

CHAPTER 10

Gathic Compositional History, Y 29, and Bovine Symbolism

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INTRODUCTION

It is my genuine pleasure to dedicate this article to my dear colleague Hanns-Peter Schmidt. Among his many accomplishments as an Indo-Iranist are his important studies of the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, in which he shows a rare combination of meticulous textual investigation, judicious argumentation, and original, often bold, conclusions. My present study has its ultimate methodological underpinnings in some innovative observations which Professor Schmidt made concerning Gathic compositional techniques (discussed in my next paragraph) which I subsequently expanded and systematized. I shall here apply this theoretical development to prove an independent hypothesis, or cluster of hypotheses, which Prof. Schmidt has elaborated in several articles pertaining to bovine symbolism in the Gāthās, views which have been controverted, especially by Helmut Humbach. For all these issues of composition and synthesis, my focal text will be Y(asna) 29, which is particularly full of difficult words and is in other ways as well probably the most mystifying text of the Gāthās. The study of Y 29 will lead me to examine some remarkable features of other Gathic poems.

GATHIC RING COMPOSITION

Over the course of several publications, Prof. Schmidt noted that within several of the Gathic poems, some stanzas standing in

concentric relationship are among those which show "concatenations" or linkage based on corresponding words, i.e. the Gāthās contain elements of the structural phenomenon known as "ring composition".¹ (This phenomenon is probably connected with the mnemonics of composing preliterate poetry.)

By about a decade ago I realized that in every Gathic poem, all the stanzas are concatenated concentrically in accord with one of several patterns of symmetry, and that for each poem the central stanza(s), which are thematically significant, concatenate(s) with the immediately preceding and following stanzas, and, more importantly, with the first and last stanzas. The correspondences which make for concatenations are chiefly of lexical forms (words related at the level of root or stem, or complete identity), and/or of meaning (synonyms and antonyms); in addition correlations of theme, or sound, or grammatical function may play an ancillary role.²

More recently I discovered that some of the longer Gathic poems contain within themselves what must be in effect the first compositional form of these poems, attested within the final versions as a set of concentrically concatenating stanzas. Thus

¹ "Die Komposition von Yasna 49", *Pratidānam F.B.J. Kuiper*, pp. 170-192, London: Mouton 1968; "Associative and Symmetrical Structure in the Composition of Yasna 47", *Neue Methodologie in der Iranistik*, ed. Richard N. Frye, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1974, pp. 304-330; and *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, with contributions by Wolfgang Lentz and Stanley Insler, American Oriental Society Essay Number 10, New Haven: American Oriental Society 1985 (henceforth "Schmidt 1985").

² See most recently my article "The Ties That Bind: On the Form and Content of Zarathushtra's Mysticism", *New Approaches to the Interpretation of the Gathas* (Proceedings of the *First Gatha Colloquium* held in Croyden, England [5th-7th November 1993 under the auspices of the World Zoroastrian Organization]), ed. Farrokh Vajifdar, London: C.S. Podd & Son, Ltd. (Surrey), 1998, pp. 127-197; henceforth "Schwartz 1998". Here I show, *inter alia*, how the principles of symmetrical ring composition prevails in the composition of one poem on the phraseological basis of another, as I show systematically with regard to Y 46 > Y 32 > both Y 49 > and Y 48. — The chart of patterns of Gathic symmetrical composition, p. 197, needs some minor revision. Cf. also my earlier article "Sound, Sense, and 'Seeing' in Zoroaster: The Outer Reaches of Orality", International [Indo-Iranian] Congress [of 5th-8th January 1989 in Bombay], Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute 1991 (printed without proofs), pp. 127-163.

(Yasnas) 28.1-8; 32.1-13; 33.2-10; 45.1-7; 46.2-10; 48.7-12; and 49.4-11. Most conspicuously in 28.1-8 and 32.12, the concatenations in the concentrically related stanzas are more consistently lexical (and in 32.1-13 more detailed)³ than in the final version of these poems, but this is not true of 46.2-10 as compared with the final Y 46 (46.1-19).⁴ This raises questions of rhetorical and esthetic vs. mnemonic function which cannot be addressed here. Even less can one say about the extent to which the "proto-poems" were modified in the composition of the final versions; judging from the abundant remnants of concatenations of the original concentric schemes, any such changes were few and superficial. The step marking the completion of the poems was concatenation of central to outer stanzas, giving the final version, which newly (if less carefully) satisfied the basic requirements of symmetrical composition. This feature is lacking in the preliminary forms of Y 32 (> 32.1-13) and Y 49 (49.4-11). At least the first version of Y 46 (> 46.2-10) and that of Y 28 (> 28.1-8) existed long enough for vicissitudes to have changed Zarathushtra's self-image and motivate him to expand these poems.

I note here the felicitous nature of Prof. Schmidt's use of the term "concatenation". The Gathic poems, whose overall systematic, concentrically oriented patterns, simple and complex, would explain the term **hāti-** (*hāiti-*),⁵ literally 'a tying up, tying

³ The 13-stanza pre-form of Y 32 concatenates as follows (henceforth capitals represent semantic and thematic, as against formal, correspondences): 1 & 13 **dūta-** (m./*n.) 'messenger/message'; 2 & 12 **aibyah mazdāh ... mraut** 'to them Wisdom ... spoke'; root **war** 'choose'; 3 & 11 **maz-** 'great'; 4 & 10 **acišta-** 'worst'; 5 & 9 (-) **jyātai/uš** 'from living'; and 7 & 6 & 8 **ainah-** 'violation'; root **sru** 'to hear'.

⁴ Cf. on Y 49 (vis-à-vis Y 32) and Y 28 (vis-à-vis Y 50) Schwartz 1998: 153-54 and 188-90 (fn. 2 above). Although that article focused on the form and content of Y 32, I had not yet noticed that the poem proceeded from the backwards recycling of Y 46 in sequential source of the present 32.7-13, to which were added stanzas 1-6 via symmetrical composition (see fn. 5 below), and then 13-16, the new entirety having a secondary, laxer, overall systematic symmetry (which I had charted in Schwartz 1998: 134).

⁵ The words in bold script represent a proximate phonemic reconstruction of Zarathushtra's Old Avestan along the lines of Robert S.P. Beekes' *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*, Leiden etc: Brill 1988; note

together', abstract noun to the verbal root *hā(y)-*, which serves to designate each individual Gathic Yasna (cf. Visperad 13.3) with its Younger Avestan name (e.g. Y 29 as the *Xšmāuuōiia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti*). I suggest that this word, later designating non-Gathic Yasnas as well, was used by Zarathushtra himself for his poetry; thus, in a pun on the homophones *hāti-* 'merit, earnings' (root *han*), *hāti-* 'Gathic poetry' at 32.9b", one of the two central stanzas of Y 32, *hātim* concatenates with the final word of the poems, 32.16c" (*ā*) *hāyayā* 'I would tie up, I would fetter' (as interpreted by Insler⁶, *ad loc.*).⁷

There are three basic patterns of Gathic concatenation. Depending on the poem, systematic linkage of stanzas (with A representing the first stanza and B the last stanza, etc., of the same poem) applies (I) to two single stanzas, i.e. A & Z; B & Y; C & X; etc.; thus Yasnas 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 43, 47, 48, 49, and 50; in longer poems, (II) stanzas are consecutively paired (A-B, C-D, E-F, etc.); here concentric linkage applies to blocks of such pairs (A-B & Y-Z; C-D & W-X, E-F & U-V; etc., in addition to which A may occasionally also concatenate with Z, and B with Y, etc.); thus Yasnas 46, 31, and 45; and (III), in which single and paired stanzas (or vice-versa) have systematic consecutive alteration, and the single stanzas concentrically concatenate with single stanzas, and with paired stanzas as in type II (A & Z; B & X; C & Y; D & W; etc. or A & Y, B & Z; C & X, etc.); thus respectively Y 44 and Y 51. The majority of poems of Type I also show consecutive pairs (or, in the instance of Y 49, triplets) of stanzas; and other features of arrangement may be simultaneous with patterns of concentric concatenation; thus 45.1-6 begin with **at fra waxšyā** and 8-10 begin with **tam nah** plus a phrase with desiderative participle, stanzas 6 and 11 acting as reprises or elaborations on the stanzas preceding. In all three types the central stanza(s) concatenate(s) with the stanzas immediately pre-

that I use w for Beekes' v. The Avestan in italics represents the "Vulgate" text, accordingly to Karl Hoffmann's system of transliteration.

⁶ Stanley Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*, Acta Iranica, Leiden: Brill 1975 (henceforth "Insler, Gāthās").

⁷ See the detailed discussion on pp. 175-77 of my 1988 article. For the magical connotations of the root, I now add Ossetic *xin(æ)* 'magic', whose etymology **hinyā* 'binding' I have from the late Dr. Ger-shevitch.

ceding and following, and (chiastically and/or otherwise) with the first stanza and the last stanza.

PART I

Y 29: STRUCTURE

Yasna 29 belongs in its concatenations to Type III, described above. The concatenations (with omission of consecutive pairings of stanzas) are as follows (capitals indicate correspondence of meaning, theme, or grammatical function):

1a" (*bis*), b & 11a" **mā** 'me'; 1a & 11a INTERROGATIVES; 1a, c & 11b, c 2ND PER. PL. PRON.; PL. PRON.; 1c and 11a-c REQUEST FOR DIVINE ENTITIES TO MANIFEST THEMSELVES.

2b' & 10a": **dāta** 'give ye' juxtaposed with form of $\sqrt{xšāy}$ 'have control or dominion'; 2c" & 10b" ELIMINATION OF HAVOC: ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND ORDER.

3a' & 9a' **gaw-** 'cow'; 3c" & 9c" **hau** 'that one' juxtaposed with \sqrt{ah} 'to be'; PROVISION OF AID.

4c" & 8b" **hau** 'that one' subject of 3RD PERS. SG. STEM **was-** 'to wish'.

5b' & 7b' **gaw-** 'cow'; 5b" end & 7b" end, nouns from $\sqrt{sāh}$ 'to indicate, to teach' (thereby, with 7b" *sāsnaiiā* 'through instruction', 5c" *fārasābiiō* = *frasāhbyah* 'for indications, *specifications, advisements', discussed below, as against the reading *fārasābiiō* 'for consultations').

5c & 6b **nait ... nait/naida**. 5c and 6c **fšuyantai** 'for the cattleman', 6c" end & 7a"

3RD PERS. $\sqrt{taš}$ 'to fashion'. 6c" & 9c" **wāstriyā** 'pasturage'; 6c" and 1a" **θwarš-** ($\sqrt{\theta wrs}$) 'shaped' and **taš-** 'fashioned'

1a & 11a-b' **k-** INTERROGATIVES; YOU(R); 1a" & 11a" **mā** 'me'.

Y 29, PHONOLOGICALLY

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

1 a xšmabya gauš ru'ā gržda kahmāi mā θwarždwan
kah mā tašat

- b ā mā aišmah hazas-ca ramah hišāya drš-ca tawiš(-ca)
 c nait mā wāstā xšmat anyah aθā mai sansta wahū
 wāstr(iy)ā
- 2 a adā tašā gauš prsat artam kaθa tai gawai ratuš
 b yat hīm dāta xšyantah hadā wāstrā gaudāyah
 θwaxšah
 c kam hai ušta ahuram yah drugwadbiš aišmam
 wādāyait
- 3 a ahmāi artā nait sarjā adwaišah gawai pati mrawat
 b awaiša'am nait widwai yā šyawatai ādranh ršwāhah
 c hāta'am hau aujīstah yahmāi zawanh jamā krdušā
- 4 a mazdāh sahwār marištah yazi wāwrzai pairi ciθīt
 b daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca yā waršatai api ciθīt
 c hau wicirah ahurah aθā nah ahat yaθā hau wasat
- 5 a at-wā uštānāiš ahwā zastāiš frīnamnā ahurāya
 b mah ru'ah gauš-ca azyāh yat mazda'am dwadi
 frasāhbyah
 c nait ržji'ai frajyātīš nait fšuyantai drugwasu pari
- 6 a atah waucat ahurah mazdāh widwāh wafuš
 wyānayā
 b nait aiwā ahū wistah naida ratuš artāt-cit hacā
 c at-zi θwā fšuyantai wāstriyāi-ca θwaršta tataša
- 7 a tam āzutaiš ahurah manθram tašat artā hazaušah
 b mazdāh gawai xšwidam-ca hau rušaibyah swantah
 sāsnyā
 c kas-tai wahū manahā yah ī dāyāt awā martaibyah
- 8 a ayam mai idā wistah yah nah aiwah sāsnyā gušata
 b zaraθuštrah spitāmah hau nah mazdā wašti artāi-ca
 c carkarθrā srāwayahai yat hai hūdmam diyāi
 waxθrahya
- 9 a at-ca gauš ru'ā rausta yah anaišam xšanmanai
 rādam
 b wācam nrš asūrahya yam ā wasmi išāxšaθriyam
 c kadā yawā hau ahat yah hai dadat zastawat awah

- 10 a yužam aibyah ahura dāta artā xšaθram-ca
 b awat wahū manahā yā hušitiš rāmām-ca da'at
 c azam-cit ahya mazdā θwā(m) manhi parwiyam
 waidam
- 11 a kudā artam wahu-ca manah xšaθram-ca at mā
 marta
 b yužam mazdā fraxšnanai mazai magāya pati
 zānata
 c ahura nū nāh awar ahmā rātaiš yušmawata'am

Y 29 TRANSLATION

- 1 To You the Cow's soul complained: "For whom did You shape me? Who fashioned me? Fury with force, violence with brazen vice have gripped me with might; I have no pastor other than You, so appear to me with good pastur(ag)e."
- 2 Then the Fashioner of the Cow asked Rightness: "What manner of judge(ment) hast Thou for the Cow? Since You, who govern her, have created, together with pasture, cow-nourishing diligence, whom do You wish to be her lord, who would thrust away the fury of the wrongful ones?"
- 3 They responded to Him through (the aspect of Rightness: "There is no impulse, free of malice, on behalf of the Cow. Of these beings (down there), not even he who is strongest is known through whom the Lofty Ones may move the lowly ones, (he) for whom I would come to (his) appeals with (my) protection."
- 4 May Wisdom, who most thoroughly remembers claims/grievances, take present notice of the things which are done by godlings and (evil) mortals, and take future notice of things which will be done (by them). He is the decisive Lord: as He wishes, so will it be for Us."

- 5 So we two were (there) with hands outstretched to the Lord to gain his favor, my soul/self and that of the Fertile Cow, that we might dispose Him for (imparting) specifications: "Is there no hope for the right-living person, none for the cattleman surrounded by the wrongful ones?"
- 6 Thereupon the Lord Wisdom, knowing in His foresightful awareness the (cosmic) designs, spoke: "Not one (hope), nor any judge(ment) in accord with Rightness has been found by the world, but for the cattleman and for pasturage has the Fashioner shaped thee."
- 7 The Lord, who is of the same disposition as Rightness, fashioned the mantra of poured butter and milk for the Cow; through His teaching, He is holy (through His energy of abundance, *swanta-*) to the underfed (mortals). "Whom hast Thou, who as/through/with Good Mind, could deliver these things down to mortals?"
- 8 "This (mortal) has been found here by Me, who is the one (mortal) who has listened to Our teachings: Spitama Zarathushtra. He wishes to sing praises for Us, O Wisdom, and (= including) Rightness, so may there be given him sweetness of vocality."
- 9 But the Soul of the Cow groaned: "I who have (thus) gotten (on my behalf merely) the mightless voice of a powerless man instead, (I) who wish for someone who is dominant with might! When will there ever be someone to give him help of hands?"
- 10 May You give to these (mortals) strength, O Lord(,) with/through/as Rightness and Good Mind, that Dominion through which one will establish safe dwellings and peace, of which I, O Wisdom, have first thought Thee (to be) the provider,
- 11 Where are Rightness and Good Mind and Dominion?

Now, take account of me, You (all), O Wisdom, and with awareness show recognition for the great patronage-bounty. Lord, come down to us here because of that gift to those such as You.

Y29: COMMENTARY ON TRANSLATION

29.1b More literally, 'there has fettered me (**hišāya**, sg.) fury and force, violence and boldness/captivity (**drš**), and might'. My 'brazen vice ... gripped' attempts to approximate the intentionally ambiguous stem **drš**, stem **drš-** 'boldness, daring' and/or **drz-** 'fastening, pressure, bond' (which occurs in the kindred context 53.8d).

29.2a" (and 29.6b") **ratuš** 'judge(ment), see below. 2b" **gaudāyah** 'cow-nourishing', like YAv. *gaodāiiu-*, which represents the etymon of Man. MPers. *gy'w*, Pers. *giyāh* etc. 'grass'. 2c" **wādāyait** (with obj. **aišmam** 'fury') approximately 'would thrust away' allows comparison with Gr. *ώθέω* 'push', cf. 48.12d **ha(m)maistārah aišmahya** 'expellers of fury' (continuing the context of 48.11b-c, the advent of good dwellings with pasture and establishment of peace as against the violent wrongful ones), and with YAv. *vada-* 'wedge' as well as with 32.10c" **wadar**, Vedic *vādhar* 'weapon', cf. 48.7a **ni aišmam dyata'am pati ramam syadwam** 'let fury be tied down; slash back violence'.

29.3c" **sarja**: I propose **sarja**, nom. of a neuter **sarjan-** 'impulse, impulsion, propulsion', (with n. adj. **adwaišah-**). This mg. suits the following statement concerning the heavenly beings not finding a human medium 'to move or motivate' (**šyawatai**, as per Insler, *ad. loc.*) the beings on earth.

Etymologically, **sarja** provides the Old Iranian source of the Parthian word indicated by the phonological shape of Armenian *šarž* 'movement, impulse, stirring, and quaking (of the earth)' and the verb intrans. *šaržim*, trans. *šaržem* 'to move'. The Parth. would show development ***sarja(-)** > *sarž(-)* > *šarž(-)* by assimilation; cf. *spiš-* > Sogd. *špšH-* /špiš/, Pers. *šipiš* 'louse'; ***snaija-** > Av. *snaēža-*, Sogd. */šnēž-/ > *šnyš-* /šnēš-/ 'to snow', Shugni *šənij* 'a snow', etc.

Under Middle Iranian *šarž- may now be placed Khwarezmian šž 'wild beast' and Persian šarza (šarže) 'swift (*tond o tīz*, the lead definition in Dehkhoda, *Loyatnāme*, s.v.), ferocious, enraged', chiefly a cliché epithet for lions, but also used of leopards, and more rarely of other large beasts, of snakes (*šarza mār* in a 13th century verse of Khājū Kirmānī, cited in M. Š. Šukurov *et al.*, *Farhangi Zaboni Tojikī*, Moscow 1969, II, p. 568), and people. Thus *šarza* means essentially 'making a quick move in attack, pouncing upon, darting forth ferociously', from which sense(s) Khwar. 'feral, wild (beast)' would derive. The Pers. adj. is compatible with a verbal notion involving impulsion, propulsion, jumping' posited for the Ir. root *s(a)rg/j. This is corroborated by the fact that such an Iranian etymon is the ideal outcome of a Proto-Indo-European root *skelg, and as such furnishes the only extra-Germanic correspondence for a group of Germanic words reconciled by a Gmc. base *skelk (also the expected outcome of PIE *skelg) 'to spring, jump' (cf. J. Pokorny, *Indo-Germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1959, p. 929 s.v. *(s)kel- 'springer'): Middle High German *schelch* 'rutting male deer'; Old Norse *skelkr* 'fright, fear' (cf. Eng. *jumpy*); and ONor. *skalkr*, Goth. *skalks* 'servant, slave' (*'one who will spring up/forth at command').

The derivation of Pers. *šarza* (*šarze*), epithet primarily for lions, from *šarž- and more ultimately from an Ir. root *s(a)rg/j 'to jump up, spring, pounce', leads to a solution for the problematic etymology of the Iranian word for 'lion' itself. Irregularly, Khwarezmian has *sry* and Khotanese *sar(a)u-*, with *s-*, whereas š- is found for Sogdian *šryw* and Middle Persian *šgr* i.e., /šagr/, giving Pers. *šēr* (*šīr*). Henning (*AION* Sez. ling. 6, 1965, p. 40) sees in the Mlr. alteration *s/š* reason to posit a non-Indo-Iranian *Wanderwort* whence also OInd. *siṅhá-* 'lion'. For the Indic, however, Hübschmann's separate comparison with Armenian *inc* (i.e. *indz*; *-u-* stem) 'leopard' has been attractively supported by Bailey's (*Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 1979, p. 484) connection with the Iranian root *haiz* 'to rise up' and ('creep'), which I adopt to posit two PIE nasal-infix forms from the root *seigh*: **siṅhó-* for the Indic, and **siṅhú-* for the Armenian, both referring to the pouncing (and/or stealth) of the beasts' attack.

This is suggestive for the etymology of 'lion' in Iranian. We may now proceed from Ir. **sargu-* *'springing, pouncer' (formed like the unrelated OInd. *tsáru-* 'sneaking, stealthy beast'), nominalized specifically for 'lion'. This noun is attested

for Old Persian proper names in Elamite orthography (*Šarku-dada*, *Šarkuniya*; see Gershevitch, *BSOAS* XXXIII/1, 1970, p. 90), in which Old Persian *s would have been spelled, as usual, with Elam. š. Our *sargu- ‘lion’ occurred alongside sarja- ‘springing up, moving rapidly, pouncing’, most likely in a *figura etymologica*. When the latter word became *šarž(ak) ‘fiercely attacking’ in Middle Iranian, in formulaic association with ‘lion’ (and reflecting the old *figura etymologica*) the *s- of ‘lion’ became š- in Sogdian and in Middle Persian. Thus we have as formulaic remnant the Persian *šēr-i šarza* (*šir-e šarze*), in which is found the last survival of an ancient set of developed forms, whose basic idea of impulsion occurs in Y. 29.3 sarja (sarjan-).

Earlier proposals for *sarajā* are unconvincing. Bartholomae’s ‘helper’, with invention of an unevidenced PIE root *kelg alongside *kelp ‘to help’, is a counsel of despair.

Humbach⁸ takes *sarajā* as ‘a deliverer’, from ‘he who smashes shelters’ (!), since he insists that sar- means ‘shelter’ and is cognate with OInd. *śarman-* ‘shelter, refuge’, and that the verb and noun sar(-), via ‘(enter into) mutual shelter with’, only when governing a noun in the instrumental case, but not genitive, to mean ‘(have an) association (with)’. However, a review of the evidence will show that OAv. sar(-) throughout refers to connection or union (probably from the meaning ‘commingling’ inherited by the Indo-European root *śar(H)* from Proto-Indo-European.

49.9 b nait ršwacāh saram dadans drugwata
 c yat dayanāh wahištai yujan miždai
 d artā yuxtā ya’ahi djāma’aswa

49.9 b-d ‘The person whose words are true does not make a union/alliance with the wrongful (= deceitful) one, but they yoke their envisionments to/for the best prize, who are yoked to Rightness in the race, Jamaspa!’

The passage in itself contrasts, in effect, (b) a union with (drug- in drugwant- ‘wrongful’ = ‘deceitful’) and (d) a yoking with Rightness. The close semantic relationship between sar- ‘union, connection’ etc. and √yuj ‘to yoke’ is shown by 49.8d ‘yoked with Rightness’ and 49.8d’-b’ artahya dāh saram ‘make Thou the union of Rightness’, and

⁸ Helmut Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and Other Old Avestan Texts*, I and II, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatverlag, 1991 (henceforth “Humbach, *Gāthās*”), II, pp. 33 and 78.

49.9c 'yoke their envisionments' parallels 49.5b 'has connected/united (*sāršta*) his envisionment with Good Mind. Furthermore, 49.3a-b contrasts the 'ties (*sarah* pl.) of Good Mind' with the 'associations (*haxmanh*) of the wrongful', sharing the similarity of the notions of *sar*- and the root *hac* 'to associate' found also in the seminal passage 32.2a-b 'connected/united (*sāramnah*) with Good Mind and the boon associate/friend (*hušaxā*) with (= of) Rightness' and at 44.17c-d (*āsktim ... sarai*), concentrically concatenating with 44.4b-c *drta* 'held fast' and *yaugt* 'yoked'. Elsewhere *sar*- co-occurs with 'ally' (31.21b-c: *wraθa-*), 'kinsman', and is collocated in syntactic parallelism with 'community' (YH 35.8 *artahya ... sari artahya wrzanai*). Against Humbach, the meaning 'association (tie, nexus)' is shown for *sar*- with genitives; all of the foregoing instances, 49.8, YH 35.8, 31.21 (as well as 53.3) have *sar*- with *artahya* 'of Rightness', and 49.3 has it with *wahauš manahah* 'of Good Mind'.

The only evidence Humbach (*Gāthās* II, p. 118) offers for *sar*- as 'shelter' (or, rather 'enclosure') is *sairi* at V 3.8 and 3.12, 7.45, and 7.47. Humbach takes this form as locative of *sar*-, i.e. **sar-i* with normal, epenthetic *-i*; the contexts refer to how long it takes the corpses of humans and dogs to decompose in the earth. It is thus rather unlikely that men, let alone dogs, are buried in containers. Since in mss. of these *Vidēvdād* passages we find *saēre* ('they lie') for *sairi*, cf. conversely Yt. 5.102 *saite* for **saēite* 'lies', we may read **saēire* (...) *nikante/ nidaite* 'they lie (...) in a state of being buried/deposited ...'. The wrong form *sairi* may have been influenced by V 15.17 *sairi varəzāne* < YH 35.8 *sairi ... varəzānē* (*sari ... wrzanai*).

The extra-Avestan evidence confirms the basic sense of *sar*- as 'union, tie, nexus'. For Zarathushtra's admonition to Jamaspa to the effect that the righteous person (49.9b) *nait ... saram dadans drugwatā* 'does not ... make union with a deceitful person' I point out a remarkable parallel from an early Pashto proverb: *yaibat sara ma kānāi* 'do not make union with a slanderer', which preserves a noun *sara* f. 'union' (=OAv. *sar*- f.), whence the later usual Pashto use of *sara* as postposition 'with'. The verb *sar* is represented in Sogdian by Chr. Sogd. 'srt̄y' 'united with, accompanying'.⁹

Against Kellens-Pirart's novel comparison of *sarjā* with OInd. *ślāghate* 'confides in, speaks confidentially, vaunts, boasts' from a putative Indo-Iranian root **sl(e)Hgh/jh*,¹⁰ OAv. *sarjā*, taken with Kellens-Pirart as 1st pers. sg., does not syntactically fit easily at 29.3; moreover such a *sarjā* is unlikely as a (rare) zero-grade thematic stem (**sljha-*) in the active, in contrast with the OInd. full-grade thematic in the middle. Furthermore, OInd. *-gh-* against expected *-h-* points to derivation from

⁹ See Schwartz 1998: 154 & 191 for details.

¹⁰ Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, III, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1991, p. 35.

an underlying noun **slāgha-*, which could be vṛddhi from a root *śla(g)h*, i.e. without internal *-H-*. The Indo-Iranian antiquity of the formation *slāgha-* results from G. Morgenstierne's finding the formally precise (but semantically slightly different) correspondent in Pashto: "*šāyāl* 'to please, to prefer, to like', < *srāg-*, cf. Skt. *slāgh-* 'to trust in, boast of, praise, commend'" (*Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927, p. 77). To these a Khotanese form, which seems to show short *-a-* as the root vowel (and agreement with the laudatory sense of the Pashto) is added by H.W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 1979, p. 408: *ṣṣahanā* 'virtue, quality'. These correlations between the Vedic and the East Iranian forms relevance support for the *sarajā* of our context Y. 29.3.

29.3c" *krdušā* 'with protection', instr. of *krduš-* (provision of) protectiveness'. This form was identified by Gershevitch as the antecedent of Sogd. *kurč* in *kurč-wādē* 'place of safety, refuge', as discussed with the attestations of this compound by Sims-Williams.¹¹ I propose that it survives as a loan in colloquial Persian *korč* (used with *nešastan* 'to sit') 'the act of (a hen) brooding'. For Sogdian forms in colloquial Persian, note e.g. Persian *lert*, *lerd* 'lees, dregs, sediment', cf. Sogd. *ḍrtyc*, Per. *dord*. Plr. *krduš-* may be derived from PIE **kerd-*, under which Pokorny lists Olrish *fo-cridigedar* 'girds', and nouns Olrish *cr(i)uss* 'girdle', Welsh *crys* 'girdle, shirt' < **kerd-su-*; Russ. *čeres* 'money-belt' etc. The original root meaning may now be specified as 'to surround protectively'.

29.4' b *sahwār* 'claims, grievances': The form (*sax'ārā*) is readily identifiable as pl. of *sahwan/r-*, attested as Sogd. S. *sywn*, MPers. *saxwan*, Pers. *soxan* 'word, speech, utterance' etc. a legalistic additional specification of meaning is now evident from Bactrian *σαχοαο*, which N. Sims-Williams cites from unpublished texts, in connection with a compound form of the word in a document declaring that a slave is manumitted *αβησαχοαο αδο αβηαιοσαο* 'without claim and without argument'.¹² Thus I take 29.4 *sahwār* as 'a claim (against), (prose-

¹¹ N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985, p. 84. [Cf. now Mugh PN *kwrcy*.]

¹² *Idem*, "A Bactrian Deed of Manumission", *Silk Road Art and Archeology (Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura)* 5, 1997/8, p. 199. [See now Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, Oxford: University Press, 2000, p. 223 *σαχοαο* 'word, statement, claim, thing, business, matter.']

cutorial) grievance'. The legalistic nuance explains the archaic pl. -ār vs. the more productive -āni. Note also 29.4c' *wicirah* '(judicially) decisive'.

In addition, the foregoing explanation of *sahwār* accords with the following *marištah*, superlative from root *m(a)r* 'to remember, to keep (mental) records, to (keep ac)count', found, again in reference to *Mazdā Ahura*, in a legalistic passage in Y 32 (a text which uniquely parallels Y 29 in its account of cruelty toward the Cow, 32.10,12,14; note also collocation of roots *hā(y)* 'to tie' and *grz* 'to complain', 32.9 *hātim ... grzai* and 32.13 *hiš(s)at ... jigrzat*: 29.1 *gržda ... hišāya*). 32.6b' has *hātā-marnai* '(O Thou) who keepest account of merits/just deserts' (obj. [32.6a'] 'the many violations, countless').¹³ The context here features legal language: 32.6a', 7a', and 8a' *ainah*- 'violation'; 32.6c" *sanha*- 'sentencing' and 32.7b *yā jīwiyā sanhatai yāiš srāwi* 'which are declared as capital offenses for which one undergoes a hearing, i.e. is tried' (cf. Insler, *Gāthās*, *ad loc.*). Cf. 43.6d *ratūš sanhatai* 'declares judgments'; 32.7a" *aujai hādraya* 'I sincerely profess'; 32.7c" *rixtam* 'outcome'; 32.8b" *hwāramnah* 'swearing, pleading judicially'; and 32.8c" *wiciθai*- '(judicial) decision'.

32.3-6a, which immediately preface *hātāmarnai*, and the other legal terms in 32.6-8, further illuminates the theme of 29.4, *Mazdā's* remembrance of claims against misdeeds committed (29.4b') 'by godlings and (evil) mortals', *daiwāiš-ca martyāiš-ca*. Such crimes are detailed at 32.3-5, in which *daiwāiš-ca martyāiš-ca* is paralleled by equivalent phraseology: 32.3 *at yuš daiwā ... yas-ca wāh ... yazatai ... šyaumān // api dbitāna* 'you godlings and whoever worships you ... duplicitous are (your) doings...'; 32.4 *yāt yuš tā fra mimāθa yā martiyā acištā dantah waxšantai daiwazuštā* 'whereby you have ordered the worst things, (by) doing which mortals wax, the minions of (you) the godlings'; and 32.5 *tā dbanauta martiyam hujyātaiš amrtātas-ca // yat wāh ... yanh daiwanh akasca manyuš akā šyauθnam wacahā yā fra cinas drugwantah xšayah* 'Thus have you cheated the mortal(s) out of good life and immortality, just as the Evil Spirit (has cheated) you who are the godlings—an action with/through evil speech, via which the

¹³ For *anāxšta*- as 'countless', cf. YAv. *ahaxšta*-; root *xsā* (Skr. *khyā*) 'to take account of, tell, discern'; cf. 46.2e *ā xsah*, in a passage compositionally related to 32.6. Further details elsewhere.

Ruler has discerned the Wrongful One.' Thus (29.4) Mazda's quality of most thorough account-keeping (**marišta-**) of claims for the wrongdoings enacted by mortals and godlings parallels (32.6) Mazda's keeping account (**marni-**) of penalties merited for 'violations through which one gains fame or notoriety' (**aināh ... yāiš srāwahyati**). The latter refers back to 32.3c **šyaumān ... yāiš asrudwam** 'the doings ... through which you have gained fame/notoriety', i.e. the deeds (32.3b) of the godlings and their worshippers = 32.4a"-b' **martiyā ... daiwā-zuštā** 'mortals, ... the godlings' minions' = 32.5a-b **martiyam ... daiwanh** 'mortal(s) ... godlings.

The (*Indo-Iranian) formulation 29.4b' **daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca**, although it is variously paraphrased in 32.3-5, reoccurs in 48.1, which itself goes back to 32.3-5 (see below, after translation, with fn. 2):

48.1 a **yazi adāiš artā drujam wanhati**
 b **yat ansšyutā yā dbitānā fra'uxtā**
 c **amrtāti daiwāiš-ca martiyāiš-ca**
 d **at tai sawāiš wahmam waxšat ahura**

48.1 'If, through these things, one will with Rightness defeat Wrong, when the duplicitous things, enacted/motivated by malice, have been declared for the sake of immortality by godlings and (evil) mortals, then one shall increase laudation of Thee with benefactions/ salvations, O Lord.'

For root-stem **anh-**'malice' in **ansšyutā**, cf. **ahra-**'malign' euphemized in 32.5b" **aka-** manyu- 'the Evil Spirit'. For **-šyutā** 'enacted, motivated' ... **dbitānā fra'uxtā** 'duplicitous (things) declared', cf. 32.3c' **šyaumān ... dbitānā** 'duplicitous doings' and 32.5c' **akā šyauθnā wacahā** 'actions with evil speech'; **amrtāti** 'for immortality', cf. 32.5a' **amrtātas-ca**; and **waxšat** 'will increase', cf. 32.4b' **waxšantai**.

29.4a" and b" **ciθit** 'may observe': The departure of this optative (with zero-grade suffix and root) from the ideal (historical) norm does not exclude its presence in Gathic linguistic realia (Beekes, Humbach). The starting point may have been 28.2c" etc. **dadit** from stem **dad-** alongside common **dada-**. The stem **ciθ-** is supported by 32.5c" **fra cinas** 'recognizes, observes'

from the same root *ciθ* (the object here again is demonic wrongdoing), cf. 29.4c' *wicirah* 'discerning, decisive', in the same semantic field.

29.6a *wafūš* '(cosmic) designs': Earlier translations have 'pronouncements, utterances, formulas' or the like, by comparison with *ufya-* 'to praise, proclaim (a hymn)'. This interpretation does not much suit the present context of *wafūš*, nor that of 48.9c" *wafuš*. As at 29.6a", at 48.9c" this noun is direct object of the verb *wid* 'to know', in reference to the larger scheme or design of things, with the fated future:

48.9a *kadā waida yazi cahya xšayaθa*
 b *mazdā artā mā āθiš dwaiθa*
 c *rš mai ucām wahauš wafuš manahah*
 d *widyāt saušyans yaθā hai artiš ahat*

48.9a-d 'When shall I know if you have control, O Mazdā with Rightness, over whoever is a threat and danger to me? Let the design of Good Mind be told to me truly; the weal-bringer should know what (kind of) reward he'll have.'

I take our *wafuš* 'design' etymologically as *'a weave, a weft' (the Indo-European pattern-concept *par excellence*) from the root *waf* 'to weave', attested throughout both East and West Iranian. (From *waf* 'to weave' with another Indo-European metaphor, that of poetic construction and artful speech, may come the OAv. *ufya-* 'to hymn'.) For -f- (*-ph-?) against earlier -b(h)- (vestigial in YAv. *ubdaēna-* 'woven stuff'), cf. Av. *jafra-* vs. OInd. *gambhīrā-* 'deep', *nāfa-* 'navel, kin' vs. OInd. *nābhi-* (and Av. cmpd. *nabā-nazdišta-* 'next of kin'), etc. The two attestations, acc. pl. *wafūš-* and nom. sg. *wafuš-*, allow stem *wafu-* m. or *wafuš-* n. I opt for *wafuš-* 'design, pattern', comparing OInd. *vāpus-* 'form' (> 'beauty'), and propose Ved. **vābhus-*, upon replacement of **vabh-* (cf. *ūrṇavābhi-*) by *vay-* for the verb 'to weave', become *vāpus-* via *vapati* 'shears, shaves' (whereby *vāpus* 'form' as *'shaped by trimming'). [For the "Weaving of Fate", cf. Richard G. Onians, *The Origin of European Thought*, Cambridge 1959 (1998), pp. 349-351.]

29.6a" *wyānaya* 'in foresightful awareness': all three Avestan attestations of this word, spelled *viiāna-*, may be reconciled grammatically as locatives referring to a psychic faculty of sentience and/or foresight which characterizes gods. In the present passage, 29.6, *Mazdā*, 'knowing in His *wyāna-* the (cosmic) designs', or 'knowing the (cosmic) designs in His *wyāna-*, answers the question of future hope for the Cow (His answer does not preclude that such hope is yet to come, as is clarified in the positive by His aspect Good Mind). In 44.7 the quality of awareness is providential, and involves the filial aspect of 'piety' or 'devotion' (as *aramati-*, lit. 'Right-mindedness' may be more practically translated).

44.7b *kah brxθām tāšt xšaθrā mat aramatim*
 c *kah uzmam cart wyāniā puθram puθrāi*

44.7 b-c 'Who has fashioned, with (His) Dominion, the esteemed Right-mindedness? Who, in foresight(ful awareness), has created the son to be respectful to the father?'

In seeing *wyānayā* as referring to the Fashioner (*Mazdā*) rather than to the son, I take into account that *wyāna-* (constantly locative) is throughout attested as a faculty of a god [this would hold true if the word referred to the "son", who, as we shall see, is the Holy Spirit]. The divine reference of *wyāna-* is found again in Yt. 10.64, for the translation of which I follow Gershevitch,¹⁴ for now however leaving *viiāne* (Gershevitch 'in the soul') untranslated:

'Mithra ... in whom there is a great and mighty commitment in his *viiāna-* to the broad-spreading Religion, whereby its seed is dispersed unto the seventh clime.'

A translation of *viiāna-* as 'soul' would follow from an equation of the Avestan word with the antecedent of MPers. *gyān*, NPers. *jān* 'soul' whose Achaemenid meaning is approximated by the Pahlavi logogram *HYA* = *ḥayyē* 'vitality (< life)',

¹⁴ Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge: University Press 1967, pp. 103 and 213.

cf. OInd. *vyāna-* 'breath (circulating throughout the body)', root *an(H)* 'to breathe'.¹⁵ The fact that the Persic word must be of Proto-(Indo-) Iranian origin, and thus should have been reflected in Avestan, and the fact that it belongs to the vocabulary of psychic functions, suggest that it is relevant for the Avestan word in question. However, if Av. *viiāna-* meant 'soul', its absence from e.g. eschatological contexts would be odd. Moreover, for the three Avestan attestations 'soul' ('animation') is not apt, while some faculty of (supernatural?) awareness is. Finally, the OAv. correspondent to the OIr. ancestor of MPers. *gyān* would be trisyllabic, **wī'āna-*, rather than the disyllabic form *wyāna-* at 29.6 and 44.9.

I suggest a modified form of Insler's explanation of OAv. *wyāna-*. Insler (*Gāthās*, p. 152) takes *wyāna-* as 'attentiveness' citing W.P. Schmidt's demonstration that the Vedic root *vī* (3rd pers. pres. sg. *véti*, pl. *vyánti*) means 'richtet sein Augenmerk auf etwas, trachtet nach, auf etwas bedacht sein, verfolgen'. The last sense, 'to pursue', is continued in Iranian; cf. Bartholomoe, *AirWb.* s.v. *vā(y)-*, where note the form *viiāna-* pres. mid. ptc., Yt 13.35. From 'direct one's observation (toward)' one gets the ordinary Iranian pres. stem *waina-* 'to see'. However, in Vedic the verbal stem *véna-* has the nuance 'to see in a spiritual sense', and the noun *vená-* 'a seer (gifted with foresight)' as noted in Schmidt's article; cf. Gonda's connection of these words with prescient praeternatural qualities.¹⁶ I propose that the Avestan *wyāna-* 'foresighful awareness' reflects root *wī* in reference to prescient/praeaternatural sight, with nominalization of the participle formally evidenced at Yt 13.35, superimposed upon and replacing **wī'āna-*, which was almost identical to *wyāna-* in phonology, and was in the same semantic field. The supplantation of *wī'āna-* was also motivated by the pressure of competition by other words for forces of animation (*ru'an-*, *anman-*, *manyu-*, *manah-*, *baudi-*, *frawarti-*, etc.)

¹⁵ Humbach, *Gāthās* II, p. 39 (where differently on Yt 10.64) and p. 201 accepts the connection with MPers. *gyān*, but takes the word via 'heart, soul' as **"what is innermost"*, deriving this "from the root *viiā* 'to cover, wrap, envelop'".

¹⁶ Jan Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963, 349-357.

29.8c" *hai hūdmam dyāi waxθrahya* 'may sweetness of vocality be assigned to him': There is no reason to deny the parallelism of *RV* 2.21.6 *dhehi ... svādmānam vācaḥ* 'assign (imptv.) sweetness of voice'. In *hūdmam* we have the acc. of **hūdmá-* 'sweetness', which would in gradation stand to OInd. *svādmán-* as YAv. *xšnuman-* to *xšnaoman-* 'propitiation'; *diyāi* is pass. juss. inf. to root *dā* 'establish, assign' = OInd. *dhā* in *dhehi*; and *waxθra-* is the cognate of OInd. *vāc-* = 29.9c *wāc-* 'voice'. (for *waxθra-*: *wāc-* see below, *ad loc.* If *waxθra-* has the meaning 'mouth' of its OInd. cognate *vakra-*, or refers to another organ of voice production, it would be metonymical, like Gr. *στόμα* 'mouth: speech, utterance', cf. *χρυσόστομος* 'golden-mouthed' = 'eloquent', etc. There is no warrant for Humbach's (*Gāthās* II, *ad loc.*) taking *hudamēm diiāi* as 'may I see (**dī'āi*) the good build (**hu-dma-m*) of his speech-organ' = 'may I enjoy the beauty of his speech'.

29.9a" *xšanmanai* 'instead': The usual rendering 'to have to be content with (!)' etc. is based on analysis of the texts' *xšqnmēnē/xšqnmāinē* as **xšam-man-ai* with comparison of the OInd. root *ksam*, is invalidated, however, by Pashto *zyamal* 'to endure', whose *zy-* would require an Av. cognate to have **γž-*. Phonologically the incontestable antecedent of *xšqnm-* would be not **xšamm-*, but **xšanm-*; thus for 29.9a" one should proceed from **xšanmanai*, dative of a *-man-* derivative of an Ir. root *xšan*.

I see the root *xšan* in the otherwise unexplained Oss. (*ä*)*xšän* 'together with, in common, mutual' <**xšana-* from PIE **ksono-* 'a situation of exchange' which also accounts for Old Irish *son* in *ar son* 'in exchange, instead of, in place of, for the sake of', showing the same dative sense as *xšanman-ai* from *xšanman-* 'an exchange' < PIE **ksenmen-*. From the PIE root, **ksen* 'to exchange', comes **ksenu-*, **ksen-u* (formally like PIE **dhebh* 'to diminish, impair, deceive' > Hitt. ptc. *tep-u-* 'small', verbal *tepaw-* 'to diminish', OAv. root *dbau*, pres. *dbāwaya-* 'to deceive', *dbauman-* 'deception'; OInd. *tsārati* 'creeps, sneaks', *tsāru-* 'stealthy beast', YAv. pres. stem *sr(a)uu-* 'to sneak (up)') **ksenu-ó-* > Arch. Gr. **ksenw-o-s* *'one engaging in institutional gift-exchange' 'host, guest, guest-friend' (formed like YAv. *hauruua-* < *har-w-a-* 'observans, watching, guardian'), Gr. **ksenw-ion* (>Myc. Hom.) 'hospitality gift'; Av. stems *xšnāuuaitia-*, *xšnaoš-*, *kuxšnu-*, *cixšnuša-*) 'to satisfy merits or expectations, give hospitality or its cultic equivalent', *xšnut-*

'hospitality gift, (eschatological) requital'. The semantic range of PIE *ksen and its derivative is matched by PIE *meiH* 'to (ex)change': Lat. *mūtāre* 'to change', *mūtūus* 'mutual'; OSicil. *moitos* 'requital'; Goth. *maidjan* 'to exchange', *maipms* '(recovered) gift'; OInd. *méthati*, *mithāti* 'changes, alternates', *mithás* 'counter to, together with'; OAv. *maiθā* 'change', YAv. *maēθmanəm* 'for pairing', MPers. *mēhmān* 'guest' (= Pashto *melmə*, Yazghulami *miθmen*), *mehmānih* 'hospitality'.¹⁷

Contextually, *xšanmanai* 'instead' refers to the contrast of what the Soul of the Cow succeeds in obtaining (*rādam* 'I have achieved', cf. 33.2c *rādanti* 'they achieve') vs. her hopes; 'The powerless (29.9a" *an-aiša-*) voice of a mightless man vs. someone mighty (29.9c" *išā-*) with dominance'; there being given to him (29.8c" *hai ... diyāi*) sweetness of vocality vs. one who will give him (29.9c" *hau ... hai dadat* help of hands; and the desires of the Cow (29.9b" *wasmi* 'I wish') vs. those of Zarathushtra (29.8b" *wašti* 'he wishes').

29.11a"-b" *marta* 'take account' ... *pati zānta* 'recognize': The two verbs are here coordinated by their parallel meaning and syntax (both 2nd pers. pl. imptv.). The first form, vulgate *mašā* < *már-ta*, with stressed root-syllable, represents the same verb root as 29.4a *mar-išta-* 'who most takes account'. The second form, *pati zānta*, refers to the acknowledgement of hospitality gifts, or their cultic equivalents, in institutionalized reciprocity; this is indicated by both the YAv. usage of *paiti.zan-* and by *RV* 7.54.1 *prati jānīhi* in hospitality contexts. Similar function for the verb *ciθ* is shown by 33.2b" *caiθatai astim* 'recognizes the guest' and 46.9a *caiθat* 'recognizes' before the overt hospitality context 46.10-14. Thus perhaps 29.11 *marta ... pati zānta* is a semantic echo of 29.4 *marištah ... -ciθit*, with reference to di-vine requital, respectively for good and for evil.

Y 29 (AND 27.13, "AHUNA VAIRILA"):

FORM, INTERPRETATION,
AND TEXTUAL HISTORY

¹⁷ Schwartz 1998, pp. 139-145 *et passim*.

The above-discussed concentricism of Y 29 has important consequences for the interpretation and history of the poem. It not only invalidates Insler's suggestion for the original order of stanzas (*Gāthās*, ad Y 29), according to which 3-5 followed 9 and 6 followed 2; but the conventional order, as confirmed by the system of concatenation, is seen to set the framework for the rhetorical structures of the poem. The questions of 29.1, 'For whom did You shape me? Who fashioned me?', the ensuing question of 29.2, 'What judge(ment) dost Thou have for the Cow?', and the question at 29.5c (which immediately leads to the central stanza), 'Is there no hope for the right-living man, none for the cattleman in the midst of the wrongful ones?' are all addressed by what must be translated as the answer in the center, 29.6b-c: 'Not one (hope), nor a judge in accord with Rightness has been found by the world, but the Shaper has fashioned thee (the Cow) for the pasturing cattleman.' 29.6b "Not one (hope) ... has been found by the world ..." is resolved at 29.8a-b 'This (mortal) has been found by Me here (= in the world), the one (mortal) who has listened to our teachings: Spitama Zarathushtra.' This also answers the question in 29.8b-c as to who would bring down to mortals the teaching through which the Cow is provided with milk, and the mantra of poured butter.

These questions are addressed to the three aspects of the godhead (in order, Rightness, the Wise Lord, and Good Mind). A positive answer finally comes via Good Mind, from the earthly plane, where Zarathushtra alone has been found as able to transmit the divine teachings and to be champion of the Cow. The treatment in terms of the three entities is most closely comparable with Y 28, in which the three entities figure in every stanza. Note especially 28.8a"-b' *artā ... hazaušam ahuram* 'the Lord, of the same disposition as Rightness', cf. 29.7a"-b'. Importantly also, 28.1c states as goal the satisfaction of the "Soul of the Cow"; the collocated "Holy Spirit" (28.1b) parallels 29.2a "the Fashioner of the Cow" (see below, on bovine symbolism); and 28.1a" *ustānazasta-* is equivalent to 29.5a *ustānāiš ... zastāiš* 'with outstretched hands'.

As compared with the other Gathic poems, the linkage between the outer stanzas of Y 29 is weak: interrogative words and forms of 'you', and tautometric *mā* 'me'. Furthermore, there is no linkage between the last and central stanzas. I suggest that the minimality of concatenation is due to the final stanza of Y 29, 29.11, being outside the original construction of this poem, a

substitute for the original conclusion, which is completely ad-
ducible.

For the original 29.11 I propose 27.13, the "Ahuna Vairiia Prayer", which Zoroastrianism has considered the most potent mantra. Of the four brief Old Avestan texts traditionally called "the Holiest Prayers" (27.13-15, 54,1), 27.13 alone is metrical; moreover it furnishes the name of the Ahunauuaitī Gāthā, to whose meter Y 29 (as well as Y 30-34) belongs. Here is 27.13, with my translation:

27.13 a yaθa ahū wari'ah aθā ratuš artāt-cit hacā
 b wahauš dazda manaha šyauθnāna'am ahauš
 mazda'ai
 c xšaθram-ca ahurāya yam drigubyah dadat
 wāstāram

27.13 'As he is (fit) to be chosen by the world, so
 the judge, in accord with Rightness and
 Good Mind, dedicates/assigns himself and
 the Dominion over actions of the world
 to Wisdom The Lord, whom it (the world)
 has established as pastor to the poor.'

Leaving the translation aside for now, I note the corres-
 pondences 27.13c" (end-line) wāstāram 'pastor' (acc.) and
 29.1c wāstā 'pastor' (nom.) and (end-line) wāstriyā 'pasture'
 (instr.); post-caesural 27.13a" and 29.1c" aθā 'so'; 27.13a and
 29.6b ahū ... ratuš artāt-cit hacā 'by the world ... a judge in
 accord with Rightness'.

The comparison of 29.6b nait aiwā ahū wistah naida ratuš
 artāt-cit hacā '... not one [29.5c' frajyātīš 'hope'], nor a ratu-
 in accord with Rightness has been found by the world' with
 29.8a-b ayam mai idā wistah aiwah ... zaraθuštrah 'this one
 (man), i.e. Zarathushtra, has been found here by me' favors for
 ratuš 'a judge' rather than 'a judgment' (as probably also 29.2
 artam kaθā tai gawai ratuš ... kam hai uštā ahuram yah ...
 aišmam wādāyāt 'What manner of judge (arbitrator, regulator)
 hast Thou for the Cow? ... Whom do You wish to be her lord,
 who would thrust away ... fury ...?). Thus 27.13a, 'As he is to
 be chosen (wari'ah, paralleled by 29.6b' wistah 'found') by the
 world, so the judge in accord with Rightness (aθā ratuš artāt-cit
 hacā, cf. 29.2" artam kaθā ... ratuš as well as 29.6b" ratuš
 artāt-cit hacā) ...'

I regard my proposal that 27.13 represents the original eleventh stanza of Y 29 as well evidenced; more moot is my translation of 29.6b" (and 29.2a") as well as 27.13a" *ratuš* as 'judge', a self-reference of Zarathushtra. I shall now try to justify this interpretation, and then move to the broader issue (for which the translation of *ratuš* is relevant) of why Zarathushtra changed the conclusion of 29.11. I shall first show the evidence of Zarathushtra's self-image as judge, reserving for my later discussion of bovine symbolism why Zarathushtra saw himself specifically as judge for "the Cow". One may start out from the evidence of Y 29 itself that this judgeship is tantamount to the championship of Rightness and Order against the forces of Wrong and chaos (29.2-3), and that this championship is connected with Zarathushtra's being able to receive and transmit the divine teachings to mankind (29.6-8). This ability is revealed (29.8) from the earthly perspective by Good Mind (thus resolving the questions initiated by the Soul of the Cow) and then taken further by the Fashioner of the Cow in his interrogation of Rightness (29.1-2), on the basis of whose report the Lord Wisdom consults with Good Mind (29.6-7).

For all these issues, the most important illumination is provided by a brief Gathic composition whose contents show it to belong to the same earliest period of Zarathushtra's poetic career as Y 29. This poem is recoverable as the present 46.2-10, a complete concentric construction in itself which documents the difficulties of Zarathushtra's early career; Zarathushtra expanded the poem from 9 to 19 stanzas, as the present Y 46, after he acquired his chief patrons. This gives the poem's first half, with the original core 46.2-10, the appearance of a "flashback". In the original first stanza of the early poem, he complains (46.2c' *grzai*) of his defenselessness, just as the Soul of the Cow complains in 29.1 (a' *gržda* etc.), and he describes himself at 46.2a" as *anaiša-* 'powerless', a word found again in the Gāthās only at 29.9a" in the Soul of the Cow's lamentful description of Zarathushtra. [see further below, BOVINE SYMBOLISM.]

Postponing a detailed examination of both the proto-poem found as 46.2-10 and the textual relationship between the opening stanza-pair, the central stanza, and the final stanza-pair of the completed Y 46 (see the latter part of this paper), I shall now note the possible evidence in Y 46 for Zarathushtra's self-image as judge. In 46.10, which was the final stanza of the proto-poem,

and became the central stanza of Y 46, Zarathushtra promises, with regard to those who support him:

46.10d *yans-ca haxšāi xšmāwata'am wahmāya*
e fra tāiš wiswāiš cinwatah fra'a prtum

46.10d 'and those when I shall bring into (my)
 association for the laudation of those of
 Your kind; with all of these shall I cross
 the Bridge of the Judging One.'

The term 'judging (one), he who is judging', *cinw-ant-*, is pres. ptc. of the stem *cin(a)u-* from root *ci* 'to pick out, select, discriminate, discern judiciously, judge'. The Bridge is where the souls of the just and unjust are judged to go respectively to heaven or hell, and it is with the latter dooming function of the Bridge of the Judge that Zarathushtra continued the poem at 46.11. That Zarathushtra may have seen himself to have a role in this judgment seems to follow from 46.18, which concatenates with and elaborates 46.10(-11). In 46.18 Zarathushtra again assigns "the best things in his power" to his supporters, and adversities to those who would harm his community, and claiming this to be his gratification of the divine will, he declares this assignment to be the decision or discernment (*wiciθa-*) of his own mind and intellect.

A self-declaration of being a judge alongside of Mazda seems well to have been something from which Zarathushtra, as I have argued, later distanced himself, accused by his rivals of hybriistic behavior. Toward such a conclusion, I have argued that in the consecutive recycling of phraseology backwards from the end of Y 46 into the composition Y 32 (first stanzas 7-13 and then stanzas 14-16), Zarathushtra took from 46.18 his proclamation of judgment (*wiciθa-*) in gratification (*xšnaušamnah*) of Mazda's will, and in the central stanza 32.8, converted the phraseology of 46.18 into a humble surrender to Mazdā's judgment as to whether he, Zarathushtra, is a sinner like Yima, who, swearing falsely, declared himself a god and claimed that thereby he was merely wishing to gratify (*cixšnušah*) his people's desires. Proceeding from 32.8, 49.1a-b is directed against the constant embattled opposition of the "greatest Plague" (thus Schmidt's "Die Komposition von Yasna 49", p. 172 for *bandwāh* ... *mazištah*), i.e. the Evil Spirit and his preachers (cf.

49.2a-b). Here Zarathushtra says that he has merely been wishing to gratify (**cixšnušā**) his poorly overseen flock.

46.18c" **wiciθam** not only concatenates with (central stanza) 46.10e" **cinwatah** '[Bridge] of the Judge'!, but is the climax of other expressions of judgment or discriminative discernment from **wi** plus root **ci**. In the preceding stanza Zarathushtra calls **Mazdā Ahura** (46.17d) 'He who discerns/judges (**wi cinaut**) the law-abiding and the lawless one'; but it is this faculty which Zarathushtra, two stanzas earlier, himself claims to possess: (46.15a"-b) 'I shall tell you ... how you may discern (**wi cayaθa**) the law-abiding and the lawless'. This ability of discernment or judging, which is informed by Rightness, is represented *in parvo* in the protoform of Y 46: The righteous person, being able to discern (46.5d' **wicira-**) that an obligatory guest is wrongful, must warn his family. Otherwise **wicira-** occurs only at 29.4c', to designate **Mazdā's** decisive or judicial authority over the misdeeds of false gods and mortals.

The relevance of the protoform 46.2-10 for Y 29 (27.13) arises not merely from the issue of judgeship in 46.10 (which concatenates with 46.2, with **grz-** and **anaiša-** paralleling 29.1 and 9), but from the fact that 46.10 is immediately linked with, and introduced by 46.9, which has a unique allusion, hitherto not sufficiently understood, to Y 29:

46.9a **kah hau yah mā ardrah caiθat parwiyah**
 b **yaθā θ(u)wā zawišti'am uzmahi**
 c **šyauθnai swantam ahuram artāwānam**
 d **yā tai artā yā artāi gāuš tašā marut**
 e **išanti mā tā tai wahū manahā**

46.9 'Who is the trustworthy one, the first who will acknowledge me as I (first) most quickly respected Thee (to be) in action the holy, righteous Lord? The things which the Fashioner of the Cow said to Thee with/through Rightness, which He said to Rightness, when He was seeking me, those things which He said to Thee He said to Thee with/through Good Mind.'

The last two lines refer to conversation reported in Y 29: the Fashioner of the Cow's interrogation of Righteous (29.2), the answer of the divine triad ('They', pl.) through Rightness (29.3),

Wisdom's further response (29.6), and the final answer to the search initiated at 29.2, given by/with Good Mind at 29.8, finding Zarathushtra. 46.9a-b initiates the reciprocal hospitality/cult theme, continued at 46.10 and subsequently at 46.11 (c' *astayah* 'guests'; with 46.9a" *caiθat* = 32.2b" *caiθatai astim* 'recognizes the guest'), I take *ardra-* as *'competent, reliable, trustworthy one' (cf. OInd. *ardhuka-* 'successful', but Sogd. *ardūk* 'sincere'), from OAv. (a)rd 50.11c" = OInd. *rdh-* 'succeed, achieve'; cf. 50.8c-d, where *ardra-* is collocated with *hunartāt-* 'skill' and 34.7a-b, where *ardra-* is in apposition with *caxri-* 'able to make'. As a term of hospitality, note 50.4d 'the *ardra-* in the House of Song (the heavenly divine abode)' and similarly 43.3d"-e '[he who would show us the straight paths ...] where the Lord dwells, an *ardra-*, a kinsman (*huzantu-*), one like Thee', where 'kinsman' is tantamount to an intimate in the sphere of hospitality, as is also *ardra-*, for which cf. Greek *πιστός* 'trustworthy' as one fit for the hospitality relationship.

Given the close connection between the proto-poem 46.2-10 and Y 29, both of which reflect a period of the poet's self-perception as powerless, the thematic correspondence between the final stanza 46.10 and (the present) 29.11 embodies an explanation of why the latter stanza was substituted for the original conclusion of Y 29, i.e. 27.13: to elicit patronage.

It is possible that, in addition, Zarathushtra, in changing the ending of Y 29, wished to de-emphasize his self-presentation as judge. This conclusion may be borne out by the difference between 48.18, in which Zarathushtra emphasizes that it is a matter of his judgment (*wiciθa-*) that he shall assign eschatological rewards and penalties and thereby satisfy (*xšnušammah*, root *xšn(a)u*) the divine will, and the corresponding derivative stanza (in the composition of Y 32 based on the reverse recollection of Y 46), 32.8, in which Zarathushtra leaves it to Mazda's judgment as to whether he is guilty of a crime like Yima, who sinned by proclaiming himself a god, this on the excuse that he meant 'to satisfy (*cixšnušah*, root *xšn(a)u*) our people'.

PART II: BOVINE SYMBOLISM

Hanns-Peter Schmidt has on several occasions boldly and innovatively addressed the issue of bovine symbolism in the Gāthās, most extensively in Schmidt 1975 and most recently in Schmidt 1985, Appendix, as a final riposte to critics of his ideas

on the subject. Obviously a study of Y 29, in which the Cow is central, must include a position on the bovine symbolism. I find Schmidt's arguments, with their varied multiplicity of evidence, thoroughly convincing, and am pleased to offer here some further confirmations, based in large measure on the expanded study of symmetrical composition.

This is a summary of the main points of Schmidt's explanation of Gathic bovine symbolism (henceforth I shall continue my adaptation of Beekes' reconstructive transcription, e.g. **dayanā** for *daēnā* etc.). The Cow (**gaw-**), represents the good **dayanā** 'the vision' (in my translation, 'envisionment'). The latter is both a faculty of the human psychological apparatus, and an object of this faculty (the "vision" of the teachings of the Lord) whence the later prevalent meaning 'religion' derives. The term probably means also something like our term 'conscience'.

The 'Fashioner of the Cow' (**gauš tašan-**) is the Holy Spirit **swanta-manyu-** (thus also Stanley Insler, whose independent view of Gathic bovine symbolism overlaps in many ways with Schmidt's, cf. Schmidt 1985, Appendix.) The faculty of envisionment, symbolized by the Cow, has as complement a male creative faculty **xratu-**, which is the "triggering predisposition" for the envisionment (and its realization as 'cognition', **cisti-**).

To begin my own observations on the Gathic bovine symbolism, I shall proceed from an issue the difficulty of whose resolution Schmidt frankly acknowledges, the meaning of **gauš ru'an-** or **ru'an-gauš** 'the Soul of the Cow' (for which Schmidt very tentatively suggests "the innermost or essence of the vision or religion"). From the larger context of Y 29, in which 'Soul of the Cow' is the fixed term for the Cow as active *dramatis persona* (29.1, 5, 9) but not in more general allusions in the same poem, where "Cow" alone occurs (29.2, 3, 7), and the fact that the 'Soul of the Cow' is paired with the soul of Zarathushtra, who is also a *dramatis persona* (as well as narrator), I propose that Y 29 speaks of the soul of the Cow and Zarathushtra's soul because it is in a non-material form that the Cow and Zarathushtra would enter the higher plane (which is not "down" in the realm of the mortals, cf. 29.7c) in which they witness and participate in the conversation of the divine beings, and in which Zarathushtra's mission (as caretaker and transmitter of the good Envisionment) is ordained.

It is in this perspective that one may now examine the remaining Gathic attestation of the "Soul of the Cow", 28.1c. First, however, I must point out that the earliest form of Y 28 is represented by the first 8 (of the 11) stanzas, which form a complete poem, which (as against the final 11-stanza Y 28) shows systematic concentric concatenation based on correspondences of word-forms. The remodeled, final Y 28 with its eleven stanzas by design imitates the format of the 11-stanza Y 50 (**zaraθuštra-** at the absolute center, juxtaposed with two expressions of the office of composition of **manθra-**, the entire middle section concatenating with line 1a" via a word for 'help' or 'support' sought from Mazdā, the center also concatenating with the last stanza, in which Zarathushtra manifests a self-image of Mazdā's poet-priest, who hopes to facilitate the renewal of existence). In Proto-28, we have concatenations: 1 & 8 **yāsā** 'I entreat'; 2 & 7 **√dā** 'give' with obj. **āyaf̥tā** 'boons'; 3 & 6 **√gam** 'to come' in imperative plus a noun form **√rap** 'to support'; 4c" (end) & (immediately) 5a' (beg.) **arta-** in a continuous expression of the desire to glimpse Rightness); 4a' & 1c" **ru'ānam** 'soul' (acc.) and **šyauθna-** 'actions', and 5a' & 8a' **θwā** (as 3rd syll.).

We now see that Proto-28 is literally framed by material occurring elsewhere only in Y 29: 28.8a"-b' **artā ... hazaušam ahuram** 'the Lord, of the same nature as Rightness' (in a mantra introduced by 28.7c **manθrā**); note also the combinations of 'give/establish' and 'rule', **da'astu xšayaca**: 29.2b **dāta xšayan-tah**) corresponds to 29.7 **ahurah manθram ... artā hazaušam**. 28.1a" has **ustānzastah**, cf. 29.5a **ustānāiš ... zastāiš** 'with outstretched hands'; 28.1 has the overt 'Holy Spirit' **manyauš ... swantahya** collocated with 28.1c" **gauš ru'ānam** 'the Soul of the Cow', which, in confirmation of the symbolism illuminated by Schmidt and Insler, is paralleled by the juxtaposition of 29.1a' **gauš ru'ā** 'soul of the Cow' with 29.1b' **tašā gauš** "Fashioner of the Cow". Most importantly, the concatenation between 28.1c" **ru'ā** and the central 28.4a' **ru'ānam** 'soul' recapitulates 29.5b **mah ru'ā gauš-ca** 'my soul and that of the Cow', as I shall show.

From the foregoing unique parallels show that Y 28 (i.e. Proto-28, Y 28.1-8) proceeds from the thought of Y 29. In Y 29 the issue as to whether there is an earthly champion for the Cow is presented as being discussed among the three aspects which the Godhead assumes, which are collectively addressed by the

soul of the Cow at 29.1c", 'appear You to me with good pasturage', and by Zarathushtra at the conclusive 29.11, 'Where are Rightness, Good Mind ...? O Mazdā, ... may You (pl.)' In Y 28 every stanza inculcates the divine triad, and in Proto-28 the concatenative responson, via *θwā* 'Thee', to 28.5a 'Rightness, shall I see Thee?' is the theological equation in 28.8a, 'The Best One, Thee [O Lord], who art of the same nature as Best Rightness [< 29.7a] do I entreat!'

28.1 takes up from 29.1 the theme of the concern of the Fashioner of the Cow / Holy Spirit for the soul of the Cow:

28.1 'With hands outstretched in reverence of the Holy Spirit, I entreat (You) all, O Wisdom with Rightness, for actions of support, through which Thou mayst gratify the intellect-craft of Good Mind, and the soul of the Cow.'

The divine 'actions of support' could include divine conferral of the ability for Zarathushtra to perform efficacious priestly acts in support of the divine values, with mediation of the Holy Spirit; cf. the later finale, 28.11, in which Zarathushtra asks Mazdā to teach him to speak with His divine mouth from out of His Holy Spirit. 29.1 also provides the background for the linkage of 28.4 with 28.1:

28.4 'I who am meditating to raise up my soul in concert with Good Mind, having experienced the Lord Wisdom's rewards for actions, as long as I can and am able shall I look in search of Rightness.'

For mss. *mān gairē ... dadē* (in which, as Insler observed, *gairē* as '[to] hymn' or 'to awaken' is contextually improbable) I adopt Insler's emendation to *mānḡ airē dadē*, with *airē* (*arai*) 'to raise', Zarathushtra, who has experienced (*widuš*) a vision of Mazdā's ultimate requitals for actions (cf. 29.4 with e.g. 43.4-5 and 45.7-8, where note 45.8d', the only other Gathic attestation again referring to visionary experience). My interpretation is that Zarathushtra, through meditative contemplation with Good Mind, wishes again to exalt his soul to the higher realm of the divine beings (where Zarathushtra saw himself appointed to give the divine utterances "down" to the mortals, 29.7c) in which he can glimpse Rightness Itself.

Professor Schmidt's important observation of the parallelism between 44.9 and 48.5 shall be the springboard of my remaining observations in support of his interpretation of Gathic 'cow' and 'bull'. My approach will be to first examine the larger contexts of each passage in their relevance for bovine symbolism and then, after a reevaluation of the compound verb *yauš dā-* (*yauždā-*) which unites the two passages, to expand Schmidt's comparison of 44.9 and 48.5. The discussion of these passages will then lead to a reanalysis of the amazingly intricate 46.18-19, thereby confirming what is probably the boldest of Schmidt's suggestions on the bovine symbolism.

I start by translating the relevant sections of 44.6-11:

- 44.6c-e 'Proper Thought through actions solidifies Rightness; with Good Mind has She assigned Dominion to Thee. For which persons didst Thou fashion the joy-bringing pregnant Cow?'
- 44.7b 'Who with Dominion fashioned esteemed Proper Thought? Who, via (his) foresightful awareness, made the son respectful Toward the father? With these (questions) I am helping to discern Thee, O Wisdom, (in Thy role) as creator of all things.'
- 44.8e 'Via what will my soul proceed to the good things to come?'
- 44.9b-d 'How shall I vitalize that Envisionment which the Master of Dominion would proclaim as that of a munificent one, with lofty dominion— one such as Thee ...?'
- 44.10b-e 'Have they correctly seen that Envisionment, which is the best of those that exist, and which, in association with Rightness, would prosper my creatures through actions and words of Proper Thought? Because of my cognition they have wished for Thy powers, O Wisdom!'
- 44.11b-c 'How shall Proper Thought move outward toward those whom Thy Envisionment streams forth?'

44.10-11, being the central stanzas, make *dayanā* 'Envisionment' focal in the poem. The symbolism Cow = Envisionment is borne firstly by the imagery of the Cow which leads from 44.6 to the stanzas with *dayanā*. Note the connection of the motif of *Mazdā*'s fashioning the Cow (44.6e) with that of the fashioning of Proper Thought (44.7b), both implicit as answers to the questions put forth. On the way to the denouement at 44.7e, we have the seemingly out-of-place question of the relation of the son to the father. Given the background of Y 44 in the Indo-European genre of enigmatic revelation texts, the question may be understood as a riddle of sorts. According to Y 47, which is devoted to the Holy Spirit, *Mazdā* is the father of the Holy Spirit, 'who fashioned for this one here the joy-bringing Cow, and, giving peace for her pasture, Proper Thought'. 44.7c' *wyānāyā* 'with foresightful awareness' parallels the same form at 29.6a", again in reference to *Mazdā*'s knowledge concerning the Fashioner of the Cow. Thus 44.7d-e ('helping to discern' as per Insler, after ms. *fraxšnē*) subtly provides the reason for and the answers to the questions of 44.6e-7c: the Holy Spirit, son of *Mazdā*, is the agency through which *Mazdā* fashioned the Cow, amongst His other creations. Finally in the transition to the 'Envisionment' stanzas 44.9-11, in 44.8 Zarathushtra's declaration to meditate (b' *manh dadyāi*) with help of Good Spirit and Rightness how his soul will proceed to the future 'good things' recalls 28.4, discussed above in its relation to the Soul of the Cow.

The focal role of the Envisionment in Y 44 is also borne out by the ring-compositional pattern of this poem, in which the central stanza 44.10, where (b') *dayanām* is juxtaposed with (c) *mai gaiθāh artā frādait* 'would further my creatures with Rightness', concatenates with the final stanza 44.20, according to which (c) the party of the priests hand the Cow over to fury (*aišma-*, cf. 29.1b') and, as per the last line of the poem, (e) are not eager 'to further her and pasturage with Rightness' (*hīm ... artā wāstram fradahai*). As Schmidt has observed, the 'creatures (*gaiθāh*) to be prospered' represents the physical counterpart of the psychical elements; note that 50.3d *gaiθām*, which Schmidt cites, continues the thought of 50.2a-b 'the joy-bringing Cow ... pastured'. The relationship of the term *gaiθā* to the bovine vocabulary especially emerges from the mg. 'flock, livestock': Pš. *yela* 'flock', Parth. *gēhbān* 'herdsman', cf. OPers. *gaiθā* 'estate'. Even where, at one level, *frād-* 'to further' with obj. *gaiθāh* applies to material flocks, livestock, and posses-

sions, as at 46.12-13 (cf. 45.9), or 'flocks' as metaphor for Zarathushtra's followers, as at 46.7, the presence of *dayanā* in adjoining stanzas shows that *gaiθā(h)* is simultaneously part of a symbolic complex involving the "psychical elements".

The semantic multiplicity of this complex is also demonstrated by Y 34, in which we have concentric concatenations of stanzas 2 and 14 by a" *dāta* 'has been established' and c' adjectives from *xšma-* 'You', and of 3 and 13 by c' *huda'ah-* 'beneficent, munificent'. 34.2c' has (as adj. of *wahma-* 'laudation') *parigaiθa-*, probably 'embracing all physical existence', and 34.3b' *gaiθāh* 'the human physical elements'. Continuing 34.13b-c 'the Envisionment of the saviors proceed (*wrāxšat*, cf. 44.8e above) to that prize ...' we have:

34.14 'For that (prize), selectively desirable for bodily breath (*astwatai uštānāi*), has been established, through action of Good Mind, for those in the pen of the pregnant Cow, who further Your good cognition, O Lord, with Rightness, through the community (*wrzanā*) of intellect-craft.'

The combined elements of 34.2-3, 13-14 are those of 31.11:

31.11 'Since Thou, Wisdom, first fashioned for us the "creatures" and envisionments (*gaiθās-ca tašah dayanās-ca*) and intellect-crafts via Thy mind when Thou didst create bodily breath, as also actions and proclamations whereby one manifests choice and wishes.'

This passage follows 31.9-10, which begins with 'Thine was Proper Mind, Thine was the Fashioner of the Cow, the Spirit's intellect-craft' (*as xratuš / mainiiūš*; alternatively **aš.xratuš mainiiūš* 'the Spirit endowed with much intellect-craft'), this connected with *Mazdā*'s creation of paths for the Cow's choice between the pasturing and non-pasturing cattleman. To Schmidt's emphasis on the importance of 31.9-10 as evidence for the bovine symbolism I would add the collocation of 31.9-10 with 31.11, and the parallel material in the concatenating 34.2.3 and 13-14.

34.14c *hucistim ... frād-* 'furthering good cognition' parallels *gaiθāh ...* with *frād-*, as explained by Schmidt. The striking repetition of *wrzana-* at 34.14b" and c" plays on the two senses

of the word, the usual 'community' in the second instance, and in the first instance 'enclosure, pen for cattle', cf. *RV* 2.2.29, in which the inspired poetic vision (*dhī-* cognate with *dayanā*), is said to swell amidst the immortals in heaven, as a cow (*dhenū-*) providing milk in the enclosures (*vrjaná-*, cognate of *wrzana-*).

In continuation of 48.5c-d (the bovine symbolism initiated in Y 29), 48.6 shares the motif of pacification with 48.7, both stanzas forming the center of Y 48. I note the similarities of 48.7-11, which is chiefly based on the backwards recollection of the last stanzas of Y 32 (i.e. 32.16-14) to Y 29: The Cow which is to be "tended", 48.5c' *gawai ... fšuyah*, corresponds to the Soul of the Cow in its relationship to the cattle-tender, *fšuyant-*, 29,5-6; here also 29.6a" *wafūš* > 48.9c" 'design'. Note further 29.1b and 48.7a *aišma-* ... *rama-* 'fury ... violence' (29.1b also *tawiš* 29.1b" > 48.6b' 'might', respectively against and from the Cow). Cf. 29.10a"-b *dāta artā xšaθramca ... yā hušitiš rāmamca da'at* > 48.11a"-b *artā ... xšaθrā ... hušitiš* and 48.11c" *rāmam da'antai*, which (29.10) the hoped for action by Mazdā Ahura, i.e. granting Dominion with Rightness, whereby one may establish good dwellings and peace, is shifted to 48.11a"-b) the pasture-providing Proper Thought and to (48.11c) future benefactors; cf. 48.6a-b, where the "esteemed" Proper Thought is invoked in connection with the Cow's granting good dwellings (*hušaiθma*).

48.10d, 'the bad rulers of the lands with their intellect' is textually to be equated with (32.14) the *kawis* who (in league with the *karpan* priesthood) entrap their intellects through their complicity in ordering the destruction of the Cow. By contrast, it is (48.12) the 'saviors of the lands' who, through their hearkening of the divine proclamation (*sanha-*) will be the 'expellers (*ha(m)maistārah*, root *miθ*) of fury' (*aišma-*)—closing the ring begun at 48.7a', 'let fury (again *aišma-*) be tied down'. Concatenation of 48.12 which follows 48.11, Proper Thought, characterized by good dwellings and (pasture). The last stanzas recapitulate the combination of themes found in the central stanzas: (48.6) Under the auspices of Proper Thought, the Cow will establish good dwellings and (48.7) fury will be incapacitated (tied down by the bonds of the ally of the divine entities). Implicit is a relationship between the Cow and (46.3) 'Bulls of the days' who are 'the intellects of the 'saviors' (*saušyant-*), who await the advent of the person who will expel (*miθat*, root *miθ*) the false preacher(s) of the land(s) (46.4b"-c' ... *dahyauš...*

dužzu'āh = 46.1c *dahyauš yai sāstārah drugwantah*, cf. 48.10c-d *yā ... karpanah ... yā-cā ... dušxšaθrā* ['bad rulers' = *kawis*] ... *dahyūna'am*). For the latter relationship 'Cow' and 'Bull(s)', one may, applying Schmidt's decoding of the symbolism, compare the collocation of *dayanāh* 'envisionments' and *xratu-* 'intellect' in 48.4, although in the latter instance the 'intellect' is that of *Mazdā*. 48.3b-c indicates a person may be holy (*swanta-*, cf. 48.7c") and be knowing the hidden proclamations (*sanha-*, cf. 48.12c") through his intellect, like *Mazdā* himself.

Now for *yauš dā-*, *yauždā-*: I reject the consensus view¹⁸ which takes *yauš*, as a neuter for 'whole(some)ness, perfectedness, purification', the precise cognate of Vedic *yós* (*yóh*) 'well-being (or the like)', and related to Lat. *iūs* 'law, judgment' and *iūrāre* (denom. vb. from *iūs*) 'to declare solemnly, to swear'.

From an (Indo-)Iranian viewpoint, however, Ir. *yauš* is formally identical to *yauš* Gathic genitive of *āyu-* 'vitality, life, lifetime, age' (43.13d' *dargahya yauš* cf. 31.20b' *dargam āyu*), representing a PIE paradigm nom. *Aóyu*, gen. *Ayéus* etc. As will be discussed presently, for Av. *yauš*, which functions as a direct object of the verb *dā* (similarly Vedic *yós* with *dhā* etc.), one may still trace the original genitive function; moreover, for both *yauš* and *yós* the meaning 'vitality' is basic. By contrast, Lat. *iūs* is remote semantically, and, in view of OLat. *iouestod* probably = *iüstō*, formally different, and assignable (with Uhlenbeck) as an **-es-/os-* n. 'that which is binding' to PIE root **yew* (Vedic *yáuti* etc.) 'to bind, attach' (not 'to fit!'); cf. perhaps the ritual gesture of *iūrātio*, laying hold of a sacred object.

I propose that in OAv. *yauš dā-* (> *yauždā-*), *yauš* goes back to a partitive genitive, the entire phrase meaning, with an external object in accusative, 'to make something partake of vitality'. This amounts to 'to impart vitality upon something'. In Indic, *yós*, perceived as the direct object of *dhā*, had become a neuter noun, no longer part of the paradigm of *āyú-* which, for its part, developed an analogical gen. *āyór*. This renominalization must have taken place early enough for *yós* to pass into obsolescence, surviving in Vedic only in two ways:

(1) It serves as the base of Vedic *yóšan-*, *yóšā*, *yóšanā*, *yóšit* 'young woman' (whose vitality would be manifest in her suit-

¹⁸ See the references to Dumézil, Benveniste, and Kellens in Schmidt 1975: 3, n. 6).

ability for childbirth; note the lack of a masculine counterpart term), and

(2) in the formulaic pairing *śam yōh* or *śamca yōsca*, together obj. of *dhā* or other verbs of presentation, or as subject of *bhū* 'be' etc., where *śam* is root-stem 'activity' from root *śam* = κάμνω 'to exert energy, to labor', cf. YAv. *θamnah-* 'activity, attending to, solicitude', Khwar. *rθm-* < 'to become awake' < **fra-θam-* 'to become active' (Schwartz); taken from *θam* are YAv. *θātar-* 'solicitous' (Gershevitch) and Chr. Sogd. *θty'q* 'consolation' (Sims-Williams); for Elr. dialectal *θ* for expected *s*, cf. Khwar. *θyd* = Pers. *saxt*.

I explain the frequent YAv. meaning of *yaoždā-* 'ritually to hallow or purify' as a specific development of 'confer vitality'. It is based on the idea of 'the holy' as that which is viewed as having vital energy (as against inertness and death). This idea is illustrated by Greek *ἱερός*, which in Homer can still mean 'lively, energetic' (like the Vedic cognate *iśirá*, which is also a divine epithet), and characterizes water, fish, and the resolute power called μένος (cf. Vedic *mánas* with *iśirá*-). Similarly, Av. *spənta-* (< *swanta-*), translated by Pahl. *abzōnīg* 'incremental, increasing', is from the root represented by Indo-Iranian *sū* 'to swell, to be strong' > 'to bring weal, benefit, salvation'; the precise Balto-Slavic cognates (Lith. *šveñtas* etc.) mean 'holy', whereas the latter terms refer to things which inherently have sacred energy, YAv. *yaoždā-* refers to a ritual operation whereby this holiness is conferred or renewed upon an object, or the object (or person) is "purified", i.e. redeemed from contamination by dead or corrupt matter.

From the viewpoint that *yauždā-* has the basic meaning 'to make partake of vitality', we may now reexamine a Vedic-Avestan correspondence which will return us to the Gathic data. Among the formulaic Vedic prayers for healthy progeny, addressed to various divinities, *RV* 6.50.7 is directed to the waters: *apo ... dhāta tokāya tánayāya śam yōh* 'Waters, establish energy and vitality for the bodily offspring'. The use of the verb *dhā* with (*śam*) *yōh* paralleling *yaoždā-* may mark the archaism of its address to the Waters, especially since it is to the Avestan goddess, representing the Waters and thus presiding over fertility. According to *Yt* 5.2, 5.5, *Anāhitā* 'imparts vitality to the semen of all males ... to the wombs of women for birth (*zqθāi*); cf. *Yt* 5.5, of milk in the breasts of women. For the close connection of

**yauš* with vitality for childbirth, cf. above on Vedic *yóṣan-*, *yóṣit* etc. 'young woman'.

The foregoing relationship between *yauždā* and *zaṭa-/zanθa-* 'birth' brings us to 48.5-7:

48.5 b' aramatai
 c *yauždāh martiyāi api zanθam wahištā*
 d' *gawai wrzyatām tām nah hwarθāi řṣuyah*

48.6b" brxθai
 c *at ahyāi artā mazdāh urwarāh waxšat*
 d *ahurah ahauš zanθai parwiyahya*

48.6b-d 'O Proper Thought,
 Thou vitalizest the best things for mankind; may
 also (vitalized) birth-giving be effected for the
 Cow. Thou tendest Her for our nourishment.

48.7b"-c O Esteemed [Proper Thought],
 Mazdāh Ahura shall make the plants grow for Her
 at the birth of the original(ly planned) existence.

48.6 *hwarθāi* is paralleled in its spiritual sense by 34.11, which corresponds to 48.6-7 also with its collocation of *aramati-*, *uta-yūti-* plus *tawiš-*, and *waxš-*. The Cow, i.e. the good Envisionment, is to receive vitalization for giving birth (cf. *gaw- ahī-* 'the pregnant Cow') to "the best things"; and just as this Envisionment is meant to nourish humanity, so are "plants" which Mazdā is to grow (*waxšat*) as fodder for the Envisionment. A reciprocal relationship is shown by the concatenation with 48.1d" *waxšat* and obj. 'laudation [for Mazdā] at the time of salvation (*sawāiš*) [when Rightness will win over Wrong]; this salvation will be brought in by the saviors, 48.12 (concatenation of 48.1d *at tai sawāiš* with 48.12a *at tai ... saušyantah*) who will be 'the expellers of fury' (48.12d" *aišmahya* concatenating with 48.7a" *aišmam* in a similar context). The intellects of these saviors are the "bulls" which will impregnate the "Cow", i.e. the good Envisionment. [See p. 93, top].

The passage 44.9-10 parallels 48.5 in its collocation of *yauš dā-* with *cisti-* *aramati-* and *wahištā*; a parallel with *aišma-* at 48.6a' and concatenatively, at the finale 48.12c", follows from the above-noted concatenation of the central stanza :

44.10(c) *gaiθāh artā frādait* ‘would further the flocks ... with Rightness’ and the finale: *gām ... aišmāi dāta ... nait hīm* **Izan artā wāstram frādahai* ‘deliver the Cow to fury ... (and) are not eager to further her and her pasturage with Rightness’, which also links ‘Cow’ with *dayanā* ‘envisionment’ occurring in both the central stanzas 44.10-11 as well as the preceding 44.9 (whose position parallels the centrality of *dayanā* in Y 48, with both connected to a stanza-final castigation of *aišma-*).

For the rest of this study, I need cite in Y 44 these verses:

44.9b *kaθā mai yām yauš dayanām da’anai*
c yām hudānauš patiš sahyāt xšaθrahya
d” θwāwans

44.10b *tām dayanām yā hāta’am wahištā*

44.9b-d “How shall I vitalize that envisionment of mine, which the master of dominion, such as Thou art ..., would proclaim as that (envisionment) of a benefactor?”

44.10b that envisionment which is the best one for those that exist ...?”

It seems to me likely, from what was noted above on *yauš dā-*, that the reference to vitalizing a cow’s giving birth serves as model (via the symbolism Cow = Envisionment) for “vitalizing” or “enlivening” envisionment, 44.9, on which Gathic basis YAv. *yaozdā-* could have the objects, attested alongside *daēna*, *aṅhhuuā* ‘consciousness, mental state’, and further *uruuan-* ‘soul’, but this cannot be proved.

In any event, if my interpretation for 48.5c(-d) is correct, i.e. the verb *yauždāh* has as object *wahištā* ‘the best’, then the statement here, that the vitalization of the Cow for giving birth is among “the best things” for mankind, is more closely paralleled by 44.9b and 10b, according to which the Envisionment to be vitalized (for Zarathushtra) is “the best (Envisionment) for those that exist”, against assumption that *yauždāh* is a noun whose adj. is *wahištā*. I shall support my interpretation of 48.5c *yauždāh ... wahištā* through an analysis of 46.18(-19), for which it should first be noted that 44.9a-b *yām yauš dayanām da’anai* is immediately qualified by a phrase (44.9c-d) *sahyāt*

... Ōwāwans which corresponds precisely to 44.1c" Ōwāwans sahyāt 'one like Thee would proclaim'.

I construe 46.18-19 as follows:

46.18a yah mahya yauš ahmāi az-cit wahištā
 b mahya ištaiš wahū caišam manahā
 c astanh ahmāi yah nāh anstāi dadīta
 d mazdā artā xšmākam wāram xšnaušamnah
 e tat mai xratauš manahas-ca wiciθam

46.19a yah mai artāt haθyam hacā waršati
 b zaraθuštrāi yat wasnā frašatamam
 c ahmāi miždam hanantai para'ahum
 d manahwištāiš mat wiswāiš gāwā āzī
 e tā-cit mai sans tu'am mazdā waidištah

46.18 'Whoever would, for me, deliver the things of vitality (or: vitalize the best things), to him do I assign [the best things] in my power with Good Mind, (but) enmities [do I assign] to him who [would deliver us] unto enmity, O Wisdom (.) with Rightness(.) gratifying Your wish. This is the decision of my intellect-craft and my mind.

46.19 Whoever, in accord with Rightness, would truly effect for me, (who am) Zarathushtra, that which is numinously most splendid, to him, who merits it, [do I assign] a prize of future existence, together with all (things/persons) known in the (?divine) mind: the mated pregnant Cow. Thou, Wisdom, (art) most knowing; Thou proclaimest to me these very things.'

These last two, 46.18-19, are concatenated with both the first two stanzas and the central stanzas of Y 46. We shall see that the connection between 46.18-19 and the central 46.10 is important for the interpretation of the former stanzas. Together with correspondences between first and last stanzas, e.g. the quest for and success in having the power (ištī-) of Good Mind (resp. 46.2e and 18b), and Zarathushtra's knowledge vis-à-vis Mazdā's (waid-, resp. 42a and 19e), there are statements of reciprocity within the opening and closing stanza-pairs, and between

the stanza-pairs opening and closing stanza-pairs. With stem *xšnāuš-* 'to gratify (through institutional exchange relationships)': (46.1c) Zarathushtra, not gratified (through patronly hospitality), cannot (46.1c) gratify Mazda (cultically); but, having acquired patronage (and power), Zarathushtra can (46.18d) gratify Mazda's will through requitals benign (46.18a-b) and (46.18c) malign, *anstanh ... yah ... anstāi dadīta* 'hostilities for him who would deliver [us] to hostility', which contrasts with 46.2d *yat fri'ah fri'ai dadīt* 'which a friend would grant to a friend' (*fri'a-* *'intimate' being frequently associated with *xšnau(-š-)* in reference to hospitality). Reciprocity (positive and negative), hospitality, and patronage are found again at 46.9-11, within which we have the themes of reciprocities between patron, poet-priest, and divinity in the poem's central stanza:

46.10a *yah wā mai gnā wā nā wā mazdā ahura*
 b *dāyāt ahauš yā tū waista wahištā*
 c *artim artāi wahū xšaθram manahā*
 d *yans-ca haxšāi xšmāwata'am*
 e *fra tāiš wiswāiš cinwatah fra'a prtum*

46.10 'Who(ever), man or woman, O Lord Wisdom, would give me the things of existence which Thou knowest as best, Reward for Rightness, dominion with/via Good Mind, and whom I shall bring into association with those of Your kind, with all those shall I cross the Decider's Bridge.'

Leaving for later the evidence for 46.19a-c *yauš ... dadīta* as 'would vitalize', with *yauš* as synchronic accusative, I note some of the correspondences between 46.10 and 46.18(-19). Thus 46.10a-b *yah ... mai dāyāt ahauš ... wahištā* is essentially parallel to 46.18a-c *yah mabya yauš ... wahištā ... dadīta* 'whoever would bring me the best things of life', whereby *yauš* 'of vitality', as synchronic genitive, semantically parallels *ahauš* 'of existence'. The latter word, however, has its formal correspondent in the reciprocity 46.19c" *para'ahum* 'future existence' as a 'prize', *miždam*, cf. 46.10c' *artim* 'reward', with eschatological context, 46.10e 'the Bridge of the Decider', with *cinwat-* 'deciding, discriminating' concatenating with cognate 46.18c" *wiciθam* 'decision' etc. Cf. *wi ci-* 'decide, discriminate between' 46.17d' *wi cinaut*, 15b *wi cayaθa*, and 5d'

wicirah, all expressing the central theme of discerning between good and evil. Finally note 46.10b' *tū waista* 'Thou knowest': 46.19e" *tu'am ... waidištah* 'Thou (art) most knowing'.

The syntax of 46.18 is remarkably complicated and is characterized by overlapping clauses, with the predicate verbs *caišam* 'I assign, promise' and *dadīta* 'would bring about, deliver, give (over)', each of which has two different subjects in contrastive meanings (one referring to allies and the other to enemies) and, in respective reciprocities, two different objects, one of which, *wahištā* 'the best things', is the object not only of *dadīta*, but also of *caišam*, and has two different dependent genitives, *yauš* 'of vitality', and *mahyāh ištaiš* of (= in) my power'. The results of this elaborate syntax may be diagrammed: (see diagram A)

In 46.19, which repeats the *yah ... ahmāi* 'who ... to him' from 46.18, the missing verb may be supplied from 46.18b" *caišam* 'I have promised'. This indicates that the two stanzas 46.18 and 46.19 (the parallelism between which is marked by 46.18a' *yah mabya*: 19a' *yah mai*; 46.18e' *tat mai*: 19e' *tā-cit mai*; and the m- w- pattern of initials at 46.18e" and 19e") are also an expanding syntactic continuum. We have seen that 46.18-19 form a block of ideas with correspondences in the single stanza 46.10. 46.10(a)-b as *yah ... mai ... dāyāt ahauš yā tū waista wahištā*, in fact equatable with the entire span of 46.18-19, 18a *yah mabya yauš ... wahištā ...* 18c" *dadīta ...* 19e *tā-cit ... tu'am waidištah*, whereby 'the best things of existence' (specified at 46.18c-19d) are declared to be 'those (things) which Thou knowest most (art most knowing)'.

It is seen that 46.18-19 abounds in ambiguities and multiplicities in syntax, as well as in the vocabulary, e.g. *dadīta* 'would deliver, bring about, plot, give over to, present' etc. root *dā* 'set, establish' and 'give'; *manahwista-* 'known/ found/ gotten in/by the mind' (cf. 48.2d" *wistā* with 48.2a" *widwāh* 'knowing' and 48.3a *waidamnah* 'getting' with object *wahištā* 'best things'). This makes it likely that 46.18a-c *yauš ... wahištā ... dadīta* is intentionally ambiguous, both 'would bring (about) the best things of vitality' and (with *yauš* as synchronic direct object) 'would vitalize the best things'.

It is these 'best things' which are further the object of *sans*, which I take as 'Thou proclaimest', i.e. from root *sanh* 'to proclaim', and not from root *sand* 'to appear'. It has been seen from analysis of the syntax and construction of 46.18-19 that the

'best things' are both what is to be vitalized (by patronage for Zarathushtra) and what Zarathushtra promises in return, the first being tantamount to (46.19b) production of 'what is numinously most splendid', and the second (46.19c-d) 'a reward of future existence to him who merits (root **han**) it, with all things known to the [?divine] mind: the mated (paired) pregnant Cow'.

Leaving the last item for last, I cite two Gathic parallel texts as confirmation of these interpretations:

32.7b-c (which begins the backwards recycling 46.19-6 as the consecutive phraseological source of 32.7-16) has **sanhatai** 'is proclaimed' followed by **tū ... mazdā waidištah ahi** 'Thou, Wisdom, art most knowing', to which as preface 32.6b has **hātāmarnai ahura waista manahā** 'O Accounter of merits (**hāta**- 'merited, earned' from root **han**, < 46.19c" **hanantai**), Thou knowest, O Lord [Wisdom], the best things with Thy mind' (or, 'with Best Mind'; for the ambiguity cf. 30.2a with 30.4c), then 32.6c" **sanhah** 'proclamation'. The foregoing passages in turn clarify, as evidence for 46.18-19, the significance of 44.9a-b 'how shall I vitalize that Envisionment (**yauš dayanām da'anai yām hudānauš patiš sahyāt xšaθrahya**) which the Master of Dominion (i.e. Mazdā Ahura) would proclaim (**sahyāt**, root **sanh**) as that of a beneficent (patron)?' and 44.10b **tām dayanām yā hāta'am wahištā** 'that Envisionment which is the best of/for those that/who exist', or '... of things merited', cf. 32.6b' **hāta-marnai** noted above, and within Y 44, 18b and 19b **miždam han-** 'earn a reward' (44.19b **miždam hanantai** = 46.19c *id.*). Note also the tautomeric compositional similarity 44.10c' **mahyāh cistaiš** (c" **θwā ištīš**): 46.18a' **mahyāh ištaiš**.

It remains to discuss 46.19d **gāwā azī**, which I translate as 'the mated pregnant Cow'. The phrase consists of the dual of **gaw-** 'bovine': unqualified, 'cow'; qualified as male, 'bull, ox', and **azī-** 'pregnant'. Schmidt boldly translated the phrase as 'the bull and the pregnant cow'. As Schmidt's later defense of this interpretation makes explicit, the phrase may be analyzed as a pair of bovines, one of which is a pregnant cow, an elliptic construction paralleled by Vedic dual phrase. For Schmidt, then, **gāwā azī**, the associative pairing (I would say "mating") of cow and bull, represents the complementary joining of envisionment (**dayanā**) and the active or creative "triggering" intellect (**xratu-**). In support of this controversial analysis of Schmidt, I shall supply some further evidence which dovetails with Schmidt's discussions. For this I shall again draw upon the par-

allel contacts of passages, and the symmetrical construction of the Gathic poems.

I shall proceed from 46.19a"-b": **haθyam ... waršati ... yat wasnā frašatamam ... para'ahum** 'truly (**haθya-**) will accomplish (root wrz 'to effect') (that which is) numinously the most splendid (**fraša-**) thing', which bears the reward (46.19c") of **ahu-** 'existence' (in future). This collocation occurs, again in last stanza, in two variants, at 34.15 and 50.11.

At 34.15, we have, prefaced by (34.15a) 'So do Thou tell me, Wisdom, the best (things), words and deeds' **mai wahištā ... wauca**, cf. 46.19e **tā-cit** [= 46.18a" **wahištā**] **mai sans**), the concluding hemistich (34.15c") **frašam wasnā haθyam da'ah ahum** 'mayst Thou truly make (root **dā** 'establish, create, accomplish' = root wrz) existence numinously splendid'. The juxtaposition of 34.14b" **gauš wrzanai azi'āh** 'in the enclosure of the fertilized Cow' and 34.14c" **xratauš ... wrzanā** 'through the community of intellect' (the latter identifiable with 34.13b' **daināh saušyanta'am** 'the envisionment of the saviors'), whereby we have the "coupling" of envisionment and intellect, would have its symbolic equivalent in 46.19a-c (paralleling 34.15c") collocated with 46.19d" **gāwā azī**. The latter phrase (which is collocated at 46.19d with **manahwistāiš** 'known (etc.) by the mind'), juxtaposed with 46.18e **xratauš manahas-ca** 'of intellect (and mind)' gives the combination of **gaw-** and **xratu-** just seen at 34.14b-c (so too 28.1c).

All the elements shared by 46.19 and 34.11 are found again in the final stanza 50.11:

50.11b **dātā ahauš ardat wahū manahā**
c **haθyāwarštām yat wasnā frašatamam**

50.11b-c 'May the Creator of existence further the achieval, through Good Mind, of the true accomplishment of that which is numinously most splendid.'

Notably, 50.11c **dātā ahauš** 'the Creator of existence' closely echoes, in concatenation with precise positional resposion, the central phrase 50.6c' **dātā xratauš** 'the Creator of intellect'. Now, it is important again to observe the relationship of the material in the final stanza to that of the penultimate stanza. Among the deeds which Zarathushtra means to accomplish

(50.10.a' warša'ā, root wrz, cf. 50.11d' haθyāwarštām), we find:

50.10b yā-ca wahū cašmān arjat manahā
c raucāh hu'anh asna'am uxšā airuš

50.10b-c 'and the things one will be worthy to
have in vision, the lights of the sun, the
dominant (?) bull of the days.'

To this corresponds, via concentric concatenation,

50.2a kaθā mazdā ranyaskrtīm gām iš(s)ait
b yah hīm ahmāi wāstrawatiīm stai usyāt
c ržjīš artā parušu *hwarpisyasu
d" ... dāθam dāhwa

50.2a-d "How, O Wisdom, should one seek the
joy-bringing Cow, he who would wish her
pastured for him, as he lives properly, with
Rightness, amidst many sunbeams?²¹ Do
Thou accept the lawful person.'

At 50.10b' cašmān 'in the eye, in (a) vision' practically amounts to 'in envisionment', and indeed 50.2 explicitly focuses on the Cow. The two stanzas are semantically complementary: 50.2 'seek, look for': 50.10 'deserve having in vision'; 50.2 'sunbeams': 50.10 'sun' and 'light'; and, most importantly, 50.2 'cow' and 50.10 'bull' which are here (and cf. further below on 46.3 and 46.9) "mated" by concatenation.

These statements of Y 50 contrast closely with those in 32.10, according to which the evil-doer 'professes that the Cow and the sun are the worst things to see with his (evil) eyes' (and/or 'professes the worst things in order to see the Cow ...', and/or 'professes that the worst one will see ...'), 'treats lawful ones as wrongful' (and/or vice-versa), dāθanh drugwatah da-dāt, cf. 50.2d" dāθam dāhwa 'accept the lawful one', again with dāθa- and root dā-; and 'overturns the pasture'. The com-

²¹ -pisyant- 'sunbeam'; cf. my remarks in Fs. Humbach (1986: 382). The spelling pišūiasū is due to the words arəžajīš and pourušū in the same line.

plementarity of the Cow = Envisionment with *xratu-* 'intellect' is shown by the preceding stanza, 32.9, which, like 32.10, has in its first hemistich *srawāh mrndat* 'ruins words/ repudiation'; here the ruination (committed by falsely speaking priests through their utterances) extends to the 'intellect of life' (32.9a" *jyātauš ... xratum*). The themes of Cow, vision, and intellect are interwoven in the ensuing stanzas: 32.12b" *gauš ... mrndan jyātum* 'they ruin the life of the Cow'; 32.13b"-c their greed keeps them from the sight (*darsāt*) of Rightness; 32.14 they entrap their own intellects as they order the Cow to be killed.

Now, 32.9-14 shows some phraseological and thematic dependence on 46.2-4: 32.9a' *dušsastiš* cf. 46.4c' *dužzu'āh*; 32.9a" *jyātauš*: 46.4d" *id.*; 32.9a" *sanhanāiš xratum*: 46.3b *sanhāiš ... xratawah*; 32.9 *ištim ... wahauš manahah*; 46.2e *wahauš ... ištīm manahah*; 32.9c" *grzai* (and 32.13b" *jigrzat*): 46.2c' *grzai*; 32.12c' *wrnai*; 32.13b' and 46.3b' *ahauš* (with contrastive context, destruction vs. preservation); and 32.13c" *pa'at artahya*: 46.4a' *artahya ... pāt*). Within this setting, 32.10 is the bridge between the bovine symbolism of 46.3-4 and that of 50.2/10.

The most important correspondence here is between 50.10c" *asna'am uxšā* and 46.3a" *uxšānah asna'am* 'the bulls of the days' (called at 46.3b"-4a' *waždranh ... gāh* 'the dray bovines'), which, as Schmidt noted (1975: 8-9), is equated with 46.3c" *saušyanta'am xratawah* 'the intellects of the saviors'. But the relationship of 46.3-4 is of even further interest for 50.2/10, for the concatenative pairing of 50.10c (*asna'am*) *uxšan-* 'the bull (of days)' and 50.2 *gaw-* 'Cow' is paralleled by the concatenation of 46.3a" *uxšan-* (*asna'am*) and 46.9d *gaw-* (in the phrase *gauš tašā* 'fashioner of the Cow'). This latter concatenation requires explanation.

In 46.2-10 I trace a complete early poem of Zarathushtra, composed before he has acquired his chief patrons, and recomposed, later on, via mention of his patrons, as the present Y 46, with the addition of 46.1 and 11-19 (the entirety concatenating concentrically with as stanzas paired sequentially from each direction and pairing in the central stanza 46.10). 46.2-10 shows concentric concatenation (similarly 32.1-13, 49.4-11, and sections of other poems, attesting a preliminary stage of composition), and, in addition, completion shown by concatenation of central to both outer stanzas (thus also 28.1-8, with 1c" and 4a" *ru'ānam*, and 5a' and 8a' fourth syllable *θwā*). The conca-

tenations in 46.2-10 are: 2a' & 10b" **waid-** perf. 'know'; 3a" **uxšanah** & 9d" **gauš** 'BOVINE'; 4a" & 8d" root **pā** 'to keep back'; 4c" & 8b" **šyauθnāiš** 'with actions'; 4d" **jyātauš** & 8d", 9a' **jyātaiš** 'from life'; 5a" & 7b" root **d(a)r** 'to hold'; 5c" & 7b' **drugwant-** 'wrongful one'; 6a" & 5a" **ay-** 'come'; 6c-d & 5c" **artāwan-** 'righteous one' vs. **drugwant-** 'wrongful one'; 6b' & 7b' **drugwāh** 'wrongful one'; 6e' & 7e" **dayanā-** 'envisionment?'; 6d" & 2d" **bis fri'a-** 'intimate, friend' (with reciprocity); 6c" & 10b" **wahišta-** 'best'; and 6e" & 10b' root **dā** 'to establish'.

ADDENDUM

The proto-poem 46.2-10 further illuminates the bovine symbolism of Y. 29. As remarked above, there are close connections between these two poems. 46.7 parallels Y 29 in that in both the speakers (in 46.7 Zarathustra, in 29.1 the Cow's soul) ask what custodian they have other than Mazdā Ahura. The respective passages have word-play involving the root *drz* 'to foster, clasp tightly'.

In 29.1 the object of *mā hišāya* 'has tied me up' is intentionally ambiguous, *drz-* 'a fetter' or root-stem 'brashness'. In 49.7 *mā did(a)ršata ainahai*, the verb is again intentionally ambiguous: While both amount to 'wishes to seize me for violence', *didaršata* may go back to either root *d(a)r* 'to hold' (cf. 46.5 *drīta nd* 46.4 *darθrāi*) or to root *drz* 'clasp tightly'. A variant word-play is shown by comparing 46.7b"-c *did(a)ršta ainahai* ... *θwahmāt āθras-ca*, with its derivative (which expresses the idea of 46.8, violence turned against its inimical perpetrator):

34.4 *tai ātrm ... dršta'ainaham*, 'Thy Fire ... having visible (root *drs*) violence [to the enemy]' (cf. 34.4b" *ciθra'awaham* 'having clear help [to the supporter]' and 50.5d *abidrštā ... awahā* 'with visible help' (collocated with *zasta'išta-* as at 34.4), or '... having violence seized securely' (root *drz*), or even 'having violence which is boldly undertaken' (root *drš*, cf. 29.1b!)).

46.7 has an even more substantial relationship to Y 29. 46.7 and its continuation 46.8, with which it forms a tight lexical and semantic pair, lead to 49.9, where 'the Fashioner of the Cow, when he was seeking (*išanti*, temporal locative absolute) me', refers to 29.2 (seq.). Furthermore, 46.7 and 29.1c both, just after the question of custodianship, have an appeal, using an imperative verb, for Mazdā Ahura to make the answer manifest. In 46.7 Zarathushtra concludes, 'declare *fra wauca*) this marvelously skillful accomplishment to my envisionment (*dayanā-*), while the Cow's Soul concludes, 'so appear/proclaim (*sansta*) to me with good pasturage!'. Here again 29.1 shows word-play: *sansta* 'proclaims', root *sanh*, cf. 46.7e *fra wauca* 'declare' and 46.19e *sans*; or 'appear', root *sand*. As request to the divine entities, 29.1c 'appear' has its concentric correlation in the last stanza, 29.11 'Where are Rightness, Good Mind, and Dominion? ... Now come down to us'. This request refers to acknowledge-

ment or recognition (*pati zāna-*) of gifts in reciprocity (hospitality/patronage/cult).

This relationship between first and last stanzas of Y 29 is paralleled *in parvo* by the relationship between 46.7 ('What protector ...? Declare to my *dayanā*') and 46.9 (hospitable acknowledge [*caīθ-*] and the search by the Fashioner of the Cow, as per Y 29). In overlap with these similarities, the first, central and final stanzas of the proto-poem 46.2-10 compare with 29.1 and 29.11. In 46.2 Zarathushtra complains (root *grz* as at 29.1) of his powerlessness, and requests that Mazdā Ahura offer him support as 'a friend to a friend', *fri'ah fri'ai*. In 46.6 *fri'a-* is defined, in a dualistic context, in terms of righteous reciprocities, as established for the primordial envisionments, *dayanā-*. 46.10 states the reciprocities for hospitality/patronage given to Zarathushtra. In 46.2 and 6 *fri'a-* compares with 29.5 *frīnamnā*, 'giving and thus hoping to gain friendship' describing the prayerful attitude of the souls of Zarathushtra and the Cow.

Specifically, this pair are together described as being *ustānazasta-* 'with outstretched hands', a stance quaintly odd for a cow, but normal for a petitioning priest, as Zarathushtra indeed describes himself in 28.1. Here he entreats the divine entities for actions of the Holy Spirit, whereby he (Z.) may gratify both the intellectual drive (*xratu-*) of Good Mind and the Cow's soul (perhaps through the "mating" of both the Cow becomes *azī*, 'pregnant' [cf. 29.5 with 34.13-14 and 46.18e and 19d]???). Note that in 28.4-5 Zarathushtra expresses his desire to raise up (**arai*) his soul to search for and see Rightness, and then Good Mind and the Lord Wisdom). It may be concluded from the comparative analysis of 46.2-10 with Y 29 that in Y 29 Zarathushtra and his *dayanā* (cf. 46.7) are transcosmically elevated in a vision, and in Y 29 are spoken of as the souls of Zarathushtra and the Cow. This conforms to Schmidt's decoding of "Cow" as the good *dayanā*, and "the Fashioner of the Cow" as the Holy Spirit.

POST-GATHIC REFLECTIONS OF BOVINE SYMBOLISM

For the symbolism of the Cow as the good *dayanā*, evidence is found in the development of the latter term as YAv. *daēnā*, designating the form which appears to the soul after death and represents an individual's earthly conscience and outlook. The usual post-Gathic description of the form which the *daēnā* of the

righteous person assumes is first attested in the Avestan *Haḍōxt Nask* 2.7. According to this text, at the end of the third night after death, the soul of the righteous appears amidst plants and receives fragrances; after the soul wonders about the marvelously perfumed breeze it is smelling, the *daēnā* of the righteous man appears to him in the form of a beautiful fifteen year old maiden. Prof. Schmidt (1975: 22) has pointed to the Vedic parallels: “a bridge to be crossed and the reception of the departed soul by a maiden or maiden”, and the celestial nymphs who receive the soul, *Mānasī* ‘consisting in thought’ and *Cākṣuṣī* ‘consisting in sight’ (in the late Vedic *Kauṣītakī-Upaniṣad*) have names reminiscent of that of *Daēnā* ‘(en)visionment’ and *Cista* ‘cognition’, who is the ‘likeness’ (*upamana-*) of *Daēnā*; cf. also the Vedic nymph *Pratirūpā* ‘likeness’.

Now, an alternative conception of the eschatological *dayanā/daēnā* is found in *Bundahišn* 30.5-6 ed. Anklesaria, p. 201, 1-14:²²

(5) *pas barend agar ān ruwān ō hamāg kē
ahlaw kē-z druwand agar ahlaw andar rāh ayg-
iš gāw-kirb ō padīrag rased frabīh purr pēm kē
ruwān aziš padēxīh ud carbīh rasēd. dīd kanīg-
kirb hukirb ī ... 15 sālāg ... kē ruwān padīš šād
šāyēd. dīd bōstān-kirb ō padīrag rased purr
walg purr āb purr mēwag ... kē ruwān aziš ur-
wahmenišnīh ud padēxmenišnīh rased... hast
būm ī wahištīg ... hast kē ān ruwān yak pursed
ka-š padīrag bawed pursed ku tō kē hē ... padīš
ēdōn awēšān yak yak passox gōwend an ham
ahlaw dēn ī tō kunišnūt warzīd ...*

Then they bring forth the souls of those who are righteous and those who are wrongful. If the soul is righteous, the shape of a cow, plump, full of milk, comes to receive it on the road, from which (shape) the soul gets comfort and fatness. Then, the shape of a maiden of beautiful form ... fifteen years old ... whence the soul can be happy with it. Then, the shape of a garden, full

²² I thank Mr. Farrokh J. Vajifdar for reminding me of the location of this passage.

of leaves, water, and fruit ... comes to receive it, whence the soul may get bliss and comfort from it. This is the paradisiac land ... Among those souls, there is the sort who asks of that which comes to receive, "Who are thou ...?" And they answer each of such (souls), "I am, O righteous one, the *daēnā* of the actions which you performed"

Here, instead of the maiden (who is preceded by plants and fragrances), the *daēnā* takes three forms, first a cow, then a maiden, and then a paradisiacal garden. The *Bundahišn* passage must be based on a conservative tradition which reflects, perfectly and indisputably, what we have seen from the Gathic evidence in confirmation of Prof. Schmidt's thesis: Cow = *dayanā* 'Envisionment'.

Schmidt (1975: 20) has impressively supported his hypothesis by pointing to Yt 13.99-100, in which Vištāspa is said to have led the fettered (*hitqm*) Zoroastrian Religion (*daēnā*) out of its fetters (*hinuiβiiō*) and to have enthroned it, thriving and honored with cow (*gəuš*, taken as 'milk') and pastures; here we have not only the *daēnā* with bovine imagery reminiscent of Y 29, but also the detail of its being fettered (*hitā-*, *hinu-*, cf. 29.1 *ā hišāya*, root *hā(y)* 'to fetter'). We have here one of the many variations (in this instance, with *daēnā* in reversed equation for cow) of the Indo-Iranian myth of a hero liberating (a) stolen and imprisoned cow(s), which is the counterpart of a myth of a heroic/divine cattle rustler (attested e.g. by Mithras as βουκλόπος θεός, as against the Avestan myth of Mithra as liberator of the cow). As touched upon by Schmidt (1975: 20), at Yt 10.84-86 it is Mithra who seeks freedom for *aša-*, and leads the cow out from its captivity.

A further variation of the myth is found in the Vedic tale of Indra's opening of the Vala Cave and release of the cow (Dawn). Professor Schmidt, an expert on this myth, mentions a number of Gathic resonances (1975: 21). Among the details, I would stress that *dhī* 'vision' (and *rtá* = *aša-*) are liberated in the Vala myth; we may accordingly posit a form or forms of this Indo-Iranian myth as the germ of Zarathushtra's symbolism of Cow = Envisionment in Y 29 and elsewhere.

In the foregoing tribute to Hanns-Peter Schmidt, I hope to have given a fitting indication of the fertile new pastures he has provided for further research.

APPENDIX:

Y 29, Y 27.13, Y 33, AND GATHIC
SPATIAL SELF-REFERENTIALITY

Zarathushtra's maintenance of 27.13 as sacred text separate from Y 29 resulted in ambiguity here in the meaning of *ratuš* ('judge' or 'judgment'); with *ratuš* taken as 'judgment', the subject of *wari'ah* 'to be chosen' would be taken as Mazda Ahura. An echo of the original meaning of 27.13 is detectable in another final stanza, 33.14, in which Zarathushtra declares that, as a gift, he offers (33.14b' *dadāti*, cf. 27.13b' *đazdai*) the primacy of Good Mind's action (33.14b, cf. 27.13b 'the world's action of Good Mind) to Mazda (line-end 33.14b" [*wahauš*] *mazda'ai*; cf. line-end 27.13b" [*ahauš*] *mazda'ai*, along with Dominion (33.14c" and 27.13c' *xšaθram-ca*). The reference of Y 33 to 27.13 (and Y 29) is further shown by the first stanza of Y 33, which again has ambiguous *ratu-* 'judge(ment)'. Proceeding from the ms. J₅ with *ratuš* as against K₅ with *ratūš*, we avoid the need for emendation and also arrive at 33.1a-b' *yaθā ... ratuš* paralleling 27.13a (*aθā ... yaθā ... ratuš* and 29.2b" *kaθā ... ratuš*). It is possible that in 33.1 the ambiguity of *ratuš* is intentional; thereby the word may be translated 'model, plan' or 'judgment', as per Schmidt (1985 *ad loc.*), but also 'judge', as follows:

33.1a *yaθā aiš iθā waršatai yā dātā ahauš*
 parwiyahya
 b *ratuš šyauθnā razištā drugwatai yat-ca*
 artāunai

33.1a-b Just as (he does) via these (rituals?), so
 shall the judge, with the straightest action,
 bring into realization the things which are
 (comprised by) the laws of the primal
 existence for the righteous one as well
 as the wrongful one

The phrase *waršatai yā ... šyauθnā*, with middle voice, is paralleled in detail by 51.1c *šyauθnāiš mazdā wahištam tat nah nū-cit waršānai* 'That (thing), the best, shall I now bring into realization for us', where the context is (51.1b") *antar carati* (loc. absol.) 'at the time of interceding' (as priest)' 33.1b" *dātā*

ahauš parwiyahya 'the laws of the primal existence (the final requitals revealed by Zarathushtra's vision of the beginning of things, see esp. 43.4-5) is phraseologically based on the (incompletely preserved) 46.15, in which the personal ability to judge the law-abiding and the lawless is associated with 'the primal laws of Ahura'. Zarathushtra's self reference in 33.1 would accord with the first-person emphasis throughout Y 33 on his priestly role in warding off evil and strengthening the good dominion of Mazda. The priestly role is not in disagreement with that of a *ratu-*, if one understands *ratu-* in its etymological sense as 'one who embodies regularity/regulation'; cf. the later meanings cf. YAv. *ratu-* as 'assistant priest' (alongside *zaotar-* 'chief priest') and also 'ideal representative, norm' or the like.

I shall now argue that *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* 'the judge/regulator with the straightest action' as a self-designation is further corroborated by the agreement of this phrase with others in Y 33, simultaneously as extended epithets of Zarathushtra, and as "oral anagrams" for the name *zaraθuštra-*. 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* compares with 33.6a' *yah zautā artā rzuš* '(I) who (am) the invoking-priest straight with Rightness'. Note also the shared verb *wr*z 'to bring to realization', 33.1a' *waršatai*: 33.6b' *wr*zadyāi, the latter verb referring to this priest's duties, the *wāstriyā* 'pasturing'; cf. 33.3b"-c *widans ... θwaxšahā gawai ... wāstrai* 'providing zealously for the Cow ... on the pasture'. This in turn recalls 29.2b"-c *gawai ratuš ... wāstrā θwaxšah*. 33.6a' *zautā artā rzuš* continues 33.5a"-c *sraušam zu'ayā ... xšaθram ... artāt ā rzuš paθah* 'I shall invoke ... hearkening and dominion ... along the paths which are straight in accord with Rightness'.

33.1 and 33.5 are interconnected through the final stanza, 33.14, which, as "signature" verse, also links their contents to the name Zarathushtra. The stanza states: 'As a gift, Zarathushtra (14a' *at rātām zaraθuštrah*) offers the primacy (14b' *dadāti parwatātām* concatenating with 33.1a' *dātā ... parwiyahya*) ... of Good Mind (cf. 27.13, with *ratuš* as subject) ... and hearkening and dominion' (*sraušam xšaθram-ca* as at 33.5a'-b'). Thus the phrase locating the priestly action of 33.5a'-b', i.e. 33.5c' *artāt ā rzuš paθah* 'along the paths straight with Rightness', the phrase continuing and concentrating the data of 33.5, i.e. 33.6a' *yah zautā artā rzuš*, as well as 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā*, would not only be linked, in the structure of Y 33, to the

“signature” *zaraθuštra-*, but if 33.1a' *ratuš* means ‘judge, regulator’, they would also express aspects of Zarathushtra’s self-defining functions. It is remarkable that, in addition, all three phrases compactly contain various combinations of the phonemes of the name *zaraθuštra-*. For the technique of scrambling the sounds of a targeted word (or name) within other words, see Schwartz 1998, pp. 3, 168-69, and 180 n.3. The name *zaraθuštra-* at the exact center of Y 50 (50.6b”) is surrounded at 50.5b-7b by words containing the scrambled sounds of this name. I have suggested that *zaraθuštra-* ‘having old camel(s)’ is alluded to by the juxtaposition 44.17-18 *zaram ... uštram*, *Studia Grammatica Iranica*, Festschrift für Helmut Humbach, ed. R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjærvø, München 1986, pp. 377-379.²³ The quasi-anagrammatization of *zaraθuštra-* in 33.1b' *ratuš šyauθnā razištā* would support Zarathushtra’s self-identification as a *ratu-* (‘judge’), just as the quasi-anagrammatization at 33.5c-6a would name the *zautar-* as Zarathushtra.

The latter stanza, 33.7, returns us to Y 29. I first present the comparable portions of 33.7 and 29.11:

33.7a ā mā idwam wahištā ... mazdā
 b artā wahū manahā ... yā sruyai parah
 magaunah
 c āwiš nāh antar hantu ... ciθrā rātayah

29.11a kudā artam wahu-ca manah
 b yužam mazdā ... mazai magāya pati zānta
 c nū nāh awar ... ahmā rātaiš yušmāwata'am

Both stanzas are concerned with an epiphany of Mazdā, Rightness, and Good Mind, in connection with the patronage [b" *maga(wan)-*], and that there be manifest the gift(s) (c" *rāti-*) for the worshipers (and probably the divinities): ‘us’. In c' we have the parallel postpositional phrases, 33.7c' *nāh antar* ‘amidst/ between us’ and 29.11c' *nāh awar* ‘down to us’. The latter phrase more fully amounts to ‘come Ye down to us here on

²³ Subsequently, in 1992, Humbach, *Gāthās* II, p. 159, expresses his opinion that 44.17-18 *zaram ... uštram* alludes to Zarathushtra’s name, but while I presented evidence for *zara-* ‘old age’ ~ **zarant-* ‘old’ in **zarat-uštra*, Humbach maintains Bartholomae’s *zara-* ‘goal’, based on OInd. *hāryati* ‘delights in, enjoys, craves’, a comparison I had dismissed on grounds of meaning and word-formation.

earth', cf. MP 'wr 'come!' and 29.7c" ī dāyāt awa marti-yaibyah 'would give these things down to mortals'. 33.7c" rātayah 'gifts', for its part, concatenates with the opening of the final stanza, 33.14a' rātām 'gift (acc.)'.

The emphasis which the latter concatenation gives to 33.7c" rātayah is increased by the location of the word at the precise midpoint of the poem (a position whose prominence is shown also by 50.6b" and 28.6b' zaraθuštra-), and by the adjective ciθrāh 'clear, bright'; cf. also 33.7c' āwiš 'conspicuous, patent', and further 33.7a" *darsat 'visibly' (referring to wahištā 'Best Ones', which, like its encryption at 33.7c" may also be taken as 'best things', tantamount to 'gifts'). I suggest that the latter elements were intended to "spotlight" rātayah in its *situation at the midpoint of the poem*, which location was marked by a (cryptic) iconic function of antar 'amidst', and that 33.7c (nāh) antar ... rātayah is the more elaborately foregrounded counterpart to the finale 29.11c (nāh) awar ... rātaiš, with 'down' marking the end of the poem. The comparison of 29.11 and 33.7, with their self-referential allusions to relative location in the poem, constituting representations of spatiality, are important both for the cognitive as well as the stylistic aspects of these poems.

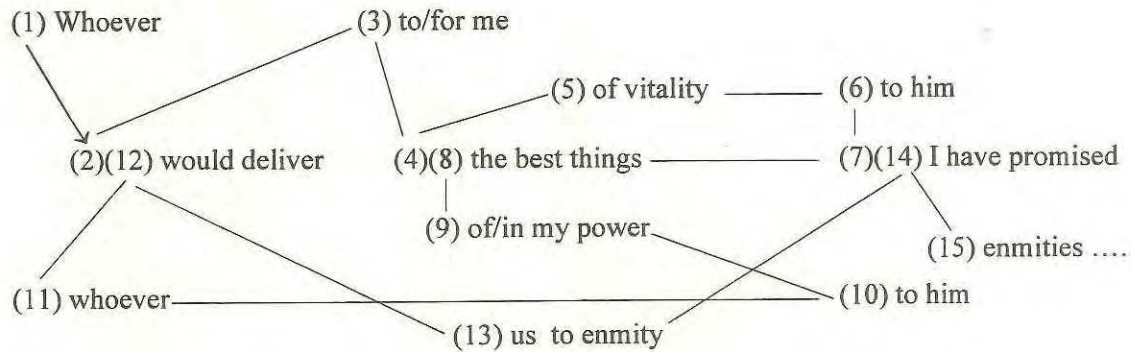


Diagram A