ARYA
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In the following 15 condensed analyses are published some of the many problems arising when the full Indo-Iranian field is considered. Only when all the Iranian evidence is studied together with the Old Indian will it be possible to survey Indo-Iranian as a whole, an indispensable preliminary to the history of the Indo-Iranian vocabulary, and the texts behind. The constant necessity of quoting elementary data indicates how little has yet been garnered into convenient reference books. The workers (and they, too, usually distracted by other tasks) have hitherto been very few.

1. maz-
2. had-
3. kom
4. aod-
5. haik-
6. sor-
7. nayam
8. sughaná-
9. arva-
10. ai-
11. farva-
12. iza-
13. khoa
14. mala
15. fšar-

1. Iran. maz-, OInd. maj-

Iranian sources have preserved maz- with three meanings, 1. ‘to handle violently’ (specifically press, twist, strike, break, kill), 2. ‘make’, and 3. ‘smear’.

Khotanese vameys-, pres. stem vameysa-, is attested in the Siddhasāra medical text 1: teāramdye jsa makṣāṇa u vameysāṇa u yṣīnāhāṇa corresponding to Tibetan snum-gyis lus bsku-žin dril-ba daṅ khrus bya-ba daṅ, from the Sanskrit 77 v 5 abhyanga-utsādana-snāna-. The abhyanga- expresses the act of ‘smearing with oil’. The utsādana- is the violent action of ‘massage, twisting and rolling’; 2 translated by Tib. dril-ba here and in the Mahāvyutpatti 6781 utsādanam. Tib. hril-ba means ‘to be twisted, turned, rolled about; to wrap up’. The Chinese rendering is 捲 kiān ‘roll up, pack up, exert strength’.

The Khotanese text shows makṣ-, a Prakrit form corresponding to Sansk. mrakṣ- ‘rub’.

The ysānāh- ‘bathe’ belongs to Av. snāā-

The word vameys- contains va- from ava- or apa-. The medial syllable -meys- can in the Siddhasāra represent either older -māys- from -miz-, or -maz- with -ā- from -a- in the second syllable of a trisyllable. A doubt exists as to whether -meys- could represent the i-umlaut form from *māzaya-. If the umlaut

1 Khotanese texts (abbreviated KT below), i, 70, 135 v 1.
2 See below, p. 526, on Iran. had-, OInd. sad-.
could have passed over the consonant -z- leaving it intact. This explanation is possible. Forms of umlaut in Khotanese show variety. Thus there occur dāsē- ‘finish’ from *dās-, māštē ‘month’ from māsta-, dīśa loc. sing. ‘in the hand’ from dasta-, and with loss of medial syllable yśīra- ‘gold’ from zaranya-, hisām ‘iron’. The vowel is affected in khaṣṭa- ‘given to drink’ (E 25.439) as causative to khaṣṭa- ‘having drunk’, pres. khāṣ- ‘to drink’ (-š- here for -z-).


In New Iranian the base maz- is frequent. Ormūrī has maz- : maṣṭak and mēz- : muṣṭuk ‘it breaks’ intrans., with trans. in causat. form mizaw-. In Pašto only the partic. māt ‘broken’ from *maṣta- has survived. Yidhya-Munji has maz- : mōṣk-‘em and mōz- : maṣč-‘im ‘to kill’.1

For ‘to twist’ we find Ormūrī maẓ‘ēk; Pašto mazāi ‘twist, thread’, Waz. Pašto muzzai ‘thread, cord’ and adj. ‘twisted, turned’.2

Possibly we should claim here the Armen. maż ‘hair’, maż-k ‘whip, lash’ for an Iranian loan-word from maz- ‘twist’. The meanings can be compared with Khot. gisai ‘grass’, giska ‘rope’ and Pers. gēs, gēsū ‘long hair’. Armen. mażmouk-k’ means ‘root fibres’.

The base maz- is of ambiguous origin: it represents also ‘great’. When then maz- provides words meaning ‘violent’ or ‘monstrous’ it is difficult to decide the base. Khot. mayṣirka- is applied to rākṣasa, hammer, tortoises, the monster Kalmāṣapāda in the Jātaka-stava (references in the Indices). The Turfan Persian azdahāy ī mazan (‘zdēq ‘y mzn), and the Av. māzainyā daēva may be called either ‘huge’ or ‘violent’. Pašto mazāi ‘strong, powerful’, and the epithets for the tiger Pašto mzarai, zmzarai, Balōčī mazār demand ‘violent’.

Connexions of this Iran. maz- ‘treat violently’ are in the mag- of Greek μαγήσαι, μάσσω ‘to knead, mould’, μάγεσωσ ‘cook, butcher’.3

The sense of ‘break’ in Pašto māt ‘broken’, the result of violent action, suggests that here belongs the Baltic maż- used with suffixes in the sense of ‘small’. Such an origin of a word for ‘small’ is well known in OSlav. xudū ‘small, bad’, OInd. kṣudrā-.4 From this Baltic maż- we find Lit. māžas ‘little, small’, Let. mazs, OPRuss. massais. This shows Indo-Eur. -a-. The long grade occurs in Lit. mūžis ‘smallness’ with o from ā.5

The second meaning in Iranian for maz- ‘to make, build’ is attested in Śyuṇī moż- : mīzd- ‘to erect, build’ and ‘to cut, form’.6

Here we have to compare Old Saxon makōn ‘to make’ with the other

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1 G. Morgenstierne, Etym. voc. Pašto, 48; IIFL, II, 230; I. Zarubin, Iran, 1, 1927, 155.
2 IIFL, I, 401; n, Index; EVP, 49.
3 Walde-Pokorny, II, 226; Pokorny, IEW, 696.
4 WP, I, 502.
5 No firm decision in E. Fraenkel, Lit. et. Wb.
Germanic cognates derivable from an older *maǵ*- It may be a different word, or with specialized meaning the same *maǵ*- of Greek μάσσω ‘to knead’.¹

The third meaning ‘to smear’ is frequent in Slavonic, OSlav. *mazati* ‘smear, anoint’ and many modern forms. In Iranian it has been noted only in Oss. Dingor *māzā*, Iron *māz*, *mādż* in the compound with *borā*, *burā* ‘yellow’. Thus in *Pamiatniki* II, 20, 10 *borāmāzāj isārād āy* ‘he was welded with yellow *māzā*’. The Iron *burā-mādż* occurs in *Iron Ādāmon Sfāldystād* 5.274, no. 48.

The meaning of Iran. *maz*- ‘to handle violently’ is now important to establish the meaning of the isolated *maǵ*- occurring in Old Ind. *majmān-, khara-majrā-, and nīrmaj-. The origin of OInd. *maj*- is naturally ambiguous. It could represent Indo-Eur. *meg-*, or *maǵ*- with palatal, velar, or labiovelar final consonant. The meaning, however, will show that it is *maǵ*.

The Rigveda has *majmān-* consistently translated by *bala- ‘force’ in Sāyana. This is based upon the *Naighaṭṭuka* 2.9: *majmān-* is included in the list of the *bala-nāmāni*. This is offered also in Mādhava’s *Rg-artha-dīpikā*. In the published portion we find also 1.51.10 *majmanā mahattayā* and 2.22.2 *tejasā*.

The following passages confirm the meaning *bala- ‘force’*.

2.22.2 ádha vīśimā abhy ājasā krīvin yudhā-abhavad
á rādasā aprṇad asya majmānā

Here Sāyana offered sva-tejasā . . . yad vā sāreṇa.

1.55.5 sā in mahānī samithāni majmānā
kruṭi yudhāma ājasā ānēbhyaḥ

Sāyana has sarvasya śodhakena.

1.130.4 sanvivyānā ājasā śavobhiv indra majmānā

1.64.3 dṛdā cid vīśā bhūvanāni pārthiva
prā cyāvayanti divyāni majmānā

10.29.6 mātre nā te sūmite indra pūrvi
ddyār majmānā prthivi kāyena

1.143.2 asyā krātvā samidhānāsyā majmānā
prā dyāvā sōcīh prthivi arccayat

1.51.10 tāksad yāt ta usānā sāhasā sāho
vi rādasā majmānā bādhate śāvaḥ

The Rigveda knows only the instr. sing. but we have the loc. sing. *majmānī* in the Atharvaveda 13.1.14 and 37 *bhūvanāsya-ūdhi majmānī* where Whitney gave ‘range’, due to etymological connexion with *mah- ‘great’*. Here too ‘force’ should be adopted.

While giving the meaning *bala- Sāyana* (as often elsewhere) offered his

¹ So in Pokorny, *IEW*, 696.
etymology, from *maj- ‘to purify ’, thus we have in 1.84.6 *majmanā ōdhakena bolena.1

The effort to connect *majman- with the base mah- has obscured the problem. If we put aside the convenience of ‘laryngeal’ interpretation, the association with mah- has caused the vagueness in Geldner’s Übersetzung. Here we have ‘Mächtigkeit, Macht, kraft, Grösse, in ganzem Umfang, mit einer Fülle von’, as in his Glossar ‘Grösse, Macht, Erhabenheit’. In his supplement to Wackernagel’s Grammar A. Debrunner declared the meaning of *majman- to be uncertain.2

The second word *khara-majrā- occurs only in the difficult hymn RV 10.106.7

rēhā nā-āpat kharamajrā kharājru
vāyūr nā parpararat kṣayad rayīnām

That can be rendered by ‘the roughly-moving (Āsvins’ car) did not toss out the two roughly violent rēhā- (men of skill), like the wind it scattered, it threw away (part of) the treasures ‘. For kṣayad note RV 1.62.12 rāyō . . . kṣīyante.

Here the word khara- ‘rough’, Iran. zara- (applied to stones or sharp plants) emphasizes the basic meaning of maj-, Iran. maz- ‘act violently’.3 The word kharājru- contains the same khara- with jr-u- in which we have the cognate of Iran. zar- ‘go, rise, descend ’.4 For parpararat, Khot. phar-, and Avestan pafṛē, discussion must be offered elsewhere.

The third word is nirmaj- occurring only in Rigveda 8.4.20, in Kurunga’s dānastuti:

śaṣṭīṃ sahāśra-ānu nirmajām aje
nir yūthāni gāvām ḍīśih

‘I, as a ḍīśi-sage, drive out and along herds of sixty thousand for myself, of nimble cattle’. Here Sāyaṇa recognized in nir- the meaning niḥśeṣena ‘completely’. His explanation of maj- by śuddha- was aberrant. The word, however, evidently suits the admired bhūṛṇī- and ayīs- cattle. Thus we have

RV 1.154.6 yātra gāvo bhūrīṛṣnagā ayāsah
and 9.41.1 prā ye gāvo nā bhūrnayas
tveṣā ayāsō ākramuh

The ‘violence’ expressed by maz- seems also to provide the possible connexion for OSS. Dīgor, Iron māst ‘anger; angry’, māst ‘anger’, māsti, Iron māstī ‘angered’. This could represent the participle *masta- attested also in Khot. māṣṭa-, Pašto māt, and Ormūrī maṣta- quoted supra. The alternative *masta- from mad-, however, is not certainly excluded. The more archaic

1 Mentioned for rejection by Wackernagel, Altind. Gram., i, 160.
3 Wackernagel, Altind. Gram., ii, 2, p. 852 has ‘wohl ‘scharf reinigend’ präkritisierend für *-mrjav r. mrj- ’.
4 The earlier discussion, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1953, 33, needs correction since the epithet belongs with the rākha-. The base jar-, Iran. zar- was further noticed in Trans. Phil. Soc., 1955, 55 ff. It is also in OSS. lāzārya ‘fall to pieces’.
maz- ‘to exert pressure’, in Avestan zastō.mazah- ‘hand-pledged’, is replaced by marz- ‘to rub’ in zastā.marsta-.

2. Iran. had-, OInd. sad-

In the Bahram Yašt 14.56 the daēva-worshippers are condemned, those whose daēva are vyāmbura. The worship, their yasna, is reprobed

yat nūrom vyāmbura.daēva maśyāka daēvayāzō
frā fraśām nāmayeinti
vī maśyām ṣānayeinti
vī [spa] handāma rāzayeinti
jana hō saīdin nōīl janm
haśa hō saīdin nōīl haśm
yat nūrom vyāmbura.daēva maśyāka daēvayāzō
uśi pairi.dārayeinti
daēma hō pairi.urvāṣayeinti
ahe rayas x’armanahāca . . .

The two phrases jana to janm and haśa to haśm have long caused difficulty. We have the savage acts of the sacrifice, the victim ill-treated. First note that the word had- would get a good meaning if rendered ‘treat violently’ but it would still leave the precise treatment unspecified.

I take jana- as derivative agent adjective formed from the verbal base by -a- suffix. The OIndian type is ajā- ‘driver’. The form jana is nom. plur. masc. from older -ā. In hō we may have the gen. sing. pronoun, hence ‘the strikers of it (the victim)’. In saīdin we have a form of sad- ‘appear’, familiar also in Khotanese and Sogdian. In had- can now be recognized the OInd. sad- attested in utsādana- ‘rolling, twisting’, discussed above under maz-.

The phrases thus yield: ‘they seem strikers of the victim, but they do not strike (to death), they seem twisters of it, but they do not thereby kill it’.

This Iran. had-, OInd. sad- ‘to treat roughly’ seems to stand alone. Possibly it was an Indo-Eur. sed- from which a better explanation of Greek πιέζω and OInd. piḍ- ‘oppress’ could be reached. A compound *pi-sed-, pi-sd- ‘to use force upon’ seems nearer than the base sed- ‘to be seated’.

3. Iran. kom, OInd. komyā-

Ossetic Iron kom-qād,3 Digest kom-yādā ‘beam of timber’ contain qād, Digest yādā 3 ‘wood, forest, timber’. The epithet kom, kon refers to its preparation fitting it for beams. The Digest final -n where Iron has -m is well attested. Thus we find dumāg ‘tail’, but in compounds we have dāry-dym, Digest dāry-

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1 This piḍ- is claimed in Khowar peljik ‘to wrap’ and nis peljik ‘to pull out, squeeze out’ (G. Morgenstierne, Felicitation volume presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belwalkar, 93, 94). A non-Aryan origin is sought by F. J. B. Kuiper, Studia Indologica: Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel, 174.

2 Ossetic q is uvular, now indicated by x’.

3 Also yād in yādgās, Iron qādgās ‘forester’, and as second component in rāyān-yād, Iron rāy-qād ‘rafters’. 
dun ‘long-tailed’. Similarly xún-gond, Digor xun-gond ‘field work’ and in the ending 1st plur. Iron fysām, Digor fīnsān ‘we write’. For ‘name’ we find Digor non and nom, Iron nom.1

The Digor word occurs in Pamiatniki 2.58

Āxsā-budāj ūosā alvesuj : kon-yādā je’lvoxjnā, kuronfid
ā udārtā rāvōjnā bā ā zālā

‘the wife of Āxsā-budā spins, her spindle a beam, her spindle weights a mill-stone, and her thread a rope’.

Before a nasal Ossetic o in both dialects is ambiguous in origin since it represents not only an u-diphthong but also OIrān. ā, as in nom ‘name’, xom ‘raw’, Khot. nāma, hāma-, OInd. nāman-, āmā-. In Digor, Iron koj ‘rumour, care, memory’ the -o- may be explained from -āu- shortened to -au- after OIrān. au had passed in Ossetic to Digor o and Iron ā, and before nasals to Digor u, and to Iron ā (after velars) and y. That would give koj from *kāuya-from kav-, familiar in Greek ākoūw ‘hear’, Germanic Got. hau-s-. The Old Indian has, with developed meaning, kāvya-. Similarly Digor xoj ‘raven’, plur. xojitā, is from *kāuyya-, from the widely attested kau- ‘to caw’, as in OInd. kautil, kokāyate, Greek κωκώ, Lit. kaukiš ‘to howl’, kōvas ‘daw’.2 It should be noted here that OIrān. *āuyya- ‘egg’ gave Oss. Digor ājkā, Iron ājk, plur. ičytā, ačytā, where the -u- has left no trace.

In this Oss. kom, kon used of prepared timber it is easy to see a derivative of the base Indo-Eur. kāu- ‘to hew’, Lit. kāuti, OEngl. hēavan ‘to hew’, Lat. cū-in cūdo, OSlav. kovati. This gives *kāuma- by way of *kauma- to Ossetic kom. It can hardly derive from *kāumya- since Ossetic retains -i from -ya.

For the -o- in both dialects from an u-diphthong note Digor tonun, tund, Iron tonyn, tynd ‘to tear out’; Digor ānsunun, ānsut, Iron āssonyu, ssōnyu, syyd ‘to thrust’.

As a parallel to kom, note also Digor qom, Iron qom ‘adult’ from the base gav- ‘to grow’ attested in Zor. Pahl. gōhr ‘growth, nature (as the result of growth)’, gōhrak translating Greek φῶς, Sogd. γwš *γoš ‘substance’, OInd. gotrā-m ‘family’.3

From the Iranian evidence it is now possible to trace the word in the Rigveda. Here occurs the word komyā- in RV 1.171.3

urdhvā naḥ santu komyā vānāny
āhāni viśvā marauto jītiṣā

‘for us the komyā- vāna- shall be upright, days and nights, O Marūts, with desire for gains’.

With this Geldner noted the parallel in RV 1.88.3 to the Marūts:

meḍhā vānā nā kṛṇavanta urdhvā

‘they shall raise the mānas(?) like trees’.

1 GIP, ‘Die Sprache der Osseten ’, p. 33.
2 For 2 beside k from OIrān. k see ‘Asica’, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1945, 30. In Iron ‘raven’ is zālon, found also in Digor.
3 Zoroastrian problems, 83 (with correction BSOAS, xx, 1957, 44).
The ambiguity felt in vána- ‘tree’ or ‘things made of timber, wood’ such as wooden vessels is partly removed by the use of úrdhvá- ‘upright’ and now clearly by the interpretation of komyá- ‘prepared, hewn’ from kāu- ‘to hew’. The form resembles somyá-.

From the post-Vedic OIndian we have komalá- ‘soft’: if this derives from ‘smoothed’ we are near to ‘hewn’ and hence the same base kāu-.

Older explanations are listed in Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. Sāyaṇa proposed to take kom- as equivalent to kām- ‘desire’: that gave kāmyānī sṛṇaṇīyaṁ sarvaih sambhajanyānī. Similarly Mādhava has kamaṇīyaṁ, aranyānī.

4. Iran. gad-, OInd. gadh-

In Iranian it is possible to trace four bases gad- as follows:

1. gad- in *gadā- ‘club’ attested in Av. gaḍā-, gaḍavara-, Zor. Pahl. gaḍā, gaḍak, gaḍavar, OInd. gaḍa-. If we put here Ossetic Digor yāḍa, Iron gaḍ ‘wood, forest, timber’ this would give the basic meaning ‘wood’ and the feminine with -ā suffix would be ‘the thing made of wood’, hence a convenient word for ‘club’. In the Taïtirīya *Samhitā* 2.507 (Bibliotheca Indica) gadhā, gaḍa is part of the upper part of a wagon. If this was of wood, the same connexion may lie with this OInd. gad-. A third derivative may be seen in Khot. gahaa- nom. sing. gahai, gahe, plur. gaḥa ‘shaft of arrow’, hence here too the ‘wooden’ thing would be expressed by an adjectival form by suffix -aka.-


3. gad- ‘beg’ in OPersian, Avestan pres. faḍya-, Sogd. ’γδ’k ‘desire’, Khot. pajja-, paj: pajista- ‘demand’. It is widely attested in Greek πόθος, Celtic as OIr. guidim, OSlav. žedati. Scheftelowitz proposed to see this base in OInd. jighatsā ‘hunger’.


In New Iranian we find Pašto γal, plur. γła, γlūna ‘thief’ (whence Orm. γλ), Wāxi γūd ‘thief’, γūdī ‘theft’, Yidya γāl ‘thief’.5

In all Iranian dialects the act of the base gad- is reprobated.

With this Iranian gad- we have now to associate the Rigvedic OInd. gadh- in verbal use -gadhita- and with -ya- suffix in gadhya- and -gandhya-. The

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1 Khot. gahaa- translates Turkish үлүм in P 2892.173, published *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 292, and now in KT, iii, 81. The gaḥai forms part of a gift in KT, ii, 60, lines 12, 18 and verso 4.

2 For gaḍ, H. Sköld, *Die osset. Lehnmörter im Ungarischen*.

3 ZII, ii, 1923, 272, not accepted Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, 433, where ghas- is offered.


5 Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 24; *IIFL*, ii, 523 and 212.
activity in Old Indian is approved: it is a rightful 'plundering' of the enemy. Thus it is the reverse of the Iranian gad- which is an act condemned, against the community. The difference can be seen similarly in Russ. razboj 'robbery', Bulg. razboinik 'brigand' beside Roumanian (Slavonic loan-word) razboi 'war', razboinic 'warrior'. This ambivalence is like that found in OInd. āsura-, OIran. ahura-; deva-, daiva-.

The Old Indian gadh- has remained an object of dispute. The basic meaning is 'seize, grasp', whence 'seize, plunder'.

The participle gadhita- occurs in RV 1.126.6

āgadhitā párigadhitā yā kaśikēva jangahē
dādāti māhyām yāduri yādūnāṃ bhojyā satā

'she who withs like kaśikā beast held and embraced, gives to me as yāduri a hundred pleasures of yādu-'.

Here Sāyāna and Mādhava cite the Nirukta 5.15 where gadh- is explained by grhrnāti 'take' and māribhāva 'juncture'. In RV 4.16.11, 16 gadhyā- is rendered in Sāyāna by grāhya-. Mādhava offers 4.38.4 abhikānksya-, 6.26.2 abhikānksita-. In 1.126.6 Geldner has 'angedrückt, umarmt' recognizing a verb gadh- 'grasp'.

The derivative gadhya- is an epithet of vāja- 'booty' in four verses:

4.16.11 rjrā vājam nā gādhyam yāyuasan
kavir yād āhan pāryāya bhūsāt

4.16.16 yō māvate jāritre gādhyam cin
makṣā vājam bhārati spāhrādāhāḥ

6.10.6 bharādvājesu dadhiṣe swṛktim
avir vājasya gādhyasya sātaū

6.26.2 tvām vājī havate vājineyō
mahō vājasya gādhyasya sātaū

The form -gandhya- occurs in a compound

9.98.12 asyāma vājaqandhyaṃ
sanēma vājapastyam

One other passage has gādhyā- in a context of cattle-raiding:

4.38.4 yāh sma-ārundhānō gādhyā samātsu
sānutaraś cārati gōsu gāchan

In all these passages the gādh- is an approved practice. The 'plunder' comes from the enemy.

1 For yāduri Sāyāna offers bhuretoyuktā, for yādu- he gives bhoga- so that yādūnāṃ bhojyā is tautological. Support outside Old Indian is desirable to establish the precise meaning.

2 This gādhyā samātsu is rendered by 'Beute in den Schlachten' by P. Thieme, Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda, p. 40.
By an unfortunate aberration 1 Geldner in these passages tried to find an otherwise unattested adjectival derivative of gadhā-, variant gadā- ‘part of a wagon’. This belongs rather with Iran. *gada- as proposed above.

Yet another Iranian word with gad- (or possibly gada-) is preserved in Sogdian γðγ’/β in the phrase ‘rsk ‘ty γðγ’ ‘envy and . . .’, and in the adjective γδκν for some pejorative sense.2

5. Iran. haik-, OInd. sek-

The Armenian loan-word xncoy (-k’, xncoy, -k’) ‘feast, banquet, rejoicing, assembly’, in dahlc xncoyic ‘banqueting-hall’, according to the Mekhitarist Dictionary selan ourazout’ean, manuand harsaneac ‘table of rejoicing, especially of nuptials’, quoted from Agathangelos, has been brought into connexion with Ossetic Dgor xincun, xinst, Iron xyncyn, xypd, xypcoj (plur.), and nominal xync ‘entertainment’ in which we find the same sense of joy and feasting. Thus xinst is used of wedding entertainment in the Iron Adamon Sfaldystad 5.177; and G. Maliti, p. 37, spoke of ustur xinstita, vijnadsinada ‘great entertainments, delight’.

In Middle Western Iranian and Ossetic x- can replace an older Iranian h-. Hence one possible origin of this word would be Iran. *hink- from a base haik- in which one would seek a meaning ‘to make joyful by feasting’, more simply ‘to satiate’.

This consideration induces me to propose a connexion of this Iran. haik- with the OInd. sek- attested in the adjective asecana-. This word is found in Hindu Sanskrit hymns to the goddess Devi,4 Buddhist Sanskrit asecana-, -ka, asecaniya-,5 and Pali asecana-, -ka-.6 The interpretation offered from Buddhist Sanskrit is ‘insatiable’. The compound asecanaka-darsana- ‘handsome’ is that which one ‘would satiate with gazing at’. Thus the Tibetan rendering blta-bas chog mi sès-pa ‘not content with seeing’, Chinese yielding the same meaning, both in the Mahârâyupattî,7 accord with the Agni asinât lkâlyo ‘insatiable in gazing’ and similarly Kući lkâtsy ontsyotte.8 A similar phrase occurs also in Ossetic where ne ‘fsäst äm käsnyäj cöüst ‘the eye was not sated gazing thereon’ is used to render Pushkin’s rascevela.8

This OInd. sek- ‘to satiate’ has not been quoted from Vedic texts. Late attestation of Old Indian words is not unknown. Thus parút ‘last year’ is found from the time of Pâṇini though known in Greek πέρυον. The word gada- ‘illness’, common in medical texts from the time of Suśruta, is otherwise

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1 It was rejected by Nießer, Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda; it is absent from Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, s.v. gādhyā-. Geldner has gadhā- rendered ‘Wagenversteck’ in his Glossar, p. 53.
2 W. B. Henning, Manich. Bet. und Beichbuch, p. 105; P 2.1069 and Dhuta 128.
3 Trans. Phil. Soc., 1956, 94. Further cognates were left undecided.
4 V. Raghavan, Indian Linguistics, xvi, 1955, 322.
5 F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary, s.v.
6 Pali commentaries, quoted in the Pali Text Society’s Dictionary, try to connect with sek- ‘to sprinkle’.
7 Ed. Sakaki, 392 asecanaka rūpēna.
confined in the Rigveda to the compound *vidād-.\(^1\) Similarly the base *kas-, frequent in the Prakrits, occurs in Sanskrit in the causative *nīkāsaya- ‘expel.’\(^2\) It is found in Iranian Khot. *kah-: khasta- ‘arise’, with *ni- in *naṣakhasta-, *nasūkastā-, and in Armenian loan-word *nūkahem ‘rise, rise against’.


Thus the meaning dissevers OInd. *sek- ‘to satiate’ from *sek- ‘to sprinkle, pour water’ even though drinking is a prominent part of the feasting.

It is now possible to advance to the interpretation of the Avestan name *Haēcat.aspa-, the name of the fourth ancestor of Zoroaster. In *haēcat- we have the participle in a governing compound, with the meaning ‘satiate’: the word means ‘satisfying, feeding the horses’.\(^4\)

The Iranian thus knows three verbs *haik-, 1. ‘to pour’, 2. ‘to dry’,\(^5\) and 3. ‘to satiate’.

6. Iran. *sor-, OInd. *ṣurūdh-

Khotanese *hasāra-, *husura-\(^6\) occurs in three contexts which assure a meaning ‘quarry, hunted beast or bird’. These passages are the following:

Rāma text P 2801.13 (*KT*, i, 65)

\[sī vā re byaha bāde \quad phārākya hīna jsa hamtsa←\]
\[hasūrā jsām vara vaṣṭā ā \quad kūṣṭa māṇda bhrāmma ysādā←\]

‘the king rode out hunting with a great retinue. The quarry came through to where the aged brahman lived’.

Jātaka-stava 29 v 1

\[tteṇe bāśīg husure sē beṃhye beyda\]
\[tte re šīke āstīye bhūṣyau jsa samartha←\]

ibid. 31 v 2

\[tī ahā ḡaiste hasure viṃśāṃje stāna←\]

In Ossetic Dgor *sorun, partic. *surd, Iron *suryn, syrd is frequent in the meaning ‘to hunt, drive’. A derivative has been claimed in the earlier name *Σωπακος.\(^7\) In the *Digorskie skazania* 23.1 we find *āz ārsordzānān sirdtā ‘I shall

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\(^1\) Supra s.v. *gad-.*

\(^2\) JRAS, 1955, 15.

\(^3\) Without the -y-, see Pokorny, *IEW*, 876, sā- : sv-. OInd. *si- is ambiguous.

\(^4\) The *AIW* knowing only *haik- ‘to sprinkle’ had conjectured ‘Rosse (mit Wasser) besprengend, baden’.


\(^6\) Assimilated first syllable -u-, as in *ruṣupura- (*Suvarṇabhūṣa-sūtra* 35 a 4) for older *ruṣupura-, and *kāru acc. sing. to *kāra-.

\(^7\) V. Abyek, *Oset. jazyk i fol’klor*, i, 182, from Vasmer. In the *AIW* placed under Av. *zaranyo saora-.*
hunt the beasts’ and similarly Iron syrdty xicān āfsāti ‘the lord of wild beasts, Āfsāti’.

Isolated from the verb we have in Digor i for u in sird ‘wild beast, quarry’, Iron syrd. Such a replacement is familiar in Digor sīū ‘horn’; Iron sykā, sīū, beside Digor siūgān, Iron siūdžyin from older sru-, Khot. sū- and many other dialect forms; in Digor mistā ‘rat’ even an Old Iran. -ū- has been changed to -i- and that after m-.¹ Digor āmsurd, Iron ānsyrd ‘common driving’ is explained by āmtārd, āntārd.

Earlier (BSOAS, xx, 1957, 56) I cited the Armen. sour- in sourhandak ‘courier’. The word handak is familiar in Zor. Pahl. hnd’k *handāka-in the gloss to Avestan Yasna 50.7 zvīštīyōŋ aurvāt rendered handāk ut apāyišnīk ut arvand. This verb handāc- is used to render Av. vōithwa- and vjeti. In Krorain Prakrit we have amtāgi used of horses and camels.² The verb occurs in Khotanese (E 25.424)

āphāde ni rraymsa hamdajśare gğayyo jsa

‘their ranks are confused, they gallop with their troops’.

In view of such variant forms as those of Vedic dhvār- with dhur- and dhru- it may be desirable to call attention here to Kuci šerev ‘hunter’, Agni šarv- in nom. šaru, obliq. šarwām with the verb Kuci šer- inf. šerūtis (from *šerwūtis).

From Khotanese hasura- and Ossetic sorun we reach back to an Iranian *saurā- : sur-. Iran. s- corresponds to OInd. ś- or ch-. Here it is excellent to trace this word in OIndian śur- of Rigvedic śurūdh-.³

In form śurūdh- has been compared with RV īṣudh- attested in a denominative verb īṣudhyā- and adj. īṣudhyū-. The Avestan īṣud- is explained by the Zor. Pahl. āpām, Sansk. ṛṇam ‘debt’. It is clearly something to be delivered up or paid over. The īś- of Av. īṣud- and RV īṣudh- may be the -s- form from the Indo-Eur. ai- : i- ‘to give’ attested in Hittite pai-, pe- (from pa ai-) ‘to give’ and i- in ivaru- ‘gift’, Hierog. Hitt. pa- ‘to give’. Kuci has ai-, Agni e- ‘to give’ in full use, pres. āisk- and es-, and the Agni noun el ‘gift’. The -s-enlargement is so frequent (as in RV jēs- from jay- and hōṣ- from hav-) that there need be no hesitation in finding it in īṣud-. The suffix -udh- can then be simply taken for the ‘product’, the īṣud- is ‘what is to be given’ and the śurūdh- is thus ‘what is to be hunted’ or more generally ‘to be won’, as the contexts show, by plundering the enemy.

The word śurūdh- is found in the plural in the Rigveda. The following contexts indicate the scope of the word:

1.169.8 śurūdho gō-agrāh ‘the booty consisting chiefly of cattle’
6.49.8 śurūdhas candrāgrā(h) ‘the booty of bright (metals)’
10.122.1 śurūdha viśvādhāyasō ‘the booty offering all kind of nourishment’

¹ The assumption that OIran. -ādra- gave Osa. -rd- is unsupported in E. Benveniste, BSL, lii, 1956, 41.
² T. Burrow, The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan, p. 73.
³ A different word, OInd. churati, has been compared with Avestan saura- in the AIW.
1.72.7  śurūḍho jīvāše 'the booty for sustenance'
7.23.2  śurūḍho vivāci 'the booty in the conflict'
6.3.3  hēśasvataḥ śurūḍho 'the booty of the armed man'
9.70.5  ādēdiśānāh saryahēva śurūḍhah 'like the archer intent upon booty'
7.62.3  sahūsraṃ śurūḍho 'the thousand booties', the provision of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Agni
3.38.5  śurūḍhaḥ santi pūrvāḥ 'the first booties', these transferred to rūtā- from the gods; (and 4.23.8 sānti).

Earlier interpretations yielded only the choice between 'gains' (which was correct but too indefinite) and 'gifts'. Śāyāna is here aberrant with svacaḥ sōkasya rodhayitrīr in RV 6.3.3. At the same place Mādhava offered tejaso rodhayituh. Both tried to find a verb rodh-. Geldner’s Übersetzung has both 'gift' and 'reward'. The recent study by P. Thieme also seeks a verbal rodh-.

It will here once again be noticed that the Old Indian vocabulary has kept one derivative where Iranian in Ossetic has a verb in full use. This has previously been remarked for the Iranian base ar- 'to grind', in Indo-Aryan Kālāsā at and Sansk. aṭṭa-m, and in Iran. tarp- 'steal', beside the isolated Rigvedic -tīp- with pāsu- and asu-.

7. Rigvedic nāyām

The interpretation of śurūḍha- involves an attack upon the difficult problem of nāyām occurring five times. Three of the five cases demand a meaning 'direction' or (the result of directing) 'place'. Thus we have in the Rigveda

1.130.1  ā-īndra yāhy ūpa nāḥ parāvāto
nāyām āchā vidāthāni-īva sātpatir
āstam rājā-īva sātpatīḥ

8.2.28  svādāvah sōmā ā yāhi
śrītāḥ sōmā ā yāhi
śiprinn ṣīvah śācivo
nāyām āchā sadhamādām

8.33.13  ā-īndra yāhi pūtāye
mādhu śaviṣṭha somyām
nāyām achā mahāvā śṛṇavad giro
brāhmokthā ca sukrātuh

With this meaning it is also possible to propose interpretation of the two other passages

1.121.13  tvām sāro harito rāmayo nṛṇ
bhārac cakrāṃ ētaśo nāyām indra
prāṣya pārām navatiṁ nāvāyānām
āpi kartām avartayo (ā)yajyān

1 'Beiträge zur Vedaexegese', ZDMG, xcvi, 1941, and KZ, lxix, 1951, 172.
In 6.3.3 the poet allusively describes a raiding party at night. The sense is thus *surúdho náyám aktóh ‘in the direction, to the booty, at night’, with the two accusatives in apposition. Similar RV 1.116.8 agním ghráṃsám.

Setting aside at first the problem of the accentuation, note that, if Avestan naēma- ‘direction, side’, Sogd. nymyḏ ‘south’, nym’k, NSogd. Yañnabī nema ‘side’, Zor. Pahl. nēmak 1 ‘ direction, part ’ with the OInd. néma- ‘ side, half ’ are compared, we can see a word *nāyā- ‘ direction ’ from nāyati ‘ to conduct ’, of the form well attested in Rigvedic vāyā- in vāso-vāyā- and śrāyā-, similar to the bases in -av- in Rigvedic sāvā-, āhāvā-.

This explanation would prove the double accentuation to be wrong. Hence we touch that period between the poets’ original Sanskrit and the Padapātha when irregularities could arise. To that period, for example, belongs the confusion over the word itāūti- which is recorded in two forms, either as one word with one udātta accent or as two words with two accents itā √ūti. The meaning ‘ perpetual ’ was clearly lost. 2 Here also the accentuation points to a failure of understanding. To the same period belongs also the dhiṣṇyemé containing dhiṣnyā as unaccented vocative and dhiṣṇyemé containing dhiṣnyā (the Padapātha dhiṣṇye with unusual sandhi before imé), with accent, in RV 7.72.3 c. Here too belongs the spelling of pāvaka-.

If thus náyam is associated with other cases of faulty transmission it loses its strangeness. Now add that this type of derivative is attested with the udātta both on the second and on the first syllable. Thus mḍā- attested in sadhamādā-, and sauā-. In the sense of agent we find nāyā- ‘ leader ’.

The Padapātha interpreted by ná and ayám. Geldner offered in his Glossar ná and ayám. In his Übersetzung 1.121.13 he keeps this and proposes to render ‘ selbst ’; in 1.130.1 ‘ in eigner Person ’; 6.3.3 ‘ derselbe ’; 8.2.28 and 8.33.13 as 1.130.1. H. Lüders incidentally dealt with 6.3.3 and gave ‘ derselbe ’ (Acta Or., xiii, 1935, 123). A new survey was put forward by P. Thieme 3 with a proposal to read ná deduced from nánā ‘ various ’ in the sense of ‘ alone ’ with ayám acc. sing. ‘ coming ’. In this L. Renou in his review found it impossible to follow him. 4 H. Oldenberg in his Exegetische Noten preferred to assume an error of accentuation and to read náyam.

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1 In Zāteṣram, Vičitakīḥ, K35, 244 v 8 occurs pat nēmak i rāś ‘ in the direction, course of the road, midway ’, when the fire was being transferred over the ocean in the reign of Hōṣang.

2 A preliminary attempt to interpret Avestan utāyāti- and Rigvedic itāūti- was made in Trans. Phil. Soc., 1954, 138 ff. I should now develop that to propose that the uta- of Avestan meant ‘ extended ’ being the participle to the verb attested in Rigvedic unoti, which must be treated elsewhere.

3 Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda, pp. 50 ff.

4 Bull. Soc. Lég., xlv, 1949, 66 (‘ désespéré ’).
Sāyaṇa follows the Padapāṭha. Similarly Mādhava in 1.130.1 and 6.3.3, but in 1.121.13 he has naikaṣo 'yam.

8. śūghanā-

The word śūghanā- occurs once in the Rigveda. It is listed in the Naighantūka 2.15 among the kṣipra-nāmāni, the words for ‘swift’. The passage is RV 4.58.7

sīndhor iva prādhanā śūghanāso
vātipramyāh patayanti yahvāḥ
gṛtāya ādhārā aruṣō nā vājī
cāstiḥ bhādhān ārāṁ bhirānī hi pinvamānāḥ

In a context of flood water the word ghanā- would at once suggest the base ghan- ‘to be exuberant, overflowing’.¹

In śū- it is possible to see an ablaut form of āśū- ‘swift’, OIran. Av. āśu-, Greek ἄκες. It gave the word Khot. āška-, Bud. Sogd. ’s’uk- *āsuka-, Zor. Pahl. āhūk, NPers. āhū ‘antelope’, the ‘swift’ animal.

Something is now known about the ablaut system of words with long Indo-Iranian ō-. Thus we have OInd. āyu-, āyus- ‘vitality’, Av. āyu- ‘duration of time’. From this arise forms yau- and yu-. Thus in the Avesta occur yav-, yavaētā-, NPers. jāvētān, Armen. loan-word yauēt ‘ever’, Zor. Pahl. yāvētān, and in Ossetic Dīgor jāūā, jāū ‘energy, vitality’. From the reduced grade yu- derived the adj. OInd. yuvān- ‘young’, Lat. iuvenis and the other forms in Germanic, Celtic, and the rest.²

A second case is the OInd. ātmān- with tmānā.³

Hence there is no difficulty in claiming the same ablaut āśū- : śu- ‘swift’. The long vowel of śū- in śūghanā- may be simply explained by adopting the reduced grade of the a- which occurs before ghan- in OInd. aghnyā- and Av. agnyā-, Armen. -ō- in yōgm as we accept the reduced grade in the initial vowel of ap- ‘water’ in OInd. RV prātipā-, anūpā-; of the verbal āp- ‘reach’ and īpsāti; and the long vowel of sūndra- compared to the a- of Armen. ayr ‘man’.

The compound śūghanā- thus combines the sense of a violent flood of water and its swift rush in the river-bed.⁴

9. OInd. ārva-

A word ārva- is attested in OInd. ārvaśā- ‘vicinity’, and the directional adjective ārvaṅka- ‘turning in this direction’, adverbial ārvaṅk ‘hither’.

The suffix -va- is familiar in the OInd. pūrva-, OPers. paruviya- contrasting with the -m- of Khot. pirmā- ‘first’ and Lit. pirmas. A similar -va- can be

¹ For Iranian gawn-, OInd. ghan-, Greek ἄγων- see the words grouped in BSOAS, xx, 1957, 44 ff.
² For the complex āyu-, see E. Benveniste, Bull. Soc. Lingu., xxxviii, 1937, 103 ff.; Ossetic jāū in Morgenstierne, NTS, xii, 1942, 269.
³ Details can be found in F. B. J. Kuiper, Notes on Vedic noun-inflexion, 19 ff.; E. Polomé, Zum heutigen Stand der Laryngeologie, 456.
⁴ This explanation seems to have merit over against the translation ‘cattle-killing’ in P. Thieme, ZDMG, xcv, 1941, 348, whose conjectured *pēu- is hardly acceptable.
detected also in OInd. apvä- ‘inner part of the body’ with which we have to associate Ossetic Digor āppā, Iron āpp ‘kernel’, with prosthetic q- = x’ also qāppā and qāpp. The -pp- arises from OIran. -fw-. In Khotanese the word ahā-means the ‘innermost stomach’.

In the ar- of OInd. arva- it is now easy to see the base of Lit. artūs ‘near’, artī adv. ‘near’, iš arto ‘from the vicinity’. These and other forms are compared with Greek ἄρτη ‘just’, ἄρτος, ἄρτος, Lat. artus ‘narrow’, artus ‘limb’, and Armen. ard ‘now’. The basic word occurs in Let. ar ‘and, with’.

With these words we have further to connect Agni ārtak and Kuci ārte, ārte which translate Bud. Sansk. upa ‘near’.

By these connexions the base is established as ar-, not er-.

Note as a parallel that a -taka-, -taka- suffix is added to the indeclinable fra (OInd. prā) in Zor. Pahlavi plīk *fratāk, NPers. fardā ‘to-morrow’ from ‘in front’ and in Khotanese paḍā ‘first’.

The recognition of the connexion of OInd. arvā- (in arvavāt-) and Lit. artūs with the cognate words offers a solution of the problem of Śuṣṇi ar ‘to, at’ as preposition and postposition. With this ar ‘to’ it will be desirable to join Ossetic Digor and Iron ār-, āl- before l-, in use as a preverb ‘towards’. Both these words may have lost an older final vowel. Thus Ossetic fāl- represents older pari-. The Ossetic ār- would seem to exclude the form *ari.

10. ai- ‘teach’

It was proposed in BSOAS, xx, 1957, 41 ff. to see in the aē- of OIranian Avestan aēdra-, and the reduced grade -i- in the -iē- of Avestan hamiḍpati-, a title, an Iranian base ai- : i- meaning ‘to teach’; then to explain Old Indian Rigvedic āyū-, the fellow of the kārū-, as the derived adjective of agent ‘teacher’, creator of mantras, formed as jāyū- from jāyati ‘to win’. With suffix -n- the word is common in Greek alvós ‘tale, decree’, aiλéω ‘to praise’, παράνεω ‘to enjoin’, Pindaros, Pyth. iv 222 καταληγον . . . γάμον ‘they vowed marriage’.

In Kuci and Agni a base 6 en- ‘to teach’ translating Bud. Sansk. śūs-contains Kuci e-, Agni e-. Normally Kuci has retained the diphthong ai where the Agni has reached the stage e, as in Kuci ai- ‘to give’, Agni e- (pres. 1 sing. aiskau, esam) corresponding to Hittite ai- in pai-, pe- ‘to give’, Hierog. Hitt. pa-, with i- in ivaru- ‘gift’. But in Kuci the development from ai to e can be seen in the extant texts, just as in the similar diphthong au, Agni o is sometimes o

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1 For apvä- see K. Hoffmann, Corolla linguistica, 80 ff.; Khot. ahā- in nom. sing. aha, loc. sing. aha in the medical text P 2893 (in KT, 111, 85) 70, 124. The x’ in qāpp is comparable to the non-ejective x in xom ‘raw’, Khot. hāmac, OInd. āmac.

2 E. Fraenkel, Lit. et. Wb., s.v., p. 17.

3 K. Hoffmann, summarized in Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, 552, offered an inversion of *avra-.

4 G. Morgenstierne, NTS, 1, 1928, 46-7.

5 The never satisfactory attempt to see in this Oss. ār- the older *adi- would thus drop, see ‘Supplementary note to Asica’, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1946, 203-4.

6 Briefly noted in BSOAS, xxx, 1, 1957, 47.
in Kuci. Thus it is possible to compare Kuci sai- ‘to support’, Agni se-
from which occur Kuci inf. saitsi, partic. sasainu and pret. sentsamai, Agni
partic. sāseyu, conj. sēṇmār. Similarly Kuci has aunu- ‘begin’ with partic.
aunu, auntsate and omtsate beside Agni on-, partic. āwu, onu, pret. osāt.
The replacement of ai by e can be seen in Kuci maigiyā- ‘power’ beside meiyā-
In Agni we have ske- ‘to exert oneself’, pres. skeneic, pret. skāyā, noun ske
to compare with Kuci skai-, pres. skainam, optat. skāyōy, noun skeye.

The development of Kuci ai- to e- in en- ‘to teach’ had the additional
advantage of keeping ai-, Agni e- ‘to give’ distinct from e- ‘to teach’. This
word en- is placed beside the forms with suffixed -n- in the Tocharische Gram-
matik, p. 245, but the decisive forms without -n- are not known or at least not
published. For the similar Agni on- the partic. āwu and the pret. os- show that
the -n- is suffix. Kuci texts have preserved only forms with -n-.

In Old Indian occurs a verb e- : i- which with the preverb ādhi means ‘to
teach’. The Petersburg Dictionary unhesitatingly derives this adhy-e- from
e- : i- ‘to go’, but it seems impossible to bridge the gulf between ‘to go’ and
‘to teach’. The verb is well attested in active and middle, and in the partic.
ādhi-, adhitā- ‘taught, having learnt’, noun adhyāyā- ‘teaching’.

Note the phrase Tañtīrīya upaniṣad 3.1 Bhṛgur vai Vārūnīh, Varuṇam pitarām
upasārā, adhīhi bhagavo brahmeti, tasmā etat prāvacā. Thāt is, ‘Bhṛgu son
of Varuṇa approached his father Varuṇa, saying, Sir, teach me the brahma.
He stated it to him’. Śatapatha brāhmaṇa (10.3.3.5) adhīhi bhos tam agnīm
is similar. The present participle adhiyānt- differs from the present participle of
the verb e- ‘to go’, that is, yant-. The long vowel of adhiyānt- may preserve the
reduced grade of the a- of ai- ‘teach’. In the Chāndogya upaniṣad 7.1.2 we find
ṛgvedam bhagavo ‘dhyemi yajurvedam ‘I study the Rigveda and Yajurveda’.

This evidence seems sufficient to recover the base ay-, e- : i- in Old Indian,
a word destined to early extinction by its smallness and its rival ay-, e- : i-
‘to go’. That a verbal base can survive only with a preverb can be seen in āpi
vat-, nir akṣ-, ā kw- or in nominal form akṣ- ‘look’ in adhyakṣa-.

Above under haik- it was noted that an enlargement -k- was fully assured.
In Kuci there is a verb aik- ‘to know’ (not found in Agni, which uses knā-).
If the -k- is an enlargement to express the termination or result of the act, it
would be possible to take aik-k- ‘to know’ from aik- ‘to state, teach’ as the
result of ‘information given’.

With the similar enlargement -g- we have Germanic Gothic aik- in the
compound verb afaskan ‘to deny’. The meaning can be reached by recognizing
the repudiation in the preverb af- with a verb of statement, that is, ‘to state
that a thing is not’. The positive statement is made by eihhon ‘vindicare,
zungrechen’ and in-eih(h)an = insagēn in Old High German.

1 In footnotes in Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B, Ht. 2, an effort is made to reverse this
development as if the more archaic ai and au were correct.

2 A. Minard, Trois énigmes sur les cît chemins, ii, p. 170.

3 S. Feist, Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, p. 3.

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In Greek ἀναίνομαι ‘to deny’ shows the reverse preverb ἀν- with a base -αι- and -ν- suffix. Since these various words in Old Indian, Avestan, Kuci, Agni, Gothic, and Greek seem to form a related group by meaning, it seems likely that the Greek -αν- of ἀναίνομαι belongs here, even if the pret. ἀνίμπαρο must be separated off.

11. Iran. farva-

In a note on Old Indian pharva- attested in acc. sing. fem. prapharvyām compared with Ossetic Digest p'ārua, p'ārā, Iron xārv ‘thin skin, film’, Armen. p'ar ‘thin skin, film, shirt’, I had occasion to mention some of the representatives in Ossetic of OIran. p-.

It is now possible to extend the problem by adding Ossetic Digest fārūkā, fārākā, Iron fārāk, plur. fāraktā ‘bran, ortrubi’, the husk being named as the ‘thin skin’. For this meaning note Ossetic Digest xotxā meaning both ‘thin skin’ and ‘bran’, and in ni xotxā wa ‘to become ash’ also ‘ashes’. The cognate is Digest xotāq, xotug, Iron xūtāq ‘flake’. Hence in fārūkā we have the third spelling of *farva- with suffix -ā- and secondary -kā (with *k- retained). A passage containing Digest fārākā occurs in the Iron Ādāmōn Šifādistād 5.168

dā āvd furtej āndurtī fāttā din uakkā sinzāc cāgār Čeregiq ā dá kolvārī duārťābāl listāg fārākā nikkotā mā din jecī xābār iyostrūn kānunmā ārbā-soxtān, zārgā with the footnote se’nduri fāttā listāg fārākā nikkotā.

Here should be mentioned also Waxī pārg, Sanglēči park ‘ashes’. If ‘ashes’ are named from the flakes thought of as ‘thin skin’ as in Ossetic xotxā then this para- with *k- suffix would belong with *farva- ‘film’. The Lit. pelenai ‘ashes’ could also be placed here. The Ossetic system deriving from the one series of Old Iranian unvoiced stops k, t, p, can now be set out as follows. OIran. k normally gave Ossetic k (= k’), in earlier Cyrillic spellings written kx, medial doubled -gk- unaspirated non-ejective, k’ ejective, and x fricative. Thus we find kānun ‘to make’ (OIran. kān-, OPers. kun-), mugkāq ‘family’ beside mugā ‘seed’; k’ás ‘innermost part of a house’, Khot. kasà-, kasāısà-; Digest k’insā ‘dough’, Iron c’yssā and with fricative xyssā.

For the dental series we have for OIran. t, Ossetic t (= t’) normally, doubled dl, but also ejective t’. Thus Digest, Iron tānāq ‘thin’, Khot. ttianga- ‘rare’;

1 BSOSAS, x1, 1957, 49-50.
2 Further below, p. 541 on Khotanese khoca.
3 Other cases are cited in Trans. Phil. Soc., 1945, 35.
4 Morgenstierne, IIPL, 11, 407, from pel- ‘dust’, as in Pokorny, IEW, 802.
5 Ossetic Digest k’āsi bādāg ‘witch’, as one ‘sitting in the innermost part of the house’, corresponds to Iron k’ulī bādāg ‘sitting in the k’ul’. This k’ul, Digest k’olā, is the ‘innermost part of the house between the hearth and the back wall’. Probably OInd. kāsas- occurring once belongs here, on which elsewhere.
6 This represents an older *kisə- from *kisə- derived from kat-, kêt- : kêt-: attested in Lat. cæsus ‘cheese’ and its cognates. Khotanese has tćiňa- adj. ‘of yeast’, OInd. kįmə-m ‘yeast’.
Digor, Iron t'ápan 'flat', from tap- 'flat', on which elsewhere, Digor st'álu, Iron st'ály 'star'. The expected θ fricative to set beside x is absent. It can be noted that the OIran. θ also has lost fricition in Ossetic: fátan 'broad', itindzun 'to extend'.

The same series as for k can be shown for p. The usual result is f, as in finsun 'write', fondz 'five'; doubled bp. For ejective p' the p'árua 'film' cited above occurs. To this must be added the rare p (≡ p') which I see in Digor per-, Iron pír- attested in Digor peron 'combed ball of wool', perná 'wheel of a water-mill', Iron piryn, pyrd 'to scratch, to comb', pirán 'comb for wool'. The meaning 'scratch' at once recalls the Germanic OEngl. wiritan 'to write', OSwed. ríta 'scratch, write', and the derivatives of Indo-European peč, peč-.

This would seem to provide the connexion of Khot. pír- : púda- 'to write, paint'. Previously I had proposed to see in it OIran. pati-kar- 'to imitate' known in OPers. patikara- 'inscription', later patkar 'image', through an intermediate *pāyar-.

Note that Tumshuq Saka has pyerdamu to translate Bud. Sansk. saucintya 'deliberately' from *pati-kar- 'think'. The Tumshuq Saka equivalent of Khotanese pír- 'to write' has not yet been found. Incidentally it should be added here that Tumshuq píšane is used where Khotanese uses haslā- 'message', so that it is not certainly translated by 'to write'.

A second case in which Ossetic has p- corresponding to older p- is Digor purxá, purx, Iron pyrx 'splashing water, spray', Khot. usphir-, asphir-, isphir- 'to splash', from par- with suffix -xā, as in xotxā 'thin skin', k'upxā 'dregs from sour milk'.

The Ossetic system replacing OIran. k, t, p, non-aspirate stops, was thus, with the means familiar in Caucasian languages, k', k', x (whence came Iron palatalized č-, č̣-, before e and i); t', t', and t' from θ; and p' (rare), p' (rare), f (regularly). In the dental series there is disturbance. Note a disturbance also in the voiced series: Ossetic has b, and d, but the fricative γ from OIran. g-. Ossetic knows also g from older intervocalic -k-. It has also a few cases of initial g- from older y-. OIran. y- is represented in three forms in Ossetic, by ū-, b-, and g-; the same position is found in Khotanese.4

12. Iranian iza-

The Iranian iza- 'skin' is attested in the Avestan adjective izaēna- (and with ū-) and widely in New Iranian. Thus we find Yidya ize (with variants yizio, yiyaa, and others),Orm. ێz 'skin bag' Bal. hīz 'leather churn', Pašto, Bal. zīk 'skin for ghee', Pašto zài 'leather bag' from *izyaka-.5

1 BSOS, viii, 4, 1937, 935. 2 BSOAS, xiii, 3, 1950, 663.
3 KT, iii, 34, 10; KBT, 19.223. For Yidya pœz ō hoarfrost 'see Morgenstierne, IIFL, ii, 240. Khotanese shows phar. = *far.-
5 Morgenstierne, EVP, 105; IIFL, ii, 195.
It has recently been noticed that Old Khot. hāysā in E 21.35 means a skin which can be inflated. The passage is

\[ \text{kye} \text{ trāma śāre samu kha hāysā daundā putā} \]
\[ \text{kye} \text{ īrī birštā swey gaγagarrā rrūva nāta} \]

'some lie just like a skin blown up, rotting, others with belly burst, lungs, liver, intestines without'.

The inflated skin is known from the time of the Rigveda 7.89.2 dētir nā dhmātō. In Persia the Semitic máškā- was adopted and this has been handed down to NPersian mášk.

In Khot. hāysā the h- is prosthetic. A comparison of Khot. haŋgušta- ‘finger’, paŋjušta- ‘finger-ring’, like Yidya parγuščë, Wæxī plōngōšt, with OKhot. āŋśë, later āśë ‘thumb’ shows that the simple word may have this added h- while the word with suffix wants it. The word is Avestan angušta-, NPers. angušt and OInd. anguštha-. The Khotanean -i- is from -iya-.

This recognition of Khot. hāysa- ‘skin’ has brought me to see that we should distinguish two words in Khotanean, 1. imjēna- with nasal, and 2. iŋjēna without nasal. The first imjēna- belongs with Sogd. 'ynkuw'ynčh *ēnkwēnč-.¹ ‘steel’ but the second will be the adjective to hāysa- ‘skin’. The ūrabada ‘belt’ is more likely to be made of leather in the passage Ch. evi 001, 5 iŋēnai hirāsā hvattarakinai ūrabada sa' ‘a belt, of leather, black, . . .’.²

The leather belt is worn by the enemies, the Tūrak, in the Babylon Yašt (3.34) dēb'l-kustēk'n *duvāl-kustikān.

For the -j- of iŋjēna- note that Khot. spuljēi ‘spleen’ has -lj- from older -rzy-,³ and here too we may assume īj- from older *izy-.

13. Khotanean khoca

A difficult problem was presented by the Old Khotanean khoca, later khauca.⁴ The intervocalic -c- would normally indicate some secondary conjunction of consonants. It was therefore assumed that the word contained zuad- with a suffix -ca-.

This base Indo-Eur. skew- and skew-d- is found with two initials sk- and x- from kh-. Thus we have Wæxī sk'id ‘cap’ from *skauদ-, with the usual Wæxī -i- from -au-,⁵ and *khauḍa- in OPers. xauda- ‘hat’, Ossetic Digor xōdā, Iron xūd.⁶

The phrase Khot. khawcēja khauśka, however, eventually led to the solution.⁷ There is also the later spelling in P 2024 recto b (KT, ii, 78) yaragaka va deu u khāskya va ści ‘two yargak (Turk. yar-yak “pelt”) and one kafša- (“container”).

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¹ As proposed in BSOAS, xix, 1, 1957, 55-7.
² Cited in BSOAS, xix, 1, 1957, 55.
⁴ An approximate solution was proposed in Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller, 20.
⁵ Morgenstierne, IIIFL, ii, 482.
⁶ Other connected words cited in Morgenstierne, EVP, s.v. xōl, p. 96; IIIFL, ii, 266, Yidya xīlo; M. Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, s.v. khola- ‘hat’.
⁷ Ch. evi 001,5 in KT, ii, 59.
In khaüska we have the word khausaha ‘receptacle, shoe’, Zor. Pahl., NPers. kafšš, with the suffix -kya- and palatalized -s- from -s-.

The recognition that Khot. khoca meant ‘skin, leather’ came through a comparison with Ossetic Digor xotag, Iron xútag ‘flake’ as in Iron mátì xútag ‘snow flakes’; and in Digor ārt-xotag, ārt-xotug, Iron ārt-xútag ‘ashes’ (ārt ‘fire’) compared with Digor xotxä ‘thin skin; bran’, and ‘ashes’ in the phrase ni xotxä un ‘become ashes’. This xotxä is formed with the suffix -xä, Iron -z, found in other words as in k’upxä, k’úpx ‘lees of thickened milk’, zänxä, xäzx ‘earth’, mátix ‘locust’, Avestan maďaxa-. This sense of ‘skin’ indicated a connexion with Indo-Eur. skeu- with dental enlargement. The Ossetic intervocalic -t- derives from older -θ- or from -θ- arising from -d-. For the combination with ‘bran’, see supra förūkä, p. 538.

In other languages derivatives of *skeu- are frequent. Thus Greek σκόλον ‘hide’, σκύρος ‘leather’, Lat. cutis ‘skin’, OE eng. hēd ‘hide’.

In Khotanese khoca thus seems to mean ‘covering’, thence ‘skin’, and so served as an epithet of ‘receptacle, shoes’, in khāwūšja kharška. The name heinä-khoca will then mean, not ‘red-hatted’, but ‘red-skinned’.

14. Khotanese mala

Khotanese mala occurs in hendiadys construction with the loan-word from NW Prakrit trmkha- ‘peak’, in Sanskrit tīkṣaṇa- ‘sharp’ in a passage P 2787.57–8 (KT, II, 103) mala traiṅka sūmira gārānā rānda tāva harayañ bāida ‘upon the peak top of Sumeru king of mountains, the Taira Harayañ’. Here the older Iranian cosmography of the Avesta, the laēra- ‘peak’ of the Harā hōrz, has been wedded to the Buddhist Sumeru. The word mala was at first taken as a proper name.

In a poem in honour of the king Śrī Vijita Sangrāma we read

baisū bauspajñaññā raninai stūpa:
caväm tta tta daitya khu raṃnā male traiṅka:
‘the balsa- (= mchod-ten, stūpa) and the jewelled stūpa of the gandhakutji (perfumed chamber); the cāvāna- appears like peaks, mountain tops of gems’.

The cāvāna- has been noted only here. The simile with the peaks seems to indicate that the cāvāna- is the Sansk. kūṭa- and Prakrit kūla, of the stūpa. Or is it cā (= ou) and vāñ nom. sing. to vāna- ‘shrine’ or particle vā-ṃ?

The word mala- occurs in the inst. sing. mālnā translating Sansk. upalair ‘with stones’ in a passage of the Swarñabhaṣa-sūtra 69 v 4 khu ra mālnā garā sūmira for Sansk. 3.67 yathā-upalair merur ananta-tulyo, ‘like the mountain Sumeru with its peak’ for the Sansk. ‘like the limitless Sumeru with its rocks’.

2 BSOAS, xi, 4, 1946, 769.
3 Quoted earlier in Zoroastrian problems, 226, and KT, II, p. vii.
4 KT, II, 2, lines 30–1.
5 For this kūta there is the study of L. de la Vallée Poussin in ‘Staupikam’, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, II, 1937.
Khotanese -l- is ambiguous in origin, since it may represent Indo-Eur. l or r, or have replaced an OIran. -rd-. In Khot. kamala- ‘head’ we have the cognate of Av. kamrād-; OInd. mūrdhān-.

If Khot. mala- ‘peak’, however, is traced to an Indo-European base *mel- ‘to be prominent’ it belongs with the following group.

The dictionaries already contain words from Albanian, Celtic, Baltic, and Slavonic implying prominence. From Greek is quoted μολεῖν, βλω-; thus we have Alb. mal ‘point’ from *mol-no-; Geg. moje ‘high place’ from *mēl-ā-. From Celtic Irish mell ‘hill’ from *mel-no-, Lit. mala in līg-mala ‘height of bank’, Let. mala ‘edge, bank’. In Slavonic occur verbs Serb. molim in ȋz-molim ‘hervorzeigen’, and Slovene molēti ‘to project’.1

To these words we have to add Kuci meli plur. ‘nose’ translating Sansk. ghrāna, Agni malaḥ. The singular is in Agni ak-mal ‘face’ from ‘eye and nose’. For the association of ‘point’, and ‘nose’ with ‘hill, mountain’ note Khot. pīṃja- ‘breast; peak’ with Ossetic Digor fīndzā, ḵij, Iran fīndz ‘point, nose’.2

The Khotanese mala as ‘mountain peak’ suits the second of these two connexions, and thus would have an old -l-.

15. Iran. fšar-., OInd. pšar-

An Iranian base fšar- has long been known in Avestan fšārm- ‘shame’, in Ossetic both dialects ăfšārm, Pers. šarm. To this are now added Sogd. Bud. Șf;r ‘shame’, Man. šf;r; Bud. Șfr-, Chr. šfr- ‘to be ashamed’; Bud. Șfr’mk (SCE). Turfan Partian has šfr- ‘to be confused’.3 From kšar- (from fšar-) Khotanese has a verb kšār-: kšāda- and noun kšārma- ‘shame’ translating Sansk. lajjā, derivative aksārmānā ‘shamelessness’ (P 4099.67), aksārma- ‘shameless’ (P 5538 b 52). The causative kšer- is in KT, III, 11, 20 r 1.

Two additional words can be added to this group. Old Khotanese has pakṣāre in the phrase Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī (6 r 1; 16 v 2 in KT, III) kṣārnā pakṣāre rrūyāme ṣa ‘with loss of shame and modesty’. For this one would expect the Bud. Sansk. hṛ-r-apatrapya-. With the negative prefix occurs (P 4099.67) aksārmānā apakṣarattai ‘shamelessness and immodesty’.

The Khotanese pakṣar- from *pa-fšar- makes it possible to explain two forms in Zor. Pahlavi in the Dēnkart.

DkM 790.3. ut apar driyus mustōmand pahloṁ darmān uṭ mustkar haē garziån i mustōmand apāē pafṣiriṣṇiḥ (written ppšylṣnyn) ut apatiriṣṇiḥ uṭ avāvarikānīḥ ut adahisiḥ būtan ‘and about the aggrieved poor man’s first remedy, complaint; and in the offender there being from the aggrieved one’s complaint withdrawal, cessation of attack, lack of conviction (?) and absence of agreement (?)’.

DkM 654.14. vināskārān pāfrēs kunēt bāstān pafṣārēt kastārān ‘he punishes the evildoer, he shames the wrongdoers thoroughly’.

1 Pokorny, IEW, 721.
3 F. W. K. Müller, Sothidische Texte, 1; I. Gershevitch, Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, § 441; A. Ghilain, Essai sur la langue parthe, 10.
Here we have ṁa-fsar- and the intrans. ṁa-fsīr-, written ppśl- and ppśyl-, from ṁfsar- 'to be confused, ashamed'.

These Iranian forms have been subsumed under a base *kormo-. OSlav. sramu 'shame' may have lost an initial consonant p-; Germanic OSax. harm and the other dialect forms similarly.

This Iran. ṁfsar- can be seen also in the šar- after abī- in Zor. Pahl. abšārtan 'press' as in Dēnkart 614.18 kāmast taranak sar ī avē pur-xvarr apurnāyak pat gav abšārtan margēnītan 'he wished to press in his hand the tender head of the child full of fortune to kill him'. The word occurs in the operation of harvesting. The present base is found in bē abšārišn 'to be pressed'. From NPersian we have afšūrdan, afšārdan, afšāridan 'to press', with pres. afšār-, and afšāriš 'expressio', afšūrah 'expressed juice'. Ossetic has Dīgor āfšūrun, Iron āfšūrm, āfšārst 'press, stuff, tread on'.

A second word must now be considered, attested in Khotanese ssar-.

In Khotanese OIrān. ṁs- gives both ṁs- and ṁs-. Thus we have ṁspūstā 'serum', Avestan ṁsvasta- 'liquid' and ṁsvavā- 'night', Av. ṁšapā-. Similarly OIrān. ṁs- from ṁs- gives ṁs- in ṁśra- 'country', Av. ṁśīdra-, OInd. ṁśetra-.

The word for 'six' is ṁśāg (from *śśižī), Av. ṁsvaš, OInd. ṁṣ-. OIrān. ṁs-gave ṁs- in ṁśundāi 'husband', Av. ṁśuyant-, ṁśīna- 'shoulder-blade', Oss. ṁśondz, Zor. Pahl. ṁśānā, NPers. ṁśānāh. In the following base Khot. ṁsar- the initial seems also to have been like ṁs- from an OIrān. ṁs-.

The verb ṁsār- is attested in a present base in ṁsarrāmatā-, translation of a lost Sanskrit text where Tibetan has rendered by ṁuṃ-pā 'fear, dismay'. The optative 3rd sing. occurs in E 8.24 suhāna ṁsarrī kliśa 'with joy he exhilarates, lightens the afflictions'. The participle is found in E 21.8

māsta bitcampha brītye jsa striye daha
āśšūda ṭśindā bāyssūwyo morka date

'excited joyous with love are men, exhalated birds and beasts roam in the woods'.

Kha. 1.13 (Khotanese Buddhist texts, 3), 139 v 1 dēisatānu uysnorānu balysūñavāy̆sānu ṁsarrāmata hāmātā corresponds to Tibetan srog-chags ṃis bṛgya sems ṃuṃ-par gyur-nas. The Chinese rendering has 懒息心 hie tai sin 'with indolent mind'. The reverse of this state is accordingly 'exhilarated'.

The parallelism of māsta with daha, and āśšūda with birds and animals, assures that ṁsār- is near to mad- in meaning.

The two forms, present ṁsārra- and partic. -ṁśūda-, show -rr- from -r- and -udā- from -ṛta-.

With this Khotanese ṁsār- we have now to compare a word derivable from the same meaning in Rigvedic pṣar- attested only in the nominal form pṣīras- (in compound pṣara-). The contexts show that pṣāras- is near in meaning to

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1 So in Walde–Pokorny, Wörterbuch, 463, and Pokorny, IEW, 615; Vasmer, Russ. et. Wb.
3 J. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, 1, 201, no. 31.
máda- and sadhamáda- 'exhilarated company'. Rigvedic psáras- occurs six times, psara- once, as follows.

9.74.3 máhi psáraḥ súkṛtaḥ someyám mádhu 'the well-made sweet of the soma is a great psáras-'.

9.96.3 sá no deva devátāte pavasva
mahé soma psárasa indrapánaḥ
'O god, purify for us for divine use, O soma, for the great psáras- as Indra's drink'.

This recurs in 9.96.27 with devapánaḥ 'as the deva-gods' drink' in place of indrapánaḥ.

1.41.7 stónam . . . máhi psáro várunasya 'the song . . . a great psáras- for Varúṇa'.

9.2.2 á vacyasva máhi psáro vīḍā-indo dyumnavattamah 'turn hither, a great psáras, a bull, O drop, most splendid'.

8.26.24 tvām hi supsárastamam nrśādanesu hūmāhe 'thee truly we invoke, the most excellent psáras- in the seats of men'.

4.33.3 té vājó vibhvaḥ rbhúr indravanto
mádhupsaraso no 'vantu yañánam
'Vāja, Vibhvan, Rbhu, those having a psáras of sweet drink, those of Indra's following, may they favour our sacrifice'.

1.168.9 (Marúts) té sapsarásō 'janayanta-ádbhvam
'they, the sharers of psáras-, produced the monstrous thing'.

With this can be compared the compound sadhamáda- 'feasting together'.

The contexts seem clearly to demand a meaning 'carousal'. In the Indian commentaries we have as a variant Naighantuṣka 3.7 (in both editions of Roth and Sarup) psaras- among the rūpa-nāmāni 'words for rūpa'. Sāyana and Mādhava have this explanation rūpa-. But the contexts indicated 'food'. On 1.41.7 an attempt is made to keep rūpa and adjust it to an etymology from psā- 'eat' identified with bhakṣaṇa-, with Unādi suffix -ar-. Here Mādhava has rūpam. On 9.74.3 Sāyana has bhakṣaṇam pāṇīyam 'drink'. For 1.168.9 we find Sāyana has sāmāna-rūpā hiṃsa-kārā vā introducing a different concept of 'injury', Mādhava also has hiṃsā-kārā vā śṛṇvotih, udakam. For 8.26.24 we find atiśayena śobhama-rūpatvam. On 4.33.3 Sāyana has again both meanings: madhurasya soma-rasasya bhakṣayitrāraḥ manohara-rūpā vā. But here Mādhava is aberrant with a new etymology somaṇ prati sarantah, as if p- (from prati) and sar-.

Now with the Iranian evidence the meaning deduced from the contexts is clearly correct. The base psar- is the archaic equivalent of mad-, but survived only in one nominal form.

The word psáras- cannot be discussed without allusion to OInd. apsaras-, apsarā-, the name of the female companion of the gandharva-, the voluptuous celestial woman.

1 Grassmann's Wörterbuch has 'gleiches geniessend'; Wackernagel, Aufsätze . . . Kuhn, 159, no. 1 'gleichgestaltet'; Geldner's Übersetzung 'die Genossen'.
Since later the Epic, medical texts, and gnomic poetry know the pramādā- 'the female voluptuary', a name formed from a strengthened mad- 'be exhilarated', it would be natural to see in apsarās- a similar epithet. The a- is then the intensive prefix of which various traces survive in archaic Indo-European words ¹ corresponding to the pra- of pramādā.

Weighed against this connexion the earlier analysis as a-apsārās- 'shameless' ² seems less suited to the vigour and morale of the celestial attendants of Kubera.

Three corrigenda have come to my notice: BSOAS, xx, 1957, 48, delete the n wrongly typed in after abhūva-; BSOAS, xxi, 1, 1958, 45, read khāla-s; p. 46, read amākṣpānta without the third -a-.

¹ For a- see provisional notes in BSOAS, xx, 1957, 48.
² J. Wackernagel, Aufsätze . . . Kuhn, 159 ff.; reapproved by P. Tesesco, JAOS, lxxiv, 1954, 180, against the rejection in Mayrhofer's Wörterbuch, where connexion with ap- 'water' is preferred.