AhuraMazdāh “chooses” Ārmatiš, just the peasants which she personifies are not mentioned, and why, there, in the normal formula dēvā martiyāče, the three classes hvētu, vṛzana and aryaman replace martiyā. Zoroaster voices a hope: “Would that the gods and [among men] the noblemen, the townsment and the clients endeavored to obtain AhuraMazdāh’s grace, willing?: Thy servants we want to be . . ., then AhuraMazdāh would reply: I accept your ārmatiš, your obedience which is like that of the peasants!” But this is only a hope, and the gods and those men do not do it in their parimatiš, hybris. Therefore the thought goes on: at all times you have been like that, all the heroes of your history, whom you glorify as “beloved by the
Armatiš

gods,” Yama first of all, have been nothing but ēnah, ὑβριστοῦτες. But AhuraMazdāh, who knows their riśta, loves only obedience, ārmatiš, the virtue of the despised peasants: μακάρωι οἱ πραεῖς!

That is the new ethical and social idea of Zoroaster, Y.44.9: “moi yām yōš dēnām dānē, I who want to purify, reform the religion!”, his transvaluation of values. Nyberg, 202: “Es findet sich keine Spur von einem Reformatoren bei Zarathustra, er behauptet leidenschaftlich das Bestehende.” And while describing his Zoroaster without agrarian interests, but preaching “sermons” against other sects and composing an “oral preface” to the second edition of his “hymns” collected for the liturgical use of his parish, he goes on: “Das Bild eines fortschrittlichen Landpfarrers mit Interesse für agrarische Reformen, das die Forschung des 19. Jahrhunderts von ihm zu entwerfen pflegte, ist sicher sehr bezeichnend für das, was diese Zeit als zu einem richtigen Religionsstifter gehörig ansah”—the picture of a drunk shaman drawn in the early 20th is not even that—“es ist unter geschichtlichem [and every other] Gesichtspunkt von Anfang bis zu Ende verkehrt.”

It may be a consequence of Zoroaster’s new interpretation of the goddess of Earth as aspect of AhuraMazdāh that the Awesta retained so little of her pre-Zoroastrian cult and character. The gods banished by Zoroaster brought a good deal of their old hymns with them when they returned into the Mazdayasnic religion. But there is no Ārmatiš-yasht. Yt.19, the Zam-yasht, is very long, but, excepting karda 1, it is dedicated to the Hvarnah, not to Ārmatiš, in spite of its name “Zam,” and this first chapter is no more than a list of names of mountains, a choice from 2,244, an orographic catalogue void of religious contents. In the epics a few features of the myth of the goddess are preserved, e.g. her flight before the dragon AžiDahāka. All the rest is lost, and even her name Ārmatiš remains obscure, the often discussed problem of its etymology unsolved.

In the RV., cf. Hertel, Beitr. chapt.n, arāmatiḥ is enumerated between rtā, dyāus, nāmas (prosternation), and Indra, mitrā, varuṇa, bhaga and others, but, as Hertel says, the Indian tradition was no longer sure about the meaning of RV. arāmatiḥ.11 Hertel calls the etymology, given on

11 Just as the Pārsa tradition had forgotten what Aw. Ārmati meant. The Eur. dictionaries follow the etymology accepted by the Petreizh. Wörterbuch, on the strength of a commentary
the authority of Sāyaṇa in the *PW*: "unsinnig," and whatever one thinks of his own, that one is wrong, and the true etymology remains to be found.

One can imagine that the notions earth as agriculture and obedience, patience as special virtue of the agriculturists became connected. But if one word could designate these two notions, then its etymological meaning must express the tertium comparationis, and its sphere would be "labor, field-labor." Bartholomae regarded ārmati as compound "aram + mati, to think according [to rules]," and therefore makes his article in *WB.* begin with ārmati as opp. to taro.mati. Why this "thinking" became the name of the earth remains a riddle. Duchesne, on the contrary, states, § 113: "TAROMATI, 'acte de penser de travers,' ne prouve rien pour l'étymologie de l'indo-ir. ārmati; il prouve seulement que le mot a été compris depuis la rédaction des gāthās jusqu'à celle des Purs. comme comp. d'arām et de mati." Even these last words concede too much.

Zoroaster uses an entirely personal phraseology when teaching in *Y.* 45,11, to despise, taro-man, those who despise Ahura Mazda, instead of respecting him, aram.man-. This intentional playing upon words is an example of his hūnartāt, virtuosity, his mastership of the language, hizvo च्यायम्यो मवो. Meillet says, *Trois Conf.* 61: "TAROMATI 'pensée hors (de la règle)' est fait pour s'opposer à ārmati..., [il y a] un artifice théologique dans la forme de ces oppositions." When used in the sense "obedience," the name of the goddess of Earth, ārmati, is interpreted as if it meant 'aram.mati, "pensée selon (la règle)." Therefore, this cannot be its meaning; the artificial play forbids an assumption of etymologic connection.

With equal or better right one could state: In *Y.* 43,15 Zoroaster alludes to ārmati by the words tuṣṇāmati vahiśṭā by the words tuṣṇāmati vahiśṭā. Compounds with locative as first element are an archaic type, in this very case confirmed by the use as n.pr.—Tuṣṇāmati and ārmati are opposed like tuṣniṣad and armēṣad (Fravartī, *Yz.* 13,29 and 73) "living in silence" of Sāyaṇa on *RV.* viii,31,12. While he equates arāmati in *RV.* vii,36,8 etc. with "pṛthivi, earth," in vii,31 in the sequence "mountains, rivers, pūṣān (Aw. śūla) wealth, bhaga, urūr ṛdhva (the broad path)," he considers it as attrib. adj. to stūṭiṣaṇē—omitted, but to be supplied—"people who praise pūṣān, = alam.mati."

11 Cf. Fr. labour, Engl. labor (with child) or travail, against Fr. travail; the earth as barðri; also Germ. arbeit, Slav. sǎbōtā "corvée."
and "living in quiet," words, the pre-Iranian age of which is documented by the sandhi-form and by the correspondence with Gr. στιγμή and ἡρμή εἰκον, keeping silence, and keeping still, be patient. This is another play upon words, but no etymology.

Evidently, the word was so old and so isolated that, in Zoroaster's time as already in Vedic times, it had no longer any purport. The spelling ārmati is strictly carried through, but ārmati—which does not result from arāmati—always counts for four syllables. Markwart, Gāth. u.l.t. 60f., tried to explain the trisyllabic spelling as abstracted from the pronunciation sfandārma at the time when the Avestic script was invented. If the oral tradition was arāmati, this would be impossible, for Atarpat could introduce a new spelling only when rectifying the meter. The pronunciation must have been ārmati, counting for four syllables, before the invention of the Aw. script.

A similar though simpler case is dēnā: bisyllabic spelling is strictly carried through, but the word always counts for three syllables. In this case the pronunciation dēnā is attested as early as 520 B.C., for the tablet Susa 20 has the Elam. loanword tā.tē.ni.m, i.e. "dāt.dēnām, instead of OP. "framātar, law-giver" and NiR 4,57 has tē.ni.m for OP. frāmānā, Akk. ұта'ama. El. tē.ni.m renders dēnām, not "dayanām. With a trisyllabic dēnā and a four-syllabic ārmati Zoroaster uses—right or wrong—forms no longer living at his time.

There was an OP. rmatam, with which ārmatiš can be connected. rmatam, as form, corresponds to Lat. armentum, ārmatiš to Lat. sēmentis. It appears in the Elam. version of Beh. §47. The OP. text runs: "ršāda nāmā diša harahvatiyā avapara ātiaiš, to a castrum named Ršāda in Arachosia, there he marched." After harahvatiyā the El. version adds: "rmatam wiwanana, an rmatam of Vivāna." The placename Ršāda < rša.hada, to Vhad-, means "stud," i.e. an area where horses were bred. The situation must be that of Aspacora (Tab.Peut.), mod. Asfuzār, "horse-pasture" in Arachosia. Thus the rmatam of Vivāna, a plantation, urvarā, with castrum in this horse-pasture country, was a ranch.

12 Possibly OP. *dāt.dēnī-, abstr., unless the El. ending -im will become otherwise explained.
13 diša > diz is (enclosure) wall; OP. parālda > Gr. pārādeis, the garden, characterized by its enclosure. The El. version has the loanword b'ālaris, an OP. noun in -is, < OP. ārvarā (undetermined quantity, also color of the vowels), probably deriv. of OP. urvarā "plantation."
The etymologic connection of urvarā and ārovā has been proposed, but rejected on the ground that Vār- "to plough" is not attested in the Aryan branch of IE. Arguments from absence are never strong, especially because old local names may contain roots otherwise obsolete. Lat. armentum are the animals of agriculture, large cattle, oxen and horses, compatible with OP. "rmatam, ranch." And ārmatiš, as abstract, is to rmatam, as Lat. sēmentis to armentum. One day the etymology of ārmati will be found. Until then, one had better not introduce a different spelling.
LIKE Ārmatiš, the pair harvatāt-amrtatāt has been admitted by Zoroaster into his concept of AhuraMazdāh.

harvatāt, n.abstr. of harva, whole, is ὀλώνς, “wholeness, physical integrity,” then “health,” but also “abundance,” and Plutarch renders the personification, much to the point, by “Ploutos,” son of Demeter-Ārmatiš. amrtatāt, n.abstr. of *amṛta, Ved. amṛta, āµµβροτος,1 is “immortality,” personified “ambrosia.” The dvandva was at first harvatatāt-amrtatāt, the second dual especially liable to haploologic shortening: amrtatā. Yet in most cases harvatāt keeps the first place, showing that the dvandva is older than the shortening, which is common already in the gatha. Then, harvatatā became harvātā, and the movement ended in NP. Arab. Harūd u Marūd.

The essence of the two powers is clearly expressed in Yt.19.96:

vanāt harvāsča amrtāsča Harvāt-Amrattāt will conquer
uṇā ṣuḍāmča trṣnamča both, famine and drought.

Benveniste describes the dvandva as “projection mythique” of āpāurvarē, water-plants, which itself means the grain of the irrigated fields,2 and is the prototype, extremely old, of quite a group of dvandvas, all variations of “liquid and solid.” In harvatāt all saps of plants and animals are embodied, and, to apply amrtatāt to the vegetable kingdom, involves a deep insight: the up-rooted animal has paid the price of a determined, short life for its freedom of movement.

Y.31,21:

mazdā dadāt ahuro harva[tā]to amṛtātasča
büroš ā rtahyača hvāpadyāt ḥśaβrahya saro
vahoš vazdvar manaho yo hoi manyū śyōθnāśča rvaθo

“AhuraMazdāh by his perfect union with Harvatatāt-Amrattāt, Rta and Xšaβra, may give the draught of Vahumano to him who is his friend in mind and acts.”

“sar,” in the social sense “connubium,” is here as elsewhere the word for the union of the partial figures, or aspects, of the god. One cannot fail to feel another opposition besides “liquid and solid”: harvatāt

1 Cf. *am(h)reka < ahmēka in Y.32.8 under *Yāma Xšēna.
2 Benveniste, nos viii,405. Ved. and Aw. urvarā = cultivated soil.
belongs to this life, to time, amrta-tät to the hereafter, to eternity. The
god is wedded to the pair in his double quality of χσΑθραμ, “lord of
time,” and of rtam, the “eternal.” harvatät means “blessed life on earth,”
amrta-tät the “eternal life.”
Y.51,7:

dādi moj yo gam taso  āpasca urvarāsca
amrta-tā harvatā spaniṣṭā manyū mazdā
taviśī utiyūti manahā vahū sānhec

“Give me, Thou who hast created the cow, the waters and plants, im-
mortality and health as Spanto Manyuš, o Mazdāh, force and longevity
as Vahumano, in Thy commandment!”

I leave utiyuti for better definition. amrta-tät harvatā are eternal life
and blessed life here, Arab. al-dunyā wa l-ākhira. The dying caliph al-
Muntaṣir says to his mother: “I have forfeited al-dunyā wa l-ākhira!”,
Tabari iii,1495. Since the wishes are for this and the other world,28 sānhec
cannot mean “bei dem Richterspruch = last judgment” (Bartholomae),
but must be the same as sāsnayā in the next verses, Y.29,7:

tam āzutoiś ahuro manthrām taṣat rtā hazōśo
mazdā gāvoi χśvidamča  hūhurśebyo spanto sāsnayā

The dvandva χśvidā-āzuti, “aliments liquides et solides” (Ben-
veniste), is one of the variations of āpā-urvarē and appears in Yt.16,8 in
parallel with harvatät-amrta-tät. hazōśo: cf. Y.33,2: “who does harm,
aka, to the drugvant, is quite to the taste, zōśai, of AhuraMzdāh.”
hūhurśebyo, reading corrected by Tedesco, zi, ii,1923, 43f., is regular
desid. of ḯhvar, “to eat, drink.”

Meillet, Trois Conf., translated: “La formule de graisse, A.M.
saint l’a construite d’accord avec Aṣa, pour le bœuf, et aussi le
lait pour ceux qui veulent le consommer, par son enseigne-
ment.” Andreas, no̱cw 1931, iii,322, attributed the fact that χśvidam (acc.) is not, as usual, in the same case as āzutoiś (gen.) to “Laxheit der Konstruktion, viell. χśvidōm as gen.pl.”
The construction is right: in Y.49,2, the subject of the quotation
“ahmāi stoi ārmatim!” stands in the acc., because it is governed
by “dōṛst”: “He professes: ārmatim (acc.) be mine!” The

28 Cf. “rayo rīś, award of riches, and life in paradise” in Y.43,1, under “Fravartī.”
words “ażutim gāvoi, χ'śvidam huhurstébyo” are the quotation, and the gen. ązutoiš is governed by manṭra, MP. mansr, usually “dictum, poem,” but here, with only one verse, “proverb.”

Manṭra as “adage” occurs once more in the frgm. Nirang.2: “apastāk čigōn dāt: mayno manṭro,” with Pahl. transl. “fra-mān, rule (for measuring).” Wb. links mayno to “mayna, naked” as “bloss=bare, pure,” and compares Ol. nagná and Gr. gymnós. Then, it can be “nayno manṭro, the proverb of the bread” (about daily bread or salt and bread), whether mayno be correct or to be corrected in *nayno > NP. nān, nūn. This would be the only instance of the word for “bread” in the Avesta, a warning not to infer from such absence that a thing was unknown, as in the case of “salt.”

“The adage (of the) ‘ażutim for the cow, milk for the thirsty,’ Ahura-Mazdāh, like-minded with Rtam, has coined it, the holy one, by His command.” It goes on: “Whom doest Thou have among men, who would attend to us two [bull and cow]? I have found only one who follows Thy commandment in our favor: Zoroaster!” The Pahl. translation adds: “ān mizd ē ač mansr pētāk, that reward [viz. which the ox receives from men for its labor] which the adage makes clear.” Zoroaster says: The obvious wisdom of the proverb ought to be the divine rule for the attitude of the peasant towards the cattle, or in his figurative style, of the ruling towards the peasants.

Nyberg, 197, explains ązutoiš manṭram differently: “Das Gotteswort von der Begiessung, āzuti, für den Stier geschaffen. Begiessung sollen die Kühe vom Menschen dafür erhalten, dass sie ihm die Milch liefern,” and concludes from this wrong translation: “In Y.29,7 bedeutet āzuti die Begiessung des Weideplatzes mit Kuhurin zum Gedeihen der Weide.” In Vid.13,28 this same āzuti is called “the proper diet of the dog,” but letting that pass along with the other anomaly that grass would grow—to prevent a middle-sized herd of 5,000 head on about a hundred square miles8 from doing the sprinkling themselves would require an army of cowboys.

8 The Assyrian annals often give the numbers of cattle carried away, e.g. Sanherib, prism 4,6ff.: 7,200 horses, 11,072 donkeys, 4,333 camels, 200,100 (v.l. 80,100) cows, 800,600 (v.l. 800,100) sheep.” On the Nēsane pasture Alexander saw still 60,000 of the original 160,000 horses. Genesis 31—much older—regrettably does not give the numbers of Jacob’s cattle.
The care of the cattle—cf. the Gath. term gōdāyah, lit. cow-nurse, for cowboy, under ‘Social Structure’—is also the theme of Y.48,5:

“Good-rulers (perhaps better ‘economists’), not bad-rulers shall govern us with the works of the good Čistiš, o Ārmatiš!”

yōzdā martiyāi    api.zanθam vahištā
gāvoi vrzyātām    tām no hvardāi fsuyo

Bartholomae translated at first, Ar.Forsch. 11,167: “Heilschaff dem Menschen (und) Nachkommenschaft!” with api.zanθam as compound; but Wb.85: “Vollbringe für den Menschen die künftige-Geburt, für das Rind die Landwirtschaft, lass es feist werden zu unserer Nahrung!”, a twisted translation, made with regard to the two places, 5,21 and 10,18, where the verse is quoted in the Vidēvdād, the worst authority for gatha-interpretation. Lommel paraphrases only: “die für den Menschen die künftige-Geburt (in Lauterkeit) vorbereiter, für die Kuh die Werkthätigkeit, um sie für uns zur Nahrung zu pflegen.” One wonders. Nyberg enhances Bartholomae’s “künftige-Geburt” to “Wiedergeburt,” analyzes, on the strength of this hypothetical hapax, Zoroaster’s notions about “birth and rebirth,” otherwise unattested, and finally pronounces: “Das ideale Hirtenleben in einem von allen hemmenden Schranken befreiten stamm wird hier als das grosse Endziel hingestellt.”

Wb. posits a verb *fsav- only for this fsuyo in Y.48,4, “weil das Gath. keine o-nominative von ant-Stämmen kennt,” giving it the arbitrary signification “fett machen.” Since the logical consequence would be that cattle grow fat from labor, to assume that the poet or a copyist allowed an o-nom. to creep in would be the “interpretatio facilior.” The eschatologic interpretation—a tendency that impairs Bartholomae’s work only too often—is prevented by the second part of the verse: in “life in purity,” according to Māh Frav., one did eat no beef, or as Theopomp says, nothing at all. Also, while the ox is allowed to be slaughtered, jadyāi, the cow is “agnya, not-to-be-slaughtered,” and the verses have milk and cheese in mind. In Vid.5,21, api.zanθam is correctly written as compound, following a text a thousand years older than our Mss. It means “progeny, offspring.”

* In ZArWb. 179 Bartholomae cites from the Gans i Šāh. (Pahl. Texts 1,45) a word in Aw. script which he takes as dat.pl. of pati.čant-: “which man is pati.čanbyo? Who after his father.
meter, 5+6 between 4+7 syllables, is not of necessity faulty. Hertel, *Beitr.* 67ff., takes vāhištā as instr., attribute to ārmatiš of the preceding verse. I prefer vocative at the end of the sentence. He takes vṛzyātām as 3.sg. imper.med. “für das Rind arbeite der Viehzüchter, fšuyo, damit es uns ernähre.” The second tām, left unexplained by Hertel, looks like a dittography, and Tedesco told me that, to compensate it, one may read āhvarbāya for hvarbāi, as in Y.34.11; hence:

48.5: gāvoi vṛzyātām no āhvarbāya fšuyo

“Make healthy, to men, their offspring, o best one! For the cattle, that it may nourish ourselves, the farmer shall work!”

Čistiš is here, and in the entire *Dēn-Yasht* 16, Zoroaster’s substitute for Ušā, the goddess of dawn and of labor; she is also midwife and physician. The simple train of thought is: good government, healthy children, ample food, all this Ārmatiš gives as Agricultura, embodied in AhuraMzdāh.

Not Aw. “χσvid, milk,” but OP. *χšifta*, to OP. √χšip-, Aw. χσviw-* lives on in the West Ir. dialects. The verb describes the rotating and shaking movement which separates cream and whey. The OP. noun exists in Ctesias’ (Photius) σπταχωρα, in a recently discovered text of Psellius’ ξηταχωρα, Pliny “psithacora.” Ctesias translates it by γλυκό, ἕδυ; the variants give ξηταχωρα as form used by himself, OP. ’χšiftahvara NP. šiftαχυρ, “sweets,” as Tychsen recognized 150 years ago. The usual Aw. word for milk is payah, to √pi-, Pahl.transl. pēm < pēman. An article of food as important as “māst, Turk. yoghurt, Arab. laban, curdled milk” cannot be missing in the Awesta: it is χσudra, adj. χσaudri,

“ō ikab ḍ māst šavēt, NP. pas uftād,” which can hardly mean anything but “posthumous.” The explanation is based on the phonetic similarity of OIr. ḍkanb- and Mr. ikab, and the inverse correspondence of OIr. ḍk; Mr. ḍ. It is written with the ḍ which takes the place of z—without exception—in MP. frazant < frazanti, “progeny,” e.g. inscr. Fīrūzābād, 1.5: mtrnshy v.l frēndyn, “Mihramelch and his progeny,” also in the Pahl. Psalter. pati,šant- seems to be MP. pati.zant, comparable to frazanti and api.ranšta.

8 Cf. Hübschmann, Pers.Stud. 82.


9 In Heeren’s *Lideen*, ed. 1824, II.384.
also payah χ쇼uđri; the translation “wine, beer, alcoholic” is totally wrong. *Vid.* 16,17: “two portions of ṭayurinām (yavanām), one of χ쇼uđrinām shall be dispensed to the menstruating,” certainly not “beer”; Pahl.transl. is t̥er nān (l̥m‘), cheese bread” and “śvṛr āś,” āś < OP. āšθa, is porridge, hence “barley in māst.” χ쇼u드ra therefore is a deriv. of χ쇼vid, probably both to √χ쇼d- “to foam.” Aw. ṭayuri or tūrī, MP. tēr, NP. pānīr, cf. Gr. τυρός and βουτυρός, is “cheese.”

The crux is āzuti, coupled with χ쇼vid in the ḍvandva. It is Ved. āhuti, to √zu-, whence such words of high Aryan antiquity as “zōtar, libans; zōθra, libation.” Ved. āhuti is said to be an offering of preserved, i.e. melted butter, buttered again, and would be Aw. rōyna, MP.NP. rōyan, a thick, oily preserve, well known all over the East. Study of the Aw. passages does not confirm this signification in Iranian, and in Vedic, too, āhuti must not mean oil because oil is used as āhuti.

In the poor Yt.12,3 āzutim urvarānām appears beside rōynya varah, ordeal-butter, and avi prnām viyārāyantīm. This is the only place where āxuti is qualified by a material, “of grains,” in the Awesta. *Wb.* translates “Schmalz der Pflanzen,” unknown to me, perhaps meant for “vegetable oil.” The *Gr.Bdh.* enumerates “sesame, two kinds of hemp, śāhdang and duśdang, and olives” as oil-producing plants. To prnā, Bartholomae remarked “zu der überfliessenden Hohlhand, prnā to Lat. palma.” prnā never appears without the epithet; it is the fem. of the adj. prnā, hence “full, overflowing,” scil. jug or flat bowl for libations, hydria or phiale.

*Had.N.2,13* (repeated in Ḍgmad.):

hvarṭānām āh barātām  zaramayahā rōynahāy

Duchesne: “Qu’en fait d’aliments on lui [Vahumano, rising from his golden bed for breakfast] apporte du beurre printanière, that is the food of the blissful heroes after death!” In 2,36, the damned sinners get “viṣaya and viṣgantaya, poison and of-poison-smelling food.” “zahr, poison” is the antonym of “anōšak, ambrosia” in the chapter on opposites in the *Gr.Bdh.47f.* The preceding paragraph says: “the bravarti give the souls of the immortals, anōšravān, food of immortality, anōš χvariśn, such as is made in spring.” And afterwards: “with water, wine, milk and honey.” Milk and honey symbolize sweetness; the most

*On alcoholic drinks see under ‘Hōma’ and ‘Industries.’
common word for “sweet” is širēn, lit. “of milk,” used as transl. of χσvid. In Vid.13, “širēn u čarp, sweets and oil, fat” translates “χσvidā āzuti,” but the commentary says “nayn u spētvāk,” i.e. bread and ispīdbā, the latter being something made of curdled milk, māst.

Ir. āzuti cannot be rōyan, for this is never given to cows, as in Y. 28,7, nor to dogs, as in Vid.13,28:

paro χσvisča āzutišča

gauš mat baratu hvar-
θānām

sunahya (ēva) hē dāθya-
piθwam

Here, with milk and āzuti,
along

with meat it shall be
brought, as fodder,

that is the proper meal of
the dog!

āzuti functions in this dog’s diet beside milk and flesh; besides, it is given to cattle. Actually, no fodder at all is given to cattle, either in summer or in winter. The caretaking consists in driving them to the right places where they find their grazing themselves. But the all-important question is watering, for water is rare, and not at all accessible at all pastures, it must be pumped or by other means conducted to the watering troughs. Hence, āzuti is a word not qualified by any material at all, it is merely the providing of drink; as “libation” it is drink-offering to the gods, else it is watering cattle and dogs: thus āzuti is the “mizd” for χσvid.

This research has revealed, at the same time, that there was a notion of “immortal food” strictly vegetarian. Meat diet is expressed by “pitu, etym. = fat,” thus in the dog’s ration. “pētōg, i.e. pitubaga, meat-ration,” cf. Akk. pitipabagu or pitipabagu<sup>10</sup> <IR. “piθvabaya, in Daniel 1, is the term for the provisioning of the sōmatophylakes which receive rations instead of pay. Daniel and his companions become vegetarians to avoid eating meat not kosher. Dinon explains ποτιθβαζες <”pāitubājiš as “bread, cypress-wreath and wine,” quite unlike the food of the heroes after death. TPārs. pid u may nē χvarēm, ač zan dūr pahrēzēm (Bailey, bōsos vii.753) is avoiding of meat and wine as abstinençe. In the legend of Ažidahāk, meat diet makes bloodthirsty. Māh Frav. §40: At the end

<sup>10</sup> Clearly showing the aspirated pronunciation of bōsokfr in Akkadian of the Achaemenian period.
of the world humanity will be immortal and not aging, and will need no more food. 41: Who has touched meat, will be resurrected only after 50 days, the others after 15. Meat diet takes the acceptation of food in general, for instance in the comp. “b.ipiθwa, θripiθwa, receiving two, three meals, fra.piθwa, well-fed, MP. hamēšag.pihan, continuously fed” all said of fire, opposite of ahvarta hvarnah, the hvarnah that burns “needing no food.”

In Y.49,5 (borrowed in Vιd.9,53) we find ižā āzutī instead of χšvidā āzutī: “ižāča āzutīča will be his who unites his faith with Vahumano—all of them in Thy kingdom, o AhuraMzdāh!” In st.11 follows the opposite: “but whose faith is evil, will be received . . . (in hell) with evil food, akāiš hvarθaīš.”

Being interchangeable with χšvid, ižā must be a synonym, and at the same time a heavenly food, as antonym to hellish food.

Y.49,10:

tatča mazdā @wahmiyā dām nipāhē
mano vahu runaścā rtāvnām
namas ścā yā ārmatiš ižāča
manzā, χšaṭrā vazdahā ,avāmīrā

"This, o Mzdāh, keep safely in Thy house, the Good-Will, the souls of the blessed, and (their) prostrations—obedience. . . ."

nipāhē: in Y.28,11 the god ni.pā-, “takes charge of” what man “deposits, ni.dā-.” Upon the acc. objects of b-c three nom.dual follow without further verb, connected by the rel. yā: the enumeration goes on, but is no longer grammatically governed by nipāhē.12 ārmatiš follows upon namas Ścā as in RV. arāmatiḥ upon nāmas. ižāča stands between it and manzā, χšaṭrā which is “banquet” (see under ‘ Hospitium’). The following vazdahā ,avāmīrā', soon to be discussed, belongs to the same sphere. ižā, here in st.10 as well as in 5, means a heavenly food.13 The dual may mean “the two ižā,” viz. ižā āzutī, which is a variant of χšvidā āzutī, itself analogous to āpā-urvārē and harvatāt-amrtat-

11 Also in Y.31,20 and 53,6 used for “hellish food.”
12 "yā (those things) which (are), “if referring to the foregoing = “also”; if to the following = “like.”
13 Wb. ἘΣ “Strive, endeavor, zeal, to Vāx-1 in Y.49,10 “Glaubenseifer.” Wb. does not separate the words.
tāt. In Y.34,11 this last pair is called “hvarthaí, the two foods.” ēṣa designates a concrete, nothing abstract, it must be a sap or draught.14

vazdahā ‘avamirā’: Bartholomae linked the hapax vazdah to vazdvar, Y.31,21 (see above), and translated “beständig, stable” and “stability.” Against this, Andreas-Wackernagel, Nom 1911, 32, called Geldner’s connecting of vazdah with Ved. vedhás “evident”: “RV.x,86,10 vedhā rtásya : Aw. rtavazdah, ‘Apraouádrēs, viell. zu √ vad- ‘führen,’ also vazdvar in Y. 31, 21 ‘Führerschaft.’” Hertel, Nom VII, 150f., modified this to “Führungsfähigkeit,” something like “ability to command one’s body, coordination.” The n.pr. krsavazdah, which means neither (Bartholomae) “magere, d.i. geringe Ausdauer besitzend,” nor “meager leadership,” does not fit; therefore it is probably not √ vad- “führen.” From the Aw. passages one can only infer: (1) as tanuvo vazdvar, bodily v., it stands in parallel with drvatātām “integrity of the body,” Yt.14,29; (2) it is a “gift of the waters” Y.68,11; (3) an “award” the believers obtain in paradise, Vid.9,44. Benveniste objected to “vazdvah, beständig”: “alors que seul est établi un neutre vazdah ‘santé,’” but his reasons are unknown to me.

A misinterpreted passage in Yt.8,43 (text under ‘Tištiriya’) is conclusive: “Satavēsa washes off all illnesses, all vāzdriš uḥṣyati, 16 i.e. makes grow all medicinal herbs, heals all creatures.”

“Vazdah” must be a healing potion, nectar, and ‘avamirā’ can be nothing but “ambrosia,”16 Oi. amṛta, the food of immortality. In Art.

14 This Gath. Ṛ is attested only as nominal; the script of the archetype could not indicate the quantity of init. i. Cf. Iliss v.340-2: “the divine blood of the goddess, ichor, such as flows in the blessed gods.

For they eat not grain, they drink not sparkling wine;

That is why they are bloodless and are exempt from death.”

G.M. Bolling, in Language 21,2, 1945, 49ff., regards the last two verses as an Orphic notion, close to Epimenides, introduced into the Iliss in the 6th-5th centuries. He connects fyaap, the sap of gods instead of blood of humans, with Skr. lhaē, Hom. fyaapam “years,” Aw. ōzī “Begierde, Gier,” and Aesch. fyaap “vehement desire.”

16 Ke važdíl, jīva važdíl; Bartholomae failed to recognize važdíl by misinterpreting uḥṣyati.

16 In R.2.viii,226, Bartholomae, reading avam ēra, advanced the emendation “amārvā, free of illness,” cf. WA.141, Aw. amayavā and Oi. amrāva “suffering, ailment.” The word begins with a priv. and has four syllables: v and n are interchangeable; mir can be Vmr-, mṛya.
Vir. Nām. x, the souls of the deceased say to Artavirāz as welcome in paradise: "'nvṣ śṛṇṁ, drink immortality, that you may see here rāmīšṇ, peace eternally." vazdahā-avomīrā are nectar and ambrosia, the food at the manzā. χšaθrā, the banquet of the souls in the house of Ahura-Mzdāh. The dvandva is closely related to harvatāt-amrṭatāt.

One may apply to it all the investigations made on Gr. nectar and ambrosia. These, too, are very old words, meaning "not-being-dead" and "not-dying," but, in course of time, interpreted as different foods and drinks. There was certainly a connection between the Greek and the Iranian notion, as old as the motif of the Yama myth, with its taboo on meat.

A peculiar heavenly food appears also in the Mithra Yash. In 10, 135, see under 'Mithra,' the four white horses of the god are called immortal and manyuśhvartha. This is Ar. manju-suartha, and means neither (Darmesteter, Nyberg) "den Luftraum zur Nahrung habend"—that would be "consuming parasangs, Kilometerfresser" or "living on air," nor (Wb.) "Nahrung des Geistes bildend"—that would be the device on the old Berlin Library "nutrimentum spiritus," but "feeding heavenly food," in Y. 56, 2 "being heavenly food." It is the reason why the horses are immortal, anōša. The notion is pre-Iranian, and as early as in the Aryan period manyu, manyava must have been a synonym of dēva, heavenly. From the beginning it implies the opposition of the MP. transcendent mēnōk to the earthly gētik.

In Y. 32, huṣyāti replaces harvatāt in the dvandva. St. 5: "Thereby you have cheated man out of huṣyāti and amrṭat, good-living and immortality." huṣyāti, etym. close to Gr. hygiēía, means, like euβiōrōs, Lat. vīta < *vivēta, life on earth, without the faintest eschatological afterthought (Wb.: "insbesondere im Jenseit"): the beggar wishes it his benefactor. It is opposed to life in the hereafter, amrṭatāt, as OP. šyāta in this world to rāvan. In Vid. 3, 3 it summarizes the preceding words "fat cattle, fat pasture, fat dogs, fat women, fat children, fat (= well-nourished) fires." The strange sequence is first outdoor, then indoor. To be fat is the visible sign of a successful life. There can be nothing more

The Pahl. transl.—useless for the rest—frōt.murt bavēt, had evidently a compound with mēr which it regarded as mēra > mēr. Perhaps an + ā.mēra-?
earthly than huṣyāti. Epicharmos says: ἀνδρὶ δυναίνειν ἄριστον ἐστι, and Simonides: "First good thing for man is health."

In the Yama-myth, Υτ.5,26, the hero surpasses the gods "in riches and prosperity, breeds of cattle and herds, satiation and 'proclamation,'" the two foods never decreasing, cattle and men not-dying, waters and plants never dry. Altogether this is *vispā.huṣyātiś. Vispām.huṣyātim in Υτ.5,130, is a compound, wrongly inflected, one syllable too long, and can be restored from Beh. §35, OP. viṣpauzātīś, El. wi.s.p.o.ča.ti.s, i.e. vispā.huṣyāti, contracted and tetrasyllabic. The place, which I believed (in Amī vii,31) to be Hecatompilos-Dāmghān, is called so because it offers everything for good living; it lay in Parthava towards Vrkāna. The OP. name would give NP. ʰb/gusfōzāḏ, or—as spantādāta > isfan-diyr—"busfōzār. Today, I regard it as Sabzawār. This is not—as Aspa-cora > Asfuzār in Arachosia—an OP. ʰaspačāra, but *vispōzār, with dropping of init. vi- and assimilation to sabzah "vegetables."

The same explanation holds good for the n.pr. Hyspaśines, son of Sagdodonacu, founder of Spasinou Charax, i.e. Muḩammira on the Shatṭ al-'Arab, Pliny N.H.vi,138f., from Juba, who is also the source of Pseudo-Lucian, Macrobius 16: "Hyspāśines, king of Charax and the regions on the Red Sea (=Persian Gulf), died of sickness at the age of 85." A clay tablet from Babylon, Landsberger in Z. Ass. n.f. vii,1933, 298, records a decree of the administrator and the collegium of Esagila, determining salaries for astronomers, dated 24.3.185, reign of Hyspaśines. 185 Sel. is 128/7 B.C. Hence, the king is exactly contemporary with the founder of the Sakā dynasty of Kirkūk, just after 129 B.C. The name of the father sounds Babylonian: H. Winckler saw in it a Babylonian divine name plus -nādin.aḥḫē, and Ḡaḏaḏaḏaḏāxš of Tello-Lagash has been identified with him. In spite of it, Hyspaśines might be a Saka: another Iranian name of this dynasty is Tiraioš, Aram. Tirē, short form of *tigrāhana, Tigranes "archer," to whom the Šahr.Ēr. ascribe the foundation of Nahr Tirak in Khūzistān. An older Hyspaśines, a Bactrian, son of Mithrōaxos < *miθraḥaxš, appears in 180 B.C. in an inscription from Delos.

17 With Parthian (?) metathesis of the palatal: ʰ and ʰ for ʱ and ʰ; a good example for OP. ʰ, n. J. OP. Ḥāṭē, pronunciation Ħāṭē, against Ḥāṭē, pron. Ḥāṭī.
18 There was a coin of Hyspaśines in the Berlin Cabinet with the date HIIp = 125/4 B.C.
19 See Andreas, Nom. 1931, 33,317.
The Palmyrenian inscriptions spell the placename 'spsn'. Andreas (Lommel, in Z.N. 4, 302) explained Hispaosines as 'vispōνčono; Markwart, Südarmenien 408, n. 2 as Aw. uspansnu. It contains vispā, hu, and, instead of žyāta, the part.pres. živan or žiyan, contracted žin, formation like vispā.tarvan, hence: 'vispā.hu.žin, vispaužīn, meaning Παυ-εύβιος or almost Polybios. In Spasinou Charax and 'spsn', the init. vi- is dropped as in Sabzawār.

Among the five cities founded according to the Šahr. Ėr. §§ 19-20 by Xusrau I, there is, beside Andēv.Xusrau, the new town of Ctesiphon, and beside Gēhān.farraxv.kirt.Xusrau (cf. aml. IX, 149) the name VSPŚ́TXVSLVB, visp.šāt.xusrau, not an entirely satisfying reading: it should be, with insignificant change, vispōžāt.xusrau. These names belong to the ostentatious official names, as used by Assyrians, Sasanians and Arabs, in OP. so far only documented by the name of the gate of Persepolis dvartdbīs visa.dahyuš (= through which people of all provinces pass), and of the palace of Artaxerxes II at Susa, j'ivd'iy pr.dydam, formed with MP. pardēd, paradise, and jīva-, to v+jyā in hu/jyātī. Modern names like bāγ i Firdaus, Hašt bihišt, eight paradises, express a similar thought. vispē.ārya.rzurā, “pan-Aryan forest,” name of a race-course, represents this class in the Awesta.

The name of Ctesias' river that carries manna is in the Photius text: IVDISTI ΤσαρΧος, in the new Pselius text Σπάβαρος, in Pliny, NH. 37, 39. Hypobarbus, in Nonnus Hysporus. Ctesias' translation is φέρων πάντα τά âγαθά, i.e. vispā.hū.barā; Ctesias himself wrote ‘Τσπωβάρας. Another gloss of his is oįβαρας-άγαθάγγελος, hence ’vahyabara, stem-word of ’vahyabari > MP. vāvar. The river is called so, because it carries the manna, a tree raisin, σιπτα- or ξηπταχορα, γλυκό, ḫūv, which drops into it as tears, δάκρυα. All the names are correct, only they are not ivdisōti: Ctesias spoke Persian well, but not Indian, and his Indika are Persian tales about India, that means the Indian provinces of the Persian empire.

Dēnk. vii. 466: Zoroaster and Vištāspa meet in ’sp p/N/s/s/1 ē vištāsp. Xusrau I, in his testament, Pahl. Texts 1, 55, orders his exposure at the same place. This is not, as Salemann believed, Isfahān (Mél. As. 1886, rx. 247), but “the city of Kīsrā, in which the īwān is built and where are the tombs of Salmān i Fārsi and of Hudhaifa,” Ya’qūbī,
tanbih 30. Together with Ctesiphon proper it formed the old town of al-Madā'īn. The fact that Yaqūt quotes the authority of a möbad Yezdegird i Māh bundād, and the many varieties of the name, show that it was no longer a living name at the Muhammedan epoch, but taken from Pahl. books, "aspān, horses" does not belong to the elements entering in the formation of such "display-names," and since the Pahl. characters can equally well be read 'sp.hu.vr, it is evidently vispa.hu.bara, the same as Ctesias' Hysopobaras, "bringing all that is good." Again, the init. vi- is dropped and replaced by a prothetic vowel before sp-

Andreas, in Lentz, l.c. 302, speaks about the "gelegentliche Abfall des vi-" but gives only the doubtful examples šigarf < *višgarf and čun < vohuni, to which one can add viš'anaya > afšāndān. But though the fall of vi- cannot be proved as a normal change of sound, it is yet possible in "allegro forms" of long, artificial names of places and persons, which are abbreviations, not changes of sound.

30 al-Khaṭḥ al Baghdādī, Balādhrī and the möbadh Yezdegird (279-89 H) in Yaqūt spell 'sfnbr; Ḥamza 'sfr; Yaqūt, Māri Sulaimān, and 1001 Nights 'sfnyr.
31 Ar. *gahānan and yahun, TFnrs. gökhan.
“Und dein nicht zu achten, wie ich!”
—Prometheus.

Nothing has been a greater obstruction to understanding the Avestan than the wrong, preconceived notion of the word dēva.

From the correspondence of Ved. dēva, Lat. déus etc. and of Ved. dyōh, Aw. dyōš, Gr. Zeus etc., one has long since concluded that the concept of the “heavenly ones” in opposition to the “earthly” homines, and “mortal” mortales is Indo-European in general. Long since, too, the analogies have been pointed out that exist between what Caesar says about the Germanic gods (Bell.Gall.vi.21) sol, vulcanus, luna; Herodotus about the Iranian ovravos, ἤλως, σελήνη, γη, τοῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἄνεμοι; and what more recent authorities say about the Borussian sol, luna, stellae, tonitura and terra. To these must be added, not less old, the dawn, the lightning and others. Those are the “heavenly ones, dēva, diī” grouped around the “father Heaven” and the “mother Earth.”

Herodotus sees with Greek eyes. Where he relates history, he depends more than we knew until recently on older logographs, first and foremost Hecataeus, and he gathered his knowledge of the Iranian religion in border provinces and from hearsay. His remarks about the temples and altars, Zeus in heaven, Uranić-Mylitta, the feminine Mithra—none of it correct—prove that it was beyond his power to distinguish between the Zoroastrianism as revealed in the gathas and the popular religion of his epoch. He wrote about 440 B.C.; about 400 B.C. the period of gathic Zoroastrianism had already passed. The religion was in transformation. So far as such developments are conscious at all, they are not displayed, in most cases what grows is unknown to the contemporaries, and what has become is only perceivable to the later observer.

In Yt.10,145—under ‘Mithra’—a hymn begins with the invocation of mitrā-ahurā, in dvandva form, and of stars, moon and sun; in the Veda, the invocation of mitrā-vārūṇā is frequent; and in the political treaties of the Mitanni Aryans, likewise, the gods of the oaths are invoked in form of two dvandvas, the first being mitrā-varunā. The reason the names appear as dvandva is obviously that they were frequently invoked together, and we may infer that the introductory formula of Yt.10,145 was a fixed type already used at the Aryan period. Herodotus may
have had knowledge of such a formula, and may have derived his enumeration of Iranian gods from it, but hardly without combining therewith the notion of the early Ionic philosophers, as e.g. ὁ μὲν Ἑπί-
χαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει ἀνέμους ὕφερ γῆν ἥλιον πύρ ἀστέρας.
One must not call this "primitive worship of the elements"; in the middle of the fifth century B.C. nothing can any longer be "primitive" in Iran; that is a function of the state of civilization, and only "deca-
dence" is possible. One sees merely that the worship of the primeval dēva went on.

Bartholomae, Wb.667: "dēva, im Gath. Bezeichnung der vor Zarathustra in Iran geltenden Religion," entirely right, and implying that, before accepting the doctrine of Zoroaster, the Iranians were dēva-
yasna exactly as the Indo-Aryans. Wrong is: "Im Gath. gehört der Begriff dēva in die gleiche Gruppe wie usig, kavi, karpan." To usig and karpan he remarks, Wb.406 and 454, with identical words: "Be-
zeichnung gewisser, der zarathustrischen Religion feindlicher Lehrer
und Priester." They were not called so because they were hostile, but had these names long before Zoroaster came. Wb.813 he describes tkaeṣa and usig as "zu den Schlag- und Kampfwortern der zarathus-
trischen Zeit gehörig." There he goes definitely astray, and to go farther on this way, and to translate, in the gatha, dēva by "demon, idol = Götze, devil = Teufel" is utterly absurd, cf. Hertel's justified remarks in the introduction to his translation of Y.32 in Beitr.251. It was equally absurd, even when still believing in the post-Zoroastrian date of the yashts, the so-called "Younger Awesta," to give the word the exclusive signification "götze, idol"; for the possibility always existed that the yashts contained old pieces in which dēva can only mean "god." The deteriorated, untranslatable signification which one can only render by MP. dēv, is limited to the cases collected in Wb. (669, under 11b) as "namentlich bezeichnet." With exception of the equally late passages in Yz.8 and 18, they all come from the Vidēvdād, a product of the Arsacid period, and even there the dēva Indra, Nāhaṭya and Sarva of Vid.19.43 (the last two also in 10.9) are to be excluded. Dēva signifies nothing but "heavenly ones, gods." The passages where this sense is really lost are worthless and could be entirely deleted.

3 Used in its vulgar sense, "primitive" in comparison with our own time, would be irrelevant and misleading.
The oldest Aryan gods attested by documents are the gods of the oaths of the Mitanni people, the two dvandva Mitrā-Varunā and Indrā-Nāsatya, well known from the Indian pantheon, while the Iranians have lost the second pair—see under 'Mithra.' In the "list of gods," in Raufl. 69, k.4343 n.5, furthermore *Assara *Mazaš appears, i.e. Ar. *asura mađdhas,* the same list contains also Mi.ita-ra. The Assyrian scholars of the Assurbanipal library do not quote their sources, but the pre-Iranian form proves that similar invocations of gods in Mitanni treaties were the source. The worshippers of the god with the pre-Median name cannot have been Medes or magi, as Nyberg assumes: already in 1913, H. Winckler wrote in MVAG 18,4, 76: "Die Gottheiten der Meder konnten nicht in einer solchen Liste Aufnahme gefunden haben."

Nyberg, 339: "Das Vidēvdād hat die dēva Indra und Nāhaštya, mitanni Indra Nāsatyas"; the magi had "ursprünglich dasselbe altarische Pantheon wie die Arier von Mitanni," and 364: "die Religion der Meder war mit der der Mitanni wesentlich identisch." Identity does not suffer restrictions, and the Vidēvdād does not "have" the dēva, it mentions them only. The context is in 10,9: "Recite three times Y. 27,14, 33,11, 35,5, 53,9 and thereto I assault the dēva Indra . . . the Sarva . . . , the (sg.) Nāhaštya!" §10,10 adds Tauri and Zarik (unknown). Then, "recite four times Y.27,13, 34,15, 54,1 and thereto I assault ēšma . . . , akataš . . . , the Varunian dēvā, and vātiya!" This stuff merely shows that its authors had not the faintest idea of what the gatha 53,9 and other passages say.

Vid.19,43: "Ahriman does not know which way to talk, not know which way to think: Zoroaster is born, what can one do about it?", words said in an assembly of the dēvs on the "wooded peak, arzurahya pati kamrōam."* Are present: Indra, Sarva, the (sg.) Nāhaštya, Tarvi, Zarik, Ėšma, Akataš, the Winter, Māršavan, Būti, Driwi, Kasviš, Patiša. Māršavan is the winter month Aram. markheshwan and Aw. mahrkuaš of frgm.Westrg. 8 (see under 'Vidēvdād'). The last names are diseases known from Yt.5,92 and Vid.2. The assembly resolves to

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1 Errors in opinions about the rendering of this Aryan name in Assyrian were advanced by Hertel, nov.vi, and similar ones in 1932 by Olmstead in Orient.Stud.Parry, AhuruMazdāh in Assyria.

2 kamrōam is exactly Germ. "Koppe," as the summit of the "Riesengebirge" is called.
meet again and meanwhile has a recess in hell. They do not even dance, like the witches on the Hexentanzplatz in the Harz. One can learn nothing about Iranian religion from this witches' sabbath.

Sarva and Nāhaḍya appear—as do the names hinduś and harahvatiś—under Iranian not Indian form. But in the Veda, nāsatya and dasrā, "undeceivable" and "miracle-working," is a dual epithet of the two Aśvin, sons of Vivasvānt (= Ir. Yama), and the nāsatya of the Mitanni Aryans are of course a pair; as names of each one of the twins the words are used only considerably later. The form of the Vidēvdād, on the contrary, is no dual, hence cannot come down from high antiquity, and only from India, not from Mitanni. The acquaintance with the Indian dēva can at the most go back to the Achaemenian period, when three Indian satrapies belonged to the empire. Soldiers' songs, like that of the dēva-worshiping Vyamburadiva people—see under 'Krśvar'—may have been the intermediary. The Mitanni episode came to an end three hundred years before the first Mede appeared on Median soil. What there was of somatic descendants of those Aryan "marianni" had long since disappeared in the polyphyletic mass of the Mesopotamian population. They were lost as their language, and their religion—the Aryan religion of the 15th-14th centuries—could not be resurgent in Media.

The foundation of the religion of all Aryan tribes, at the time of their immigration in Iran, is one and the same, and developments lasting 500 years separated it from the point at which the Indo-Aryans and the Mitanni-people had branched off. That is the situation as to descent.

It is a normal historical process for one or another god of a polytheistic pantheon to obtain greater importance in certain regions. During migrations, foreign gods, too, may be admitted. But Herodotus' description fits entirely the Median religion which is not at all unknown.

The different songs to Mithra—see under 'Mithra'—collected in the Mihr Yasht, belong to the Median epoch, have the Median empire as their horizon, and show Mithra as one of the great Median gods. The bagastāna mountain, with the monument of Darius, was a Median sanctuary of the baga Mithra, a mithraeum. There, holy white horses from the near Nisaya stood saddled for the god to ride. In this case
we can trace the sanctuary back to older periods. Ctesias attributes the monument to Semiramis. The first Muslims called the mountain "Tooth of Sumaira," after a lady in Muhammad's surroundings with a prominent tooth. The joke was suggested by the original name of the rock and its shape. Both are described in Sargon's "eighth campaign": "Simirria, ubān šadē, a 'finger-tip mountain,' sojourn of bēlit ilē, the Lady of the Gods, the top of which supports the heaven, the root of which reaches the center of the netherworld." The goddess is the Cossacan "bēlit šadē ellūti, ašibat rēšēti, lady of the snowy mountains, dwelling on the summits," Šumalia or Šimalia.

The worship of AhuraMazdāh, in itself a matter of course, is proved by the pre-Zoroastrian Median dvandva miθrā-ahurā and by names like Mašdaka of Andirpatianu = mod. Darwaṣ, of Aradpati, of Awakki = mod. Āwah, all true Medes, mentioned in Sargon's list of Median chiefs in prism A and the account of the eighth campaign. Mašdaka is the short form of a compound name with Mazdāh, like Mazdayasna, name of the father of a man in the memorial document of Yt.13. There was, before Zoroaster, in Iran, as these Median names prove, in Media as well as in Pārsa (see below), a cult of Varuna, in which—a frequent phenomenon in religion and legend—the appellative designation AhuraMazdāh, "the omniscient judge," had replaced the proper name Varuna-Uranos. The Ass. transcript ʾAssara ʾMazaš shows that the appellative itself goes farther back to the Aryan epoch.

The Avesta can scarcely have preserved much of the cult of this pre-Zoroastrian AhuraMazdāh, but some fragments exist. Yt.13:

viṣāraya-
2: avam asmānam yo uṣca
rōṣxnam fradrshro imām
zām
aĉa pariĉa baĉava
mānayan ahē yatha viš
yo hiṣtati manyustāto
handraχto dūrē.karano
ayaho krpa hvēnahya
rōĉahino avi ϑrišva

[the fravarti support]
the heaven there which on high, radiant, visible far away,
covers the earth here on all sides,
as if it were a palace
which rises built-into-the-air,
solid, with far-away-confines,
looking like hvēno brass,
shining forth over the thirds?
3: yim mazdā vastē van-
hānam
star.pēšaham manyutās-
tam
yahmai noit čahmai nē-
mānām
karanā pari.vēnoiθē

which Mazdāh put on as his rai-
ment,
adorned with stars, timbered in
heaven,
of the halves of which beginning
and end are never seen!

"Wearing the heaven as raiment" means being the heaven; Mazdāh is
Varuna, a notion which Zoroaster sanctioned in saying, Y.30,5: "the
most-holy manyu (mazdāh) who is clothed in the most-solid heavens"
(see under 'Yamā'). Another trace of Varuna-Mazdāh is the description
of Ātarā, the Fire, as "puθra ahurahya mazdā, son of A.M." in the
myth of his fight for the hvarnah in the ocean, Yt.19, and similarly in
Y.59 and 62, see under 'ApāmNapāt'.

An equally old song is preserved in Y.Haft.38, the original metric
form of which still shines through at various places:

St.1: "imām āt zām ganābīš haθrā yanāmde yā nā barati yāsča
toi ganā ahura mazdā rtāt hača, [we bring offerings to] this
earth here together with the women [that] bears us [and who
are] Thy Wives, AhuraMazdāh [as Rtam]!"

"yā nā barati" means the IE. earth as barθri, mother and support. The
"as Rtam" added to AhuraMazdāh is meaningless, the usual Zoroas-
trian adaptation of the older prayer.

St.3: "apō ... yanāmde mēkantiśca hambavantiśca fravazāho
ahurānīš ahurahya huvapāho huprθwāśca hvāyāžθāśca hūs-
nāθrāśca ubōbyo ahūbya čagmā, the waters ... the mingling,
uniting, forth-flowing ones, the ahura-wives of the ahura, the
fair-faced ones, good for fording, good for swimming, good
for bathing, a gift for both worlds!"

St.5: "apāsča vā azīšča vā mātrāśča vā agriyā drigu.dāyaho
vispā.pitiś āvōčama!, the waters as the pregnant, the mother
cows, the not-to-be-killed ones, the providers-of-the-poor, they
who water all (creatures), we invoke!"

It is no mere chance that the style of these verses is that of the Veda.
The notion of earth and waters as the wives of heaven, and fire as their
son, is infinitely more archaic than Zoroaster's Ahura Mazda, who, as a manyu, has neither wives nor sons: lam yadal wa-lam yulid! The Y.Haft has preserved, in these verses, a prayer to the pre-Zoroastrian Ahura-Varuna.

The two great Median fires, at Cēṣist in Ādārbāījān and at Agbatana, belonged to Vrthragna. They are the origin of the later concept and name of the royal vahram-fires, see under 'Chronology.' The fire of Shez was called ādar gušnasp, "of the stallion," that of Agbatana ādar kavātakān, "of the colt," stallion and colt being—like the nar rēvant, man of 30, and the youth of 15 years—incarnations of Vrthragna, known from his yasht. He is the third of the great Median gods.

Berossus (in Agathias) calls him the Iranian Heracles, and his special worship in Media and Armenia—countries united at an early epoch—as Vahagn višapaqaq, Hēraklēs drakontopnktēs, of Agathan-gelos, may have a peculiar reason: the same dragon killer is represented in western Asia Minor by Ἡρακλῆς, in Etruria by Fercle, Osk. and Lat. Heracle (voc. of Ἡρακλος). As Ahura Mazda replaces the n.pr. Varuna, so the epithet vrthragna replaces the n.pr. Indra. No satisfying etymology has been advanced for either the Greek name or the Aryan epithet—to which also the adj. vāraynahya (gen. of vāragan) belongs—and both may reflect, assimilated to Greek and to Aryan, the same name of an Anatolic god.

An inscription, discovered in 1822 by R. Ker Porter and better copied by H. Rawlinson (jros x,100), in the caves of Karafito in the Zagros, finally surveyed by Sir Aurel Stein in Old Routes of Western Asia, 1940, figs. 98-99, p.337f., says, according to M. N. Todd's interpretation:

"Ἡρακλῆς εἰσέλθη κατοική μηθέν εἰσέλθοι κακῶν.

"Heracles abides here, nothing evil may enter!"

The editors put the inscription, for its paleography, "about 300 B.C.," perhaps slightly too old in comparison with the Greek dedicatory inscriptions from Persepolis. These, too, display already the syncretistic

* Since they correspond in the first two syllables, I feel that Ἡρακλος, Ἡρακλεῖς and vāra-gna must belong together; vrthra-gna would be a secondary synonym of the supposed meaning of vāra-gna-. Cf. Ol. gandarvā and Gr. kēntaurus, not descending from an IE. prototype but both reflecting the same non-IE. name, see under 'Sculpture.'

* This formula was first recognized in Rawlinson's copy by A. Wilhelm; in Archl. Religioswiss. xvii,8 O. Weinreich discussed the religious-historical meaning.
designation of the Iranian gods by Greek names: Zeus Mégistos for Ahura Mazdāh, Apollon and Helios for Mithra, Artemis and Queen Athena for Anāhitā “bānōk nām, whose name is lady.” On Iranian soil, the Heracles inscription of Karafī purports a hellenized sanctuary of Vṛtrāgna.

One attribute of Mithra, and yet more of Vṛtrāgna, is hvarnah, Tyche. It is an error to say that it “appears im ganzen westlichen Iran in der besonderen Form farnah” (Nyberg, 342). Word and notion “hvarnah” belong equally to all Iranian dialects, and farnah is not the peculiar western form, see under ‘Hvarnah.’ In the worship of Vṛtrāagna and his attribute the Medes differ no more from other Iranians than in any other cultic things.

Herodotus reports that no sacrifice or prayer could take place without the presence of magi. If the magi—as Nyberg says—had had a religion differing from that of the Medes, they would have celebrated, every day, a cult that was not their own. “Der Zurvanismus war die Religion der Magier vor Ankunft des Zoroastrismus,” which “ohne Schatten eines Beweises” he fancies to have happened “spätestens in Zusammenhang mit der Reichsgründung der Achaemeniden.” While the Median religion through all this time was “wesentlich mitannisch” (396), “ist von da an die Religion der Magier wesentlich zoroastrisch, Die Magier waren in tieferem Sinne keine Zoroastrier.” Then, not their depth, but their surface would be their “essence.” Whatever the spiritual movements were that passed behind the form of religion approved by the state, and whatever the theories were that the magi projected into it in the course of centuries—the class in whose hands always lay the administration of the empire must have professed under Median rule the Median, under Achaemenian rule the Achaemenian religion, and so on.

Old Iranian, perhaps pre-Iranian and certainly pre-Zoroastrian, notions can be discerned in some of the mythic fragments dispersed through various yashts. In Yt.5.26 (in first pers.) and 19.32 (second pers.)—text under ‘Yama ḫšēta’—Yama prays “that I may surpass the gods in riches and welfare!” Another meaning but “gods” is impossible in this old myth. Equally in the next case.
In the complex formula of the Höšyanha myth, as we have it, "māzanian dēva and varunian drugvant," dēva gets a pejorative connotation by being coupled with the Zoroastrian term drugvant; it did not have it before. By adding drugvant, the original formula was adapted to Maz- daism, only after Zoroaster's time when Höšyanha was put at the head of the Iranian epopee. Yt.5,22 is the original, all other occurrences are quotations of it, see under 'Vidēvdād: Varuna.'

Alone, not as pair, varunya dēva and māzanya dēva appear only at very inferior places, and merely the words "Grant me that I may slay two thirds of the māzanian and varunian gods . . ." can be considered as genuine. One can ponder much about this formula, for the Höšyanha myth is unknown, perhaps a hyperbolic expression for "two thirds of the Māzaniants and Varunians (who worship foreign) gods," or a promethean motif of hybris, or, better: in this non-Iranian myth, which originally belonged to Sakā or Scolotian Scyths, a god fought hostile gods. In later allusions to the legend, the varunya dēva are described as giants, see under 'Vidēvdād.' And Hellanicus says, in a scholion to Hesiod's Theogonia, v.139: "there are three kinds of cyclopes, first the builders of the walls of Mycenae, second the Homeric savages, and third the gods themselves, αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί." In Theog. 502 the cyclopes are called οὐρανίδαι. From the same source the words of Aristeides Rhetor seem to come: Three kinds of Cyclopes: (1) those in the Odyssey, (2) the χειρογαύτορες = wall-builders; (3) τοὺς καλουμένους οὐρανίους. The varunya dēva imagined as giants and the θεοὶ οὐράνιοι or οὐρανίδαι as cyclopes are the same notion: not more than a vague reminiscence of them remained in Greece and in Iran. Somehow they were connected in pre-Aryan antiquity.

In Yt.19, the prayer—the shape in which all epic fragments appear in the Yasht—has the formula

yat χśayata pati būmīṁ haftaḥīyāṁ dēvānāṁ marṭiyānāṁča

applied in st.26 to the paraśāto Höšyanho, in 28 to taḥmo Rupiś, in 31, to Yamo χśeto, hence to the three first men and kings, who originally belonged to separate cycles, but are at that place already brought into the system which the Shāhnāmah still retains. The prayer is: "that I

A Aristides, ed. Dindorf iii,408.
may rule on this (septempartite) earth, over heavenly ones and mortals, 
\( \theta\hat{e}w\ \tau\epsilon\ \beta\rho\sigma\tau\nu\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ or\ \\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\hat{e}w\ \tau\epsilon.\)"

In Yt.5 the form is

upamam χραθραμ vispānām | the sovereign rule over all

   dahyūnām | provinces, over heavenly

dēvānām martiyānāmča | ones, and mortals.

applied in 21 to Höšyanha, in 25 to Yama, and moreover to the younger
figures kavi Usan and kavi Husravah, hence to two representatives of
the Median kavi dynasty, which is joined in that system, conform to
history, by the cycle of Vištāspa, protector of Zoroaster.

Yt.5 mentions several figures of this cycle. The prayer of Vištāspa,
the nōtarya himself, has become: “victory over the dēvayasna, dēva-wor-
shipping Prtana and Arjataspa”; that of the very hero of this cycle, his
brother Zarivariaš-Zarēr is: “victory over the dēva-worshippers Huma-
yaka and Arjataspa”; and the man, client, of the nōtarya, Visataruš, a
Persian, prays for “victory over the dēvayasna” in general. Of these fig-
ures, Zarivariš and Visataruš, who appear in the memorial document,
are historical, the others mythical.

It does not matter, for our conclusions, whether the variants of the
formula are due to retouching done in Median or in Achaemenian times.
haftaθya implies the notion of the seven krśvar, with Iran as center,
which is attested in the gathas, in still older parts of Yt.10, hence in the
sixth century B.C. and may be still older. upamam χραθραμ vispānām
dahyūnām—see under ‘Mithra’ and ‘Social Structure’—is a term im-
possible before the Median period: it has been transferred from the
kavi who bore this title to the kings of the older phase of the epics.
But dēvānām martiyānāmča is a pre-Iranian, and beyond it, a pre-
Aryan formula.

The appearance of Zoroaster was epoch-making also for the epic:
before him, the great Iranian heroes pray for ruling over dēva and mor-
tals, and the word dēva has not the slightest bad taste or odor. They
do not want to catch Divs in bottles, like the fisherman in 1001 Nights,
but the gods shall serve them. The idea is old-mythical, pre-Zoroastrian.
But after Zoroaster, the adversaries of the heroes are “dēva-worshippers,”
what the heroes themselves are no longer, and that is something odious
and to be wiped out. The picture has completely changed.
The epics reflect lucidly that it was Zoroaster who gave to the word dēva a changed moral value: what had been good is henceforth bad. Therewith the descent of the word dēva begins in Iranian. A similar transvaluation came to pass in Greece at the same time, Xenophanes:

πάντα θεοίς ἀνέβηκαν ὁμήρος ὦ Ἡσίοδος τε διαθεμένοις ἄνθρωποις ὀνείδεα καὶ φόγος ἐστίν.

or:

ὅς πλεῖστος ἐθέλεται θεῶν ἀθεμόστια ἔργα.

Nyberg, 193: “In dem Augenblick, da die [pre-Zoroastrian] Ahura-Religion bei den Iranern die herrschende wurde, war der Übergang der daēva-Gottheiten zu daemonischen Wesen gegeben,” but on p.374: “verschwinden die daēva-Götter des altmedischen Pantheon ... in der grossen Zahl der Daemonen” as a consequence of the infiltration of post-Zoroastrian Zoroastrism from Ragā into Media, which took place about the time of the foundation of the Achaemenid empire. The same event happened at two different times.

Zoroaster did not “invent” AhuraMazdāh, the god existed, but a special “Ahura-Religion” is disproved by the sole dvandva miθrā-ahurā. The “transition” was not impersonally “given,” but Zoroaster gave the impulse which led to the complete degeneration of the word dēva in Iranian. This is an inner-Iranian development, neither connected with the pre-Iranian distinction between dēva and ahura, heavenly ones and lords, nor with the developments in India, where the deva remained and the pre-Indian asura came into disrepute. Indra, Varuṇa and the Āditya are asura in India, and their decline begins with the time of the tenth book of the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda, and ends in making them enemies of the deva. It was an error, emanating from Martin Haug and almost generally accepted, to consider this coincidental and not simultaneous contrariness of movements as something causally connected, and as an “Indo-Iranian schism.”

Zoroaster offers to the whole world including the gods—not the devils—the “choice” of accepting his monotheism. It is he himself who decides which dēva choose right, by admitting some of them into the many-sided figure of his AhuraMazdāh. This only god is a multiplicity, a precursor of the Christian Trinity. From the time of the Yasnà Haftahātī onwards, these partial figures are called “amrta spanta,
immortal-holy ones,” and since spanta, to √su-, is a power producing welfare, probably in the sense of powers, δυνάμεις. They are often mentioned beside AhuraMazdāh, where human qualities are attributed to him: he hears, talks, acts through them. They are also meant by the plural Mazdā ahūrāho in Y.31,4 and 30,9.

To put an abstract conception between god and men is something resembling—probably caused by similar reflections—the mēmrā-λόγος-sermo and rūh-spiritus in the OT. Apart from the case where they are directly invoked, the names of the partial figures or aspects appear in the instrumental, which is usually interpreted as comitative, even as substitute for the nominative. This interpretation not only encumbers the translations of the Gothic verses to a degree that to understand them one must skip the “comitatives,” but it makes nowhere real sense and makes many verses incomprehensible. The god sees, hears and acts “through,” not “with” these figures, the case is always just as instrumental, as e.g. in Y.32,2 where he speaks “χαθράτ hača, by (the mouth of) χαθραμ,” cf. rtāt hača in the Ahunavarya. The only right translation is “in the quality of, as.” Markwart, Gāth.uīt., used this in the passage “als er (the spanta) mich umschritt mit (oder ‘als’) Gute-Gesinnung”; on p.66 he called the case “Instrumental der Eigenschaft,” evidently so in the Ahunavarya. In Y.43,6 any other translation is impossible, the comitative “with” results in a complete misunderstanding: “at which turn, rvēsa, [the last one, of the judgment] Thou wilt come as spantā manyū, vahū manahā (ārmatiš, χρατυš),” i.e. in all your aspects simultaneously and moreover as—not with—you yourself as spantā manyū. In Y.47,6, too—see under ‘Last Judgment’—AhuraMazdāh appears “as Spantamanyuś.”

The idea is Zoroaster’s and continues in Christianity. Dante, Inf. m.4ff.:

Giustizia mosse il mio alto fattore,
fecemi la divina Potestate,
la somma Sapienza e il primo Amore.

One easily recognizes Mazdāh’s χρατυš, spanto manyuś and vahumano.

Which partial figures are named at the different places in this “instrumental of quality” depends on the context: rta for things judicial, ārmati for social, agricultural, χαθтра for political, vahumanah for moral subjects. Invocation of more than one means emphasis, thus in Y.49,7,
when talking of the decision of the court of appeal, most momentous for Zoroaster’s life: “AhuraMazda shall hear as Vahumano, shall hear as Rtam, hear it yourself, AhuraMazda!” Whether the partial figures are invoked alone or together with the god, whether they act alone or with him—also where he himself is not called, in all cases the *monotheos* is meant in his aspects.

These aspects result from the transformation of a polytheistic pantheon into a monotheistic conception, and are Zoroaster’s most original and most personal thought. To call them “Götter und Götterreihen” is the way Muhammad thought of the Christian Trinity and the mushtarikin. In doing so one cuts off the thread leading from this multiplicity to the Trinity, and therewith the possibility of comprehending, historically, the idea of the Spiritus Sanctus.

The great gods of the polytheistic pantheon that Zoroaster excludes by “choosing the evil,” became “evil gods.”

Y.30.5: “those who by conduct as it should be are voluntarily obedient to AhuraMazda, have chosen, varta, to work the Rtam, rtem vrzya like the most-holy spirit.” And Y.30.3: “the hudāho noit duzdaho chose right rś viṣyāta between the two (good and evil),” see under ‘Yamā.’

Y.30.6:

ayā noit rś viṣyāta
dēvācana yat is adbōma
prsmnān upājasat
yāt vrnta aciṣtam mano
āt ēśmam handvaranta
yā bānayan ahum mṛtāno

“Between these two (good and evil) the gods, too, did not choose right, since the deceiver came upon them when interrogated, so that they chose for themselves the wholly evil spirit; then they all ran to ēśmo, through which they corrupt the life for men!”

The “evil gods” stand outside of Zoroaster’s dualism of good and evil; they do not belong to his system and exist only because they existed before. It is significant for the period that Zoroaster condemns them, but does not deny their existence. The Akk. version of *Xerx. Pers. daiv.* correctly renders the peculiar notion by “limnū”, the evil ones (gods),” a translation very Babylonian in omitting ilāni, because “evil” is no attribute applicable to a Babylonian god; they distinguish between good and bad demons, and their ilu limnū, Sum. dingir.ḥul is a demon of the dead from the netherworld. Hesychios has preserved the gloss:
Δένας, τοὺς κακοὺς θεούς, μάγου, cf. Lagarde, Abhdlg. 148, entirely apart from the δαιμόνες Ναμανός—Vahumano and Αρεμάνως.

εσμα, Gr. οίμα, Lat. īra, is, in Zoroaster's phraseology not "der Name eines dēva" (Wb.) but a moral idea, like good and evil. drugvadbiś ēsmam in Y.29.2 is not "ēsmas together with the drugvant," but—instr. of quality—"ēsmas as (collective of) the drugvant," and is the same as aka manyuś and the druχś. In as late a book as the Vidēvadād, where Ahriman has become the dēvan dēv, ēsmas is personified as hēsm dēv, the Asmodæus of the book of Tobit.

In the late passages where "the dēvā" appear in plural, the notion is undefined; where they are "called by name," they are bad passions, sicknesses, great cold, and occasionally the above-mentioned Indian gods are added to them. But nowhere does the name of one of the ancient gods appear among them. That cannot be, because the old dēvā did not "disappear in the great number of demons," but had again become the "great gods." Those which Zoroaster made to choose evil, eedea their title to the later dēvs. The place of the dēvs is hell; that dēva meant "heavenly" was no longer understood. In Zoroaster's doctrine the "evil gods" do not act at all as aspects of the Evil Spirit. They are a dynasty dethroned, but soon restored. Only after their restoration, after the word dēva had been separated from its old bearers, and after these gods had come back under another generic name, the further degeneration of the word to "demon, devil" could set in.

Who worships Mazdāh—as Darius and Xerxes say of themselves, mazdām yazatē—is an adherent of Zoroaster; who worships the dēva, dēvān yazatē—the divine enemies of his god—is his enemy. That is the origin of the later terms mazdayasna and dēvayasna both of which imply, as mutual negation, their antonym ex definitione, and which, like rtāvan and drugvant, are meaningless without the Zoroastrian dualism of Good and Evil. Vid.18 forms even the negation a.dēvayasna, meaning mazdayasna.

That gods were worshipped before Zoroaster is a matter of course, and "worshipper of gods" cannot have furnished the name for the

*In the late tale of Zoroaster's temptation Ahriman says: "Zoroaster, you are Purushaspa's son, from (your) birth zāvīša," whatever the corrupt zāvīš means, but if Ahriman prefers with these words a claim to worship, he seems to identify himself collectively with the dēvā worshipped by Zoroaster's ancestors.
adherents of the pre-Zoroastrian religion. The adherence of a peculiar group to the pre-Zoroastrian Ahuramazdāh would hardly have been expressed by mazdayasna, rather by mazdaka. Mašdaku appears several times in the Assyrian annals as n.pr. of Medes, and Mazdayasna in the memorial document of Yt.13, likewise as a proper name. If in that list an adult with patronym is enumerated, but not his father, the father belongs of necessity to the generation that preceded the "coming of the religion," and this Mazdayasna was no Zoroastrian. But as designation of religious groups of adherents and adversaries of his religion both words can have been used only after Zoroaster. As an appellative, mazdayasna is not attested earlier than dēvayasna; both appear just before the syncretistic redaction of the Avesta under Artaxerxes II, see under 'Fravārāni.' Therefore, the terms imply a date: where they are not used, one is close to Zoroaster's own time.

It cannot be otherwise, Zoroaster must talk in terms of generally accepted meaning when speaking to people whom he wants to convince. He does so, e.g. in Y.46,5 using the antique moral notions rāzān, rvati and miθrā, see under 'Mithra.' The term dēva, too, can have in the gathas no other meaning than in the old epic passages in the yashts: heavenly ones, gods. Zoroaster is still declaiming against them. "devil" or "Götze" (Andreas-Lommel) is just as impossible as "daemoniche Wesen" (Nyberg). The example of Y.32,4—text under 'Yama χρήτα'—makes that very clear: "For you tell fables of wholly evil deeds for which men doing them are called dēva.zuštā..., while they sin against Ahuramazdāh's will...." 

Although their acts are sins against Rtam, the heroes of the epics are glorified—of course not as "minions of the devil"—but as dēva.zuštā, Ol. deva.justa, ὑπὲρ καὶ φιλοθεός, "beloved by the gods." The word has not the slightest tinge of depreciation.

Likewise, in the myth of Yama—see under 'Yama χρήτα'—the hero does not want to surpass the devils, but the gods. Nyberg writes: "Die daēva-Götter, in der Regel lauten heroische Götter, waren in diesem Kreise von unkriegerischen Hirten [at another place: gewaltige Krieger] abgestossen worden oder hatten jedenfalls allen Boden unter den Füssen verloren." So the gods float in air, as do the following contradictory definitions: 193: "Man braucht nicht über die iranische Welt hinauszugehen, um die daēva zu identifizieren," and 365: "Gilt es den
Ursprung des Ausdrucks zu bestimmen, so muss man zunächst bedenken, dass hier nichtiranische Götter gemeint sind.” No wonder that he never calls their names.

Dēva are all those whose names Zoroaster strictly avoids calling by name—as strictly as do the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes—namely Mithra, Vṛthragna, Anāhitā and all great rivals of his one Ahura-Mazdāh. Nyberg regards them as members of the pantheon of the “Zoroastrian Urgemeinde,” probably “admitted by Zoroaster himself,” but another reason than the prophets’ absolute silence cannot be adduced.

An Arab hadith tells:8 “Two men asked ‘Ā‘iša, the Mother of the Faithful, who it was that had been with Muhammad at a certain occasion and she replied: Two, the other was ʾnn! Afterwards, one of the interviewers said to the other: How strange, who, then, was the other one? and got the answer: Don’t you know, Ali of course; if she speaks of somebody without a name, it is always Ali.” Such silence is hatred and contempt. J. Lévy says in his article on the Xerxes inscription, Rev. Hist. 85, 1939: “Taire le nom d’un ennemi mépris est un fait bien connu dans l’antiquité sémitique,” quoting Isa. vii.5 and 9, on Pekah of Israel and Nebukadnezar on Nekao, the “rebel satrap.” In a book of modern explorations in Armenia, one of the partners describes the other as “whose near-sighted eyes had the effect of a magnifying lens at short distance,” but does not reveal his well-known name. That is the curse of the effaced memory: Heine’s “Nicht gedacht soll seiner werden!” So hates Zoroaster.

Y.32 is his promethean “song against the Dēva.” It begins: “If gods and men would place themselves at AhuraMazdāh’s command!” They do not; so he goes on, st.3: “You déva all and who worship you, are the brood of akam mano, of the druṣš and of parimatiš!” Yet severer he says in Y.34.5: “parā . . . vispāiš vavaxmā dēvāiśča harfstraiš marti-vaiśčā, we have severed ourselves from [=abjure] all vipers whether gods or men!” That is Zoroaster’s “nāismi dēvo, I challenge the gods!” and is the origin of the condemnation of the gods in the younger fra-varāṇi: “just as Zoroaster severed himself from the gods!”

dēva appears at many places, and nowhere is the signification otherwise. One place is difficult, Y.49, which begins with the stanzas on bandva and his tkēśa; st.4: "Who by bad-will increase āśma and rāma with their tongues, as false shepherds among shepherds, whose good deeds do not annul the bad deeds,

toi dēvān dān yā drugvato dēnā!

Andreas-Lommel: "die schaffen (erzeugen) Teufel durch die Lehre (entsprechend dem Gesetz) des Lügners," which would make come true Luther’s "und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär!"
—Bartholomae: "in der daēva Haus mit ihnen! (ins Haus) für die daēnā der drugvant!"

Bartholomae’s interpretation of the elliptical construction is supported by the analogous end of the following stanza: "mit denen—in Dein Reich!" But the case of dān, loc.sg. of dam according to Wb. and Grdr. §§303, 403, is undefinable; dēvān cannot enter for the gen.pl., and yā drugvato dēnā is doubtful as to its construction. Both translations are unsatisfactory. The purport must be: "To hell with them!"

One point seems to be sure, this gatha verse is the origin of Xerxes’ dēvadānam in Pers. dair.37. My attempt in Altp.Inschr.131 to explain it as a contemptuous expression alluding to "house of gods," something like "den of the dēvs"—MP. says "nišem ē uzdēšārih, nest of idol-worship"—has found unexpected approval. The transmission of the text of 49.4 is hardly accurate; one solution would be to restore a compound of dēvān + dān, perhaps with a verse of 5 + 6 instead of 4 + 7 syllables. The last words are probably a vocative: "you soul of a sinner!"

The first change in the Zoroastrian terms can be noticed in the Yasna haftahāti, which, though written in the dialect of the gathas, is post-Zoroastrian, and remarkably poor of contents. There, for the first time, a "community" appears with priests called āhravan, and the beginning of a theology that makes a system of the aspects of Ahura-Mazdāh as Amra Spanta; Zoroaster himself is invoked. According to Nyberg, for the first time in the history of Zoroastrism, a word cor-

* dānā, second element of compounds, IE. *dhāna, Gr. thēke; cf. Aw. uz.dāna, MP. astodān, "container," in Arab. bāt, house, corresponds.
responding to our god, entirely absent from the gathas, would appear there, namely "yazata, anbetungswert, to be worshipped, adorable."

In Mithra's Questions, Yt.10,108, we read

ko huyašti ko dužyašti who believes me to be one to be worshipped
mām zi manyatē yazatam with bad, who with good offerings?

and in the ApāmNapāt hymn, Yt.19,52:

yo upa.āpo yazato the yazata dwelling in the water,
srut.gošatamo yazamno the best-hearing when offerings are made to him!

Both passages—see under 'Mithra' and 'ApāmNapāt'—are pre-Zoroastrian. The Yasna haftahāti is post-Zoroastrian. The assertion falls with the wrong assumption that the Y.haft., composed in Gathic, ought therefore to be older than the yashts, composed in Avestic. The word yazata, a regular verbal adj. of V/yaz-, of course, existed in the old language.

Zoroaster had three words at his disposal, all exactly corresponding to our god: "ahura, lord, dēva, heavenly, and baga, he who allots fate." The last one, baga is, in Iran and India, the epithet of Mithra and of Māh (Yt.7,5). Mithra's great festival was the bāgayādiš in his month mīrakāna, a place of his was Bagastāna, in Yt.10,141 he is called "bagānām aš,xraθwastamo"; in the "Questions" he asks "kahmāi ... azam bāχšāni χšayamno?" Baga is O.Sl. bog, hence a pre-Aryan word, and cannot have remained unknown to Zoroaster, but its connection with Mithra may have caused his dislike. He uses ahura for his god, when speaking of his aspects also in the plural; dēva for the old gods of polytheism which he condemns. There is no occasion for a third word, for he never speaks of other gods or groups of gods.

Since he fights the dēva and their worshippers, the official recogni-

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10 Henning, Jhds. 1944, 134f.: "The assumption that baga had the value of another name for Mithra is unsupported by any evidence as far as western Iran is concerned; in a limited sense it can be admitted only for Sogdiana and Khwarezm in late Achaemenian times." Note: "At the time of the introduction of the 'Young Avestan' calendar in those provinces. There is no distinction between an eastern and a western Mithra. Soghd. bayakān: Mihrmāh, and Xvār. bi: Mihr.āšt are instances of the normal use of baga for Mithra, see Yt.10,10 and 141 under 'Mithra,' and the song "kahmāi ... azam bāχšāni χšayamno," Mithra's Questions."
tion of his doctrine made this word unfit to be used for gods that are to be worshipped. It is the most natural thing that those allowed to be worshipped were henceforth called “yazata, adorandi, to-be-worshipped-ones,” with the attribute that existed before. Thus yazata became the new generic name under which the old prohibited déva came back into the post-Zoroastrian religion. Like the terms mazdayasna and dēya-yasna, yazata implies a date: where it is missing, as in the OP. inscriptions, one is still close to Zoroaster’s own time.

Y.49,3 is the genuine creed of Zoroaster, from which the fravargarāni of Y.12 issued—see under ‘Fravargarāni.’ The paraphrase shows the transformation of the thoughts which came to pass since the time of the gathas. The interval cannot have been a short one, Awestic had meanwhile become a dead language.

In this younger fravargarāni, we find the terms mazdayasno, zāraθuštriš, vidēvo, ahuratkēšo, or four sides of the same idea: worshipper of Mazdāh, Zoroastrian, adversary of the dēva, follower of Ahuramazdāh’s commandments. Y.12,4: “vi mruvē saram = interdico connubium, I renounce the community with the dēva, the bad, aya, those without Vahumano, a.vahu, without-Rtam, an.rta, that work evil, aka.dā . . . , the wholly-drug-ish, drōjiṣṭa, wholly-stinking, pōṣiṣṭa, gods, dēval” These gods are still those that have rejected Ahuramazdāh, but they are already gods of the past, the notion is dimmed. vi.mruvē, like antar.mruvē in Y.49,3, is “interdico,” equivalent to parā-vavāxmā in Y.34,5. The adj. aya alludes to akāt manaho čītram in Y.32,3.

Because they did not choose Vahumano, they are called a.vahu, i.e. a.vahumanah, with the same shortening as in dāraya.vahu for “dāraya.vahumanah. Likewise an.rta, because they are without rtam. Together with Gath. žīta.rta, this an.rta proves that those who confess said rta, not aša. aka.dā—syn. of duždā and opp. to hu.dā in Y.30,3—means the “Kraft—die stets das Böse will.”

drōjiṣṭa: Wb.: “superl. zu drug-, (adj., als comp.-ende) und drauga, adj., in Yt.19,33.” This adj. drauga does not exist; Benveniste, Infav. 51: “Dans l’Avesta comme en V.-P. droga est seulement substantif, Skr. drogha, m.” Yt.19,33, see under ‘Yama χέτα’: “parā ahmāt yat him ayam drōgam vācam aha-θyam činmanē pati.barata, before he admitted drōga, the voice
talking-(things)-forbidden, into his desires." It is not necessary to eliminate, with Benveniste, the apposition vācām ahaṭhyam. This sentence is preceded by parā an.ādruṭtoit, Pahl.transl. a.drōžišnīh, Bartholomae: "vor dem dass er log." Yama's fall is caused by trespassing a taboo of food, and is no more a "lie" than Adam and Eve's fall, when they allowed themselves to be tempted.

Beh. §54: drōga.di[ṣ hamiθ'ī]yā akunoš tya imē kāram adružyaša, must be translated: "Drōga made them disloyal, by making those [the false pretenders] seduce [lit. make drug-ish] the army." OP. adružyaša is denominative and corresponds to the Aw. n.abstr. ādruxti. parā an.ādruxtait means "before his (not) being tempted." OP. drōga, m. [OP. notation for ṥ is 'u], Aw. drōga in Vid., and Gath. drug- ė, are identical. And drōjišta is the superl. to the pos. Aw. drōjīna [in drōjīna.bṛta Pars.22], OP. drōjana, drōžana.11 The superl. drōjišta corresponds to the OP. pos. martiyā drōžanā. Zoroaster calls the same notion drugvant, but it is OP. drōžana, not drugvant, that survives as drōžan in MP.12

On p.273 Nyberg speaks about drōjišta, but not on p.361, where he asserts: "keine Stelle [of the OP. inscriptions] reicht aus um zu beweisen, dass drauga, draujana altzoroastrische, dem Osten gehörige Begriffe waren." Furthermore "Umsetzung in andre Dialekte kommt nicht vor" and "Wer wie die Perser yad- statt yaz-sagte ist kein Zoroaster."

In Masālik al-abṣār, 262, the poet al-Manbidji tells of a night he spent in the monastery of Dair al-Bāghūth, and of a monk there who spoke excellent Arabic, but had a lisp and pronounced s like θ. When the monk asked the poet the following morning for a few verses as remembrance, al-Manbidji made a poem rhyming in -ūθ, -iθ, suggested by the name bāyūθ and the lisping of the monk, it begins:

11 The Aw. archetype did not note any short vowel after palatal; Avestic script notes usually a, which Bartholomae replaced by i. This may well have been the pronunciation since the 6th century a.c. OP. has one sign ṣa = ā, derived from Sem. ʾī; it writes a s p ṣa n, Gr. As-pathiones, hence ṣa without i pronounced ā. The descent of the two signs ṣa and ṣī is not yet clear to me.
12 e.g. Ar. Vir. Nām. V: "gās ē rāstān u gās ē drōžanān, the place of the just and the wicked."
and ends:

walaqad salaktu ma’ al-našāra kull mā
salakūhu ghaira l-qaula bil-taqlīd!

Could a Persian with a lisp not be a Zoroastrian? A prohibition issued today to the effect that the old Persians, as Zoroastrians, were not allowed to pray in their own dialect, has no binding power.

In Y.43,8 Zoroaster says, in his vision, as first word to Ahura Mazdāh “a true hater I will be of the drugvant,” of the gods and men who chose the Drug; and Darius says at the beginning of his tomb-inscription “of the martiya drŏžana I am a hater.” drugvant = drŏžana, with their antonym raṭāvan, have no sense and are impossible unless they refer to the dualism of good and evil in Zoroaster’s moral doctrine. Before him there were only miθradruχš—see under ‘Mithra.’ Without Zoroaster, there can be no drŏžana, and this word alone proves that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians, just as it is proved by their sole worship of Ōramazdā, their belief in the dualism of good and evil, the resurrection and the reward at the last judgment. drŏjišta, the superl. of drŏžana, is used in the Fravaranī: the fravarāni is late, and OP. drŏžana is much older than this creed.

pōšišta is chosen for the rhyme, counterpart to OP. gasta. The home of Ahramanyuš, ahrāi vari of the Ōgmadēča, is called dužganti in the Had.N., Aw. ganti “stench,” adj. OP. gasta. Later, Ahramanyuš is written with the logogram anrā mànų, which Nyberg interpreted as “gannāk-mēnu, stinking spirit.” But he says 36: “Wenn die Altp. Inschriften gasta, eigentlich ‘üblich, wird das Böse verwenden . . ., so befinden wir uns ausserhalb des Bereiches des Zoroastrismus.” This judgment would eliminate simultaneously the HaSōxt Nask. “Gewiss ist auch im Avesta das Böse übelriechend, aber dafür wird ein ganz andres Wort gebraucht.” This word, not mentioned, is pōšišta, the rhyme word of drŏjišta. The criterion, to distinguish religions from the different odor of their unholiness, is new. Only, they do not differ: Aw. duž-ganti and OP. gasta are both gand-, hydric sulphide, so permanent that we connect the imagination of the devil with smell of brimstone to the present day.
Y.12,6: “As Zoroaster renounced the community with the gods, dēvāiš saram vyamrūvita, thus I renounce, as Mazdayasnian and Zoroastrian, the community with the gods, dēva.” One cannot say more clearly that renouncing the devaysnian polytheism means embracing mazdayasnian monotheism.

St.7: “I choose like the waters and plants, āpā-urvarē, the cow that-gives-what-is-good, gauš hu.dā, like AhuraMazdāh, yo gām dadā, yo naram rtāvanam dadā etc.”

The sunnite term “as AhuraMazdāh chose” indicates, again, the late time of the composition. To this peculiar concept, evidently, the Mohammedan orthodox doctrine is related. The caliph al-Mutawakkil says in his proclamation, directed against the ahl al-dhimma, with a point against the mu'tazila, Tabari mii,1380: “Allāh, the blessed, the exalted, in His majesty without limits and His power over anything He wills, has chosen Islam for Himself, and approved it, favored His angels therewith, sent His envoys with it, helped His saints with it etc.” And mii,1392: “the religion which Allāh has chosen for the muslims.” The doctrine involves the other one of the Qur'ān not being created, but eternally existent as a quality of Allāh, a doctrine not unconnected with St. John’s ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, sermo, or memrah as mediator and hypostasis. Not long before, the caliph al-Ma'mūm wrote in a letter to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the confidant of al-Mu'tašim, in Ṭaifūrī's kitāb Baghdād, fol. 130r:

“Apart from Allāh, all and everything is a work of His creation and a product of which He is the author. Although the Qur'ān expresses and explains it, precluding any doubt, one has compared with it what the Christians assert about Jesus, the son of Miryam: He is not created, since he is the Word of God. But Allāh says: Verily, We have set it as an Arabic Qur'ān (43,2), what clearly means nothing but: We have created, etc.”

Thus, three religions have been under the strange spell of the same thought, and passionate about it. But hardly has a truer remark ever been made about this and similar disputes, than that by the great poet abu l-'Atāhiya, Kit. al-Aghāni 3,129: “Shu'aib, the friend of abū Du'ād, qādi al-quḍāt of al-Mu'tašim, told: I said to abū l-'Atāhiya: Do you believe the Qur'ān to be created or not created? He said: Whom do you mean, Allāh or somebody else? And I talked and talked to him
and polemized against him, and he always replied with the same question. Finally I said: What is the matter with you, don’t you want to answer? and he said: I have answered, but you are an ass!”

The formula “AhuraMazdâh yo gâm dadâ yo naram rtâvanam dadâ, who has created the cow, the orthodox man etc.” is modeled after Y.44.3 and 51.7 (see under ‘Harvatât’). AhuraMazdâh has also created the non-orthodox; the verse means He created man and gave him the possibility of becoming rtâvan. The expression is clumsy and late, unless rtâvan be an added gloss. In Zoroaster’s verses on the creation, Y.44, under ‘Yama,’ in every stanza, between the creation of earthly things, the questions are inserted: “Who is the creator of Rtam, who of Vahumanô?” The prayer of Darius, in all his great inscription and repeated by Xerxes and ArtaXerxes I, but no more by ArtaXerxes II, says: “baga vzraka oramazdâ hya imâm bûmîm adâ, hya avam asmânâm adâ, hya martiyâm adâ, hya šyâtim adâ martiyahya,” hence, speaks of earth, heaven, men and the n.abstr. šyâtiš. As Zoroaster inserts rtam and vahumanô between the worldly objects, thus Darius puts in šyâtiš, the Fravarâni rtâvan. But Darius’ prayer expresses the deficient thought of the fravarâni in clear words: “who created šyâtiš for men,” in order to become šyâta. Xerxes daiv. II.47f. says: “šyâta ahani živa, mrtâ rtâvâ ahani, šyâta I want to be in life, in death rtâvâ.” The El. version transcribes the untranslatable term by sa.tta = šâta. The wish is the same as Zoroaster’s dadi moi amrtâtâ harvatât in Y.51.7, “blessed life here and eternal life.” OP. šyâtiš, Lat. quiës, peace, and šyâta “peaceful”—like Aw. noit kudâr-šâti, “else-without-peace” in Vid.1—describe the blissful condition, happiness resulting from a religious life. The opposite is Aw. pati. rtaye, being-contested, opposed, MP. patiyârakîh, opposition of the patiyârak, fiend. MP. apatiyârakîh is the negative expression of OP. šyâtiš, “being-uncontested, in peace,” Aw. a.pati. rta neg. expression of šyâta. The oriental notion of bliss is rather primitive: quietism, kēf, freedom from activity. šyâta, harvatât, is the earthly correspondent, gētik, of the mēnôk, heavenly rtâvan, amrtatât. The two words are complementary like Gr. ὅλβιος and μακάριος. By creating rtam, vahumanô, šyâtiš and rtâvan, AhuraMazdâh has made it possible for men to reach this bliss.

The ApâmNapât hymn in Y.19,52, see under ‘ApâmNapât,’ reveals
an entirely different and much older concept of creation and no trace of the Zoroastrian notions: "the yazata, dwelling in the waters, the χάθriya = rāthēstar, with the speedy horses, the male, ApāmNapāt, created the men, nar."

Xerxes' prayer and promise, "ṣyāta in life, rtāvā in death," contains the notion of reward in this and future life for the acts of men. This idea is not only foreign to, but impossible in pre-Zoroastrian polytheism which knew only of a "life in silence, tušnišad." The idea of religion as the relation of the individual man to the universal god was not yet born.18 Wherever AhuraMazdāh is invoked as sole creator, as he who determined (Y.43,5) the return for good and bad acts, as in the true Fravarānī Y.49,3 and in Darius' prayer, we are facing Zoroaster's doctrine.

Nyberg calls (349) Darius' prayer "frei von religiösem Pathos" while it is "frei von religiösen Phrasen," and "eine Formel medischen Ursprungs," reason: the OP. word for "great" vazraka, is a Median loanword; baga is common to both dialects. vazraka was borrowed in the protocol formula "χάθriya vazraka," and if the Persians pronounced "great" in "great-king" with a z, they did not pronounce it with ơ in "great god." This and similar ubiquitous arguments are utterly futile.

The three OIr. words for "god," ahura, dēva and baga, are all attested in OP. dialect. The inscriptions agree with the gathas in using ṙa < ahura only in the name of the god. The dēva in Xerxes' inscription are the "evil gods," Akk. limnû, whose cult the king prohibits, again conform to the artistic style. Everywhere else, OP. uses baga.

Except in the Median formula "baga vazraka, a great god (is Ŭramazdā)," OP. baga always implies the notion of non-Iranian gods beside the Iranian ahura and dēva.14 This is plainly expressed in "uta anyāha bagāha tyē hanti, and the other (or alien) gods that are" beside Ŭramazdā, the "god of the Aryans"; likewise in "hādā visēbiš bagēbiš, Ŭramazdā along with all gods." Zoroaster, whose gathas only speak of the struggle of his AhuraMazdāh with the Iranian dēva, never has the gods of Elam, Babylon and other foreign countries in mind; the greatkings always, for they write in three languages and rule over many

18 Cf. the remarks on Ed. Meyer, Christent, 11,17, at the end of chapt. 'Chronology.'
14 For the various formulae with baga see Altp. Inschr. 4,7, and cf. Y.17,57; 12,143; Y.3,10,70,1.
non-Aryan nations with "other gods." Since nobody can be ahura beside "the lord justiciary who judges, vičiro ahuro" (Y.29,4), the "just lord justiciary, spanta ahura rtāvan" (Y.46,9), and since the dēva are banished, baga alone is left for a wider application. As in the gathas, yazata is not yet used.

anya, = alius, alienus in OP., can have the acceptance "hostile," in analogy to alien and enemy; for Awestic cf. Yt.10,28: "upā anyā ścindayaṭi, he destroys the enemies" and anya.tkēśa, anya.varna, heterodox, heretic. The anyāha bagāha are "alii dii" or "dii alieni." Nyberg, 354: "Sind also diese Götter Jahwe, Marduk u.a. gemeint? Gewiss nicht. ... Wer damit gemeint ist, wird deutlich mit dem Ausdruck viθa baga 'Clan-Götter' bezeichnet. Es sind die Gottheiten der Ahnen und Eponymen des Hauses etc. Wie hienieden der Grosskönig sich über seinen Hofstaat erhebt, so erhebt sich in der himmlischen Welt Ahuramazdāh über einen Hofstaat der himmlischen Vertreter der verschiedenen Geschlechter. ... Bezeichnend, dass Darius den Ausdruck 'der grosste der baga' nur da gebraucht, wo er sich an seine Landsleute wendet, die Arier der Persis." Also 375: "Kein prophetischer Geist hat (der Religion der Achaemeniden) ihr Gepräge gegeben, sie ist geschaffen von Grosskönigen für Grosskönige, und Ahuramazdāh erhebt sich in einem Majestät über einem Hofstaat von Clan-göttern, deren Namen man nicht einmal zu nennen für nötig hält."

Weissbach, in his edition, had never trusted Westergaard's reading "viθa baga?", and I had reported in AMI vi,1933,74, two years before Nyberg's lecture, that the reading is an error, thrice repeated, for the usual formula "hadā višebiš bagēbiš, along with all gods." The lonely majesty, the households, and with them the unimaginable consequences of this accumulation in heaven could have been avoided. But the assertion that maθiṣta bagānām was used only where the king speaks to his countrymen does not depend on this false reading; 350: "Der Tonfall wird immer intimer ... wenn er zu seinem eigenen Stammland, der Persis, spricht: ... nebst den Clan-göttern, viθa baga."

maθiṣta bagānām appears on the gold-tablets from Agbatana (Media) and Persepolis; in Pers.d; in Pers.g (only Akk. text) as ša rabū ina muḫḫi ilāni; and in Xerx. Van (Armenia). The gold-tablets lay invisible in air-tight stone-boxes under the foundations; the visible inscription in Van was no more legible to the Armenians there, just
as incomprehensible as the Akkadian inscription in Persepolis to the countrymen in Persis. On the other hand, the text of the gold-tablets indicates the four extreme points of the empire; Pers.g says “who granted to Darius the rule over this wide earth on which are many countries” and hence many gods, whereupon a short list of lands follows; and the very fact that two of the three inscriptions, Pers.e-g, all on the same panel, are written in foreign languages, evokes at once the idea of foreign nations and their gods. The “more intimate modulation” is an acoustic delusion, and the formula maṣṭāṣa bagāṇām appears only where foreign nations are mentioned.

This is even more evident in the formula “Oramazdā uta anyāha bagāha tyē hanti” in Beh. §§62-63, where the Elamite text, both times, inserts “Oramasta, the god of the Aryans, and the other gods that are,” namely of the non-Aryans like the Elamites. P. de Vaux remarked in Rev. Bibl. 1937,12, that the similar addition made by the Babylonian scribes in the Akk. version of the gold-tablets to OP. “mām Ōramazdā pātu, viz. itti ilāni, A.M. may protect me with the gods” can only mean: “Marduk the god of Babylon—with whom Nyberg dispenses lightly by ‘Gewiss nicht!’—must have his political share.”

In the postscript to the Behistûn inscription, to be dated in 515 B.C., two pairs of short paragraphs are appended to the reports on the campaign against the European Sakā and on the suppression of an Elamite rebellion, §72:

[avaiy . sa]kā .
[utā . naiy . auramazdā[]
yaθa . m]ām .
avabhādi]š . akunavam . §76: [hya
auramazdām . yadātaiy . yavā . tau]m[A . ahatiy . u[tā .
ji[vahyā . [utā . mṛtah]ya[---
ji[vahyā . utā . [mṛtahyā . ---

“the Huvažiya and Sakā ... by them Ōramazdā was not worshipped, I worshipped Ōramazdā. By Ōramazdā’s will, as was my pleasure, so
I did to them. Who worships Ōramazdā as long as he has power [=lives], [of him, gen.] alive and [dead. . . .]

That the European Scyths and the Elamites did not worship Ōramazdā is a matter of course, and is not the reason for Darius' campaign against the former or for suppressing the revolt of the latter. The paragraphs say that the successes teach a moral: the king's victories over those aliens are due to the fact that his god is superior to the alien gods, that Ōramazdā is maṭiṣṭa over the anyāha bagāha tyē hanti.

The unpublished gold tablet of Ršāma has: "ōramazdā baga vazaraka hya maṭiṣṭa bagānām mām xšāyaṭyam akunoš, O.M. the great god who is the greatest of gods made me king." Since Ršāma lived to see the accession of his grandson Darius, the inscription must not have been written before his son Vištāspa received Zoroaster in hospitium, and does not prove the worship of the pre-Zoroastrian AhuraMazdāh. Yet it is possible that Ōramazdā was the highest god in the pre-Zoroastrian pantheon of the Pārsa.

Nyberg 373: "Damit bin ich vorbereitet, mein Schlussurteil über die Religion der Achaemeniden abzugeben." It begins "Sie ist von Zaraθhustras Werk und dem besonderen Glauben seiner Gemeinde nicht berührt," and ends "Was (von Hanfrausch unterstützt) ekstatische Übungen [translation of "the best conduct of life"] anlangt, so war dafür in dieser Religion ohne Zweifel wenig Raum, und die Hochspannung und der Flug der Seele, die der Mensch nun einmal ungern entbehren mag, wurden in einem ehrlichen Weinrausch gesucht." To the "Hanθ- und Weinrausch" some remarks are to be made under 'Hōma.' The reflection on "der Mensch nun einmal —such is life," finds an answer in an anecdote, Aghānī 21,167: "al-Muntaṣir, about 12 years old, had not said a thing, but had cast glances at his little brother al-Muṭazz, and their father, al-Mutawakkil, who had observed him said: Muḥammad, you have revealed a secret which one must keep veiled!" One can easily be deceived about one's own preparation, but the deception about the final judgment is the more unforgivable if the quoted one is presented as wisdom's last word: that is not our task.

One must see the whole problem of dēva clearly to understand the inscription Xerxes Pers. dāiv., cf. Altp. Inschr. n° 14.—While much has been criticized, the great mistake I made in AMT viii, 1936, 64f., has not
been observed: I inferred a date "before Salamis" from the mention of two groups of Ionians, "those in the sea = the true Ionians of the west coast of Asia Minor" and "those beyond the sea = Yōnā takabarā," Macedonians of Dar.Beh.

The fact that the inscriptions of Darius and of Xerxes are at variance in their designations of the Ionians is the most important difference in their lists of satrapies.

Dar.Beh., in 520 B.C., has two satrapies: "tyē drayahya, those in the sea" and "yōnā." That is the original condition: the first are Cyprus and Cilicia, the second the Ionians of the mainland of Asia Minor. Dar.Pers.e says the same more explicitly: "yōnā tyē drayahya uta tyē hūškahya, the Ionians of the sea and those of the continent." Dar.Sus.e, older than NiR., but closer to it than the first two, has: "jawana ša ina ă[ab.ba u ša i]na nibirtim" nār marratum ašbū', the Ionians who dwell in the sea and those at the coast of the ocean." NiR. has only yōnā, suggesting the Ionians of the two satrapies. It must be said that the Persians do not distinguish between Greek tribes, they are all yōnā.

Xerx.daiv. says, ll.23f.: "yōnā tya drayahya dārayanti uta tyē paradarya dārayanti, i.e. Ionii quod maris occupant et qui ultramare occupant," language and grammar so bad, that one needs the clear Akk. version: "jawanna ša ina "aa"marrat ašbū u ša ahu ullû ša "ar"marrat ašbū, the Ionians who dwell in the sea and who dwell beyond the sea." This official term clearly excludes the yōnā tyē hūškahya, the real Ionians of the mainland of Asia Minor. The "Ionians in the sea" are, as everywhere, the Cypriotes, the "Ionians beyond the sea" are such Greeks, yōnā takabarā, as were still under Persian sway, beyond the Bosporus. In agreement therewith their northern neighbors, the Skudra, are still mentioned in the list and represented in the tribute processions of Persepolis. Pausanias in Byzantium, to whom Xerxes wrote the letter of thanks, making him an orosāngēs (see under 'Last Judgment') was on the Persian side till 472 B.C. But Ionia was lost after Plataeae and Mykale, Sept. 479 B.C. The inscription must be dated after 479 and before 572, and since it uses still the style of Xerxes' first period, "speaks Xerxes the king" (not "the great-king") very close after 479, about

478/77 B.C. The loss of Ionia is silently admitted. This silence, too, reveals hatred, besides humiliation. One would expect that those who criticized my interpretation would first have checked the date, but it has not been done.

§4, a: yadda tyā adām ḥṣāyaṭya abavam
ultu muḥṭi śa anāku śarru atūru

b: asti antar ēṭā dahyāva—ayuḍa
ibaś ina matatē annēti —ikkiru
pasāva—ava dahyāvam adām ažanām
arki —matatē śin anāku adūka
utašim gāṭhavā niśādayam
u ina qaqqari ultēšibšunūtu

c: uta antar ēṭā dahyāva āha yadātya parvam dēvā ayadya
u ina matatē annēti ibaś ašar mahru ana limnūsī isinnu eppusu
pasāva—adām avam dēvadānām viyakanām
arki —anāku bīt limnū annūtu attabal
uta patiyazbayam dēvā mā yadyēśa
u aptēqirrama isinnu ana limnū la teppusa'

d: yadāyā parvam dēvā ayadya
ašar mahru isinnu ana limnū epṣu
avada adām ḥramazdām ayadē rtāča brazmani
ina libbi anāku ḥurmazda’sisinnu etēpuṣ artāša birazamanni
El. 'ṛta.aci p’r.racmannija

Although the scribes no longer master the grammar, the composition of the text, in its strict parallelism of members, is perfectly clear. The method of the Akk. translation is just as mechanical as that of the Pahl. translations of the Awesta: they keep so close to the OP. text as to renounce their own style, and to become misleading, if one would try to interpret it as real Akkadian.

The first sentence (a) gives the date of the event: “just after my accession to the throne,” which is six years back. The fourth sentence (d) gives the result: Ḥramazdā is installed at the former places of dēvayasnian cult. The second sentence (b) says objectively: revolts broke out in some of the above-mentioned provinces, they were sup-
pressed, order was restored. The third sentence (c) gives the reason: they were the provinces where of old the cult of the dēva prevailed; their temples were destroyed; the cult was prohibited.

The little grammatical faults—only the inscriptions of Darius are free of them—do not obscure the purport. ava dahyāvam, in (b), ungrammatical, El. transcription tajjawa (plur.) right, Akk. translation matātē\(^2\), right, is just as pluralistic as the corresponding expression at the parallel places; dēvadānām, too, is a collective singular, meaning a plural. If the provinces and temples meant only one each, this ought to be expressed by "ēva, among them was one."

yadātya in (c), which I regarded as equivalent of yadāyā "where" in Altp.Inschr., since the Akk. version uses the same "āšar," is "yadā, where" with enkl. causal tya, and has causative sense: "it was there where = because there"; the clause not only gives the reason, as I had assumed, but has also causal form. The prohibition in (c) are state-proceedings, publicly proclaimed; patiyazbayam is a Median term, and the following words are an imperative, as in the Akk. version, the proclamation itself in direct oration after (Byte. The translation is:

"When I became king, there were among the above-mentioned provinces such that revolted;
"thereupon, these province(s) I subdued and restored order in them;
"and it was among these provinces, because there the dēvā had been worshipped before;
"thereupon I razed this dēvadānām (coll.sg.) to the ground and issued the prohibition: The dēvā shall not be worshipped!
"Where before the dēvā had been worshipped, there I worshipped Óramazdā as Rtam, at (with, by) the brazmâni!"

The change of reign furnishes the occasion for the revolts; these affect more than one province, the names of which Xerxes intentionally passes over in silence, and which we must determine in order to understand the historical event. The reason of the revolt is that the cult of
the dēva still prevailed in those provinces, and after their suppression, in the course of which places of that cult were destroyed, the cult is prohibited by a royal dāta proclaimed by heralds. The former cults are replaced by that of Ŭramazdā, and were so still in 478/77 or later. This is not an isolated happening, but a political decision, general and valid for all future. Those are the conditions an historical interpretation must fulfill. For me the case is obvious.

Nyberg: “Aus diesem Text hat Herzfeld einen religionsgeschichtlichen Roman gemacht.” I. Lévy, l.c.: “Il n’est pas excessif de qualifier de simple roman cette singulière reconstitution.” These words are meant to be a blame, but only show that the authors are no historians. Historical analysis, the criticism of what we must recognize as facts, is very much a detective’s work, and historical synthesis differs only in degree from the work of a novelist.

Nyberg goes on: “Die nüchternen Thatsachen sind diese.” On these, again, J. Lévy remarks: “Pour ce qui est des mesures prises contre la religion égyptienne, H. Hartmann (pupil of H. H. Schaeder, translator of Nyberg) et Nyberg ne les connaissent manifestement que de seconde main. ... N. confesse qu’il s’est inspiré du récit de Hall, *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* 11314.—Il ne pouvait plus mal choisir—[Y. 30,6: noit rš višyāta dēvačana]—son informateur: car Hall s’est contenté de copier, en forçant le trait, le récit un peu trop romanisé que jadis Maspéro (*Hist. anc. de l’Or. class.*) donna des évènements qui, d’après la Stèle du Satrape, se seraient passés dans la vallée du Nil sous Xerxès.” This stela is today regarded as “une forgerie sacerdotale; la donation de Habas, dont le règne éphémère est postérieur d’un siècle et demi à la fin du règne de Darius, est fictive; la spoliation du temple par Xerxès est une imposture. ... Dans les inscriptions Xerxès s’appelle ‘fils de Râ, seigneur exécutant les rites’—ce qui indique un souverain dévot et fidèle à la politique de Darius.” Nyberg 347 calls Xerxes “den Exponenten eines Um- schwunges in der Religionspolitik der Achaemeniden” who “in Verfolgung des gegenüber Babylon begründeten Systems, Athen in Flammen aufgehen liess.”

On Babylon: “Les thèses de Hartmann et de Nyberg, sur ce point encore, s’appuient sur une doctrine capricieuse et surannée. ... Sa (Hartmann’s) construction est sans consistance et il est surprenant qu’il
se soit trouvé un assyriologue [in *Sb. Berl. Ak.d.W.* 1938, 18] pour l'approuver. Le tableau fort arbitraire que Nyberg présente des actes plus ou moins sacrilèges de Xerxes n'a de toute manière qu'un rapport lointain avec les faits énumérés dans l'inscription de Persépolis."

Thus, the things are neither "sober," nor "facts," and not "important to retain." Considerably sobered one better forget them all, save the unforgettable sentence on p.366: "Die Frage ist jetzt, (a) waren die daēva in der Xerxes Inschrift schlecht weil sie nicht-arishe Götter waren, oder, (b) waren die nicht-arischen Götter schlecht, weil sie daēva waren?" a talmudic dilemma which, against all expectation, Nyberg decides, in 1935, in favor of (b), adding: "Hier finde ich [personal] endlich eine zoroastrische Spur in der Religion der Achaemeniden"; shortly after he finds a second trace.

I. Lévy tried to explain the inscription in a different way, namely as dealing with the burning, by Xerxes, of the acropolis of Athens. For that purpose he must first of all devaluate the contradictory date implied by "just after my accession," but that is no "erreur initiale" of mine which everybody followed but what the words say. Neither is any other condition fulfilled: Athens was no province, no daēva were worshipped there whose worship caused a revolt—against Xerxes in free Athens, the Greek cults were never forbidden by a proclamation of Persian law, and were never replaced by the cult of Ōramazdā. Xerxes was "un souverain fidèle à la politique tolérante de Darius." Finally, the date of the inscription, after Mykale, rules the idea out. "I restored order, utaśim gābhavā niṣādayam, lit. I put them in their proper place"—while the loss of Ionia is silently admitted—does not refer to Athens. Those who composed the text would not have dared to hint even at the catastrophe of the Greek campaign.

I have quoted Lévy's criticism because it reveals how "unprepared" Nyberg-Hartmann were, not because it was right. Athens, Babylon, Egypt and any other foreign country is from the beginning ruled out by the real counter-argument against all such attempts: the dēva. The authors of all these romances do not know who the "heavenly ones" were. They had existed for 2,500 years at Xerxes' time; over them Hōśyanha and his successors had prayed to become masters; against them Zoroaster declaimed and composed his gatha Y.32; the fravārāni swears them off; their dynasty went on flourishing in India, where
“Mahadeo der Herr der Erde” descends “dass er unsresgleichen werde” (Goethe), and whose place was later occupied in Iran by figures as sinister as Asmodaclus. Zoroaster’s words “You dēvā all and who worships you,” and Xerxes’ “It was among those provinces, because the dēvā had been worshipped there before” aim at the same dēvā and dēvayasna. “On n’a dû procéder ainsi que contre un ennemi particulièremen exécéré, contre des dieux voués à une inimité capitale.” The gatha Y.43,8: “haḍyadvēṣo drugvatē hiyām!,” the inscription Dar. NiR.b: “martiyanam ne dōstā ahmil!” and the credo “nāissi dēvol!” are unanimous. Dès lors, le problème est résolu: the mere term dēva precludes all interpretations of the provinces as non-Iranian ones. The cults prohibited, the temples destroyed, the places where Ōramazdā was installed were the former temples of Vṛthragna in Čečista and Agbatana, of Mithra in Rēvand near Tōs, of Anāhitā in Susa, and others of their rank. Whether a non-Iranian temple at some place for some reason had been more or less destroyed or not, was never the subject of any Achaemenian inscription.

Xerxes’ words “where before the dēvā had been worshipped, dēvā ayadya, there I worshipped Ōramazdā, mazdām ayadē,” and “the dēvā shall not be worshipped, mā yadyēṣa,” show how the terms mazdayasna, dēvayasna and yazata come into being: as an effect only of the religious struggle of which Xerxes speaks. And nothing could be more exclusively Zoroastrian than his word “Ōramazdām ayadē rtāča, I worshipped Ōramazdā as Rtam.” This one can call a personal idiom of Zoroaster. There is scarcely one gatha without it, and the Y.Haft. 38.1 makes the pre-Zoroastrian prayer to Ahura-Varuna a Zoroastrian one by adding “rtār hača, as Rtam” to “Thy wives, o AhuraMazdā.”

It was not difficult to see, “du premier jour, combien il est frappant que Xerxes ne nomme pas les provinces révoltées: l’anonymat est rigoureux,” because it is the Iranian mother-countries, Māda, Pārsa and Hūzā, that revolted, where the dēva cult indeed had not been extinguished. It is not only not necessary, but not permissible “über die iranische Welt hinauszugehen, um die dāeva zu identifizieren.” And there is no need to waste words over their being the old “divi” that have chosen akam mano, and have become kakotθeoi, all the dangerous rivals of the ēvyvatāy AhuraMazdāh. It was simple to write my romance, therefore it was the better one.
XXVI. RETURN OF THE GODS

Whereas Zoroaster in the gathas, Darius and Xerxes in their inscriptions never mention the name of a god other than AhuraMazdāh, in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II, of a sudden, Mithra and Anāhitā appear on the same plane with him. Language and script are entirely decadent. Berossus said, at a place where he spoke about the Iranian gods in general, among them Heracles-Vrthraghna (Clemens Alex. Protoptio c.5, from Chaldaika b.m.): “After many years had passed, the Persians started worshipping images of gods in human shape, (an innovation) introduced by Artaxerxes, son of Darius, son of Ochos, ὅς πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταναϊδὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀνατήσω το Βαβυλῶν καὶ Σούροις καὶ Ἐκβατάνωι [καὶ] Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτραις καὶ Δαμάσκῳ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπεδείξε σέβειν.” G. Hoffmann, Syr.Akt. 137, Exc. “Nanai,” was the first to interpret the record accurately by inserting the indispensable [καὶ] before Πέρσαις, which is Persepolis, “es handelt sich um die Einführung von Bildern in den viel älteren Kult und Aufstellung der Idole in den Tempeln aller Provinzialhauptstädte.” In the inscription of Mylasa, the τύχη ἐπιθώπης, the “vartha-ragnian hvarnah, victory-bringing fortuna” of Artaxerxes is invoked.

Berossus’ remark as to the statues is only a striking detail of much wider reaching measures. Just as the silence of Darius and Xerxes, thus the mention of the names Mithra and Anāhitā in Artaxerxes’ inscriptions indicates a general religious attitude: he was the “exponent” of the change. At his time, the whole old pantheon had come back. Many passages of the yashts, first of all the Mithra and Tištriya yashts, reveal this process unmistakably.

Yt.10,1: “āt yat mithram yim vurugavyūtim fradaḏām azam...āt dim [in Yt.8,50: avam stāram yim tištriyan] daḏām avāntam yasyyata avāntam vahmyata [and in 8,50: avāntam χινοθwata avāntam frasastata] yaθā mām.čit yim ahuram mazdām, when I created Mithra, I...I created him [or: the Tištriya star] with equal claim to sacrifices, praise [Tištriya: obedience, public proclamation] as Me myself, the Ahuramazdāh!”

This sentence might be that of a royal edict: “as equally honorable peer of My Majesty,” but Mithra was already Varuna’s peer, before the latter changed his name to AhuraMazdāh. avānt is a late contracted
form of "avavant, tantus," not "ā + √bā-, strahlen" (Wb.). Bartholomae explained yasnvaya, vahmyata, χśnō्फwata, frasastata as instr. of the respective abstr. nouns in -tāt; if so, words like "adoranditas" are awful products of a dead language, like medieval Lat. "spectabilitas" and worse. The author says "I created him like me," but did not want to say that Ahuramazdāh created himself, but the others "as adorable as I am myself." One must not try to improve grammar and language of such passages: they were that bad. According to the polytheistic notion the gods were not "created by Mazdāh"; mazdadāta is only the word by which they return into the mazdayasnian religion.

Yt.10,50: "Mithra, to whom Ahuramazdāh allotted a palace, mēθ-anam fraθwrsat, on the encircling, radiant Harā brzaṭi"; the house was Mithra's property, neither a fief, nor rented. By such empty phrases, of which there are many, the mazdayasnian redactors sanction anew the old cults. With this question a long theological dissertation deals, of which several repetitions have found a place in the Mithra and Tiṣṭriya yashts.

In Yt.10,31, this dissertation follows upon the old song "tuvam ako vahištasča," and upon "Mithra as builder of the nmāna brzi.mita." In Yt.10,54-60, it stands alone in a patchwork of small fragments, alone also in st.74. In st.53, Mithra, ustāna.zasta, in the Zoroastrian attitude of prayer, utters in the presence of Ahuramazdāh, as "lament," the identical words which he recites in 73 "with resounding voice in merry mood."

In Yt.8,11, this dissertation is placed before the myth of Tiṣṭriya's fight with Apavṛta, and the words, separately inserted between the three phases of that fight and repeated in 15, 17 and 19, belong to it: "This one, viz. Tiṣṭriya, vyāχmanyati, talks in the assembly, this one parsanyati, asks questions!", ending: "nūram ahmi yasnyaścā vahmyasča, now I have (again) claim to yasna and vahma!" vyāχman is the prehistoric democratic assembly, the "boulē" of the Greeks, "thing" of the Germanic peoples; vyāχmanyā is a late verb.denom. "to talk in parliament, as a demagogue"; parsanyā, another denominative which appears nowhere else, is "to interpellate." Between the verses of the old myth, these words have the effect of a slap in the face. In Yt.8,23-25, they are repeated, unbearably, between the first lost round and the second
victorious one of Tištriya’s fight, and in 8,50, near the end of the yasht, intermingled with an extremely old prescription about sacrifices.

The text of this dissertation is: “noit mā nūram [thus in Yt.8,3; in 10,54: at mā noit] martiyāka ṥvṭanāmanā yasna yazayante yatha anye yazatāho ṣvṭanāmanā yasna yazinti; yadi Zi mā martiyāka ṣvṭanāmanā yasna yazayanta yatha anye yazatāho ṣvṭanāmanā yasna yazinti... not worship me now men by yasna with-mention-of-my-name as other yazata are worshipped by yasna with-mention-of-their-names; if men would worship me by yasna with-mention-of-my-name, as other yazata are worshipped by yasna with-mention-of-their-name, then...”

Thereupon follows in Yt.8,11 (Tištriya) and in 10,55 and 74 (Mithra): “fra nrwyo rtāwyō ṥwarṣṭahe zrūno āyu ṣuṭyūyām, then I should come to the orthodox men at the exact point of time, hvahe gayahe hvanvato amṛtahe upa ṣwarṣtahe jaymiyām, then I, of my own sunny, immortal life [phrase of different origin1] would be punctual to the minute.”

Tištriya adds in 8,11: “ēvaṃ vā avi ṣāpānām dvē vā pānčasatam vā, for one night, or for two, or be it fifty”, he evidently is bargaining. And, in the Mithra yasht, to ease the god’s mind: “ōḥṭanāmanā thvā yasna rāthwiya vāča yazate bara.zōṭro rtāvā, by yasna with-mention-of-thy-name the orthodox worships thee at the hours of prayer with voice [song] and zōtṛa, libations, oḥṭanāmanā thvā yasna rāṭwiya vāča sūra mithra yazāi zōṭrābyo, by yasna with-mention-of-thy-name I will worship thee, strong Mithra, at the hours of prayer with voice and libations!”

The words upa ṣwarṣṭahe jaymiyām in Yt.10,56 etc., and yavat ēśa āṣv byārīxṭi upa ṣwarṣṭi frabavāt in Vid.14,13 (see under ‘Apām-Napāt’) explain each other mutually: “the water shall be ample for two irrigations at the precise (measured) time (interval),” because these have their fixed hours, day and night. Ṣwarṣṭa contains the notion of the measured, returning period: hour. I am not sure what should be its right grammatical form. rāṭwiya, from “raṭu, interval, space of time” contains the notion of “prescribed regularity.”

In Yt.8,24, Tištriya promises, after the tirade of 23: “ avi mām avi.-bāwriyām, I will offer to me dasanām aspānām ojo, the power of ten horses!” and likewise “the power of ten camels, oxen, mountains(!)
and canals, uṣṭrānām, gavām, garīnām, apām nāvyānām." Instead of garīnām one must read "χαράναμ, donkeys" following a translation in the Gr.Bdh., and for "mām, to me" evidently "tān, to the men who worship me with mention-of-my-name I will present..." The redactor feels stimulated, by these words, to make AhuraMazdāh call in st.25: "I, I the AhuraMazdāh, worship Tīṣṭriya by yasna with-mention-of-his-name, I will give him the power of ten horses, camels etc.," whereas the return present ought to surpass the gift.

In Yt.8,50, Tīṣṭriya has claim to the frasasti, the governmental proclamation, and in the Mithra yasht the dissertation ends in 10,60: "We worship Mithra, whose is the good frasasti," the public proclamation. So, this proclamation is the aim of the dissertation.

One can trace the origin of the peculiar term "ōxṭanāman, with-mention-of-name," opp. to "anonymous."

Y.haft.38,4: "uti yā vā vahviš ahuro mazdā nāman daśāt vahudā yat vā daśāt tāiš vā yazāmade, thus, with the names that AhuraMazdāh, the giver of all that is good, gave you, when he created you, with those we want to worship you!"

Many feminine names precede this sentence, among them the earth, waters, Rtiš and Parandi, the ārmatayo (plural!) and a number of abstractions, all called "wives of AhuraMazdāh." However obscure the collection of just these names, one sees the "names given by AhuraMazdāh at the creation" indicate that they must be taken not in their vulgar, but in a special, perhaps symbolic value: it is Zoroaster who made his AhuraMazdāh grant those names. That is a thought of the Yasna haftahāti.

In the gatha 51,22 we find:

yahya moī rtāt hača vahištam yasné pati
vēdā mazdā ahuro yoi āharča hantīča
tām yazāi hvāiš nāmāniš pariča ḫāsāi vantā

Not till comparing it with the often used yahya-hātām formula of Y.haft.41,7, which is derived from it, does this dark stanza become intelligible:

2 Edition and translations give this text in Y.27,15 and refer to it in Y.41,7; but 41,7 is the original place to which the others should refer.
yahya hātām aṭ yasné pati vahyo
mazdā ahuro vēdā rtāt hača
yāhāmča tānsča tāsča yazamade

"To whom [masc., gen. because of Vvēd.] of those that are, then, for the sake of (their) worship, AhuraMazdāh has destined paradise [vahyo, comp. abs. = vahištam] through [the mouth of] Rtam—and to whom [fem.]—those [m. and fem.] we worship!"

Y.51.22 is accordingly: "To whom, for my sake, AhuraMazdāh through Rtam has destined paradise as reward for their worship, those who were and those who are, those I want to worship in their (own) name and to circumambulate with songs of praise!"

moi, dat. of purpose, here translated "for my sake" is not an expletive, but an idiom resembling "for my name's sake" in the sayings of Christ. Alongside an accusative and genitive object, it means approximately that the god "destines" promises on the plea of Zoroaster. The stanza is the conclusion of the gatha in which Zoroaster tells that the Vēhviya refused to receive him, that Vištāspa gave him hospitium, and that the two Hāugava and Maḏyomāha helped him. The whole gatha is a thanksgiving. "Those who were and those who are" hence are his helpers. In the same way, Darius concludes his great Behistun inscription in §§68-69 "these are the men who at that time . . . cooperated as my helpers," and "You who will be king in future, do honor to the issue of these men!" Zoroaster adores his helpers with songs "in their own name," his "sacrifices," and with circumambulation—tawāf, cf. Y.51.8—and promises them paradise. Darius rewards them and imposes upon his successors the responsibility to reward their issue. Shāhpuhr I, in the Ka'ba inscription, institutes masses to be celebrated for "those who were under Pāpak, who were under Ardashīr, who are under Shāhpuhr" and the same is the purport of the great list of names in Yt.13.

Duchesne, §274, uses ōxtanāman as an example for his thesis: "Si un composé de caractère liturgique . . . apparaît dans un yasht, c'est dans un passage non-métrique." This must be combined with Christensen's constatation: "Les yashts originaux n'étaient guère destinés, à l'origine, à servir de textes liturgiques." It follows, on the one hand, that the metrical passages are non-liturgical, on the other, that the time of poetry had passed, that the language was dead when ōxtanāman was formed. The
term means the opposite of “anonymous.” But how could a god not be called by his name in a prayer, or how could he need the “good frasastiš,” how could his “being worthy of the frasastiš” be the condition to be called by name? It is the same frasastiš that Zoroaster hopes to obtain in Y.49.7, the proclamation of a dāta, a royal edict, by heralds, frasahya, as in the book of Esther: “and this order of the king may resound all over the empire!” The author of the frasastiš, hence, is not AhuraMazdāh, but the king, namely Artaxerxes II. Because he had given the frasastiš for the cult of Mithra and Tištriya, those who pray dare again to call them ōxtanāman, under their own names. The interval more than once designated in the Tištriya yasht by “nūram, now, today” is that between the interdiction by Xerxes and the sanction by Artaxerxes II. It seems that Xerxes, going far beyond Darius, had prohibited not only the cult, but the liturgical “call” of the zōtar, the mu’adhhdhin, if not the invocation in prayer itself.

It is not significant that the late Yt.21 says “I want to worship ōxtanāman the star Vanant” (Wega), nor that in Yt.22,27 a long enumeration ends with “and the (= every) ōxtanāman yazata.” But it is noteworthy that in Y.1.3 and 2.3 Mithra, in Y.3.20 Srōsa, in 3.21 Hōma are called ōxtanāman yazata. yazata is “who must be worshipped,” ōxtanāman yazata is “whom it is permitted to worship under his own name.” The term is never applied to Ārmatiš or Rtīš, who were never banished. The dissertation has not been interpolated in the Anāhit-Yasht, but we know, through Berossus, that she too was a goddess “whom it is permitted to invoke by name.”

The st.51-54 of the Tištriya yasht explain how foolish it would have been not to grant to the god the frasastiš, of which he was worthy (according to st.50): “Tištriya is the adversary of the parikā dužyāryā yām martiyākā avi dužvačāho huyāryām ojatē, of the bad-fairy ‘bad-year’ whom vulgar (Middle Persian) speaking people call ‘good-year.’” The euphemistic huyāryā and the classification as parikā are not older than the time when the stanza was composed; from the analogies in the Vidēvdād this date was about the beginning of our era.

St.52: “yazi azam noit daďyām — avam stāram yim tištriyan avāntam yasnyata etc. etc. 54: hamahya zi mē īda ayān hamahya vā xšapo — dužyāryā vispahya ahoš — paroit pariθnam ahvām ava.hisǐdyāt, a Cf. El. p'izran,pelam < OP. *framfram, meaning tohuwabohu, under 'Vēhiya.'
if I had not made the star Tištriya my equal for ‘adoranditas’ etc. etc. (to enable him to fight ‘bad-year,’ §51 repeats in extenso) then, now, nūram, here, every day and every night, dužyāram would ruin the human world all upside-down!"

This is an argument for the reintroduction of the cult of Tištriya, of a political and opportunistic kind. For the reintroduction of Mithra, Yt.10,02 (first part repeated in Y.57,24) gives a religious reasoning: "This (Zoroastrian) religion was professed by the orthodox Ahuramazdā, by Vahumano, Rtam vahištam, Xšaθram varyam, Spantā ārmatiš, Harvātā, Amrtātā, by the Amrta Spanta [the figures just mentioned], according to the rite of the church, brjā dēnayāi [wrong case]; Mazdā conferred upon Mithra the judicature over the earth, geðā (plur.), fra hē mazdā --- ratuθwam barat geðānām [just as he confers in the inscriptions the kingship upon the gods, χσαθραν fra.barati], who sees in him (Mithra) the ratu and ahu, judge and justiciary [OP. framātāram] and the healer [or: reformator, yōzdātāram] of the creatures. Mithra’s "conversion" to the right religion is nowhere expressly stated, and the last part of the sentence sounds as if there were doubts whether the old god of revenge had indeed become judge and justiciary in the organization of heaven. In Zoroaster’s concept this could only be Ahuramazdā himself.

Yt.10,103: "Ahuramazdāh nominated Mithra as hartar and awyaχštar, keeper and guardian of his creation," because he never sleeps. Likewise, his bailiff Srōšo receives the post of dēna.dīš "instructor of religion," and in Y.57,23 it is his doctrine that all others accept: he is the chastiser. Hōma takes care of the libations. Thus, the kingdom of heaven becomes a state in heaven, after the state on earth had developed a church. The theology is as poor as the language. It is pathetic to see how these theological poetasters figured out the "sanction" of Mithra. Yt.10,106 describes the "Revenger" as entirely harmless and orthodox: "no earthly man ... thinks so well, talks so well, behaves so well."

But however piteous all this may be, it reveals the historical process in absolute chronology. How the cults banished by Zoroaster were reintroduced into the Mazdaism of the last Achaemenian phase is perfectly obvious. After their great time in the Median empire, Mithra and Tištriya—and with them other gods—had been interdicted at the
beginning of the Achaemenian period. People did not dare pray to them in their name. Then, after their alleged conversion to Zoroastrianism, or out of fear of war and famine, they were again sanctioned by Artaxerxes II and admitted into the mazdayasnian Olymp like the Amrita Spanta, with fixed and limited function: Mithra’s province is judging and watching, in the way Astyages and Croesus received a province from Cyrus. The reintroduction was not a caprice of Artaxerxes, but the sanction of a condition that existed already before 400 B.C. Verses like those on “Mithra’s Passion” are composed between Artaxerxes II and Alexander, or even later.

One sees also that it was Zoroaster’s doctrine that caused the cults to be temporarily suspended. E.g. Yt.10,119: “You, o Spitāma, shall worship Mithra, tell the pupils about him!” Poor prophet in the posthumous role as schoolteacher: that was just what he did not want to teach. The order or admonition of the god, or better of the redactor, is the form under which things that do not belong to it were introduced into Zoroastrianism. If the genuine doctrine, let alone Zoroaster himself—as Nyberg believes—had accepted Mithra, there was no need for a reminder.

The déva-inscription of Xerxes is the most important document for the religious history among the OP. inscriptions so far known. After Darius had granted, about 520 B.C., the frasastiš to the pure Zoroastrianism which he himself professes in Behistūn and in his tomb inscription, Xerxes, having suppressed the revolts that broke out at his accession in consequence of this innovation, interdicted, not later than 480 B.C., the cult of the old gods entirely, destroying the temples and even prohibiting prayer. But already Artaxerxes II, who invokes in his inscriptions Mithra and Anāhitā oṣṭanāman besides AhuraMazdāh, who, according to Berossus, ordered to put up statues of Anāhitā in the temples of all provincial capitals, and of whose “victory-bringing hvahnaḥ” the Mylasa inscription talks—thereby has revoked the prohibition of Xerxes, and sanctioned by his frasastiš, given about 400 B.C., the return of the old déva, henceforth called yazata.

Those are the three documentary dates we have so far concerning the real history of Zoroastrianism. They agree with the traditional date that places Zoroaster between 570 and 500 B.C., and with the date of
the pre-Zoroastrian parts of the Mihr-Yasht which can be determined between 612 and 550 (see under 'Mithra').

There is much more to be seen. One needs only to think of any line of a Greek author of that period and to confront it with the poorness of mind which the passion of Mithra displays, to understand that the conquest of Iran by Hellenism was unavoidable and imminent.
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