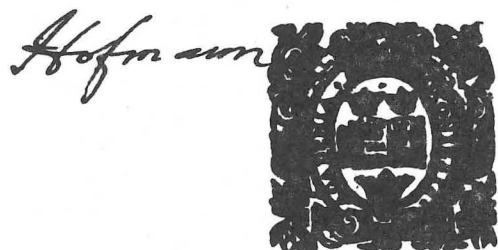


W. Love 1675/6

GRAMMATICA
Linguae Turcicae,

In Quinque partes distributa.

Auctore GULIELMO SEAMAN.



OXONIAE,

Excudebat Hen: Hall, Academiae Typographus. Prostant apud
Edvardum Millington, ad insignem Pelicani, in vico vulgò vo-
cato Duck-lane. An: Dom: 1670.

WOJCIECH SKALMOWSKI

OLD PERSIAN ARTĀCĀ BRAZMANIYA AGAIN

In the so-called Daiva-Inscription of Xerxes /XPh/ an expression Auramazdām yad- artācā brazmaniya with various finite forms of the verb has been used three times. The precise meaning and grammatical status of the last two terms still form the subject of debates among scholars. This paper proposes to put under discussion certain possible solutions based on syntactic and semantic considerations not taken into account in the earlier attempts of clarification of the Xerxes's formula. For the convenience of the reader the pertinent fragments of the OP text in R.G. Kent's transcription and with his translation¹ will be given first:

XPh 40f: ... avadā adam Auramazdām ayadaiy artācā brazmaniya ..., "...there I worshipped /1 sg. imperf. med./ Ahuramazda and Arta reverent/ly/...";

XPh 50f: ... Auramazdām yadaišā artācā brazmaniya ..., ".../do/ worship /2 sg. opt. med./ Ahuramazda and Arta reverent/ly/...";

XPh 51ff: ... martiya hya ... Auramazdām yadataiy artācā brazmaniya hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavatiy utā marta artāvā bavatiy...,

"The man who ... worships /3 sg. praes. med./ Ahuramazda and Arta reverent/ly/, he both becomes happy when living, and becomes blessed when dead."

The problems start with the reading, because the cuneiform spelling a-ra-ta-a-ca-a ba-ra-za-ma-na-i-ya is ambiguous: the last term may be read either as brazmaniy /cf. ba-ra-a-ha-ya = barāhiy, OInd. bharāsi/, or as brazmaniya /cf. a-na-i-ya = aniya, OInd. anyās/. The term itself being a hapax, the reading influences its morphological interpretation by scholars who do not agree as to the value of the

Elamite rendering pir-ra-s-man-ne-ia²: R. Schmitt³ regards it as a mere graphical transliteration and reads the OP word as brazmaniy, while W. Hinz⁴ believes that it represents a phonetic transcription and regards this evidence as "zwingend" for the reading brazmaniya.

Another problem is the meaning of this word. Although most scholars share the opinion that it is somehow connected with the OInd. brāhman- n., or brahmán- m., the polysemy of these possible counterparts does not allow any decisive solution. Finally, the unusual position of the enclitic conjunction -ca lets some interpreters -- Kent among them -- doubt the apparently obvious connection between the two last terms of the discussed formula and look for other explanations.

As the quoted translations show, Kent⁵ assumed that -ca connected arta- in instrumental /used as a sociative/ with Auramazdām /acc. sg./ and that the whole formed a direct object clause of the verb yad- /ca. "to worship Ahuramazda [acc.] together with Arta [instr.]" as well"/. He regarded brazmaniya as an adjective in nom. sg. m. which he interpreted as the OP counterpart of OInd. brahmanyā-, "religious", a derivation from OInd. brāhman, "religious devotion, prayer". In spite of the translation "reverent/ly/" the form was for him not an adverbial, but a modifier of the subject of the verb yad- /ca. "I -- the reverent -- worshipped..."/.

That solution had already been proposed by W.B. Henning⁶ who, however, has interpreted the underlying brazman- as "proper ceremonial style" /because of its alleged affinity with the Parthian brahm, "correct behaviour, propriety"/ and who has regarded the element artācā as an OP rendering of the Ir. /a/rtāt hacā = Av. aśāt hacā, "according to Rta". The full translation of the discussed expression was /in Henning's words and following the XPh 40f version/: "I worshipped Ahuramazdā behaving /or: acting/ in the proper ceremonial style in accord with Rta /the eternal Law that dominates the world and all its institutions/, or simply 'I worshipped Ahuramazdā in proper style'".

J. Duchesne-Guillemin⁷ interpreted the word brazman- as "rite" /one of the possible meanings of OInd. brāhman-, as already pointed out by Henning/, but he based his translation proposal on the reading brazmaniy which he took for a locative of circumstance. The form artācā has been explained by him as an adverbially used instru-

mental of *artānc-, "facing Arta" /an adjective corresponding to a possible Vedic devānc-/, and the whole phrase rendered as "I worshipped Ahuramazda facing arta-ward during the rite".

Still another solution has been proposed by R. Schmitt in an article⁸ convincingly demonstrating that the "inverse ca", i.e. the enclitic conjunction of a copulative construction attached to its first member instead of the second, was well represented in Iranian and, consequently, that both arta- and brazman- might well form an "and"-clause. Somewhat surprisingly, however, Schmitt detached the form artācā from the OP substantive arta-, OInd. rtā- n., and interpreted it as an irregular locative of an OP counterpart of OInd. rtū- m. "'rechte /Opfer-/Zeit'". Retaining Henning's translation of brazman- and reading brazmaniy /loc. sg./ he proposed to translate XPh 40f as: "...dort verehrte ich /scil. Xerxes/ den Ahuramazda zur rechten Zeit /nämlich zur festen Opferzeit/ und in the proper ceremonial style'".

The diverging interpretations quoted so far⁹ demonstrate sufficiently that the discussed phrase is, to use M. Mayrhofer's words¹⁰, "nicht eindeutig erklärbar" and that there is still room here for other interpretations. As there are no new external elements available which would allow the solving of the problems of the discussed expression in definitive way, the present author's views proposed in the following will have to retain the status of mere suggestions supported by tacit reference to such vague criteria as linguistic probability and common sense. The proposed interpretation follows the earlier ones in that it retains from them /1/ Schmitt's conception of "ca inversum", and /2/ Hinz's arguments in favour of the reading brazmaniya, and /3/ Henning's /and others'/ conviction that brazman- is connected with OInd. brāhman- or brahmán-.

To this author's mind, the most important clue leading to proper morphological analysis is in this case the verbal government. As is well known, the OInd. counterpart of the OP yad-, yaj-, "to sacrifice", has its direct object in instrumental, cf. paśunā rūdram yajate, "he sacrifices a bull to Rudra". A.A. MacDonell¹¹ from whom this example is taken adds the following commentary: "Here we have the real inst/rumental/ sense surviving from the time when yaj- meant 'worship' a god /acc./ with /inst./". Taking into account that OP retains precisely this older sense of the verb in question, it is very plausible that artā-ca brazmaniya represents two instru-

mentals interconnected by "ca inversum" and serving as an adverbial of manner. From this point of view the second member of this clause must be regarded as an instrumental of a /probably feminine/ substantive brazmani^x representing a possible derivative /collectivum or abstractum/ from OInd. brāhman-, i.a. "devotion, piety, holy life", or brahman-, i.a. "one who prays, any devout person". Cappel-ler lists only an expression brahmanī bhū-, "to become a Brahman"¹², but the lack of an attested Indian form with suitable meaning does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a similar form with larger sense, ca. "the quality of any devout person = devotedness/ devotion".

As a closer qualification of the act of worship which Xerxes performed himself and which he recommends to others, the postulated OP brazmani^x certainly had a positive meaning and the suggested tentative equivalent - "devotion" - seems to be adequate. The idiom-like juxtaposition of the two terms in the formula seems to indicate that both substantives belong to the same semantic field and are complementary. Assuming this point of view and translating tentatively "I worshipped Ahuramazda with arta- and with devotion" we are obliged to interpret the elusive sense of arta- as a description of moral attitude of the person concerned rather than to see in it the objective category of "truth", as this term is usually translated. It will be argued in the following that there are good reasons for such an interpretation.

The religious and ideological universe of ancient Iran was based on the opposition of arta- and drauga-. Because of the most common meaning of the continuants of the latter term /e.g. NPers. do-ruḡ/ this opposition is habitually interpreted as that between "truth" and "lie", although the OP substantive drauga- in the inscriptions of Darius appears to refer to an attitude of some of his subjects which he deplores and condemns¹³, and not to the logical category of false statements. Moreover, a moral and/or political connotation of this term would correspond well with the basic meanings of the OInd. cognates, cf. drūhyati, "to be hostile, hurt, strive to harm", drogha-, "deceitful, malicious". As an antonym arta- should describe a positive attitude towards something or somebody.

The larger context in which the terms arta- and brazmani^x appear indicates that Xerxes regarded the relationships between human

beings and the deity as a projection of idealized feudal community held together by mutual obligations. XPh 51ff states that a man "who has respect for that law which Ahuramazda has established" /Kent's translation/ and "worships Ahuramazda with arta- and devotion" /this author's tentative translation/ "he both becomes šiyā-ta- when living, and becomes artāvan- when dead" /Kent's translation with terms requiring closer scrutiny left in original form/. The formula hints at the do ut des: something is offered for something.

Although the term šiyāta- is commonly translated as "happy", the original sense of this adjective /as well as that of the related substantive šiyāti- f., traditionally rendered as "happiness"/ seems to be more specific. This author regards both these words as cognates of the OInd. stem khya-, "to see" /cf. OInd. khyata-, "known", lit. "seen", and khyati- f., "knowledge; renown", lit. "the consequence of/ having seen/having been seen". It might be that the OP derivatives represent a semantical development of the basic meaning which resembles Lat. pro-videre : provisus : provisio. The notion of providential help is clearly expressed in the opening formula - taken over by Xerxes from Darius /cf. e.g. DNa 1-6/ - of XPh: baga vazraka Auramazdā hya imām būmim adā hya asmānam adā hya martiyam adā hya šiyātim adā martiyahyā hya Xšayārsām xšāya-ōiyam akunauš..., in Kent's translation: "A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Xerxes king...". In this author's view this passage does not refer to "happiness" in the sense of indiscriminate bliss for all, but rather states that everybody's "provision" in life comes from Ahuramazda /and thus implies en passant that the authority of the king is legitimate as a particular favour of the metaphysical overlord/. As referring to necessary means of survival provided by the deity for its creatures, the meanings of OP šiyāta- and šiyāti- must have been close to those of Lat. satis-factus and satis-factio in their etymological sense, and only gradually evolved into "joyful" and "joy", as attested by e.g. NPers. šād.

The interpretation of šiyāti- as "providential help/care" throws some light on the terms arta- and drauga-. They seem to be names of the proper and improper responses to the original benevolence.

If OP artā-, OInd. rtā- n., is indeed a substantivized past participle of the verbal root r- /OInd. iyarti, rochati, "to move, to go or come towards", NPers. rasidan, Lat. oriri/ one might see herein a generalization of the sense "having arrived/arisen" applied to a situation in which the subject of received favours responds by "rising up" to his/her moral obligations /for a similar use of a verb of movement cf. German "den Verpflichtungen nachgehen". In other words arta- might be regarded as a description of due recognition and gratitude towards a superhuman /the deity/ or human /the king/ benefactor. Conversely, drauga- might have described an attitude of ingratitude perceived as a neglect of duty, i.e. "deceit" or "cheating", in a transaction which presupposes honest exchange of mutually compensating services. While the notion of tangible compensation is indeed well visible in the cognate Avestan substantive ašay- f., "was einem auf Grund seiner Leistung - in gutem und schlechtem Sinn - zukommt; ...Lohn, Belohnung"¹⁴, the sense of OP arta- / Av. aša- is more vague, because it describes an abstract totality of sentiments and/or actions expressing due recognition and thus it may be rendered by a variety of terms. For the purposes of this article the most suitable translation appears to be "piety", in the sense of scrupulous fulfillment of one's /religious/ duty.

The fact that Xerxes persistently uses two terms in order to characterize valid worship - it should be performed not only "with piety" but also "with devotion" as well - seems to be due to the striving after theological exactness. In other words the nearly synonymous /in this translation, in any case/ term brazmanī- seems to have somewhat different meaning than arta-. Wherein might lie this difference?

Regarded from the point of view of the mutual relationship, arta- has a passive character: it is only a response to the received favour. However, rendering the relationship really mutual would demand also an active participation of the receiving party in the form of positive deeds performed as it were in advance, in order to oblige the deity to respond with further providential help and due acquittal at the end. The notion of such a spontaneous positive action seems indeed attributable to the term brazmanī-. This term /apparently a LW from Median/ might be explained as consisting of the Iranian counterparts of OInd. brh-, "to be great or big", and man-,

"to think". Regarded as a compositum, the word might have had a meaning resembling Lat. magn-animus, magn-animitas and have referred to the "noble" attitude of giving something for nothing /or at least: in advance of eventual repayment/. In fact, the idea of "giving /something/ for free" would agree well both with the metaphysical sense of the OInd. brāhman- n., /prodigality as the embodiment of the Absolute; cf. OInd. bhāga- m./ and with its more ritual-bound applications as "devotion", "worship", "prayer", etc., i.e. actions undertaken literally gratis pro Deo as an expression of sincere religious zeal.

It is impossible to say whether the form with the generalizing suffix -ī- was derived from an Iranian counterpart of brahmán-, ca. "magnanimous", or brāhman-, ca. "magnanimity" -- in this latter case the function of the suffix might be that of stressing the overall character of the active religious attitude - but in either case the resulting term would carry the same idea of voluntary, disinterested and dedicated attention for the deity, which might be approximately rendered as "devotion". The juxtaposition of arta- and brazmanī- might be interpreted as a reminder that valid worship consists both of due recognition for passively received favours and of active adoration, in other terms: of thanksgiving and prayer.

The final part of the inscription clearly shows that the relationship between the humans and the deity was indeed regarded as a kind of exchange of services. XPh 46-56 first advises and then assures posterity that whoever wants to be šiyāta- /as already stated: rather "provided for" than "happy"/ in his lifetime and become artā-van- thereafter, should respect Ahuramazda's law and duly worship him. But what was the advantage of becoming artāvan-?

The long vowel in the OP form of this word and its OInd. counterpart rtā-van- has been explained¹⁵ as nom. pl. n. of the Aryan rtā- used as a collective. This author prefers to interpret it as nom. sg. f. used as an abstract noun. However it might be, the reason for distinguishing between arta- and artā-van- was probably the difference between a particular act of piety, and the state of being a pious person all one's life, i.e. one whose "balance of payment" is positive. From this point of view the word /lit. "having [displayed] - [lifelong] piety"/ might best be rendered as "pious", "faithful" or "just". The fact of being recognized as such must have entailed the idea of reward. Whether Xerxes had in mind

the eschatological connotations of this idea or merely thought of the good name the deceased "just" would leave behind is difficult to say. The religious context in which the term appears makes the first possibility plausible.

Let us sum up. The discussed OP expression artācā brazmaniya most likely consists of two nouns in instrumental, connected by "and" and serving as adverbials of manner specifying the verb yad-. As qualifications of a valid religious act both words have to belong to a category of terms describing the appropriate attitude of the worshipper. The precise meaning of the postulated form brazmanī- is unknown, though assuming a connection with OInd. brāhman-/brahman- it may be tentatively rendered as "devotion". The term arta- cannot in this context denote the external category of "truth", but a desirable spiritual attitude¹⁶, and consequently has been rendered here as "piety". The necessarily tentative translation of the discussed expression has been established as "to worship Ahuramazda with piety and with devotion", whereby the adverbial might be paraphrased for reasons of convenience as "...piously and devoutly".

Footnotes

- ¹ R.G. Kent, Old Persian, New Haven 1953², p. 151-2.
- ² Transcription used in: W. Brandenstein, M. Mayrhofer, Handbuch des Altpersischen, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 111, s.v. brazmanī/a-.
- ³ R. Schmitt, "Ein altpersisches ghostword und das sog. 'inverse ca'", Orientalia 32, 1963, p. 437-48, s. especially p. 443, fn. 4.
- ⁴ W. Hinz, "Zu altpersisch brazmaniya", Orientalia 33, 1964, p. 262; id., review of: W. Brandenstein, M. Mayrhofer, Handbuch des Altpersischen, ZDMG 115, 1965, p. 392-6.
- ⁵ R.G. Kent, op.cit., s.v. arta-, p. 170, and s.v. brazmaniya, p. 201.
- ⁶ W.B. Henning, "Brāhman", TPhS 1944, p. 108-18.
- ⁷ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "OP artācā brazmaniya", BSOAS 25, 1962, p. 336-7.
- ⁸ s.fn.3; cf. also L. Bednarczuk, Indo-European Parataxis, Krakow 1971, p. 159.
- ⁹ Further literature quoted in: Gh. Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides", Acta Iranica 2, 1974, p. 117-90, s. especially p. 179-80; R. Schmitt, "Altpersisch-Forschung in den Siebzigerjahren", Kratylos 25, 1980, p. 1-66, especially p. 54, s.v. a-r-t-a-c-a b-r-z-m-n-i-y.

- ¹⁰ M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, vol. II, Heidelberg 1963, s.v. brāhma, p. 452-6.
- ¹¹ A.A. MacDonell, A Sanskrit Grammar for Students, Oxford 1927³, p. 188, § 199 j.
- ¹² C. Cappeller, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Strassbourg 1891, p. 370.
- ¹³ cf. especially DB I 34-35 and DB IV 33-35.
- ¹⁴ Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, col. 241.
- ¹⁵ E. Tichy, "Vedisch rtāvan- und avestisch ašauuan-", Die Sprache 32, 1986, p. 91-105, s. especially p. 92.
- ¹⁶ It is interesting to note that most - admittedly late - Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations of Av. aša- /s. Bartholomae, op.cit., col. 237-8/ refer to spiritual qualities, cf. Pahl. tars-ākāsh, "respect", and Skr. punya-/atman-, i.e. "virtue, merit".