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The Cow that Came from the Moon: The Avestan Expression *māh- gaociθra-*

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The sacred texts of the Zoroastrians, collected in the Avesta, are notorious for expressions that scholars have interpreted in different, often conflicting ways. One of them is the adjective *gaociθra-*, an epithet of the moon, *māh-*, in all of its twelve attestations.¹ Bartholomae posits its meaning as “which is the source of cattle, from which cattle comes”² on the basis of the creation myth, preserved in the Middle Persian sources, according to which Ohrmazd saved and purified the seed of the dying primordial bovine (“Urrind”) on the moon, and then used it to create all animal species.³ Panaino 2005, 803–5, however, argues that this myth has neither Avestan nor Indo-Iranian antecedents. Instead it evolved during the Middle Iranian period and then influenced the Avestan expression *māh- gaociθra-* in such a way that the latter came to mean “the moon which has the bull’s seed.” Originally *gaociθra-* simply compared the curved shape of the crescent moon with that of a bull’s horns [“avente la forma di un toro,” Panaino 2005, 814]. Similarly, Jean Kellens considers the adjective to refer to the moon’s appearance, although he suggests that *māh- gaociθra-* describes the dark patches of the full moon as similar to those of a mottled cow (“la lune qui a la vache comme marque-distinctive”).⁴

The interpretation of *māh- gaociθra-* hinges on the semantics of *ciθra-*, on the one hand, and the date of the MP creation myth, on the other. In what follows, I propose to examine both the

meaning of *ciθra-* and the extent to which the Avestan formula implies such a myth.

1. The Meaning of Av. *ciθra-*

According to Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 586f., *ciθra-* exists as two homonymous, etymologically distinct nouns. The first, ¹*ciθra-*, is the Av. equivalent of the Ved. adjective and neuter substantive *ciθra-* “manifest, visible, clear; appearance,” while the second, ²*ciθra-*, a neuter subst. “seed, origin, descent,” is of unknown etymology. However, the existence of such a second noun has rightly been questioned. Abolala Soudavar even goes so far as to reject both it and its meaning “origin” and argues that Av. *ciθra-* as well as OP *ciça-* means “appearance, visibility, brilliance” in all attestations.⁵ By contrast, Duchesne-Guillemin suggests that the single noun *ciθra-* could have both meanings. He adduces Latin *species* as a semantic parallel for the two senses “race, specific nature, form, character” and “manifestation, visual appearance, look, aspect.” Latin *species* also translates the Platonic term *īdeā*, the eternally existing archetype of any class of thing.⁶ While it is justified to reject Bartholomae’s homonymous stem ²*ciθra-*, there is then no need also to reject the meaning “origin,” because the semantic range of the single lemma *ciθra-* could encompass both “appearance” and “seed, origin, descent.”

The latter meaning is likely to be present in those Av. passages where *ciθra-* is construed with the ablative. Such is the case in the only Gathic attestation, Y 32.3, of Bartholomae's lemma ²*ciθra-*:

Y 32.3 *aṭ yāš daēuua višpān̄hō akāṭ manaȳhō stā ciθram*

Following Bartholomae, most scholars interpret *ciθram* here as "lineage, origin, seed." Accordingly, the verse means:

But all of you, O (false) gods, are offspring (derived) from evil thought.⁷

By contrast, Kellens and Pirart render *ciθram* as "manifestation":

Vous, tous les [mauvais] dieux, . . . vous êtes la manifestation même de la mauvaise Pensée.⁸

They do note the syntactic difficulty that the noun *ciθram* governs the ablative *akāṭ manaȳhō*, but consider the ablative to be a rare instance of a "cas libre." However, their own translation does not solve the problem, because in rendering the ablative as if it was a genitive denoting the subject or, possibly, object, the ablative *akāṭ manaȳhō* is still taken as being governed by *ciθram*. Moreover, Bartholomae's interpretation, according to which *ciθram* governs the ablative *akāṭ manaȳhō*, is by no means as "inédit" and "un cas tout à fait isolé" as Kellens and Pirart make out,⁹ because, as argued by Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 213f., fn., *ciθra-* governs the ablative in a parallel passage in Yt 13.89:

Yt 13.89 *yō paōriiō ciθram uruuaēsaiiata daēuuaṭca haotāṭ mašiiṭaṭca*

[Zarathustra,] who [was] the first to put to flight the offspring
[coming] from the evil breed of both daēvas and mortals.¹⁰

A Vedic parallel for a separative ablative governed by a verbal noun is

RV 10.66.5 . . . *śārma no yaṁsan trivárūtham āmhasaḥ* ||

They may bestow on us threefold protection from oppression.¹¹

It therefore appears that the syntactic combination of *ciθra-* with the ablative case warrants, rather than militates against, the meaning "origin, offspring." Such an ablatival syntactic relationship is also present in the much-discussed MP expression *ke cihr az yazadān*.¹²

In addition, there are several compounds where *ciθra-* can only mean "origin." One of them is the adjective *kuua.ciθra-* "of what origin?" in Yt 22.39–40 (= FrW 10), where the ablative, or separative, syntactic relationship between *ciθra-* and *spəntaṭ . . . maniiāoṭ* is reinforced by the preposition *haca* "from":

Yt 22.39 *dātaraṭ *kuua.ciθra *zi hənti iristanəm uruuənō yā ašəunəm frauuašaiiō*
Yt 22.40 *paiti še aoxta ahurō mazdā spəntaṭ haca maniiāoṭ zaraθuštra aēšəm ciθram vahištāṭ ca manaȳhaṭ*

"O creator, of what origin then¹³ are the souls of the dead, (namely) the choices of the truthful [men and women]?"

The Wise Lord answered him: "O Zarathustra, their origin [is] from the bounteous spirit and from best thought."

This passage is syntactically parallel to Y 32.3 in so far as Yt 22.40 *spəntaṭ haca maniiāoṭ . . . ciθram vahištāṭ ca manaȳhaṭ* corresponds to Y 32.3 *akāṭ manaȳhō stā ciθram*. Further instances of the meaning "seed, origin" are *ciθram airiianəm daxiiunəm* in Yt 13.87, quoted below, p. 63, and the adj. *siyūire.ciθra-* "of Siguirian origin," a hapax legomenon characterizing a stone (*asan-*) in Yt 14.59.¹⁴

On this basis, and without positing two different nouns *ciθra-*, one may translate the latter as either "manifestation" or "origin" and *māh-gao-ciθra-* as "the moon which is the manifestation/origin of the cow." But the question remains: what does such an expression mean and how does it fit into the world-view of the Avestan people?

2. The Zoroastrian Creation Myth and Other Compounds with *ciθra-*

In several of the numerous other compounds with *ciθra-* either the meaning "aspect, appearance, manifestation" or that of "origin" is possible. Such is the case, for instance, in *təmasciθra-*,

which could mean either “whose appearance is darkness” or “whose origin is darkness.” Of particular interest for our purposes are three other compounds, namely *afšciθra-*, *zamašciθra-*, and *uruuarō.ciθra-*, whose first term consists of one of the material creations. Each adjective characterizes a different group of stars,¹⁵ and the moon’s epithet needs to be interpreted in connection with the three compounds.

In Avestan uranography, the sky is divided into three levels. The lowest, closest to the earth, is that of the stars, the second that of the moon, and the third that of the sun.¹⁶ Above the sun is the realm of “endless light” (*anayra- raocah-*), “best life” (*vahišta- ahv-*), and the “House of Welcome” (*garō.nmāna-*). Of the three types of heavenly bodies (stars, moon, and sun), the stars are comprised of different sub-groups which are distinguished in the Rašn Yašt (Yt 12.29–32), a text offering unique insight into Avestan cosmography.

The Avestan world picture is presented in Yt 12.9–37 in the context of a systematic enumeration of the dwelling places of Rašnu, the deity “Justice.”¹⁷ The description begins on earth with the seven climes or regions (*hapta karšuuar-*, Yt 12.9–15), proceeds first to the lake Vouru.kaša with at its centre the “Tree of the Eagle,” which contains the seed (*taoxman-*) of all plants (16–17), then to the source and mouth of the river Raṣṣa (18–19), the edge, centre, and every place of the earth (20–22), and finally concludes with the mountain range Harā with its highest peak *hukairiia-*, around which the stars, moon, and sun revolve (23–25). The mountains thus establish a physical link between the earth and the sky.

The stars are presented in two divisions: the first consists of three individual stars, namely Vanant, Tištrya, and Haptōirinṣa (26–28), while the second comprises four groups. The latter are the stars which contain the seed of water, earth, and plants (*afš.ciθra-*, *zamas.ciθra-*, *uruuarō.ciθra-*) in addition to those that belong to the Bounteous Spirit (*spəntō.mainiiuuva-*, 29–32). The description then proceeds to the “moon which contains the seed of the animal” (*gao-ciθra-*), to the swift-horsed, radiant sun (33–34), and, finally, to the three-tiered uppermost zone, which consists of “endless light,” “best life,” and, finally, the “House of Welcome” (35–37).

The places listed in Yt 12 ascend systematically from lower to higher, i.e. from the earth via

the mountains to the sky, and finally beyond to heaven. The Avestan world picture conveys the idea that there is cosmic continuity between Ahura Mazda’s material and spiritual worlds. While each constituent part occupies a clearly defined position, they are not detached from one another but are interconnected. Such an image also emerges from the more detailed descriptions in the Middle Persian texts. As noted by Marijan Molé, and further elaborated by Shaul Shaked, according to the Middle Persian creation myth, Ohrmazd created the spiritual, *mēnōg*, and material, *gētīg*, worlds in three, rather than two stages: first the *mēnōg* creation in a *mēnōg* state, secondly the *gētīg* creation in a *mēnōg* state, and thirdly the *gētīg* creation in a *gētīg* state:

IrBd., TD2, 13.11–13:

u-š dām ī mēnōg mēnōgtha dāred

u-š dām ī gētīg mēnōgtha dād

u-š did be o gētīgtha dād

He [Ohrmazd] holds *mēnōg* creation in *mēnōg* form,

he created *gētīg* creation in *mēnōg* form, and he created it again in *gētīg* form.¹⁸

There are then two chronological stages by which the material world derives from the spiritual one: first it is formed in *mēnōg* and subsequently in *gētīg* form. The material world is a tangible, visible version of the spiritual, *mēnōg*, form and cannot exist without its spiritual prototype.¹⁹ The link between the material and spiritual worlds is highlighted by the well-known systematic correspondences between the material and spiritual creations according to which, for instance, cattle corresponds to good thought (*vohu- manah-*), fire to truth (*aša-*), and earth to right-mindedness (*armaiti-*). Moreover, there are less noticed correspondences between earthly creatures and the heavenly bodies. Such correlations constitute an intermediate stage between the spiritual and material worlds. Thus, in the gloss on the Pahlavi version of Ny 3.1 (= Yt 7.1), the animal-soul is said to derive from the moon, and the moon from Wahman:²⁰

Ny 3.1 nm'c ʔw' m'h Y gwsṣnd twhm̄k [ʔy gwsṣnd twhm̄kyh HN' ʔYK whwm̄n W m'h W gwš'wlwn KR' 3 gwsṣnd twhm̄k HWH-d. ZK Y MNW whwm̄n mynw̄k ʔwyn'k W ʔglpt'1 W MN whwm̄n BR' m'h t'šyt YK'YMWN-yt' pt' wyn'kyh W ʔglpt'lyh W MN m'h BR' gwš'wlwn

tšyt YK'YMWN-yt' pt' wyn'kyh W glpt'lyh W hm'y ZNH d'm W dhšn' Pdynš' pt' gwspond twhmkyh ° W GDH Y TWR'·n W twhmk gwspnd'n' BR' m'h p'yk YK'YMWN-yt']

namāz ō māh ī gōspand tōhmag [ay gōspand tōhmagh ēd kū wahman ud māh ud gōšurwan har sē gōspand tōhmag hēnd. an ī kē wahman mēnōg awēnāg agriftār ud az wahman be māh tašid ēstēd pad wēnāgh ud agriftārīh ud az māh be gōšurwan tašid ēstēd pad wēnāgh ud griftārīh ud hamē ēn dām ud rāyēnišn pad gōspand tōhmagh. Ud xwarrah ī gāwān ud tōhmag gōspandān be māh pāyag ēstēd.]

Homage to the moon that (contains) the seed of cattle [that is to say the “having the seed of cattle” (means) the following, that Wahman

and the moon and cattle-soul, all three, are the seed of cattle. That is that Wahman (is) spiritual, invisible, intangible, and from Wahman the moon has been formed in visibility and intangibility, and from the moon the cattle-soul has been formed in visibility and tangibility.²¹ And the order of this creation is in the “having the seed of cattle.” And the glory of the bovines and the seed of cattle resides in the moon-station.]

Furthermore, according to the second chapter of the Bundahišn, the “six (celestial) stations, six works” correspond to the six material creations.²² The various stations of celestial bodies and their earthly counterparts referred to in both the Avesta and Pahlavi texts may be represented as in the following table:

Stations of Celestial Bodies and Their Earthly Counterparts

| Material creation | Corresponding celestial body | | | Accessibility to Evil |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| | | Rašn Yašt | IrBd. II + III | |
| fire | House of Welcome | <i>raoxšna- garō.nmōna-</i> | Throne of Ohrmazd | area entirely inaccessible to Evil |
| | best life | <i>vahšta- abu- ašaonqm</i> | | |
| | endless light | <i>anayra raocā x'adōtā</i> | Throne of Aməša Spəntas | |
| human being | sun | <i>huuarəxtašta- auruuat_ aspa-</i> | <i>xwaršēd ī arwand-asp</i> | protective belt impenetrable to Evil |
| animal | moon | <i>māh- gacciθra-</i> | <i>māh ī gōspand-tōhmag</i> | |
| | | <i>stārō yōi spəntō.mainiiauuu</i> | galactic sphere with milky way (unmixable) | area where Evil is stopped when attacking the sky |
| plant | stars | <i>stārō yōi uruuarō.ciθra</i> | constellations (mixable) | |
| earth | | <i>stārō yōi zəmasciθra</i> | | |
| water | | <i>stārō yōi aβ.ciθra</i> | | |
| sky | | | clouds | |

Within the multi-tiered celestial sphere, the boundary impenetrable to Evil is between the mixable and unmixable stars. When Ahriman attacked, he made his way up from below the earth through the waters, across the earth and then tried to assault the sky. However, he was stopped there by the mixable stars and thus prevented from penetrating the unmixable zone of the *spəntō.mainiiauuu*- stars and eventually invad-

ing the celestial abodes of the Amahraspands and Ohrmazd. Although they are not described as “unmixable” in the Avesta, the fact that these stars are called *spəntō.mainiiauuu* in Yt 12.32 implies the concept, because in the Gathas *spənta-* and *ayra- mainiiv-* are said to be entirely incompatible with one another (Y 45.2).

However, by the time Evil arrived up in the celestial sphere, it had already wrought havoc in

the material world on earth, having brought pollution and death. In particular, it had killed the original, "sole-created" specimens of plant, animal, and human being. But since Ohrmazd had produced the material world first as spiritual, *mēnōg*, forms, he had preserved their prototypes [*ēwēnag*] in those heavenly spheres which are impenetrable to Evil. Thus, the animal prototype was kept in the moon and that of the human being in the sun.²³

In both Zadspram and the Bundahišn the outcome of Ahriman's assault on the primordial animal is described as follows: As the cow fell to the ground and passed away, its vegetable nature [*cihr ī urwariḡ*] resulted in many species of plant sprouting from its limbs. Subsequently, Ohrmazd took the light [*rōšn*] and power [*zōr*] which were in the animal's seed (*az tōhm ī gāw*) and entrusted them to the moon. There he filtered and purified the seed by the moon's light, prepared many species (*was cihragthā be wirast*), gave them life [*gyānōmand be kard*] and fashioned them in Ērānwēz [*az ānōh fraz ō ērānwēz brēhēntā*]. First he made a bull and a cow. Subsequently a pair of each of the 282 species of animals appeared on earth, those living on land, birds in the air and fish in the water.²⁴ In this way, as a result of Ahriman's assault, Ohrmazd brought forth the great variety of animal species found on the earth.

That human beings also derive from one prototype is stated in the Avesta. Just as in the Pahlavi texts the animal species are said to have been fashioned in Ērānwēz, so the Aryan peoples all descend from "mortal life," *gaiia-marətan-*:

Yt 13.87 *gaiiehe marəθnō ašaonō frauuašīm
yazamaide
yō paoiriō ahurāi mazdāi
manasca gūšta sāsndāca
yahmaṡ haca fraθβərəsaṡ
nāfo airiianqm daxiiunqm
ciθram airiianqm daxiiunqm*

We worship the choice of truthful Mortal
Life,
who was the first to hear the Wise Lord's
thought and teachings,
from whom he (i.e. the Wise Lord) formed
the race of the Aryan peoples,
the seed of the Aryan peoples.

3. The Gender of the Primordial Animal

While in the Pahlavi texts the gender of the primordial human being, Gayōmard [*Av. gaiia-marətan-*], is male, that of the "sole-created animal" is female. This emerges from the Bundahišn account which refers to the animal's milk (*pēm*) drying up at the time of Ahriman's attack.²⁵ Moreover, Zadspram states explicitly:²⁶

Zadspram 2.8-9 *pas ō gāw mad ī ek-
dad . . . ud mādag spēd rōšn bād ciyōn māh*

"and he [Ahriman] came to the sole-created cow . . . And it was a female, white and bright like the moon."

H.-P. Schmidt suggests that the form *mādag*, here written heterographically NKB, is an error for *nywk' /nēk/* "beautiful," because elsewhere the primordial bovine is described as a male.²⁷ The view that the animal killed by Ahriman was a bull is widespread amongst interpreters of the creation myth.²⁸ However, apart from the fact that the assumption of a textual error is palaeographically unconvincing and *ad hoc*, there is no need for any emendation because the Pahlavi account agrees with the Avestan sources. In the latter, the feminine gender both of the "sole-created animal" and the "animal of many species" emerges unequivocally from that of their respective attributes *aēuuō.dāta-* and *pouru.sarəda-* in Siroze 1.12 and in Yt 7.0 and 7:

Yt 7.0 *māghahe gaociθrahe
gāušca aēuuō.dātaiiā
gāušca pouru.sarədaiiā xšnaoθra*

With gratification of the moon holding the
seed of the animal,
and of the sole-created animal,
and of the animal of many species.

The formula is different in Siroze 2.12, where the attributes are masculine because they agree with *uruuan-* "soul." However, the entire line may be corrupted from "we worship the soul and choice of the sole-created animal/of the animal of many species":

S 2.12 *māghəm gaociθram yazamaide
*gəm aēuuō.dātahe urunō frauuašīm yaza-
maide*

*gām pouru.sarədahe urunō frauuašim yazamaide

We worship the moon holding the seed of the animal;
we worship the animal²⁹ [and] the choice of the sole-created soul;
we worship the animal [and] the choice of the soul of many species.

In these passages, *gauu-* could be rendered as either “cow” or “animal.” That it may function as the chief representative of the animal world clearly emerges from Y 71.9, which lists five classes of animals, namely those that live in the water and earth, those that fly, wild animals and domestic animals. In other passages, the five classes are referred to as *gauu- paṛcō.hiīd-* “animal of five kinds.”³⁰ The latter expression as well as the adjectives in Y 71.9 again shows *gauu-* to be feminine:

Y 71.9 *vīspā apō xā paiti ʔbraotō.stācasca yazamaide*

vīspā uruuarā uruθmīšca paiti varšajīšca yazamaide

vīspəmca zqm yazamaide

vīspəmca asmanəm yazamaide

vīspāsca strəušca mđhəmca huuarəca yazamaide

vīspa anayra raocā yazamaide

vīspəmca gām

upāpəmca upasməmca

fraptərəjātəmca rauuascarātəmca

*cangraṇhācasca yazamaide

We worship all waters in sources and running streams.

We worship all plants, their shoots and roots;
and we worship the whole earth;
and we worship the whole sky;
and we worship all the stars, the moon and the sun.

We worship all endless lights;
and we worship all the animals,
those [living] in the water and those [living] under the earth,
those moving by their wings and those roaming freely,
and those that follow the lead.

In Y 71.9 *gauu-* takes the place of *dāman-* “creature” in other passages, such as Yt 8.48:

Yt 8.48 *tištrīm stārəm raēuuantəm xʷarsanayʰantəm yazamaide*

yim vīspāiš paitīšmarənte

yāiš spaṇtahe mainiīθuš dāman

ađairi.zəmāišca upairi.zəmāišca

yāca upāpa yāca upasma

yāca fraptərəjān yāca rauuascarān

yāca upairi tā akarana

anayra ašaonō stiš ʔdiše

We worship the majestic, glorious star Tištrya,
for whom all creatures
of the Bounteous Spirit long,
(those) that [are] under and upon the earth,
(those) that [are] in the water and under the earth,
(those) that fly and those that roam freely,
and (we worship) what above these is called³¹
the boundless,
endless existence of the truthful one.

4. Conclusion

In the Avesta, the correlation between the moon and the animal emerges from the association of *māh- gaociθra-* with both the “sole-created animal” and the “animal of many species” in the *Māh Yašt* (Yt 7.0 and 7.7) and also in the formula for the twelfth day of the month, dedicated to the Moon (S 1.12 and 2.12). Such an association suggests that the meaning of *ciθra-* in *gaociθra-* is “origin, seed” rather than “appearance.” This is because the terms *aēuuō.dāta-* and *pouru.sarəda-*, together with the concept of the primordial human being (*gaiia- marətan-* “mortal life”), point to the existence of an Avestan myth according to which the numerous animal species and human races all arose from a single respective prototype. That the figure of *gaiia- marətan-* (Pahl. Gayōmard) has a Vedic equivalent in *Mārtanḍa*, and that the myth of the origin of mankind has Indo-Iranian roots, has been convincingly argued by Hoffmann.³² Moreover, P. O. Skjærvø 1995, 274 n. 30, suggests that the Av. personal name *manušciθra-* could have been an ancient epithet of the sun and mean “containing the seed of men,” and thus be both formally and semantically parallel to the moon’s epithet *gaociθra-*.

Furthermore, the cosmography of the *Rašn Yašt* testifies to a world view according to which the *spaṇtō.mainiīauua-* stars separate the area afflicted by Evil from the upper Evil-free zone of

the moon and the sun where, according to the Pahlavi texts, the seed [tōhmag] of the sole-created animal and human being respectively are purified and their prototypes [ewēnag] preserved. All of this indicates that the Middle Persian myth about the lunar origin of the numerous animal species on earth goes back to the Avesta. The formula *māh- gaociθra-* itself implies the correlation between the moon and the animal. It is only within the framework of this myth that the expression *māh- gaociθra-* "the moon that holds the seed of the animal" makes sense.

Notes

1. The expression *māh- gaociθra-* occurs five times each in the first chapters of the Yasna (Y 1.11 [= 3.13, 4.16, 7.13], Y 16.4) and in the Māh Yašt (Yt 7.1, 7.3, 7.5, 7.6²) and once each in the hymn to Rašnu (Yašt 12.33) and in the 21st Fargard of the Videvdad (Vd 21.9).
2. *AirWb.*, 480f.: "den Ursprung des Rindes bildend, woraus das Rind entsprungen ist."
3. *AirWb.*, 25, on *asuuō.data-*. Usually Av. *māh- gaociθra-* is rendered in Pahlavi as *māh t gospanđ tōhmag*, but in the Pahl. version of Y 16.4 it is *māh t gospanđ cihrag*. Menōg I Xrad 49.10 mentions *starag t gospanđ cihrag* "the star which has the seed of cattle" alongside other stars which have the seed [*cihrag*] of water, earth and plants. By contrast, *gocīhr*, the MP continuation of Av. *gaociθra-*, is demonized as the name of the celestial dragon that causes lunar and solar eclipses. Panaino 2005, 807f., suggests that the MP form has no connection with the Avestan epithet of the moon. According to him, *gocīhr* literally means "having the form of a hand" [Bartholomae's ⁴*gav-*, *AirWb.*, 505, to which Panaino refers, is to be deleted because only an Av. thematic stem *gāuuā-* is attested, see Kellens 1974, 331f.).
4. Kellens 2006, 18; and 1996, 86 with fn. 37: ["qui a la vache comme caractéristique-remarquable"].
5. To support his view, Soudavar 2006, 164, refers to a private conversation with Jean Kellens and argues on iconographic grounds that *gaociθra-* implies that the bull is an image for the moon [pp. 165f.).
6. Duchesne-Guillemin 1955, 98 n. 6, cf. Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 213. Similarly, Panaino 2003; 2004, 559f.; and 2005, 802, argues that there is only one lemma and that the meaning "visible form, manifestation; seed, origin, lineage" of the substantive results from the specialization of that of the adjective "visible, remarkable."
7. Cf., for instance, Humbach, *Gathas*², I, 132: "But you, O you Daevas all, are seed [sprung] from evil thought." According to M. Schwartz, "The Gathas and Other Old Avestan Poetry," in *La langue poétique*

indo-européenne: Actes du colloque de travail de la Société des Études Indo-Européennes (Indogermanische Gesellschaft/Society for Indo-European Studies) Paris, 22-24 octobre 2003, ed. G.-J. Pinault and D. Petit (Leuven, 2006), p. 468, *ciθram* in Y 32.3 is intentionally ambiguous. It may be taken as "lineage, origin, seed" and thus "semantically matches" *x^oaetus* "family" in Y 32.1, but at the same time it may also be interpreted as "clearly," the adverbially used nom./acc. sg. ntr. of the adj. *ciθra-* "clear, bright," and thus allow concatenation with *cikaitərəš* in Y 32.11.

8. Kellens and Pirart, *TVA*, I, 119; II, 242.
9. Kellens and Pirart, *TVA*, III, 82; and II, 38f., cf. Kellens 1991, 54 (= 2000, 78).
10. Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 1732, notes that one would expect compounds *dasuuō.haotaš* and *mašiiō.haotaš* and appeals to the parallel construction in Y 58.2 *daeuuaašca šbaešarhaš mašiiāašca* [*AirWb.*, 815 with n. 1]. He lists further examples of compounds with both terms inflected in *AirWb.*, 1055, n. 1 s.v. *nairiio.sarha-*.
11. B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* (Halle an der Saale, 1888, repr. Darmstadt 1976), p. 112, §70.
12. W. Sundermann, "Ke šīhr az yazdan: Zur Titulatur der Sasanidenkönige," *Archiv Orientalní* 56 (1988), pp. 338–40, draws attention to the rendering of the formula in Syriac, where *cihr* is translated as "seed" [*zar'a*] and "nature" [*kyana*]. Further references are given by Daryaei 2002, 115 n. 49.
13. N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta or The Religious Books of the Zoroastrians*, I, *The Zend Texts* (Copenhagen, 1852–1854), p. 300, edits *kuua θra*, but Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 476, with reference to Darmesteter, *EtIr.*, II, 340, and the position of *zi*, rightly emends **kuua.ciθra*. The Pahlavi version renders *ciθra-* here as *paydagih* "visibility, appearance."
14. *AirWb.*, 1580: "*siyūirischer* Herkunft." The adj. *siyūiriia-* is derived from **siyru-* [= Ved. ethnic name *śigru-*] with the suffix **(i)ja-*, see A. Cantera, "Av. *ayūriia-* und *siyūriia-*: Zu einem umstrittenen Lautgesetz im Jungavestischen," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 59 (1999), pp. 39–50, esp. 45f.
15. They are listed together both in Yt 12.29–30 and in the formula of the day *Tištīrya*, S 1.13, 2.13.
16. Henning 1942, 230 (= *Selected Papers*, II, 96), interprets the idea that the stars are nearer to the earth than the sun and moon as indicating the text composers' "nearly prehistoric views."
17. Cf. the tables by Windfuhr 1983, 628, and Panaino 1995, 206–7. A detailed discussion of the cosmography of the Rašn Yašt forms part of the forthcoming Ph.D. thesis "The Avestan Hymn to Rašnu: Text, Translation, Commentary" by Leon Goldman (SOAS).
18. M. Molé, "Le problème zurvanite," *JA* 247 (1959), pp. 431–69, esp. 443–45; Shaked 1971, 65f.
19. Gh. Gnoli, "Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione," *Annali del Istituto Orientale*

di Napoli 13 [1963], pp. 163–93, esp. 187f. Shaked 2001, 582 with n. 15, draws attention to a passage from Denkard 3 in which Ādurbad son of Mahraspand cautions the followers of Zarathustra not to consider the material world as chronologically primary to the spiritual one. The distinction between spiritual and material existence is also central to the cosmology of the Avesta, see H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt* (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 93ff., 144; J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanhaiti* [Wiesbaden, 1986], pp. 290–95.

20. A similar statement is found in the Pahlavi version of § 1.12. Transliteration and transcription are based on the edition by B. N. Dhabhar, *Zand-i Khartak Avistak* [Bombay, 1927], pp. 28f., 291 (variant readings), cf. *Translation of Zand-i Khartak Avistak* [Bombay, 1963] p. 51.

21. The framing preposition and postposition *az . . . be* here express the idea that the cattle-soul has been created out of the moon and the moon out of Wahman, cf. Z. Taraf, *Der Avesta-Text Niyayis mit Pahlavi- und Sanskritübersetzung* [Munich, 1981], p. 137, who draws attention to the rendering of the preposition by the ablative ending *-at* in the Sanskrit translation.

22. Anklesaria, *TD2*, 29.1–2, 32.8–33.5 [Anklesaria 1956, 38–39, chap. 3.7]; Henning 1942, 233 [= *Selected Papers*, II, 99]; Nyberg 1929, 230f.; Zaehner 1955, 322, 333.

23. Anklesaria, *TD2*, 34.11, 35.6 [Anklesaria 1956, 40f, chap. 3.13, 14]; Nyberg 1929, 232f.; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 323, 334.

24. Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 48f. (Zs. 3.43, 50–51); cf. Anklesaria, *TD2*, 68.1–12, 93.8–11, 94.4–9 [Anklesaria 1956, 80f, chap. 6E and 116–19, chap. 13].

25. Anklesaria, *TD2*, 43.15 [Anklesaria 1956, 50f, chap. 4.20].

26. Text after Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 36.

27. Schmidt 1980, 218 n. 29.

28. For instance, Zaehner 1955, 319, par. 49; and Boyce 1992, 82, who refers to the “bull myth.” By contrast, Anklesaria 1956, *passim*, leaves the term *gaw* untranslated when it denotes the sole-created animal [*gaw* 1 *ek-dad*, e.g. *TD2*, 20.14] but uses the pronoun “she” (e.g. chapter Ia.12, p. 25).

29. With K. F. Geldner, *Avesta: The Sacred Books of the Parsis*, II (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 265, Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 507, 508, reads the form *gaom* and assumes that it is used instead of the gen., while Kellens 1974, 403, considers *gaom* to be the acc. sg. of a secondary thematic stem **gauua-*. However, the regular acc. sg. *gəm* is actually attested in the ms. J10 and thus may be put into the text.

30. Yt 13.10, 43, 44, and Yt 19.69; Schmidt 1980, 217–19.

31. According to Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 55, *aīsi* is the pass. aor. in *-i* of the verb *ad-* “to say,” but

Kellens, *Verbe av.*, 42, 45 n. 3, rightly objects that this is improbable because *ad-* is a perfect stem. Kellens suggests either emending **aīse* with reference to the reading *aīde* of the ms. J10 or interpreting *aīsi* as the 2 sg. ipt. pres. of the verb *a-i-* “to come.” Since an imperative is difficult to accommodate in Yt 8.48, both Panaino, *Tištrya*, I, 136, and M. Kümmel, *Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen* (Göttingen, 1996), p. 143f., opt for **aīse* “has been said,” the 3 sg. perf. middle with the pass. meaning of *ad* “to say.”

32. Hoffmann 1957, 96–102 [= *Aufs.*, II, 431–37].

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