ARYA III

By H. W. Bailey

1. dru-

In a picturesque set of Avestan verses the converted Vištāspa now champion of the daēnā faith is described as a warrior making free way for the religion. This passage occurs twice: in the list of faithful early believers in Yašt 13.99 and with different introduction in Yašt 19.85.

Yašt 13.99 kavōiš vištāspane aśaonō fravašim yazamaide
tazmahe tanunqbrahe a. f. y.
darši.draoś āhūiryhe a. f. y.
yō druča pauroqnača
ašāi ravo yaēša
yō druča pauroqnača
ašāi ravo vívæđa
yō bāzušča upstača
vīsata aṁhā daēnayā
yat ahurōiš zarathuštrōiš

Yašt 19.83 . . . xvaronō . . .
84 yāt upanhačat kavaēm vištāspom
anumatē daēnayāi
anuxtē daēnayāi
anuvartē daēnayāi
yat imām daēnām āstaota
dušmainyām siždyō
daēvān apa āsavan 3

85 yō druča pauroqnača
ašāi ravo yaēša

continuing as in Yašt 13.99.

The phrase of interest here is in translation: ‘We honour with yasna-rite the fravaši-warden of the kavi-ruler Vištāspa who maintains the (Zoroastrian) truth, of the bold one, the incarnate gospel, possessor of the fierce wood (spear), devoted to the Ahura-lord, who from bow and arrow got open space

1 For parts i, ii see BSOAS, xxi, 3, 1958, 522–45; xxiii, 1, 1960, 13–39.
2 Abbreviations :

AEW H. Adjarian, Armenisches etymologisches Wurzelwörterbuch
AIW C. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch
GEW H. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
IEW J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
KBT H. W. Bailey, Khotanese Buddhist texts
KT H. W. Bailey, Khotanese texts
LitEW E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
OseED V. Abaev, Istoriiko-ëtimologičeskij slovar’ osteinskogo jazyka
TPS Transactions of the Philological Society
3 This šav- should go with that in BSOAS, xxiii, 1, 1960, 36 ff.
for truth, who found out open space for truth, who with arms and with aid
was trusty knight for this faith, which is the Ahura-lord’s and Zoroaster’s’.  

Here the ravo ‘open space’ recalls the desired várivas- in the Rigveda.  
The asa- is narrowed to the Zoroastrian truth.¹

It is thus proposed to translate the words druca paureqneca by ‘from bow
and arrow’. It is to establish this meaning that the following evidence is
adduced.

Earlier interpretations exist. No Pahlavi rendering has been found, which
might have been hoped for in the Dēnkart, where other Yašt passages are
known. F. Spiegel, Avesta, 1863, III, 128, has ‘mit in Viele eindringender
Waffe’. C. de Harlez gave ‘marchant en avant’; J. Darmesteter, ZA, II,
1892, 637, ‘l‘arme dirigée en avant’. Similar in A. V. Williams Jackson,
Zoroaster, 1901, 81, is ‘with advancing weapon’. C. Bartholomae, AIW, for
dru thought of Rigvedic RV 1.164.32 hirug in the phrase yā in daddāsa hirug
in nū tasmāt, and hurug in RV 9.77.5 vāruno hurug yatē. These are rendered
in K. Geldner, Der Rigveda, hirug ‘dem entschwimdet er’ and hurug ‘kromme
Wege’, that is, like Sāyaṇa’s hirug ‘antarhita-, hidden’ or ‘pythāk, apart’;
hurug ‘kutilam, crooked’. Madhava’s Rgarthadāpiṣkā in RV 1.164.32 rendered
hirug by antarhitaḥ. AIW has ‘seitlich, nach den Seiten’. In paureqn the
AIW assumed the word paureva- ‘before’. The Bartholomae–Wolff translation
then has ‘seitlich und vorn’. H. Lommel, Die Yašt’s des Avesta, 1927,
pp. 124, 185, left the phrase untranslated and without note. J. Hertel, Abh.
Sächs. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., xli, 6, 1931, 56, 187, followed AIW, but
took druca as an instrumental in -ā.

The decisive evidence for the phrase is provided by Khotanese Saka. Here
two words, originally of distinct form, have almost coalesced: Old Khotanese
has durna- ‘bow’ and pūrṇa- ‘arrow’.

Khot. durna- (later dūna-, dūna-) belongs with a large number of Iranian
dialect words. In durna- the -rn- is secondary. Primary -rn- became -rr- as
in the type kārra- ‘deaf’, tarrā- ‘herb’, or pārra- ‘position’. It is safe to
recognize in durna- an older *druna- by way of *duraṇa-. Similar displacement
is known in West Iranian Zor. Pahl. dwlr *durgar ‘carpenter’ from *drukara-;²
NPers. durgar. The Zor. Pahl. dlpušt for dlupušt *drpušt ‘fortress’
may indicate a shift towards *drpušt.³ The full shift has occurred in Zor.
⁴
An etymology depending upon zur- was offered in GrBd. 167.5–6 zwrw’n ī zēn
hast ī dhrmāz vd kū zūr patiš vānēt ‘zurvān is the weapon of Ohrmazd with
which he destroys evil’.

¹ The problem of rtā-, asa- is again considered by F. B. J. Kuiper, Indo-Iranian Journal,
v, 1, 1961, 41–2.
² D&M 756.5, 21 ; 352.13, bis.
³ The older form dlpušt in GrBd. 61.4, but more usually without the first -w-, as in GrBd.
61.1, 4; Dd. 36.16, 17, 66; Zāpevram 5.1–3; Mēnok ī zra 1.31, 13.2; the Pāzand has drpušt.
⁴ W. B. Henning, BSOS, viii, 2–3, 1936, 585. The Buddhist Sogdian initial was ambiguous,
either r or z. As the rendering of Ind. (Buddhist) Brahmā the Sogdian had ‘zr’. 

33
Bud. Sogdian has the word ṣr'w'n 'bow'.

It has also compounds: ṣr'w'n-p'ū'y 'shooting with bow', 2 and ṣr'w'nšt'n 3 'quiver', in which the second component is not decided. The -ś- is clear. A comparison with Prasun duru-štār 'bow and quiver' would suggest a word *starana-. 4

Zor. Pahlavi drōn is *drōn 'bow' in the verse ūh haē man kārēnd kē bandand āpar drōn 'the bowstring they make from me which they attach to the bow'. 5 But in GrBd. 140.6 sanvar from Avestan ṣanvar- is used, which is glossed by kamān.

NPersian has durōnah 'bow' from *draunaka-. Ossetic has without -ka-D ārdunā and āndurā, I ārdyn; with the arrow there is the phrase fāt āmā ārdyn. Balōći drēn is the 'rainbow'. In eastern Iranian Yidya has drān, drān; Ormūri drōng, drōng.

In the closely connected Indo-Aryan we have Olnd. druṇa- 'bow' (and druṇa- 'wooden vessel'); Khowar has drōn 'bow' from *druṇa-. 6 In Nūristānī (Kāfīrī) occur Āskun drō, drā 'war bow', Waigeli, Kati drō, Prasun duru-štār 'bow and quiver' and drū-štōr. 7

All these words are derivatives from Indo-Iran. dāru, dru-.

Old Khot. pūrna-, pūna- (E 22.15), later pūṃna-, pūna- 'arrow' is frequently attested. 8 Here too -rn- is secondary. The word pūrna- can then be traced to *paruna-, a thematic form from *parvan-: parvan-. 9 The long vowel of pūrna- may be due to ephenesis *parura- (as we find kīra- from *karya-) or the pū- may be compared with the pū-, bū-, and vū- of Old Khot.

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1 'Sutra of causes and effects' 225.
2 SCE 135. Here path- 'to eject' is connected with Olnd. path-, see E. Benveniste, BSL, LI, 1, 1956, 46. Khotanesse has phāh- 'to eject', see TPS, 1961 (in the hands of the editor).
3 P 13.27.
4 For starana- note the discussion in Donum natalicium J.S. Nyberg oblatum, p. 15–16.
5 Pahlavi texts, p. 112, Dræt asōtik, as recognized in J. Markwart, Festgabe J. Szinney, 57.
6 G. Morgenstierne, Felicitations volume presented to S.K. Belbalkar, 90.
7 See the quotations in BSOS, xxiii, 1, 1960, 33.
8 As E 25.279 smṛty-paṣṭhāne durna, samyaprahāna/pūrmānu bājo rādhāpāta kho hālīste; Hedin 21.3 (KT, iv, 34) in a list duna pūṃna ḫūṭā ṭesa 'bows, arrows, spears, shields'.
9 E Glossar connected pūrna- with Olnd. parvan- 'knot' and paruṣa- 'rough'.

The suffix -un in the sense of an agent or tool with further suffix -ya- can be seen in Ossetic D ąłwijnā, I ąłwi 'spindle'. The discovery of Chorasmian ʿlx *alx 'top of a spindle' quoted by W. B. Henning, Z.V. Togon’a armağjan, 436, has made it possible to improve upon TPS, 1945, 36. Here Ossetic ąłwunyą- (in which the i-umlaut has prevented the change of -u- to -ū in Iron) and Chorasmian alx disclose an older *alx- or *arxa- (possibly from *arxra- with dissimilated r-r, in reverse to wādart 'reel' from wārtađā, see G. Morgenstierne, NTs, xii, 1942, 268). With different suffix Greek has ὄλεκτρη, ὄλεκτρα, ὄλκαρα 'distaff' (Homer and later): it is left unattatched in, H. Frisk, GEW, s.v., and Pokorny, IEW, 676. From these two forms the base would be *alek-, in Iranian possibly replaced by *alakh- (if no -r- followed the -k-).

The unexplained Olnd. RV akrā-, a straight and upright thing, which is compared to a svāru- 'sacrificial post, yōja-' may be taken for older *arkrā- with dissimilated r-r, or as metathetic for *arkă-. Earlier attempts to class this akrā- have given 'elephant' (with query, Geldner's Übersetzung), 'pillar' (Ludwig), 'banner' (Grassmann's Wörterbuch) and 'acorn' (Brunnhofer); uncertain (Mayrhofer). Sāyana and Mādhava's Rūgarhadipikā traced akrā- to the base kram-; Yāska offered nakra-.
pāheitā (E 23.168), bās- ‘give’, vāmāva ‘hairs’ (E 15.50). The lengthening is here secondary: bās- bās- is from bāz-. In -māva is probably contained a cognate of Zor. Pahl. mōs, NPers. mōy ‘hair’.

The Khot. pārna- from *parun- recalls the OInd. pārvan- ‘knot’ which occurs in the compounds ānata-pārvan- and nata-pārvan- ‘with flat knots’ of the smooth shaft of the arrow. Yet it is better to refer pārna- ‘arrow’ to the base par- ‘to float in the air, fly’ found in Av. parana-, parana- ‘wing, leaf’, Khot. pārta ‘leaf’, Sogd. prn- in prn’y’n ‘winged’, Zor. Pahl., NPers. parr, whence the denominative parrīdan. Then *pārvan- in pārna- ‘arrow’ would be a derivative with -van- beside -na-.¹ A form para- with suffix -a- may be accepted in Yašt 10.129 in gen. plur. kahrkāsō, paranaṃ. Outside Iranian OInd. parna- ‘wing, feather, leaf’ stands with OSlav. pero ‘feather’, and verbal pero ‘to fly’. The form sper- is found in Lit. spatnas ‘wing, leaf’.

In Avestan druca paurvancoda remains we have then the close cognates of Old Khot. durna- and pārna-. It remains we suggest the cases of the Avestan words. From -van-: -un- the inflexion shows Av. zrū, zru from zrvan- ‘time’ and hā ‘sun’ from hvan- in the gen. singular, that is, from *zrun-h and *hun-h (beside GAv. ṹzṛṇ and later hūrō). Hence dru- could represent *druvan-h gen. sing. of *drunvan-. If we had however an -u- stem as in mainyū instr. sing. the dru- could be for *drū. In paurvanc- we have -an which is known in gen. sing. dāmān, ayan, loc. sing. ayan (beside older caśmēng) and acc. plur. ayan, dāman, karvanc. Since in the phrase druca paurvancoda both words are likely to be in the same case, it will be gen.-abl. singular; hence the rendering ‘from bow and arrow’ in the sense of the source from which Vištáspa got the means to win open course for the Daenā.

2. ara-

A derivate of a base ar- is found, once only in Yašt 5.93, in the Avestan ara- which occurs in a list of persons who are barred from consuming the zaobrā- ‘libation, offering’, the zōhr. The passage reads:

nōi avā zaobrā paiti više
yā māvōya fravaharnti
andāsca karvāndo drāvāca
mūrdēca arāsca ranhdēca
ava dāxstā dāxstavanta
yā nōi pourya, fira fradāxstā
vīśpanam anu māṭrim

Of these words anda- ‘blind’, karna- ‘deaf’, and mūra- ‘foolish’ are familiar in later Khot. hana-, Sogd. ’nt anda-, Ormūrī hōnd, 5nd ‘blind’; Sogd. kri, Khot. kāra-, Zor. Pahl., NPers. karr ‘deaf’; OInd. mūrd-, Greek μωρός ‘foolish’. But the three words drva-, ara-, and ranha- have remained uncertain. The sphere of reference is shown by the final phrase: ‘marked

¹ For par- see E. Benveniste, BSL, li, 1, 1955, 36 ff., and Festgabe für H. Lommel, 19.
with that mark with which the not greatly intelligent are marked in the view of all'.

Associated with mūra- the word ara- may be expected to be in the same range of meaning. This is confirmed when it is recognized that Sogdian 'rʾk *āraka- is attested in the meaning 'wild, mad' . The meaning of the Sogdian word is assured by two sources, the bilingual Chinese-Sogdian 'Śūtra of causes and effects' (SCE) and its occurrence among a familiar list of Indian medical terms. In SCE 407 we find rty č'wn 'rʾk 'zwn 'γlʾγ βw rendering Chinese 'viennent de parmi les fous'. Here the Chinese compound is 頗狂 tien-k'yuang 'mad' in which k'yuang means 'mad, cruel, rash; be wildly merry, throw off restraint'.

The second passage 1 is P 2.37. References to diseases occur often in Buddhist texts, in Sogdian they are found in P 2, P 3, P 7, and P 22. Since these lists belong to Indian medicine they can be largely interpreted. Here only 'rʾk is of immediate concern. In P 2.37–38 we have the group 'ṛṣy 'rʾk krʾγ 'piles, madness, demon-caused disease', that is, in Indian medical terms: arṣah-, unmāda-, and graha-. In P 3.10, 11 this same term 'ṛṣy is replaced by 'ṛsʾny, hence with -anx replacing older -ax from Ind. -ah(a)-. 2

In P 22.19 psmʾr krʾny rʾβ means the Indian apasmāra- 'epilepsy' and graha- 'disease'. In P 7.62 'punč rʾbk AWZY 'psmʾr is Indian udakodara- 'dropsy' and apasmāra- 'epilepsy'. The Indian graha- 'seizer, raptor' 3 was applied to demonic beings who caused diseases. In Ch. 00217 animal-headed demons, susi 'cat', mura 'bird', krrīga 'cock', wolf, gūṣna 'stag', and ox are painted with mention of the disease due to each in children. 4

The Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual Jīvaka-pustaka 5 has reference to graha-diseases. In the Sītāparatā-dhāranī 6 there are listed the graha- of yakṣa, rākṣasa, piśāca, bhūta, kumbhāṇḍa, putana, kaṭaputana; and the names of the unmāda-graha, chāyā-graha, apasmāra-graha, and others. 6

In P 7.59 the compound krʾγ nyʾtk 'seized by the graha' is used. The Uigur Turkish used krʾx (also changed to kʾrx) for Indian graha- in the sense of 'raptor', the planet in mythology. 7

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1 E. Benveniste, Textes sogdiens.
2 The same group -nx- occurs in the Sogdian form of nṛṣnx, nṛṣnx, Parth. nṛṣf, Pers. nṛṣh, Armen. lw. nersch, Arab. Pers. narsā. There is -n- also in Sogd. nns 'nose', early enough to preserve the -s-. In an initial syllable we find Oss. Dānsurā, I ssyr 'tusk', with Sogd. 'nsʾwjw 'tusk', and Av. tīši, āsūra-, quoted BSQAS, XXIII, 1, 1960, 28, n. 6. The -s- of 'ṛṣy may come from Prakrit or be a Sogdian change from -ṣ-. The Sogdian 'zʾṣyṃ- 'blue' with -s- where the other Iranian languages show asxāina-, may be recalled. Khotanese has from Prakrit arṣa-.
3 J. Jolly, Medicin, 1901, 121 apasmāra-, unmāda-, 69 graha-; English translation by C. G. Kashikar, Indian medicine, 1951.
4 Edited KT, III, 135 (Stein 117.1-3). Facsimiles are printed in Eiichi Matsumoto, Tonkōga no kenkyū, 1937, plates cxcc, cxcii.
5 KT, t, 172, Sanskrit text 89 r 3–4.
Khotanese made grahasta- ‘demon-possessed’ from graha- by its suffix -asta.\(^1\)

The Sogdian "r'k is thus doubly assured in the general meaning ‘wild, mad’ and in the technical medical meaning ‘madness, unmaâda-’.

The difference between Av. ara- and Sogdian "r'k *åraka- is comparable to the frequent short and long vowel derivatives of the type Av. baha- and bîgâ-, OInd. bhága-s ‘luck’ and bhágâ-s ‘part’, OPers. bagâ- ‘distributor’, Zor. Pahl. bây ‘portion’, hambây ‘partner’.

The sense of ‘wild, mad’ is expressed in Zor. Pahl. by ِحلاژ’a that is, ‘lk, hlk, or ‘rk, hrk, for which the Pâzand reading is hala.\(^2\) This Pâzand is the excellent material in the Mênôk i xrat and the Škand-gumânîk vičâr. It is associated with dušâkâsîh ‘lack of intelligence’ (Mx., ed. Anklesaria, 57.2), and with apēsûth ‘uselessness, absence of profit’ (ibid., 57.3). In Parsi Sanskrit we have vikala-, and grahila-. It is explained in Persian Av. ablah u divânah ‘silly and mad’. If a base al- or ar- is assumed for (h)alak it can at once be compared with Avestan ara- and "r'k, as the meaning makes likely.

Here too we may bring in Ossetic DI ærrâ- ‘wild, mad’.\(^3\) The form of ærrâ, however, causes some difficulty. The short vowel â- is like Av. ara-, unless it has been shortened from â-. The -rr- is more irksome. The doubled -rr- occurs in contact of âr- with a base beginning with r-, thus in D ærrvun ‘to sweep’, with ni- and gemination in D nirrezun ‘tremble’, and after fâ- with gemination in D fârrezun ‘to smart’. Since ærrâ is in both dialects it cannot be compared with D xânay, I xârrây ‘rag, ragged’, nor with D gojráy, I xorráy ‘pole with hook’. In D zurul, I zyrîy ‘turning’ we may have a derivative of D zurun, I zyrîn ‘to turn’.\(^4\) It can then be compared with ærrâ: from a verbal base formed by doubled -rr- before -ut and -â. Elsewhere -rr- occurs in words expressive of various acts: fyrîykk ‘of sorting’, garrát ‘of surprise’, gîrrîy ‘of swallowing’, sîrût, tarrást ‘jump’, tyrîykk ‘of beating (intr.’), xárrîtat ‘of swift movement’. There is also the noun gûrru ‘knucklebone’.

The final -â of ærrâ must also be noticed. There are many Ossetic words ending in -â either in both dialects or in one or the other. Thus we have D tårnâ, I tîryn, tyrîn ‘boy’ from *tarana-, Sogdian trn ‘submissive’, Av. tauruna-, OInd. târuña- ‘tender’. A noun is D yunâ, I qûnâ ‘moss’. Both Digoron and Iron have tâlā ‘young tree, sprout’. It occurs also in loan-words as in D tâtâ, I tânqâ ‘helmet’, OPers. taka-, and in zîrâ ‘cumin’, Sogd. Bud. zyr’kk (P 19.4), Georg. zîrâk’-i, zira, NPers. zîraha.

Here, however, in ærrâ where we have a verbal base the most useful word

\(^1\) P 2901.35, KT, III, 66 grahasta-. For -asta- note also P 3510.7.1 KBT, 51 gîttarastâ titgîtâ ‘having family, having brilliance’ from Ind. gotra- and tejas-. Jâtakastra 21 v 1 yeirastâ- ‘cordial’ is made from a Khotanese yeîra- ‘heart’.

\(^2\) C. Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, 1, 8 ff., gathered up passages known to him.

\(^3\) This comparison with Sogdian has now been made, though with a query, in V. Abar, OsaED, s.v. ærrâ.

\(^4\) BSOAS, xxiii, 1, 1960, 94.
is D zānā ‘fertile field’ connected with the zan- of D zājun ‘to produce’, ptc. zād. Similarly D γωνάμα, corresponds to I quā, quāmā ‘of necessity’ (construed with the conjunctive) from the verb D γων, I gāun ‘to need’.


If now we look outside Iranian for a cognate of this ar- ‘to be wild’ the Baltic offers al- in Lit. aliūtis ‘be foolish, mad’, Let. aluot ‘to err’, and with a- Let. aliūtis ‘be noisy’, aš ‘half-mad man’, alētiš ‘act wildly, rage’. With this goes Greek ἄλη ‘wandering’, ἀλαίνω, ἀλάμαι ‘sweep around’, with ἁ- ἁλάσκω ‘wander’, ἁλαίνω ‘be fanciful’, ἁλῶ ‘be outside oneself’, ἁλενος, ἁλλος, ἁλίθης ‘foolish’, and with spiritus asper ἁλιος ‘in vain’.1 For a similar development from ‘wander’ to ‘be mad’ note OInd. bhram-.2

Two other Iranian words must be considered in connexion with al-. OPersian has arika- which is used of a man to be punished: DB I.22 hya arika avam (h)ufrastam aprsam ‘him who was arika- I punished well’; of the rebellious army: DB I.33 pasava kāra arika abava, pasava drauqa dahyauvā vasiy abava ‘then the army became arika-., then the Lie abounded in the countries’; Dareios disclaims for himself: DB IV.63 naiy arika āham, naivy drauṣana āham, naivy zūrakara āham ‘I was not arika-, I was not false, I was not violent’.

Hitherto it has been proposed to connect OPers. arika- with Av. angra-, qsta- ‘be hostile’, or with OInd. arī- ‘foe’, or with Latin alius.2 Evidently these activities would suit ar- ‘to be wild’.

The second word which has always to be considered in connexion with OPers. arika- is Av. araēka-, occurring only once in Vīd. 14.5: maaorinam araēkanam kutakanam dušainingam ‘of the ants wild small ill-smelling’, contrasted with the maaorī- dānō.karša- ‘the ant carrying the grain’, familiar in Firdausī mōr i dānah-kašt. The Pahlavi gloss has (ed. Spiegel) hlkwtk, (ed. Jamasp) hlk wtk kwtk. Some confusion has arisen, but it seems to contain hlk *(h)alak and kutak. The context is obscure. For the form note that -aēka- could be a double suffix of diphthong and -ka-. Such a double suffix is Av. -aēna-, Khot. -ina-a-, adj. of material or identity. Here OInd. has -ina-. A similar suffix with diphthong is OPers. kapautaka-, Balōči kapōt, OInd. kapota-.

Hence araēka- could be connected with ar- ‘to be wild’, but further evidence is needed. A NPersian word ārēy, rēy ‘hate’ has also been cited, but its connexions are still uncertain.3

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1 Pokorny, IEW, 27; E. Fraenkel, LitEW, 7.
2 R. G. Kent, Old Persian, grammar, texte, lexicon, 170, preferred a(h)rika-. On arī- see TPS, 1959, 109 ff.; M. Mayrhofer, Concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary, s.v. alikā-.
Turning now to Old Indian this Iranian ara-, āraka-, (h)alak, offers a means of interpreting the word álakam of RV 10.71.6 in some advance beyond the hitherto unsupported contextual conjecture. Here we have: yādiś śṛṇōty álakam śṛṇoti ‘if indeed he hears, he hears in an álaka- way’, which as the next verse shows (nahi pravēda sukṛtāsyā pānthām ‘for he knows not the path of good action’) means in a wild or unintelligent way.

This same meaning suits the disputed passage RV 10.108.7 (addressed by the pandyo to Sarāmā) rēku padām álakam ā jagantha ‘you have come to the rēku place in an álaka- way’. Here ‘wildly’, ‘foolishly’, or ‘uselessly’ would suit.\(^1\) This accords also with Sāyana who has RV 10.108.7 vyartham eva, and in RV 10.71.6 álakam álakam vyartham eva.\(^2\)

The OInd. aḷikā- is still not satisfactorily connected. Sāyana used it on RV 10.71.6 to explain álakam, possibly only by the sound. But a meaning ‘false’ can arise from ‘to wander’ as Latin errāre has given English ‘erroneous’. A suffix -ika- is familiar in OInd.: mṛḍikā- ‘mercy’, Av. morāḍikā-, and dṛṣṭika- ‘looking at’, dṛṣṭikā- ‘aspect’.\(^3\)

Now that ar-, al- ‘to be wild’ is securely attested in Iranian the comparison of RV álaka- with this base in Baltic and Greek need not seem so remote.

Although the prospect of discovering the reason for giving the name Alakā- to the city of Kubera, is not altogether hopeful, yet the view of W. Wüst that a relation existed between RV álakam and this name Alakā- might have some justification. The following hypothesis is perhaps worth stating.

The name of this city is transmitted variously as follows. The city of Kubera, Vaiśravana, Vaiśramanā, is called in Buddhist Sanskrit aḍākaṇṭā,\(^4\) Mahāyutpatti 4137 aṭakāvati. A secondary form occurs in Bud. Sansk. aḍakavatā- and Khotanese aḍakavatta (or -nta).\(^5\) Tibetan has in translation lein-lo, lein-lo-can (rendering a Sanskrit alaka- ‘lock of hair’), Chinese 阿 多 个 a-to-ko, older (K 1, 1006, Gram. Ser. rec., 349) á-tā-kā, 頻 樂 迦 a-lo-kia, older (K 1, 568, 342) á-lak-ka, Dharmakṣema (in China A.D. 414) 阿 尼 曼 陀 a-ni-man-t'o, older (K 1, 659, 595, 1011) á-njī-muán-ḍā'. In the Epic Alakā is the city, and Alakānanda the name of a river. In the list of guardian yakṣas of the Mahāmāyūrī\(^6\) occurs alako alakāpuni ‘Alaka in the city Alakā’. A city Alakāpura- was placed in northern Bhāratavarṣa.\(^7\)

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1. C. C. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, compared Greek ákōma, but in order to translate by ‘eiend’.
2. P. Thieme had rightly seen (IF, n, 1, 1932, 70–2) that the meaning of RV 10.71.6 was decisive. Regrettfully one must give up the proposal of W. Wüst to see in RV 10.108.7 a place name Alaka- connected with Ossetic Alāgatā. A name Alāg, one of the Nārta, is known (Iron ādāmon sfjaldystā, v = Pamišti knarrown tvočestav Osetin, v, 186) in the phrase Nārti Alāgān āttaj jesnāg yog ‘Alāg of the Nārta had one cow’. Ossetic -l- is of ambiguous origin, older Iranian either -r- or -ř-.
7. W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Indier, 224 (Jaina).
If the variants are grouped in the series -d-, -i-, -l- the word could be compared with AV nadā-, RV naḍā- (Khwarz nəf), Bud. Sānsk. naḍa-, nāta-, later Sānskrit nala-. But here an older form occurs once, RV 1.32.8 naḍā-, to be placed with Avestan naḍa-, Hittite nata-, Luwian nataṭa.-¹ The starting-point was therefore a dental -d-. A similar change has replaced RV avatā- ‘well’ by later avara- (below, p. 480).

The Chinese form -nǐ-nuán-dá conceals a Prakrit form *ani- from *adaya-. Here Chin. -n- (pronounced in north-west China n⁴) represents dental Ind. -d-, and the -i- stands for older -ai- from -aya-.² This Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra Adakāvati is rendered into Chinese by 有 如 iu-ts’ai ‘rich’, whence the Tibetan made nor-ldan ‘rich’.³ The ending may indicate that the -vatī had been replaced by -matī at some stage.

In alakā- in the city name the original is thus doubtful. It could have started as *adakā-. But if the -l- was original the word alakā- could have been assimilated in sound with the later group naḍa- and nala-.

The name Viṭapā- and Viṭapāvatī- is quoted as the equivalent of Alakā.-⁴ If the names are thus synonymous a clue to what had been intended by alakā- in the place name might be reached. The Chinese translation by ‘rich’ may be a deduction from the riches of Kubera (vῑtēśa-). It may at least be allowed to note that a connexion with Indo-Iranian al-, ar- ‘be wild’ would equally suit the luxuriously amorous context.

A different NPers. hāl ‘quiet (sb.)’ and hālah ‘quiet (adj. and sb.)’ raises questions which are not relevant here.

In Yaś 5.93 there remain the two words drva- and ranha-.

The context has a triad anda-, karsna-, and drva- in which one would expect ‘blind, deaf, dumb’. This triad occurs in Khotanese E 6.101 hana-, kāra-, and mauta-. Excluded from the Buddhist Theravāda community (sangha-) were the andha-, mūga-, and badhira-, ‘the blind, dumb, and deaf’.⁵

But a lexical basis for such a conjecture for drva- remains to be found. Khotanese has E 5.117 drutāta used of ājiviṣa ‘snakes’ for which ‘grausig’ has been offered from the context. No base drav- from which by suffix -ā-Av. drva- could come in the precise sense of ‘dumb’ is to hand. But some connexion can be suggested. There is a base drav-: dru- ‘to treat violently’ as probably in the Old Khot. drutāta used of snakes, just cited, and with the frequent -s- enlargement in drav-ś: dru-ś- ‘to treat violently, maim’ attested in Avestan draoṣa- and in the mountain name draoṣiṣvant-; Zor. Pahl. drōš, Paz. drūš, rendered by Parsi Sanskrit cheda- ‘cutting off’; Zor. Pahl. drōšak

⁴ E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, 142, n. 4.
⁵ Pali *Vinaya*, 1, 91, 15.
used of some violent treatment. The participle is Zor. Pahl. društak (DkM 402.15; 405.4, 5, 9; 419.3; 433.13, 15) ‘violated’, and NPers. duruşt ‘rough, fierce’. With -z- occurs Oss. D ārdozun, ārdust ‘to mutilate’. I should now connect Avestan draoša- with Zor. Pahl. drōš ‘cutting off’, thus improving upon the proposal to see here drōš- ‘to brand’ (see BSOS, vi, 3, 1931, 594 ff.).

By the frequent suffix -á- (of the type Avestan frya-, OInd. priyá- ‘beloved’, on which see A. Debrunner, BSOS, viii, 2–3, 1936, 487 ff.) a passive *drava- in Avestan drva- could give ‘mutilated’, and thence be narrowed to mean ‘maimed of tongue, dumb’. Such a connexion in meanings can be seen in German stumm ‘dumb’, verstümme ‘silent’, and verstümmen ‘maim’, though from a different starting-point. Cf. Greek παρόσ ‘maimed, blind’.

Earlier attempts to translate drva- are by AIW ‘dwarf’ as a cognate of OHG tvaryg; and by W. Krogmann, who offered ‘aussätzig’, as connected with OInd. dardru- and dadrú- ‘kind of skin disease’, OEngl. teter ‘tetter’, and Lit. dirvë ‘seed field’. With this he joined Víd. 20.3 druka-, v.l. duruk-, for which no gloss in Pahlavî is known. It occurs in a list of diseases. Yidya lurvë ‘ill’ and lrovo ‘illness’ have been traced to *a-drav-.

The ranha- of Yašt 5.93 occurs with mūra- and ara- which both mean defective of the mind. If this is a triad the ranha- must be sought in the same context. Possibly it contains a base *rah- ‘be excited’ like the OEngl. rēsan ‘to rush headlong’, Germ. rasen ‘to rave, rage’. This is ultimately traced to the same base as Lat. errāre ‘to err, wander’, Got. airzeis ‘erring’. But it would evidently be desirable to find a closer cognate in Iranian. For ar- ‘be wild’ as above, associated with Baltic al-, it would be possible to assume an Indo-Iranian -s- derivative *arš- and *ras-. Avestan ranha- is ambiguous. We find -anha- for older -anga- or for -aha-. AIW proposed the Indian base sras- ‘to fall’ giving an Iran. *(h)rah-; he then offered the rendering ‘epileptic’, which if this base was Iranian could go well with ara- ‘wild’. A further possibility is that in ranha- we have the adjective to the verb rāṅhaya- ‘to apostatize’, which might fittingly have been considered a ‘wildness’.

3. pandara-

It is well known that Ossetic D k’undág,4 I k’ündäg ‘deficient, narrow’, k’ündägdzinäd ‘lack, impoverishment’, DI ānāk’undág ‘spacious, spaciousness’, NPers. kund ‘blunt’, Armen. kound, knakč, kount, kntak ‘bare (of leaves or hair)’, Balōči kunt ‘blunt’ are cognate with OInd. Sansk. kūṇṭha- ‘blunt’,

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1 Zeits. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung, lxv, 1–2, 1938, 142. Darmsteter gave ‘méchant’, as equivalent of dravant-.
2 G. Morgenstierne, IIIFL, ii, 224.
3 Lomme, loc. cit., p. 40, and K. Barr, Avesta, 137, omit both drva- and ranha-. H. Weller, Anahita, 145, followed AIW.
4 Digoron k’undág occurs in Mālīti Geuārgī, Ḑīf, 60: dālā komi i-k’undāgi nicājśāydāj sāv k’ūjā́dor.
Pali kunṭha- ‘blunt, lame, bent’, kunḍa- ‘bent’, all of which express some particular form of deficiency, except the Ossetic ‘deficient’ remaining unspecified.\(^1\)

It has also been pointed out that Armen. pind ‘compact’, stem *pindo-, is likely to be a loan-word from Iranian and cognate with OInd. pīṇḍa- ‘lump’.\(^2\)

The Indo-European type is attested in Greek κιόν ‘move’ and κινδό- in κινδαξ ‘mobile’.

This material indicated that Indo-Aryan had innovated. In the Indo-Aryan language separated as a colonial speech by greater distance from its base, the older nt, nd single group had fissioned into two: nt, nd maintained and nṯ, nḏ developed.

Such fission is found in Ossetic in similar circumstances. Here Old Iranian k, t, p have separated into aspirate k’, t’, p’ and ejective k’, t’, p’ in accord with the Caucasian phonematic structure.

The separation occurred in Old Indian also in single sounds. Thus we have -d- and -ḏ- in RV nadā- ‘reed’ and naḻā-, AV naadā-; and later nala-.\(^3\) Similarly RV avada- ‘well’ is in later Vedic Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra avara-. It is the same with -n- in RV veni- ‘braid’ attested in suvenis fem. nom. plur. beside later venī-. At times only the one later form is used in our texts. Thus RV sthānā- ‘pillar’ corresponds to Iranian ōPers. stānā-, Av. stānā-, Khot. stūnā, Zor. Pahl. stān, Turfan Mid. Pers. stawn, NPers. stūn, sutūn. Similarly Avestan mani- in (zarmu-mainiš ‘golden-necked eagle’), Zor. Pahl., NPers. man in dāl-man ‘eagle’ belongs with RV māni- ‘(neck-)ornament’, as in manī-grīvā- in both Rigveda and Atharvaveda.

When therefore we find Iranian pand- and Old Indian pand-, both referring to the mental state of cerebration, it is necessary to ask if they are in any way related.

Khotanese Saka has a word pandara- which from the contexts means ‘foolish’. The passages are the following:

\[\text{E 2.134} \quad \text{hanāna vajśāṭandai stāna} \]
\[\phantom{\text{E 2.134}} \quad \text{pandadaru karauṇa yādaimā} \]
\[\phantom{\text{E 2.134}} \quad \text{ce ayu ggaru bendā sumīrā} \]
\[\phantom{\text{E 2.134}} \quad \text{uskujātemā haḍāya stāni} \]

That is, ‘I, though a man with sight, did a feat more foolish than a blind man, in that I attacked Mount Sumeru, and that by day’.

The verb uskusde, uskuj- is a difficulty. From the contexts E 12.50, 13.70, and 13.79 it will mean with bendā and vīrī some kind of attack.\(^4\) It contains a base (s)kauk- or kaug-. A base kauk- occurs in askhaukāra-\(^5\) ‘protuberance,

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\(^{1}\) TPS, 1955, 72 ff.

\(^{2}\) ibid., 72 ff.

\(^{3}\) Above, p. 478.

\(^{4}\) The verb E 13.75 uṣkūnde is different and has kauk-, as pūṇḍe is from *patalgauṣatei. It renders Sansk. uddhāyam dravaṃ praviṃkaroti ‘he acts frivolously’.

\(^{5}\) Siddhārtha 138 r 4, cf. 143 r 3.
utseida' comparable with Lit. kaukará 'hill', but the -k- preserved is unusual. Probably Khot. haṃguja- 'fear' contains kauk-, connected with Olnd. kocati 'draw together'.

The second passage is Jātakastava 27 r 1–2:

śa armanā iyarai pandā satrā,
lobhe udiśaye beyāyāsām pyantṣya, guđe
taniyā tviśe yuddāmde buvāmde guṣta,
arnīṇē dasti varī śāndyā pasta

That is, 'the ungrateful inferior foolish 1 man through greed before the hunters told of it. Then they destroyed you and distributed the flesh. His hands up to the elbows fell at once to the ground'.

This passage needs some commentary. In armanā 'ungrateful' we have the later form of Sāsk. akṛta-jñā-; iyarai is Suvāryaṭhā-sūtra 31 b 4 iyatara- 'inferior' contrasting with māṣṭa- 'great' in referring to a kingdom. In arniṇē I would now see the adj. suffix -inaa- with *arna- 'elbow' from *arathni-, as in Oss. D ārīna, I ārīn 'cubit' (in compounds with D cāng- and I ārm-, ālm-), the familiar OPers. arašni-, Av. arathna-, NPers. araš, raš, āran, aran, and others, Olnd. aratni-.

A fragment, to be printed in KT, v, contains paṇḍarā: H vii 150, 16 a 2 <cu> śtā rakṣaya paṇḍarā hūṁde. The context is lost but it will mean 'who necessarily is called *mischievous or foolish'. Here rakṣaya is from *rakṣaya o, the o 'or' being as often written to the preceding syllable. In this rakṣ- may be preserved a cognate of Avestan raś- 'to injure'.

The word of interest here is Old Khotanese panduḍara- 'more foolish' and later Khotanese paṇḍa. The ending -ḍara- arises from older -ra-tara- with the comparative suffix -tara- added to a stem in -ra-. This can be seen also in maṃgāḍara 'older', 2 buḍara- 'more', ttauḍara- 'further'. The double comparative -ṭuddara- is found in mist₂ḍara- 'greater' and hastaḍara- 'better'.

The later Khotanese paṃḍa is for older *paṇḍarā or *paṇḍarau with absence of the syllable -rū, -ru. This is familiar in hasta padśa 'in a better way', hasta khu 'better than', hasta padī 'better way', the frequent pha for older pharū 'much', and padāmda with older padāmḍara 'former'.

The group -nd- maintained causes a difficulty in a Khotanese word. In other words we have -nd- from -nt- as in danda- 'tooth', but -n- from -nd- as in ganama- 'wheat'. Here it is then necessary to accept a second treatment of older -nd- maintained as -nd-. This is required also in Khot. caṃḍana- 'brilliant'. We find also baṃḍana- 'bandage'.

1 Earlier compared with Zor. Pahl. pan- 'niggardly'.
2 KT, ii, 66, no. 30, 6.
3 Ch. 0048.30 (KBT, 73) and Kha 1.306b, v 3 (KBT, 8), from tara-tara-.
4 KT, ii, 75, 49 (and Asia Major, NS, ii, 1, 1951, 30); KT, ii, 8, 124; KT, iii, 135, a3, 5; KT, iv, 92, 8.3.
6 Siddhasāra, 135 r 3.
The suffix -ara- of pandara- can be pointed out in Khot. askhaukara ‘protuberance, utsedha’, as Lit. kaukarâ ‘hill’, maysdara- ‘nipple’, ttaramdara- ‘body’, and earlier Avestan dvânara-, sidara-.

It is important now to adduce Armenian pandoyr ‘foolish’. The word has two forms pandoyr and pandorr, occurring also with abstract suffix pandourout’ium, pandorrouout’ium. It is attested in the Commentary of Oskeberan of the fifth century.

A second word with the same two forms is Armen. andoyr, andorr ‘quiet’, occurring in the OT translation. For -oyr can be cited also Armen. sngoyr ‘rouge, paint’, and sngourem ‘to paint’ used to render Greek φόνος ‘rouge’. It can be compared with OPers. tinkabrus*, Akkad. šingabrus, Akkad. šinga.ru ‘red stone’, in Kroraina Prakrit sānapa can be compared, with NPers. šangar. This would indicate in sngoyr an older *singaoura- ‘to -abra-. A further Armenian word with -oyr is paroyr ‘turn’, verbal parourem.

In Middle Iranian where -au-, -ava-, and -aba- are identified the suffix -o- is of ambiguous origin. In Zor. Pahlavi both spellings -ur- and -br- may be found as in uzayr *eazayvar ‘prophet’ and dstbr *dastazar ‘teacher’. In Sogdian the two (v, b) were kept distinct. OInd. kišora- ‘young living being’ has -ora-. Ossetic has D sk’orâ ‘soot’ beside I sâg attesting a base sak- or sank-

With the suffix -āra- we have NPers. šangar, Arab. šinjâr ‘anchusa tinctoria’ which may belong to this same group.

A base sink- varying with sank- would join these various colour words.

If now the Khotanese pandara- and Armenian pandoyr as loan-word are associated the meaning of the Khotanese word is confirmed.

A reference must now be inserted to the way in which originally neutral meanings have often developed to good or bad senses. Thus from the base men- ‘think’ we find OInd. mánas- ‘thinking’, Av. manah- with no bad connotation, but OInd. manyū- ‘anger’, Greek μένος; beside Avestan mainyu- ‘spirit’, and Greek μαίνομαι, μαύρια. The most neutral base kar- ‘do’ has given Khot. kâdâgaña- ‘evil act’, Bud. Sogdian kriñy ‘evil act’, but Parth. kriñy ‘service’ of the Yazdän and Mid. Pers. klikt’n in the same sense. OInd. vanūs- has both meanings. Thus RV 4.4.4.3 ytsuya vanûse is ‘for

1 Nor berîgîr’ haykazean lezoni, 1836; H. Adjarian, AEW, s.v. It would suffice to take -ôrr as due to metathesis from -ôr by shortened vowel and lengthened consonant.

2 Etymologically uncertain. Adjarian, loc. cit. suggested connexion with diwr ‘ease’; easy’. If the word should turn out to be Iranian a connexion with a base IE *ek-, and nasalized -en- will be likely. The Latin sidâre ‘to quieten’, and Celtic Welsh haväd ‘easy’ (usually associated with Lat. sedeo ‘sit’) show how such a meaning could develop. Vedic āsand- ‘seat’ attests an early sand-.

3 Hübschmann, Armenische Grammatik, 238.

4 R. G. Kent, Old Persian, rendered by ‘carnelian’.

5 BSQAS, xi, 4, 1946, 781-2.

6 This may be cognate with Oss. D kiaqû, I čyqg ‘girl’.

7 Quoted in Hübschmann, AG, 238.

8 Parthian in Sâhpurh I inscription 30 ḥravakila taw theaw; Persian in KZ 8 klikt’n ZY yzd’n.
the one devoted to truth’, but RV 7.82.1 vanusyaṭi is rendered by Sāyana jighāṁsati (Geldner, Übersetzung, ‘sucht zu übertreiben’), and 7.56.19 vanusyaṭo, Sāyana hiṃsakāt, Geldner ‘neidisch’. Latin uenus has the good sense. A good case too can be seen in Av. ḫaz- in the bad sense ‘to rob’ beside OInd. sāhate ‘be victor’ in an approved activity.

In Khotanese pandara- we have the pejorative ‘using the mind ill, foolish’. If we turn to Indo-Aryan the approved sense is found.

In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (14.6.4.1, and 9.4.16.17) and in the Chāndogya and Muṇḍaka upaniṣads, as also in Pāṇini’s text, we have a word pandaṭitā- ‘intelligent’.1 The late attestation of, for example, parūt ‘last year’, in Pāṇini, beside Greek πέρυσι shows that a word appearing in later Vedic is not necessarily late in origin. It would, however, easily allow time for the fission of an Indo-Iranian pand- into two forms pand- and pand- and the elimination of the former.

The meaning of panditā- is ‘having used the mind well, intelligent’, thence ‘learned’. It contrasts with bālā- ‘young, foolish’. The suffix -ita- is found added to verbal bases or to nominal derivatives and either could be accepted here. If Khot. pandara- is compared with OInd. panditā- we note the different suffixes.

The presence of panditā- in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa makes it very difficult to accept the double shift from praṇiṇā- to *paṇṇā- and thence to *pandā- required by the theory of Prakrit origin.2

Although I would choose to explain the different meanings of Khot. pandara- and OInd. panditā- by divergent good and bad senses from a neutral ‘cerebration’, it should be noted that the words might have been caught up in the religious movements which distinguished the meanings of Avestan daēva-, and OPers. daiva- from OInd. deva-.

Reluctance to leave the connexions there prompts one to point out that a base *pand- used of ‘understanding’ could be joined with the Indo-European pend- attested in Lat. pendo ‘to weigh, estimate, pay’ from which French made penser ‘to think’, and from which English has perpend. Note how Ossetic āmbārun ‘to understand’ may be connected with bārun ‘to weigh’, and such development as German wägen and erwägen. This Lat. pendo has been listed under a base (s)pend(-).3

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1 M. Mayrhofer, loc. cit., discusses possible origin in Dravidian, Austro, and Prakrit.
3 Pokorny, IEW, 988.