

ARYA III¹

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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.² 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 vištāspahe ašaonō fravašīm yazamaide
taxmahe tanumaθrahe a. f. y.
darši.draoš āhūiryehē a. f. y.
yō druča paurvaṇča
ašāi ravō yaēša
yō druča paurvaṇča
ašāi ravō vivaēda
yō bāzušča upastača
vīsata aiīhā daēnayā
yaṭ ahurōiš zaraθuštrōiš*
- Yašt 19.83 . . . *x^varənō . . .*
- 84 *yaṭ upanḥaçaṭ kavaēm vištāspəm
anumatāe daēnayāi
anuxtāe daēnayāi
anuvārštāe daēnayāi
yaṭ imam daēnaṃ āstaota
dušmainyūm siždyō
daēvaṇ apa ašavaṇ³*
- 85 *yō druča paurvaṇča
ašāi ravō 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*
OssED V. Abaev, *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo 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 *ravō* 'open space' recalls the desired *várivās-* in the Rigveda. The *aša-* is narrowed to the Zoroastrian truth.¹

It is thus proposed to translate the words *druča paurvaṇča* by 'from bow and arrow'. It is to establish this meaning that the following evidence is adduced.

Earlier interpretations exist. No Pahlavī 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 *hírug* in the phrase *yá im dadárša hírug in nú tásmāt*, and *hurúg* in RV 9.77.5 *váruṇo hurúg yaté*. These are rendered in K. Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, *hírug* 'dem entschwindet er' and *hurúg* 'krumme Wege', that is, like Sāyana's *hírug* 'antarhita-, hidden' or 'prthak, apart'; *hurúg* 'kuṭīlam, crooked'. Mādhava's *Rgarthadīpikā* in RV 1.164.32 rendered *hírug* by *antarhitah*. *AIW* has 'seitlich, nach den Seiten'. In *paurvaṇ* the *AIW* assumed the word *paurva-* 'before'. The Bartholomae-Wolff translation then has 'seitlich und vorn'. H. Lommel, *Die Yāšt'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 *druča* 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 *pūrna-* 'arrow'.

Khot. *durna-* (later *duna-*, *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', *tarra-* 'herb', or *phārra-* 'position'. It is safe to recognize in *durna-* an older **druna-* by way of **d^uruna-*. Similar displacement is known in West Iranian Zor. Pahl. *dwlgr* **durgar* 'carpenter' from **dru-kara-*,² NPers. *durgar*. The Zor. Pahl. *dlpwšt* for *dlwpwšt* **drupušt* 'fortress' may indicate a shift towards **durpušt*.³ The full shift has occurred in Zor. Pahl. *zrw'n* **zurvān*, Avestan *zrvan-* and Man. Sogd. *zwrnyy* 'period of time'.⁴ An etymology depending upon *zur-* was offered in *GrBd*. 167.5-6 *zrw'n ī zēn hast ī ōhrmazd ēt ku zūr patiš vānēt* 'zurvān is the weapon of Ohrmazd with which he destroys evil'.

¹ The problem of *rtá-*, *aša-* is again considered by F. B. J. Kuiper, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v, 1, 1961, 41-2.

² *DkM* 756.5, 21; 352.13, bis.

³ The older form *dlwpwšt* in *GrBd*. 61.4, but more usually without the first *-w-*, as in *GrBd*. 61.1, 4; *Dd*. 36.16, 17, 66; *Zātspram* 5.1-3; *Mēnok ī xrat* 1.31, 13.2; the Pāzand has *drūpušt*.

⁴ W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, VIII, 2-3, 1936, 585. The Buddhist Sogdian initial was ambiguous, either *n* or *z*. As the rendering of Ind. (Buddhist) *Brahmā* the Sogdian had 'zrw'.

Bud. Sogdian has the word *δr'wn* 'bow'.¹ It has also compounds: *δr'wn-p'δ'y* 'shooting with bow'² and *δrwnštn*³ 'quiver', in which the second component is not decided. The -š- is clear. A comparison with Prasn *duru-štar* 'bow and quiver' would suggest a word **starana-*.⁴

Zor. Pahlavi *drwn* is **drōn* 'bow' in the verse *zīh hač man karēnd kē bandand apar drōn* 'the bowstring they make from me which they attach to the bow'.⁵ But in *GrBd.* 140.6 *sanvar* from Avestan *šanvar-* is used, which is glossed by *kamān*.

NPersian has *durōnah* 'bow' from **draunaka-*. Ossetic has without -ka- *ārdunā* and *āndurā*, I *ārdyn*; with the arrow there is the phrase *fāt āmā ārdyn*. Balōči *drīn* is the 'rainbow'. In eastern Iranian Yidya has *drūn*, *drūn*; Ormuṛi *drōng*, *drūng*.

In the closely connected Indo-Aryan we have OInd. *drūna-* 'bow' (and *drona-* 'wooden vessel'); Khowar has *drōn* 'bow' from **drona-*.⁶ In Nūristānī (Kāfiri) occur Aškun *drō*, *drā* 'war bow', Waigeli, Kati *drō*, Prasn *duru-štar* '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 *pūmna-*, *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-*: *parun-*.⁹ The long vowel of *pūrna-* may be due to epenthesis **pauruna-* (as we find *kīra-* from **karya-*) or the *pū-* may be compared with the *pū-*, *bū-*, and *vū-* of Old Khot.

¹ 'Sutra of causes and effects' 225.

² SCE 135. Here *paθ-* 'to eject' is connected with OInd. *paθ-*, see E. Benveniste, *BSL*, LII, 1, 1956, 46. Khotanese 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 H.S. Nyberg oblatum*, p. 15-16.

⁵ *Pahlavi texts*, p. 112, *Draxt asōrik*, as recognized in J. Markwart, *Festgabe J. Szinyei*, 57.

⁶ G. Morgenstierne, *Felicitations volume presented to S.K. Belvalkar*, 90.

⁷ See the quotations in *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 33.

⁸ As E 25.279 *smrtty-upasthāne durna, samyaprahāna/pūrnānu bājo rāddhāpāta kho hālste*; Hedin 21.3 (*KT*, iv, 34) in a list *duna pūmna huštā besa* 'bows, arrows, spears, shields'.

⁹ E *Glossar* connected *pūrna-* with OInd. *parvan-* 'knot' and *paraṣa-* 'rough'.

The suffix -un- in the sense of an agent or tool with further suffix -ya- can be seen in Ossetic D *ālxujnā*, I *ālxui* 'spindle'. The discovery of Chorasmian 'lx **alx* 'top of a spindle' quoted by W. B. Henning, *Z.V. Togan'a armajan*, 436, has made it possible to improve upon *TPS*, 1945, 36. Here Ossetic **alxunya-* (in which the i-umlaut has prevented the change of -u- to -ū- in Iron) and Chorasmian *alx* disclose an older **alxa-* or **arxa-* (possibly from **arxa-* with dissimilated r-r, in reverse to *uādārt* 'reel' from **uartaθra-*, see G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, xii, 1942, 268). With different suffix Greek has ἡλεκάρη, ἡλακάρη, ἀλακάρη 'distaff' (Homer and later): it is left unattached 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 OInd. RV *akrā-*, a straight and upright thing, which is compared to a *svāru-* 'sacrificial post, yūpa-' may be taken for older **arkrā-* with dissimilated r-r, or as metathetic for **arká-*. Earlier attempts to class this *akrā-* have given 'elephant' (with query, Geldner's *Übersetzung*), 'pillar' (Ludwig), 'banner' (Grassmann's *Wörterbuch*) and 'acorn' (Brunnhöfer); uncertain (Mayrhofer). Sāyana and Mādhava's *Rgarthadīpikā* traced *akrā-* to the base *kram-*; Yāska offered *nakra-*.

pūheitā (E 23.168), *būšš-* ‘give’, *vūmūva* ‘hairs’ (E 15.50). The lengthening is here secondary: *būšš-* *būš-* is from *baxš-*. In *-mūva* is probably contained a cognate of Zor. Pahl. *mōd*, NPers. *mōy* ‘hair’.

The Khot. *pūrna-* from **parun-* recalls the OInd. *pārvan-* ‘knot’ which occurs in the compounds *ānata-parvan-* and *nata-parvan-* ‘with flat knots’ of the smooth shaft of the arrow. Yet it is better to refer *pūrna-* ‘arrow’ to the base *par-* ‘to float in the air, fly’ found in Av. *parana-*, *pərəna-* ‘wing, leaf’, Khot. *pārra* ‘leaf’, Sogd. *prn-* in *prn’y’n* ‘winged’, Zor. Pahl., NPers. *parr*, whence the denominative *parrīdan*. Then **parvan-* in *pūrna-* ‘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.paranam*. Outside Iranian OInd. *parna-* ‘wing, feather, leaf’ stands with OSlav. *pero* ‘feather’, and verbal *perǫ* ‘to fly’. The form *sper-* is found in Lit. *spařnas* ‘wing, leaf’.

In Avestan *druča paurvaṇča* we have then the close cognates of Old Khot. *durna-* and *pūrna-*. It remains to suggest the cases of the Avestan words. From *-van-* : *-un-* the inflexion shows Av. *zrū*, *zru* from *zrvan-* ‘time’ and *hū* ‘sun’ from *hvan-* in the gen. singular, that is, from **zrun-h* and **hun-h* (beside GAv. *xvāng* and later *hūrō*). Hence *dru-* could represent **drun-h* gen. sing. of **druvan-*. If we had however an *-u-* stem as in *mainiyū* instr. sing. the *dru-* could be for **drū*. In *paurvaṇ-* we have *-ṇ-* which is known in gen. sing. *dāmaṇ*, *ayaṇ*, loc. sing. *ayaṇ* (beside older *čašmāng*) and acc. plur. *ayaṇ*, *dāmaṇ*, *karšvaṇ*. Since in the phrase *druča paurvaṇča* 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 Vištāspa 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 *zaōθrā-* ‘libation, offering’, the *zōhr*. The passage reads :

nōit avā zaōθrā paiti.vīse
yā māvōya framuharēnti
andāsca karənāsca drvāsca
mūrāsca arāsca ranhāsca
ava daxšta daxštavanta
yā nōit pouru.řira fradaxšta
vīspanam anu maθrēm

Of these words *anda-* ‘blind’, *karna-* ‘deaf’, and *mūra-* ‘foolish’ are familiar in later Khot. *hana-*, Sogd. *’nt *anda-*, Ormurī *hōnd*, *ōnd* ‘blind’; Sogd. *krrn*, Khot. *kārra-*, Zor. Pahl., NPers. *karr* ‘deaf’; OInd. *mūrā-*, 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 *''r'k *āraka-* is attested in the meaning 'wild, mad'. The meaning of the Sogdian word is assured by two sources, the bilingual Chinese-Sogdian 'Sūtra of causes and effects' (SCE) and its occurrence among a familiar list of Indian medical terms. In SCE 407 we find *rty č'wn ''r'k ''zwn ''γt'y βwt* rendering Chinese 'viennent de parmi les fous'. Here the Chinese compound is 顛狂 *tien-k'uang* 'mad' in which *k'uang* means 'mad, cruel, rash; be wildly merry, throw off restraint'.

The second passage¹ 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 *''r'k* is of immediate concern. In P 2.37-38 we have the group *'rsy ''r'k kr'γ* 'piles, madness, demon-caused disease', that is, in Indian medical terms: *arśah-*, *unmāda-*, and *graha-*. In P 3.10, 11 this same term *'rsy* is replaced by *'rs'ny*, hence with *-anx* replacing older *-ax* from Ind. *-ah(a)-*.²

In P 22.19 *psm'r kr'ny r'β* means the Indian *apasmāra-* 'epilepsy' and *graha-* 'disease'. In P 7.62 *''pynč r'βk AWZY 'psm'r* 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', *krriga* 'cock', wolf, *gūysna* '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 *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī*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 *kr'γ ny'tk* 'seized by the *graha*' is used. The Uigur Turkish used *kr'x* (also changed to *k'rx*) for Indian *graha-* in the sense of 'raptor', the planet in mythology.⁷

¹ E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*.

² The same group *-nx-* occurs in the Sogdian form of *nryšnx*, *nršnx*, Parth. *nrysf*, Pers. *nrsyh*, Armen. lw. *nerseh*, Arab. Pers. *narsai*. There is *-n-* also in Sogd. *nns* 'nose', early enough to preserve the *-s-*. In an initial syllable we find Oss. D *ānsurā*, I *ssyr* 'tusk', with Sogd. *'ns'ur* 'tusk', and Av. *tiži.asūra-*, quoted *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 28, n. 6. The *-s-* of *'rsy* may come from Prakrit or be a Sogdian change from *-š-*. The Sogdian *'xs'yn-* 'blue' with *-s-* where the other Iranian languages show *axšaina-*, may be recalled. Khotanese has from Prakrit *arja-*.

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 cxc, cxcl.

⁵ *KT*, I, 172, Sanskrit text 89 r 3-4.


⁶ To be printed in *KT*, v. Parts of the Uigur text are in F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, II, 50 ff.; and S. Malov, *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Ser. B, 1930, No. 5, pp. 88-93.

⁷ G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, VII, *kr'x* 4.3, 63; *k'rx* 4.19, 25.

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, *unmāda-*'.

The difference between Av. *ara-* and Sogdian *''r'k* **āraka-* is comparable to the frequent short and long vowel derivatives of the type Av. *baga-* and *bāga-*, OInd. *bhāga-s* 'luck' and *bhāgā-s* 'part', OPers. *baga-* 'distributor', Zor. Pahl. *bāy* 'portion', *hambāy* 'partner'.

The sense of 'wild, mad' is expressed in Zor. Pahl. by  that is, *'lk*, *hkk*, or *'rk*, *hrk*, for which the Pāzand reading is *hala*.² This Pāzand is the excellent material in the *Mēnōk ī xrat* and the *Škand-gumānīk vičār*. It is associated with *dušākāsīh* 'lack of intelligence' (*Mx.*, ed. Anklesaria, 57.2), and with *apēsūtīh* 'uselessness, absence of profit' (*ibid.*, 57.3). In Parsi Sanskrit we have *vikala-*, and *grahila-*. It is explained in Parsi Persian by *ablah u dīvānah* '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 *ārrā-* 'wild, mad'.³ The form of *ārrā*, however, causes some difficulty. The short vowel *ā-* is like Av. *ara-*, unless it has been shortened from *ā-*. The *-rr-* is more irksome. The doubled *-rr-* occurs in contact of *ār-* with a base beginning with *r-*, thus in D *ārrovun* 'to sweep', with *ni-* and gemination in D *nirrezun* 'tremble', and after *fā-* with gemination in D *fārresun* 'to smart'. Since *ārrā* is in both dialects it cannot be compared with D *xārnāy*, I *xārrāy* 'rag, ragged', nor with D *qojrāy*, I *qorrāy* 'pole with hook'. In D *zurrun*, I *zyryn* 'to turn'.⁴ It can then be compared with *ārrā*: from a verbal base formed by doubled *-rr-* before *-ut* and *-ā*. Elsewhere *-rr-* occurs in words expressive of various acts: *fyrrykk* 'of snorting', *gārrāt* 'of surprise', *qūrryt* 'of swallowing', *sārrätt*, *tārräst* 'jump', *tyrrykk* 'of beating (intr.)', *xārrätt* 'of swift movement'. There is also the noun *gūrru* 'knucklebone'.

The final *-ā* of *ārrā* must also be noticed. There are many Ossetic words ending in *-ā* either in both dialects or in one or the other. Thus we have D *tārnā*, I *tāryn*, *tyryn* 'boy' from **tarana-*, Sogdian *trn* 'submissive', Av. *tauruna-*, OInd. *tāruṇa-* 'tender'. A noun is D *γunā*, I *qūnā* 'moss'. Both Digoron and Iron have *tālā* 'young tree, sprout'. It occurs also in loan-words as in D *tākā*, I *tānqā* 'helmet', OPers. *taka-*, and in *zīrā* 'cummin', Sogd. Bud. *zyr'kk* (P 19.4), Georg. *zīrak'-i*, *zīra*, NPers. *zīrah*.

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

¹ P 2801.35, *KT*, III, 66 *grahasta-*. For *-asta-* note also P 3510.7.1 *KBT*, 51 *gūttarastā tīšastā* 'having family, having brilliance' from Ind. *gotra-* and *tejas-*. *Jātakastava* 21 v 1 *ysīrasta-* 'cordial' is made from a Khotanese *ysira-* 'heart'.

² C. Bartholomae, *Mitteliranische Mundarten*, I, 8 ff., gathered up passages known to him.

³ This comparison with Sogdian has now been made, though with a query, in V. Abaev, *OssED*, s.v. *ārrā*.

⁴ *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 34.

is D *zānā* 'fertile field' connected with the *zan-* of D *zājūn* 'to produce', ptc. *zād*. Similarly D *γāuāmā*, corresponds to I *quā*, *quāmā* 'of necessity' (construed with the conjunctive) from the verb D *γāun*, I *qāun* 'to need'.

Of earlier attempts to situate *ara-* may be mentioned: J. Darmesteter, *ZA*, II, 1892, 389 'ladre', K. Geldner, *KZ*, xxv, 4, 1880, 395 'niggard', H. Weller, *Anahita*, 145, 'schlappe Käuze' ('slack fellow'). Neither *AIW* nor Lommel, loc. cit., nor K. Barr, *Avesta*, 137, has translated the word.

If now we look outside Iranian for a cognate of this *ar-* 'be wild' the Baltic offers *al-* in Lit. *aliōtis* 'be foolish, mad', Let. *aluōt* 'to err', and with *ā-* Let. *āluotiēs* 'be noisy', *āļa* 'half-mad man', *ālētīēs* 'act wildly, rage'. With this goes Greek *ἄλη* 'wandering', *ἀλαίνω*, *ἀλάομαι* 'sweep around', with *ā-* *ἡλάσκω* 'wander', *ἡλαίνω* 'be fanciful', *ἀλύω* 'be outside oneself', *ἡλεος*, *ἄλλος*, *ἡλίθιος* 'foolish', and with spiritus asper *ἄλιος* 'in vain'.¹ For a similar development from 'wander' to 'be mad' note OInd. *bhram-*.

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 *pasāva kāra arika abava*, *pasāva drauga dahyauwā vasiy abava* 'then the army became *arika-*, then the Lie abounded in the countries'; Dareios disclaims for himself: DB IV.63 *naiy arika āham*, *naiy drauḡana āham*, *naiy 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 *Vid.* 14.5: *maoirinam araēkanam kutakanam dužaininam* 'of the ants wild small ill-smelling', contrasted with the *maoiri- dānō.karša-* 'the ant carrying the grain', familiar in Firdausi *mōr i dānah-kaš*. The Pahlavī gloss has (ed. Spiegel) *hlkwtk*, (ed. Jamasp) *hlkw tky kutk*. 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. *-īna-a-*, adj. of material or identity. Here OInd. has *-īna-*. 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 *ārēγ*, *rēγ* 'hate' has also been cited, but its connexions are still uncertain.³

¹ Pokorny, *IEW*, 27; E. Fraenkel, *LitEW*, 7.

² R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, grammar, texts, lexicon*, 170, preferred *a(h)rika-*. On *arī-* see *TPS*, 1959, 109 ff.; M. Mayrhofer, *Concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary*, s.v. *alīkā-*.

³ H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, 135 (*rēγ* in the *Sāhnāmāh* ed. Vullers, III, 1547, 900). J. Wackernagel proposed to identify Av. *araēka-* with OInd. *alīkā-*, as in the epithet of a snake AV 5.13.5 *alīkā-*, see J. Wackernagel, *AI. Gram.*, III, p. 427.

Turning now to Old Indian this Iranian *ara-*, *āraka-*, (*h*)*alak*, offers a means of interpreting the word *ālakam* of RV 10.71.6 in some advance beyond the hitherto unsupported contextual conjecture. Here we have: *yādī^o śṛṇóty ālakam śṛṇoti* 'if indeed he hears, he hears in an *ālaka-* way', which as the next verse shows (*nahī pravéda sukṛtásya pánthām* '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 *paṇāyo* to *Sarāmā*) *réku padám ālakam ā jagantha* 'you have come to the *réku* place in an *ālaka-* way'. Here 'wildly', 'foolishly', or 'uselessly' would suit.¹ This accords also with Sāyaṇa who has RV 10.108.7 *vyartham eva*, and in RV 10.71.6 *alakam ālikam vyartham eva*.²

The OInd. *ālīká-* is still not satisfactorily connected. Sāyaṇa used it on RV 10.71.6 to explain *alakam*, possibly only by the sound. But a meaning 'false' can arise from 'to wander' as Latin *errāre* has given English 'erroneous'. A suffix *-īka-* is familiar in OInd.: *mṛḍīká-* 'mercy', Av. *mərəždīka-*, and *dṛśīka-* 'looking at', *dṛśīká-* 'aspect'.³

Now that *ar-*, *al-* 'to be wild' is securely attested in Iranian the comparison of RV *ālaka-* 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 *ālakam* 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, Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, is called in Buddhist Sanskrit *āḍakāvati*,⁴ *Mahāvvyutpatti* 4137 *āḍakāvati*. A secondary form occurs in Bud. Sansk. *āḍakavantā-* and Khotanese *āḍakavatta* (or *-nta*).⁵ Tibetan has in translation *lcañ-lo*, *lcañ-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-tá-ká*, 頽樂迦 *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'ó*, older (K 1, 659, 595, 1011) *á-nji-muán-d'á*. In the Epic *Alakā* is the city, and *Alakānanda* the name of a river. In the list of guardian yakṣas of the Mahāmāyūrī⁶ occurs *alako alakāpure* 'Alaka in the city Alakā'. A city *Alakāpura-* was placed in northern Bhāratavarṣa.⁷

¹ C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, compared Greek *álakmai*, but in order to translate by 'eilend'.

² P. Thieme had rightly seen (*IF*, I, 1, 1932, 70-2) that the meaning of RV 10.71.6 was decisive. Regretfully one must give up the proposal of W. Wüst to see in RV 10.108.7 a place name *Alaka-* connected with Ossetic *Ālāgātā*. A name *Ālāg*, one of the *Nārtā*, is known (*Iron ādāmon sfāldystād*, v = *Pamiatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin*, v, 186) in the phrase *Nārti Ālāgān āttāj jeunāg yog* 'Ālāg of the *Nārtā* had one cow'. Ossetic *-l-* is of ambiguous origin, older Iranian either *-r-* or *-rj-*.

³ J. Wackernagel, *Ai. Gram.*, III, 427-8.

⁴ *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra*, ed. J. Nobel, p. 116. Toch. A 324 b 7 *āḍakava(tī)*.

⁵ H. Hoffmann, *Ātānātika-sūtra*, pp. 55, 65, 69; Khotanese in *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 53 v 3 (*KT*, I, 237).

⁶ Sylvain Lévi, *JA*, jan.-fév. 1915, 57.

⁷ W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, 224 (Jaina).

If the variants are grouped in the series *-ḍ-*, *-ṭ-*, *-l-* the word could be compared with AV *naḍá-*, RV *naḷá-* (Khowar *noḷ*), Bud. Sansk. *naḍa-*, *naṭa-*, later Sanskrit *nala-*. But here an older form occurs once, RV 1.32.8 *naddá-*, to be placed with Avestan *naḍa-*, Hittite *nata-*, Luwian *natatta-*.¹ The starting-point was therefore a dental *-d-*. A similar change has replaced RV *avatá-* 'well' by later *avata-* (below, p. 480).

The Chinese form *á-nji-muán-d'á* conceals a Prakrit form **ani-* from **adaya-*. Here Chin. *-n-* (pronounced in north-west China *n^o*) represents dental Ind. *-ḍ-*, and the *-i-* stands for older *-ai-* from *-aya-*.² This *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra Aḍakāvati* is rendered into Chinese by 有財 *iu-ts'ai* 'rich', whence the Tibetan made *nor-ldan* 'rich'.³ The ending may indicate that the *-vati* 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 *Viṭapāvati-* 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 (*viteśa-*). 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 Yašt 5.93 there remain the two words *drva-* and *raṇha-*.

The context has a triad *anda-*, *karṇa-*, and *drva-* in which one would expect 'blind, deaf, dumb'. This triad occurs in Khotanese E 6.101 *hana-*, *kārra-*, and *muta-*. 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 *-á-* 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 *drau-š-*: *dru-š-* 'to treat violently, maim' attested in Avestan *draoša-* and in the mountain name *draošišvant-*; Zor. Pahl. *drōš*, Paz. *drūš*, rendered by Parsi Sanskrit *cheda-* 'cutting off'; Zor. Pahl. *drōšak*

¹ H. Lüders, 'Avriḍapov Wackernagel, 302, reprinted *Philologica Indica* (needing revision); H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1952, 61 ff. (add Waxī *no'd*, Pahl. Psalter *n'dy*; NPers. *nāl* from Sogdian, W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, 98; Sangl. *niyōk*).

² On north-western Prakrit, Kroraina, *-aḡa-*, see T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan*, 6, 23; H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, XIII, 1, 1949, 131.

³ Ed. Nobel, p. 116.

⁴ E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, 142, n. 4.

⁵ Pali *Vinaya*, I, 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. *durušt* 'rough, fierce'. With *-z-* occurs Oss. D *ärdozun*, *ärdust* '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 **druva-* 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', *verstummen* 'be 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 *twerg*; and by W. Krogmann, who offered 'aussätzig', as connected with OInd. *dardru-* and *dadrú-* 'kind of skin disease', OEngl. *teter* 'tetter', and Lit. *dirvā* 'seed field'.¹ With this he joined *Vid.* 20.3 *druka-*, v.l. *duruka-*, for which no gloss in Pahlavī is known. It occurs in a list of diseases. *Yidya lurvë* 'ill' and *lərovə* 'illness' have been traced to **a-drav-*.²

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. *ræsan* '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 *-anša-* 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'.³ A further possibility is that in *ranha-* we have the adjective to the verb *rānhaya-* 'to apostatize', which might fittingly have been considered a 'wildness'.

3. *pandara-*

It is well known that Ossetic D *k'undäg*,⁴ I *k'ündäg* 'deficient, narrow', *k'undägdzinād* 'lack, impoverishment', DI *änäk'undäg* 'spacious, spaciousness', NPers. *kund* 'blunt', Armen. *kound*, *kndak*, *kount*, *kntak* 'bare (of leaves or hair)', Balōčī *kunt* 'blunt' are cognate with OInd. Sansk. *kunṭha-* 'blunt',

¹ *Zeits. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, LXV, 1-2, 1938, 142. Darmesteter gave 'méchant', as equivalent of *drvant-*.

² G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 224.

³ Lommel, loc. cit., p. 40, and K. Barr, *Avesta*, 137, omit both *drva-* and *ranha-*. H. Weller, *Anahita*, 145, followed *AIW*.

⁴ Digoron *k'undäg* occurs in Mäliti Geuärgi, *Iräf*, 60: *dälä komi i-k'undägi nicäjsä-ydäj säu k'äjdor*.

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. *piṇḍa-* ‘lump’.²

The Indo-European type is attested in Greek *κίω* ‘move’ and *κινδ-* in *κίνδαξ* ‘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 *nt̥*, *nd̥* developed.

Such fission is found in Ossetic in similar circumstances. Here Old Iranian *k*, *t*, *p* have separated into aspirate *kʼ*, *tʼ*, *pʼ* and ejective *kʼ*, *tʼ*, *pʼ* in accord with the Caucasian phonematic structure.

The separation occurs in Old Indian also in single sounds. Thus we have *-d-* and *-ḍ-* in RV *naddá-* ‘reed’ and *naḍá-*, AV *naḍá-*; and later *nala-*.³ Similarly RV *avatá-* ‘well’ is in later Vedic *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra avata-*. It is the same with *-n-* in RV *veni-* ‘braid’ attested in *suvenīś* fem. nom. plur. beside later *venī-*. At times only the one later form is used in our texts. Thus RV *sthūnā-* ‘pillar’ corresponds to Iranian OPers. *stūnā-*, Av. *stūnā-*, Khot. *stunā*, Zor. Pahl. *stūn*, Turfan Mid. Pers. ‘*stwn*, NPers. *sitūn*, *sutūn*. Similarly Avestan *mani-* in (*zarənu-mainiś* ‘golden-necked eagle’), Zor. Pahl., NPers. *man* in *dāl-man* ‘eagle’ belongs with RV *māni-* ‘(neck-)ornament’, as in *maṇi-grīvā-* in both Rigveda and Atharvaveda.

When therefore we find Iranian *pand-* and Old Indian *paṇḍ-*, 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:

E 2.134 *hanāna vajsātandai ṣṭāna*
paṇḍaḍaru karaṇu yāḍaīmā
ce aysu ggaru bendā sumvīrā
uskujātemā haḍāya ṣṭāni

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 *uskūṣde*, *uskuj-* is a difficulty. From the contexts E 12.50, 13.70, and 13.79 it will mean with *bendā* and *vīri* some kind of attack.⁴ It contains a base (s)*kauk-* or *kauḡ-*. A base *kauk-* occurs in *askhaukara-*⁵ ‘protuberance,

¹ TPS, 1955, 72 ff.

² *ibid.*, 72 ff.

³ Above, p. 478.

⁴ The verb E 13.75 *uskūṣde* is different and has *kauṣ-*, as *pyūṣde* is from **patigauṣatai*. It renders Sansk. *auddhatyaṃ dravaṃ prāviṣkaroti* ‘he acts frivolously’.

⁵ *Siddhasāra* 138 r 4, cf. 143 r 3.

utsedha 'comparable with Lit. *kaukarà* 'hill', but the *-k-* preserved is unusual. Probably Khot. *hamgūjsa-* 'fear' contains *kauk-*, connected with OInd. *kocati* 'draw together'.

The second passage is *Jātakastava* 27 r 1-2 :

*ṣa aramṇā vīyarai paṃda satva,
lobhe udiśāye byehāysām pyamṣya, guḍe
ttanīyā tvīṣe yuḍāṃde buwāṃde guṣṭa,
arnñe dasti varī śamḍya pasta*

That is, 'the ungrateful inferior foolish¹ 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 *aramṇā* 'ungrateful' we have the later form of Sansk. *akṛtajña-*; *vīyarai* is *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 31 b 4 *vīyatarā-* 'inferior' contrasting with *māsta-* 'great' in referring to a kingdom. In *arnñe* I would now see the adj. suffix *-īnaa-* with **arna-* 'elbow' from **araθni-*, as in Oss. D *ārinā*, I *ārin* 'cubit' (in compounds with D *cāng-* and I *ārm-*, *ālm-*), the familiar OPers. *arašni-*, Av. *arəθna-*, NPers. *araš*, *raš*, *āran*, *aran*, and others, OInd. *aratnī-*.

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

The word of interest here is Old Khotanese *pandaḍara-* 'more foolish' and later Khotanese *paṃda*. 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', *ttwoḍara-* 'further'. The double comparative *-taḍara-* is found in *mistaḍara-* 'greater' and *hastadaḍara-* 'better'.³

The later Khotanese *paṃda* is for older **paṃdarā* or **paṃdaru* with absence of the syllable *-rā*, *-ru*. This is familiar in *hasta paḍina* 'in a better way', *hasta khu* 'better than', *hasta paḍi* 'better way', the frequent *pha* for older *pharu* 'much', and *paḍāṃda* with older *paḍāṃdara* 'former'.⁴

The group *-nd-* maintained causes a difficulty in a Khotanese word. In other words we have *-nd-* from *-nt-* as in *dandaa-* '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. *caṃdana-* 'brilliant'.⁵ We find also *baṃdana-* 'bandage'.⁶

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.

⁵ *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 926-30; *JRAS*, 1942, 14-28; 1949, 2-4.

⁶ *Siddhasāra*, 155 r 3.

The suffix *-ara-* of *pandara-* can be pointed out in Khot. *askhawkara* 'protuberance, *utsedha*', as Lit. *kaukarà* 'hill', *maysdara-* 'nipple', *ttaramdara-* 'body', and earlier Avestan *doqanara-*, *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*, *pandorrout'ium*.¹ 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.² For *-oyr* can be cited also Armen. *sngoyr* 'rouge, paint', and *sngourem* 'to paint' used to render Greek *φῶκος* 'rouge'.³ It can be compared with OPers. *sinkabruš*,⁴ Elam. *šingabruš*, Akkad. *šinga.ru* 'red stone', in Kroraina Prakrit *śānapru* can be compared,⁵ with NPers. *šangarf*. This would indicate in *sngoyr* an older **šingaura-* with *-aura-* from *-abru-*. A further Armenian word with *-oyr* is *paroyr* 'turn', verbal *parourem*.

In Middle Iranian where *-au-*, *-ava-*, and *-aba-* are identified the suffix *-ōr-* is of ambiguous origin. In Zor. Pahlavī both spellings *-wr-* and *-br-* may be found as in *uxšwr* **vaxšavar* 'prophet' and *dstwbr* **dastaβar* 'teacher'. In Sogdian the two (*w*, *b*) were kept distinct. OInd. *kišora-* 'young living being' has *-ora-*.⁶ Ossetic has D *sk'orä* 'soot' beside I *säg* attesting a base *sak-* or *sank-*.

With the suffix *-āra-* we have NPers. *šangār*, Arab. *šinjār* 'anchusa tinctoria' which may belong to this same group.⁷

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. *mānas-* 'thinking', Av. *manah-* with no bad connotation, but OInd. *manyú-* 'anger', Greek *μένος*; beside Avestan *mainyu-* 'spirit', and Greek *μαίνομαι*, *μῆνία*. The most neutral base *kar-* 'do' has given Khot. *kādāgāna-* 'evil act', Bud. Sogdian *'krt'ny* 'evil act', but Parth. *krtkny* 'service' of the Yazdān and Mid. Pers. *kltk'n* in the same sense.⁸ OInd. *vanús-* has both meanings. Thus RV 4.44.3 *ṛtāsya vanúše* is 'for

¹ *Nor baṛgirk' haykazean lezoui*, 1836; H. Adjarian, *AEW*, s.v. It would suffice to take *-ōrr* as due to metathesis from *-ōr* by shortened vowel and lengthened consonant.

² Etymologically uncertain. Adjarian, loc. cit. suggested connexion with *diur* 'ease; easy'. If the word should turn out to be Iranian a connexion with a base IE *sed-*, and nasalized *send-* will be likely. The Latin *sēdāre* 'to quieten', and Celtic Welsh *hawdd* 'easy' (usually associated with Lat. *sedeo* 'sit') show how such a meaning could develop. Vedic *āsandī-* 'seat' attests an early *sand-*.

³ Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 238.

⁴ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, rendered by 'carnelian'.

⁵ *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 781-2.

⁶ This may be cognate with Oss. D *kizgā*, I *čyzyg* 'girl'.

⁷ Quoted in Hübschmann, *AG*, 238.

⁸ Parthian in Šāhpuhr I inscription 30 *θρησκεία τῶν θεῶν*; Persian in KZ 8 *kltk'n ZY yzd'n*.

the one devoted to truth', but RV 7.82.1 *vanuṣyati* is rendered by Sāyana *jighāmsati* (Geldner, *Übersetzung*, 'sucht zu überbieten'), and 7.56.19 *vanuṣyāto*, Sāyana *himsakāt*, Geldner 'neidisch'. Latin *uenus* has the good sense. A good case too can be seen in Av. *haz-* in the bad sense 'to rob' beside OInd. *sáhate* '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 *Mundaka upaniṣads*, as also in Pāṇini's text, we have a word *pañḍitá-* 'intelligent'.¹ The late attestation of, for example, *parút* 'last year', in Pāṇini, beside Greek *πέρυσσι* 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 *pañḍ-* and the elimination of the former.

The meaning of *pañḍitá-* is 'having used the mind well, intelligent', thence 'learned'. It contrasts with *bālá-* '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. *pañḍitá-* we note the different suffixes.

The presence of *pañḍitá-* in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* makes it very difficult to accept the double shift from *prajñā-* to **panñā-* and thence to **pañḍā-* required by the theory of Prakrit origin.²

Although I would choose to explain the different meanings of Khot. *pandara-* and OInd. *pañḍitá-* 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. *devá-*.

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)pen(d)-*.³

¹ M. Mayrhofer, loc. cit., discusses possible origin in Dravidian, Austric, and Prakrit.

² Mayrhofer, loc. cit.; P. Tedesco, *JAOS*, LXXX, 4, 1960, 361-2.

³ Pokorny, *IEW*, 988.