



Werner Sundermann.

Iran und Turfan

Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler,
Werner Sundermann
zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet

Herausgegeben von
Christiane Reck und Peter Zieme



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VORWORT

Der vorliegende Band mit vorwiegend philologischen Studien über iranistische und zentralasienkundliche Gegenstände ist eine Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Werner Sundermann.

Für die Idee, eine Sammlung von Beiträgen ausschließlich von Berliner Wissenschaftlern zusammenzustellen, war zunächst der engere Wirkungskreis des Jubilars ausschlaggebend. Doch schien uns auch der zeitliche Rahmen von der Idee bis zu ihrer Verwirklichung zu begrenzt zu sein, um eine internationale Festschrift ins Werk setzen zu können. So bleibt uns nur, alle anderen Freunde und Kollegen, die sich, wovon wir überzeugt sein dürfen, auch gern beteiligt hätten, um Nachsicht und Verständnis zu bitten.

Wir, die wir beide Schüler des Geehrten, wenn auch zu sehr unterschiedlichen Zeiten, waren, danken auf diesem Wege allen Beteiligten für ihre Mitarbeit. Trotz vielfältiger Verpflichtungen sind sie dieser zusätzlichen Aufgabe gern nachgekommen.

Vor allem richtet sich unser Dankeswort an Maria Macuch. Sie hat unsere Idee freudig und initiativreich aufgegriffen und zum fertigen Buch begleitet. Ohne zu zögern erklärte sie ihre Bereitschaft, das Projekt in die von ihr betreute Reihe Iranica aufzunehmen. Claudius Naumann und Brigitte Höhn brachten fachkundig die Manuskripte in eine druckreife Form.

So ist zu Ehren Werner Sundermanns ein Band entstanden, der, so dürfen wir hoffen, zugleich Einblick in das weite Spektrum iranistischer und zentralasienkundlicher Forschungen im Berliner Raum Auskunft gibt.

Berlin, im Mai 1995

Christiane Reck Peter Zieme

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ZUM GELEIT

Werner Sundermann, dem wir, Freunde, Schüler und Kollegen, diese Sammlung von Aufsätzen widmen, feiert am 22. Dezember 1995 seinen sechzigsten Geburtstag. Er steht auf dem Höhepunkt einer erfolgreichen akademischen Laufbahn, die sich, geschuldet den Zeitumständen, nicht immer unproblematisch gestaltete, der er jedoch letztlich zielstrebig folgte. Sein wissenschaftliches Ziel auf einen Nenner zu bringen, ist gewiß nicht einfach. Wenn man seine bisherigen Studien und Untersuchungen betrachtet, so lassen sich einige Themenkreise als dominant bezeichnen: mittelliranische Turfantexte, klassische persische Literatur, altiranische Philologie und vor- und frühislamische Religionsgeschichte, insbesondere Geschichte des Manichäismus. Auf den genannten Gebieten hat er von vielseitiger und gründlicher Sachkenntnis getragene Arbeiten verfaßt, die für das Fach vorbildhaft wurden. Das gilt vor allem für seine Editionen der mittelliranischen Texte aus der Turfansammlung, die im Sinne des Erbes der ersten und zweiten Bearbeitergeneration neue Maßstäbe gesetzt haben. Ausgehend von konkreten Problemen hat er diese oft in den großen Zusammenhang gestellt und so zur umfassenden Klärung beigetragen.

Wegen seiner weitgefächerten Kenntnisse in der iranistischen Philologie sowie in der Geistesgeschichte des vorder- und mittelasiatischen Raums ist er ein vielgefragter Mann. Kollegen und Freunde aus aller Welt nutzen die Gelegenheit eines Berlin-Aufenthaltes, um mit ihm neue Themen, neue Erkenntnisse oder auch ungelöste Probleme zu besprechen. Selbst vielfach um Rat gefragt, ist er aber auch im Interesse der Sache für eine Zusammenarbeit bereit, aus der gemeinsame Publikationen erwachsen sind und wohl auch weiterhin hervorgehen werden, sei es mit hiesigen Kollegen oder mit ausländischen, zumal japanischen Wissenschaftlern.

Während der Herausgeber dieses Bandes den Jubilar schon Ende der 50er Jahre an einer Berliner Volkshochschule als Arabisch-Lehrer kennenlernen durfte, gehörte die Herausgeberin zu den Studenten, die ihn im Rahmen des Iranistik-Studiums an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in den 80er Jahren als Lehrer auf dem Feld der mittelliranischen Philologie schätzen gelernt haben. Zum Gelingen der in dieser Zeit entstandenen Dissertationen trugen seine strenge Kritik und seine überaus großzügige Hilfe bei, die er ihr und anderen gewährte. Eine Hilfe, die über die Beratung zu

- KIPPENBERG, H. G./LUCESI, B. (Hrsg.): *Magie. Die sozialwissenschaftliche Kontroverse über das Verstehen fremden Denkens*. Frankfurt a. M. 1978.
- LACH, D. F.: *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. 1: *The Century of Discovery* (in 2 Teilbänden). Chicago 1965.
- STAUSBERG, M.: *Der Zoroastrismus und die europäische Religionsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*. Magisterschrift Bonn 1951.
- SUNDERMANN, W.: *Soziale Typenbegriffe altgriechischen Ursprungs in der altiranischen Überlieferung*. In: WELSKOPF, E. CH. (Hrsg.): *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt* 7, 2. Teil, Berlin 1982, S. 14–38.

THE RISE OF THE SAVIOUR IN THE AVESTA¹

ALMUT HINTZE

1. Introductory

The eschatological aspect of the Old Iranian religion is generally regarded as one of the most important innovations introduced by Zoroaster. One of the central terms referring to eschatological events is Avestan *saošiiant-*. This term has been considered rightly by KELLENS in his important article on the subject to be "au cœur du problème de la sotériologie mazdénne", but finally he concluded that *saošiiant-* "ne peut suffire à l'élucider. Il faudra un jour établir si elle résulte d'un développement secondaire ou de la réapparition d'une vieille croyance" (StIr 3 [1974], 209). With these words, KELLENS has well described the central problem connected with the Avestan notion of *saošiiant-*. For it seems that in the Gathas *saošiiant-* has a broader meaning than it has in the Younger Avesta, and even more than the term has in Pahlavi. As it was already observed by LOMMEL (1930, 230) the number of *Saošiia*ts decreases gradually from the Gathic period down to the Sasanian period, where Pahlavi *sōšyans* is used in particular as a proper name of the "final Saviour who will bring about *frašagird*".²

BARTHOLOMAE (1904, 1551–2) was influenced by the meaning of Pahlavi *sōšyans* when he thought that Gathic *saošiiant-* also meant 'saviour' ('Retter'). HELMUT HUMBACH maintained in an article published first in

- 1 I should like to acknowledge here that this article has benefited greatly from discussions of the problems involved with JOHANNA NARTEN, BERNFRIED SCHLERATH and MARY BOYCE, who were kind enough to read through the paper at various stages and gave me valuable comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank FARROKH JAL VAJIFAR for his discussion at the Seminar on Iranian Studies held at the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge in May 1994, where an earlier version was read as a paper.
- 2 MACKENZIE: *A Pahlavi Dictionary*. London 1971, repr. (with corrections) 1986, 75. LOMMEL (1930, 230) has described the semantic development of *saošiiant-* in the following way: "Denn es ist in der Entwicklung so, daß die Saushyant-Vorstellung hinsichtlich der Zahl der dafür in Anspruch genommenen Persönlichkeiten eingeschränkt wird, und das Wort zum Namen einer einzigen mystischen Heldengestalt wird."

1952 that the Gathic *saošiiant-* was closely connected with the ritual and played a central role in it. He thought that the ritual function of the *saošiiant-* in the Gathas was that of the 'Opferherr',³ comparable to the role the *yájamāna-* plays in the Vedic ritual. He drew this conclusion from an interpretation of the texts and from a reconstruction of the historical background to the Gathas concerning the social and religious situation at Zaratustra's time on the basis of comparison with Vedic ritual practice. In his translation of the Gathas, published in 1959, HUMBACH renders *saošiiant-* accordingly by 'Kraftspender', whereas he translates the term by 'benefactor' in his English edition of 1991. In this later work he seems to agree again more with BARTHOLOMAE and to abandon the ritualistic interpretation when he states that *saošiiant-* would have been used "to designate both himself [Zaratustra] and his adherents as belonging to the party pursuing the work of salvation. But *ašauuan-* and *saošiiant-* are terms implying moral evaluation rather than being technical terms in the strict sense of the word".⁴

The ritual function of the Gathic *saošiiant-* has been strongly claimed again by KELLENS in his article on *saošiiant-* of 1974, mentioned above. He considers the *saošiiant-* to be "le sacrificant" who takes part in the exchange of gifts between god and man, following the principle of *do ut des*. The basic meaning of *saošiiant-* would be "celui qui va ou qui veut prospérer" insofar as "le sacrificant" receives material goods and well-being in body and spirit as a reward for his rich, munificent sacrifice.⁵ It is a great merit of KELLENS' article, and he is certainly right in this, that he establishes the basic intransitive meaning of *saošiiant-* as 'the one who will prosper/wants to prosper', linking it semantically with Vedic *śū*, *śváyati* 'swells, prospers'.⁶

3 H. HUMBACH 1952 [1957], 30; Gathisch und Jungawestisch. In: WZKSO 2 (1958), 24, fn. 5.

4 HUMBACH 1991, I, p.11.

5 KELLENS 1974, 204. MESSINA (1932, 149 ff.) assumes that *saošiiant-* would exclusively denote historical persons in the Gathas without any relation to eschatological events: "la loro missione è sociale" (p. 158). The eschatological semantic component of *saošiiant-* would have developed in the course of the Younger Avestan period by connecting the term with the idea of resurrection of the dead (p. 162 f.).

6 Cf. also KELLENS' remarks on the meaning of Av. *sū* and its derivatives in *Les Noms-racines de l'Avesta*. Wiesbaden 1974, 101. In transitive function, the causative stem *sāuuaiia-* is used in the commenting *sāuuaiiāt* Yt 13.129, see below p. 91 and cf. HINTZE 1994, 153 fn. 90, 371 with fn. 13. – Since the Vedic root *śū* has both meanings, 'to prosper' and 'to be strong' (H. GRASSMANN 1893, 1409–10), both meanings are also

rather than with its Middle Persian cognates e.g. *swt* 'utility, advantage'. However, it may be questioned whether KELLENS' description and interpretation of *saošiiant-* cover the entire semantic range and especially whether his ritualistic definition of this important term can be upheld. Furthermore, the question remains how the notion of *saošiiant-* as it appears in some passages of the Younger Avesta developed, particularly how it happened that the *saošiiant-* became the final World Saviour.

In what follows I want to examine once again the Old Avestan attestations of *saošiiant-* and try to describe the characteristics of the term on the basis of that evidence, and then to look at the Younger Avestan texts in order to do the same there. Finally, I want to describe the semantic differences between the use of *saošiiant-* in the Older and in the Younger Avesta and show the semantic development of this term. On this basis it should be possible to draw some conclusions concerning the development and history of the Mazdayasnian religion in the Old Iranian period, and of eschatology in the Avesta in particular.

2a. *Saošiiant-* in the Gathas

The word *saošiiant-*, which is not attested in the Yasna Haptanḥāiti, is found six times in the Gathas, being used both in the singular (Y 45.11, 48.9, 53.2) and in the plural (Y 34.13, 46.3, 48.12). In the singular, *saošiiant-* is found in the following contexts:

Y 45.11:

yastā daēuuōng aparō mašiiāscā

'who as a second one despised with him Daēvas and men

tarō.māstā yōi im tarō.mainiiātā

who despise him,

aniiōng ahmāi yā hōi arēm mainiiātā

(those, who are) other than this one, who conforms in mind to him:

saošiiāntō dāng patōiš spəntā daēnā

he is through the beneficent Daēnā of a Saošiiant, of the house-lord,

possible for Av. *sū* in *saošiiant-*: 'the one who will prosper/wants to prosper' or 'the one who will be strong/wants to be strong' (practically as a 'future' of *śūra-/sūra-* 'hero'). On the interpretation of the future see below under 2d.

uruuadō brātā ptā vā mazdā ahurā

a companion, a brother, or a father, o Wise Lord.'

Y 48.9:

kadā vaēdā yezī cahiiā xšaiiaθā

'When shall I know whether You have control over some (danger),

mazdā ašā yehiiā mā aiθiš duuaēθā

through truth, O Wise One, the fear of which scares me.

ərəš mōi [ərəž]ūcqm vanhəuš vafuš manəhō

Let the pronouncement of good thinking be told to me rightly;

vidiiāṭ saošiiānt yaθā hōi ašiš aṇhaṭ

may the Saošiiānt know of what kind his reward will be.'

Y 53.2:

aicā hōi scaṇtū manəhā uxδāiš šiiāoθanāišcā

and they shall follow readily the recognition of the Wise one and his
venerations

+xšnēm⁸ mazdā vahmāi.ā fraorəṭ yasnaqscā

for his praise with thought, words and deeds,

kauuacā vištāspō zaraθuštriš spitāmō fərašaoštrascā

Kauui Vištāspa, (and) the Zaraθuštra-son, the Spitamid, and Fərašaoštra,⁹

⁷ The translation follows HUMBACH 1991, I, 178.

⁸ The reading +xšnēm here and in Y 48.12 (see below) follows HUMBACH 1959, II, 94 and KELLENS 1974, 201, fn. 35. KELLENS/PIRART 1988, I, 189 read xšnūm and translate this by 'choyer' (II, 234: 'accueil amical'); but PIRART's analysis of *xšnū- (MSS 47 [1986], 189) is improbable.

⁹ The translation of this line follows BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1624 (an older view of him is found BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 571 below). – The question is whether the expression consists of three or of two members. Since zaraθuštriš spitāmō is not connected by -ca with the preceding, KELLENS/PIRART 1988, I, 9 assume that it belongs with kauuacā vištāspō. Their view that Vištāspa was the son of Zaraθuštra was based on this passage. Although their view cannot be disproved, the material basis of a missing -ca is too weak for setting up such a new genealogy. – Most other authors consider the expression as consisting of three members, although there is no explanation for the missing middle -ca. The interpretation of spitāmō as the name of one of Zaraθuštra's sons (so HUMBACH 1952 [1957], 11; 1959, I, 157; 1991, I, 192; KELLENS 1974, 202) has little to recommend it, since spitāma- is always used as the name of the family. The patronymic adjective zaraθuštriš may refer to Isaṭ.vāstra, the oldest son of Zaraθuštra, as

dāhō ərəzūš paθō yam daēnqm ahurō saošiiāntō dadāṭ

(they shall follow) the straight paths of giving: (this is) the Daēnā which the
Lord created as the one of a Saošiiānt.¹⁰

The attestations of *saošiiānt-* in the plural are the following:

Y 34.13:

tām aduuānəm ahurā yēm mōi mraoš vanhəuš manəhō

'(Teach us) this path, o Lord, which you point out to me as the one of good
thinking,

daēnā saošiiāntqm yā +hū.kərətā ašacīṭ uruuāxšaṭ

on which well-made (path) the Daēnās of Saošiiānts walk with truth

hiiāṭ +cəuiištā +hudābiiō miždəm mazdā yehiiā tū daθrəm

towards the reward which you present¹¹ to the well-giving, (and) of which
you (are) the one who sets (it).¹²

Y 46.3:

kadā mazdā yōi uxšānō asnqm

'When, o Wise One, will rise the bulls of the days'¹³

BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1676 assumed, quoting Y 23.2 and 26.5 (ibid. fn.1), where Isaṭ.vāstra is mentioned in connection with Vištāspa.

¹⁰ It emerges from HUMBACH's (1959, II, 94) comparison of Y 53.2 yam daēnqm ... saošiiāntō dadāṭ with Y 49.4 yā drəguatō daēnā that saošiiānt- is opposed to drəguuant-.

¹¹ The reading +cəuiištā is found in K5; GELDNER edits with J2 Pt4 and other Mss. ciuiištā. The form is 2.Pl.Inj.root-Aor.Act. (disyllabic, < cōištā, cf. HUMBACH 1959, II, 47: "cəuiištā steht für *cōištā wie cəuiištī Y 51,15 für *cōištī") from the root ciš 'to assign', see NARTEN 1975, 82 with fn.4.

¹² daθra- is used here metonymically, see BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 679: 'cuius tu (es) constitutio (sva. constitutor)' and NARTEN 1975, 83 f. (: 'Bestimmer'), who noticed that in several passages ciš goes parallel with dā (= ved. dhā). For a neuter verbal abstract noun formed with the suffix -tra- and used as a predicative nominative with as or bhū referring to a masculine noun, cf. Ved. (MS 3.3.7 : 40.7.8 = KS 21.10 : 50.2.3) sā rāstrām ābhavat 'he became the rule (= ruler)', WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER: Altindische Grammatik II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p.704, cf. also HOFFMANN: German Scholars on India, vol. II. Bombay 1976, 106 f. fn.6 (= Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik III [1992], 721 f. fn. 6).

¹³ uxšānō asnqm was explained as a metaphor for dawn by BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 383. As a second instance of this usage he quoted Y 50.10, where the metaphor is clear: raocā x'əng asnqm uxšā aēuruš 'das Sonnenlicht, der schimmernde Stier der Tage'. HUMBACH (WZKS 2 [1958], 23–24) connects this metaphor with the ritual: "Die vielbezügige

aṇhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahiia [fr]arəntē

in order to hold the life of truth,

vərəzdāiš sənghāiš saošiiantəm xratauuō

the wits of Saošiiants, with mature teachings?

kaēibiiō ūθāi vohū jimaṭ mananḥā

To whom will one go for fat¹⁴ with good thinking?

maibiiō θβā sqstrāi vərənē ahurā

To teach me that I choose you, o Lord.'

Y 48.12:

aṭ tōi aṇhān saošiiantō daxiiunəm

'They will be Saošiiants of the countries,

*yōi *xšnām vohū mananḥā hacāntē*

who pursue recognition with good thinking,

šiiəoθanāiš ašā θβahiia mazdā sənghahiia

(the recognition) of your teaching, o Wise One, with their actions through truth;

*tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō *aēšmahiiā*

for they are created as defeaters of Rage.'¹⁵

2b. Characteristics of Gathic *saošiiant-*

The difference between the use of *saošiiant-* in the singular and in the plural has been explained by BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1551, in this way that the singular would refer to Zaratrustra as the 'saviour', the plural to those who

Frage nach den Stieren der Tage, die den mit dem Aša identifizierten Kuhherden der Morgenröte voran das Dunkel der Nacht durchbrechen und ihnen so den Weg bahnen sollen, folgt auf Zarathustras Klage über seinen geringen Viehbestand in Y 46.2. Im Unterton führt sie so die dort schon anklingende Forderung nach dem vom Opferherrs zu spendenden, aus Milchkühen bestehenden Opferlohn weiter, die in voller Deutlichkeit allerdings erst in der Schlusstrophe Y 46,19 ausgesprochen wird (MSS 2², 1952 [1957], 29 Anm.30)", cf. also HUMBACH 1991, II, 177: "The whole is an allusion to the patrons, who are expected to contribute to an improvement of Zaratrustra's material conditions by granting him a prize consisting of cattle". However, since in the present passage *uxšānō asnəm* is obviously parallel with *saošiiantəm xratauuō*, the expression is here rather a metaphor for the 'wits of the Saošiiants'.

¹⁴ On *ūθāi* see below with fn.26.

¹⁵ For the translation see HINTZE 1994, 152 f.

help Zaratrustra with his work of salvation. With reference to Y 43.3¹⁶, LOMMEL 1930, 228 f. maintained that *saošiiant-* could refer in the singular to a yet greater man who would bring Zaratrustra's work to completion, cf. also BOYCE 1975, 234 f. However, the text passages where *saošiiant-* occurs in the singular are not clear about this. In Y 53.2 it is Kauui Vištāspa, Zaratrustra's son and Fərašaoštra who are said to follow 'the straight paths of giving', and in doing so they have the Daēnā of a Saošiiant. In Y 45.11 *saošiiant-* has the apposition *dāng patōiš* and therefore may refer to any 'lord of the house' (see on this below p. 84). The only attestation which could be used in support of the view that *saošiiant-* in the singular would refer to Zaratrustra is Y 48.9, where three forms in the first person (*vaēdā*, *mā*, *mōi*) are found.¹⁷ But since in the last line, in which *saošiias* occurs, the person switches to the third person, an impersonal interpretation of this line is also possible: 'may one know as a Saošiiant, how his reward will be'. However this may be, Zaratrustra would certainly be a Saošiiant, but he would not be the only one. It does not seem that a certain specific person is thought of in the Gathas when *saošiiant-* is used in the singular, and especially not such a person who is to become the Saošiiant par excellence in the later tradition. It rather seems that in the singular *saošiiant-* is used in a generic sense, not very different from its use in the plural.

For in the plural, *saošiiant-* is used in similar contexts: the Daēnās of the Saošiiants are said in Y 34.13 to walk on the path of good-giving, cf. the last line of Y 53.2, and similarly as in Y 53.2 they are said in Y 48.12 to follow the recognition (*xšnām*) of Mazdā. Whereas in the singular a Saošiiant is called a 'lord of the house' (Y 45.11), in the plural they are called 'Saošiiants of the countries' (*saošiiantō daxiiunəm*, possessive genitive, Y 48.12). That could mean that there are Saošiiants everywhere, in every country, and that they are important for the welfare of the country. In the hierarchy of social organization, the 'country' (*daṇhu-*) is the largest unit going down through *zəntu-* 'tribe' and *vis-* 'clan' to *dam-* 'house,

¹⁶ In this stanza the wish is expressed that 'that man ... may teach us the straight paths of prosperity of this corporeal existence and (of that) of thought' (cf. HUMBACH 1991, I, 152, who, however, translates *sauuanḥō* by 'benefit').

¹⁷ HUMBACH 1952 [1957], 31 fn.31 assumes that *saošiiant-* refers here to Vištāspa: "Mit dem Saošyant dürfte Kavi Vištāspa, nach Y 53,2 der Erste unter den Saošyants gemeint sein".

family' as the smallest unit.¹⁸ Thus it happens that the Gathas testify to the existence of Saošiiānt in the smallest and in the largest units, and it may be implied that a Saošiiānt of the house (*dam-*) is also a Saošiiānt of the country (*daṛhu-*) at the same time. It seems that even as there can be Saošiiānts in every land, so every head of a family (*dāng pati-*) can and should be a Saošiiānt – that it is within the grasp of virtually everyone to be a Saošiiānt. As Saošiiānts they resist and defeat Aēšma (Y 48.12). The Saošiiānts constitute the "army" of Ahura Mazdā among people, and for this reason it is important that they are numerous.

From three out of the six Gathic attestations (Y 45.11, 53.2, 34.13) it emerges that the most important characteristic of Saošiiānt of the Older Avesta is the possession of a very good *daēnā*-,¹⁹ an Avestan term difficult to translate: *daēnā*-, morphologically a derivative from the verbal root *dī* 'to see' (especially with the inner eye) with the suffix *-anā-* (< Proto-Iranian **dhaiH-ánā-*), basically refers to the mental view and attitude of a person towards his own life and towards the world around him. The quality of the individual's *daēnā*- depends on whether he chose Good or Evil to follow during his lifetime. If he chose Good, his words and deeds will be good during lifetime, if he chose Evil, they will be bad. His *daēnā*- is shaped by his words and deeds and insofar the *daēnā*- is that part of the human inner self which is shaped deliberately by the will of the individual,²⁰ it is part of the human inner being. After death the individual parts of a person are separated (Av. *vī-uruuisti-*), whereby *uruuan-* and *daēnā*- become individual beings and appear in their real shape. It is only after death when the soul (*uruuan-*) of the individual, coming to the Cinvat-Bridge, will see the real shape of his own *daēnā*-. Since the decision of the individual person for Good or Evil is a religious choice, *daēnā*- may also

be considered as referring to one's attitude towards religion, therefore: 'religious view'.²¹

The *daēnā*- of a Saošiiānt is characterized as *spānta*- 'beneficent': it is through the beneficent *daēnā*- of the Saošiiānt, of the house lord, that people are united with each other, so that one might become to the other 'a companion, a brother or a father' (Y 45.11). Thus the *daēnā*- of the Saošiiānt strengthens the social bonds between individual people. Furthermore, the *daēnā*- of a Saošiiānt is described as one that walks on the prepared path of good thinking, and as one that walks towards a reward apportioned by Ahura Mazdā to those who give generously (Y 34.13). It is the *daēnā*- of the Saošiiānt that causes him to follow the 'straight path of giving', the veneration (*yasna-*) of Ahura Mazdā and his recognition (*xšnā-*, Y 53.2). Thus the main characteristic of the Saošiiānt is his spiritual ability, to which belongs first of all his inner, mental view and disposition, his *daēnā*-. The visible reflex of his *daēnā*- is his willingness to give generously (*hudāh-*) and to pay homage to Ahura Mazdā (*yasna-*): that is how he follows the straight path of good thinking (Y 34.13). By knowing and going along these 'straight paths' the Saošiiānt will receive his well-deserved reward (*mīzda-*, *aši-*). A second component of the Saošiiānt's spiritual ability is his mental power, his intellect (*xratu-* Y 46.3), which is also called 'the bulls of the days'. By his mental power the Saošiiānt has grasped Ahura Mazdā's teachings and continues to strive for the recognition of Mazdā and his teachings (Y 53.2 and 48.12), and he also seems to care for the diffusion of Mazdā's teachings (Y 46.3).

21 HUMBACH 1991 passim renders *daēnā*- by 'religious view'. Earlier (HUMBACH 1959, I, 56–58) he maintained that *daēnā*- may be used in the Gathas as a synonym for *uruuan*-. But Y 49.11, which HUMBACH quotes as an example for this, rather seems to describe the situation when the souls of those deceitful people who have already died and who are already in the House of Deceit welcome the newcomers with evil-smelling food (*akāiš xʷarəuāiš paiti uruuanō paitiēintī*). These newcomers have just fallen down from the Cinvat-Bridge because of their evil rule, evil deeds, words, *Daēnā* and mind. A similar situation is described in Hāōxt-Nask II 34–36. Cf. LOMMEL 1930, 191 f., 198 and his interpretation of Y 49.11 in LOMMEL 1971, 166: "Hier wird den Lügern, über die noch sonstiges Schlimmes ausgesagt wird, künftiger Aufenthalt im Haus der Lüge und üble Speisen, die sie dort erhalten sollen, vorausgesagt". – In Y 51.13 it is the question whether *xraodaitī* is transitive or intransitive; if it is used in an intransitive sense, it may describe the soul (*uruuan-*) of the deceitful one arriving at the Cinvat-Bridge.

18 See on this BENVENISTE: Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes, vol. I. Paris 1969, 294 ff.

19 The Gathic attestations of *daēnā*- have been translated by F.-T. Lankarany: *Daēnā* im Avesta, eine semantische Untersuchung. Hamburg 1985, 82–108.

20 See BOYCE 1975, 238–9. The concept has been judged to be perhaps Zaratustra's "profoundest contribution ... to the history of religion", see BOYCE 1991, 464. An intrinsic difference between the Avestan notions of *daēnā*- and *uruuan*- is that the shape of the *daēnā*- lies in the hands of the individual, but the shape of *uruuan*- not (see LOMMEL 1930, 170 f.).

2c. The ritualistic interpretation of *saošiiant-*

For a ritualistic interpretation of *saošiiant-* words like *hudāh-*, *aši-*, *mīžda-*, *aduuan-*, *paθ-*, *ūθa-*, *vahma-*, *yasna-*, which occur in the same stanzas as *saošiiant-*, have been referred to.²² Thus, for instance, in Y 34.13 a 'well-made path' is mentioned on which the Daēnās of the Saošiiants proceed towards the reward (*mīždām*) they deserve, because they are 'well-giving' (*hudāh-*), and in Y 53.2 'the straight paths of giving' are spoken of: in both passages the 'straight' or 'well-prepared path' is described as the path of the one who gives generously. The Saošiiant's *daēnā-* walking on the 'well-made path of good thinking' towards a reward presented by Ahura Mazdā to the munificent may be interpreted in this way, that the 'munificent' is the one who gives generously in sacrifice, as KELLENS 1974, 202 supposes. The 'straight path', on which the *daēnā-* of the Saošiiant walks, may then be considered as a poetic description of the sacrifice which connects man and god. A similar expression is known also from the Vedic ritual language.²³ In the Rigvedic hymns the 'straight path' may be used as a metaphor for the sacrifice, and it may be assumed that this expression formed part of the Indo-Iranian poetic language of ritual: the gods are invited to come down to the well-prepared place of sacrifice in order to receive the strengthening (Av. *ižā-*, Ved. *īlā-*), and the gods in their turn give well-being and prosperity to the sacrificer. Thus a 'straight path' between man and god is established through sacrifice.²⁴ It can be gathered from this and from a number of other usages that Zaratustra's language is deeply rooted in the Indo-Iranian religious ritual language. The image of the 'straight path' on which walk those

22 Cf. KELLENS 1974, 199 ff.

23 E. g. RV 10.51.5:

*ēhi mānūr devayūr yajñākāmo 'raṁkṛtyā tāmasi kṣeṣy agne
sugān pathāḥ kṛṇuhi devayānān vāha havyāni sumanasyāmānaḥ*

'Come! Manu devoted to the gods, having made ready, wishes to sacrifice. You are dwelling in the dark, o Agni. Make the paths going to the gods to be walked on well! With propitious mind convey the sacrifices!'

Cf. also THIEME: Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda. Leipzig 1938, 120 f.

24 Also 'path of Ṛta' could be used in this sense, cf. LÜDERS: Varuṇa, vol. II. Göttingen 1959, 468. On the Avestan parallels to Vedic *pānthā-* cf. SCHLERATH: The concept of the 'path' in the Avesta. In: Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume. Bombay 1964, 141-144.

who are well-giving, found in Y 34.13, is likely to be a poetic image inherited from that language.

However, it is by no means certain that these terms and images as they occur in the Gathas refer to ritual practice in the same way as they do in the Rigveda. For in the Rigveda the ritual context of the hymns is obvious; in the Gathas, however, it is not. Certainly, the language used in the Gathas is indebted to the inherited Indo-Iranian ritual and poetic language. But the function and context of Gathic poetry seem to be different from what is known of the Rigveda. All the terms quoted above which have been interpreted as referring to the ritual may be interpreted differently, i. e. they may refer not to ritual but to religious matters. Thus it may well be that ancient poetic formulas are used in the Gathas, but that they are given a new content. For instance, the 'path' may no more be the path that connects gods and sacrificer during the sacrifice, but 'the path of Good Thinking', i. e. something spiritual or ethical.²⁵ The only term that may refer to a ritual of sacrifice is *ūθa-* in Y 46.3, if it is linked with YAv. *ūθa-*²⁶ which denotes the 'fat' of a human or animal body. Ritual use of YAv. *ūθa-* is only clear from a passage in Nirangistan 65, where it is described how the fat of the sacrificial animal is offered. In the other two passages, Vd 6.10 and 16.17, *ūθa-* is used of a dead body polluting earth and fire and can hardly refer to a sacrificial offering. There is no evidence that *ūθa-* is used as a ritual term in a technical sense. In the Gathic passage, it may be interpreted as a metaphor for 'prosperity'.²⁷

On the other hand, *saošiiant-* occurs in passages which evidently have no connection with the ritual, as Y 45.11, and in that passage KELLENS 1974, 199 assumes that *saošiiant-* would be "purement adventice". The passages in which *saošiiant-* occurs may refer to something outside the ritual context and thus to something quite different from what is known from Vedic,

25 Cf. the metonymical use of *ižā-* and *āzūiti-*, both terms inherited from Ilr. ritual language, in Y 49.5 *aṭ huuō mazdā ižācā āzūitišcā yā daēnam vohū *sārāštā manahā* 'But that person, O Wise One, (is) abundance and fat, who shelters (his) religious view with good thought' (translation by HUMBACH 1991, I, 181), see on this passage HUMBACH, Indogermanische Forschungen 63 (1957/58), 41.

26 HUMBACH (WZKSO 2 [1958], 24 fn. 5): '*ūθai*, nach Bartholomae 1904, 388 ein Infinitiv zu av 'helfen', ist ohne Zweifel zu j. *ūθa-/uθa-* 'Fett, Fettspende' zu stellen'.

27 Cf. HUMBACH's translation of Y 46.3 (HUMBACH 1991, I, 168): 'To which people will one come with good thought to (provide them with) fat?'.

which has no equivalent to *saošiiant-*.²⁸ It does not emerge from the Gathic passages that *saošiiant-* is a ritual technical term as e. g. the Ilr. **j^hautar-*. It rather seems to emerge from the texts that the Saošiiants are persons who play a central role in early Mazdayasnianism and its religious conception, but not necessarily in the ritual inherited from the Indo-Iranian period.

2d. The basic meaning of *saošiiant-*

The question remains what is the basic meaning of the future in the form *saošiiant-*. It may either denote a declaration of will ('the one who wants to be strong/wants to prosper') or it may denote a simple future tense ('the one who will be strong/will prosper'), cf. KELLENS 1974, 204: "celui qui va, ou qui veut, prospérer". KELLENS' interpretation of the *saošiiant-* as a participant in the exchange of goods between god and man following the principle of *do ut des* requires the interpretation of the future participle as an expression of will: 'the one who wants to be strong/wants to prosper', for by interacting with god the sacrificer wants to prosper. Otherwise (i. e. 'the one who will be strong/will prosper') one would rather expect a general present, not a future: the one who prospers because he enters into interaction with god, as the prosperity resulting from sacrifice should materialize in the sacrificer's earthly welfare. Yet the interpretation of *saošiiant-* as denoting a future tense also requires an explanation, because who can say of himself that 'he will be strong'? But if *saošiiant-* is a religious, and not a ritual, term, then nothing speaks against an eschatological interpretation: 'the one who will be strong' because once he has chosen to fight Evil he is destined by Ahura Mazdā to be stronger than Evil.

A significant passage which may allow one to describe the synchronic meaning of Gathic *saošiiant-* is Y 48.12. The phrase *tōi aṇhān saošiiantō daxiiunqm* 'they will be Saošiiants of the countries' actually contains a

28 Since *saošiiant-* has no Vedic equivalent, it cannot be reconstructed for the Indo-Iranian period; it seems to be an Iranian innovation, maybe even coined by Zaratustra himself. Thus it is misleading to describe *saošiiant-* as "un vieux terme du rituel" (KELLENS 1974, 209). The term is neither old nor ritual. It rather seems that the term *saošiiant-* denotes a new person with a new function in a new religious concept of which Vedic has no evidence. Therefore, in the case of *saošiiant-* comparison with Vedic material does not help, because the concept of the Saošiiant is a genuine Iranian creation that developed after the splitting up of the Indo-Iranian community.

double expression of future. Here 'the one who will be strong' could be understood as 'the one who will overcome Evil' and in that case, *saošiiant-* would be used as an eschatological term. This interpretation is supported by the last verse line of that stanza *tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō +aēšmahiiā* 'for they are created (or: destined) as defeaters of Rage'. The agent of that clause is Ahura Mazdā who has destined the Saošiiants to overcome Evil. The Saošiiants are conceived as opponents to Aēšma and as his defeaters. LOMMEL 1930, 227 f., compares the Saošiiants of this passage with the 'companions' of Astuuat.ərətā said in Yt 19.95 to fight and defeat Aēšma, and points out that this is one of the individual features which indicate the continuity of the tradition.²⁹ Here the term has an aggressive notion, the Saošiiant being described as someone who fights. If this interpretation is correct, *saošiiant-* has acquired the meaning 'saviour' already in the Gathas.

3. *Saošiiant-* in the Younger Avesta

In the Younger Avesta, *saošiiant-* is used in most attestations in the plural, but in a few instances also in the singular. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1551–2, thinks that in the Younger Avesta *saošiiant-* in the plural would refer on the one hand to the priests as those who continue Zaratustra's work of salvation and on the other hand to the future saviours at the end of time. Thus, for instance, *saošiiant-* denotes the priests in Y 14.1, where the *zotar-* speaks of himself as one of the Saošiiants and puts them as a group into apposition to the Aməša Spəntas:

Y 14.1 (= Vr 5.1, 11.20)

yaθa dīš azəm yō zaotā āuuaēdaiiemī...

yūšmākəm yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastaiiaēca

yaṭ aməšanqm spəntanqm

ahmākəm +hauuaṇ'hāica ratufritaiiaēca ašauuastāica vərəθraγniiāica

huruniiāica yaṭ saošiiantqm ašonqm

'(We dedicate them,...) as I, the priest, dedicate them

for veneration, praise, strengthening und laudation of you, the Aməša Spəntas, for good life, pleasing of the Ratus, truthfulness, victory and peace of the soul of us, the truthful Saošiiants.'

29 The figure of Astuuat.ərətā, however, has no Gathic antecedent, see below under 4.

In **Y 9.2** the Saošiiants are described as future persons who give right veneration to Haoma:

aoi mām ... stūidi yaθa mā aparaciṭ saošiiantō stauuqn
 'praise me [Haoma], as the future Saošiiants will praise me'.

These examples show that in the Younger Avesta the Saošiiants play a role in the worship not only of Ahura Mazdā, but also of the Aməša Spəntas (Y 14.1) and of Haoma (Y 9.2), but it cannot be concluded from these passages that *saošiiant-* was a technical ritual term. Nor can it be upheld that *saošiiant-* would refer to the priests in all instances listed by BARTHOLOMAE.³⁰ Most passages rather testify to the interpretation that all good people can aspire to be Saošiiants.

The semantic component of the Saošiiant as someone who fights against enemies, which is attested explicitly in one of the Gathic passages (Y 48.12), becomes much more prominent in the Younger Avesta. As Saošiiants people fight against Daēvic creatures, especially against Falsehood, Av. *druj-*, thus **Y 61.5**:

kaθa drujəm nīš ahmaṭ ā nīš.nāšāma
 "How shall we remove Falsehood from here?" –
nīš.nāšāma saošiiantō +drujim
 "As Saošiiants we shall remove Falsehood." –
kaθa nīš.nāšāma
 "How shall we remove?" –
*yaθa hīm janāma xšaiiamnō +axšaiiamnanqm*³¹
 "We shall slay her as being powerful over the powerless,
vīspaiš haca karšuuqn yāiš haptā
 from all seven climes,
hamistāe nižbərətāe vīspaiiā druuatō stōiš
 to smite, to remove all deceitful existence,
stauuas ašā yē hudā yōi hānti
 praising with truth (the one) who is well-giving (among those,) who exist."

30 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1552 lists the passage Y 9.2 just quoted in the second group which would refer to the future saviours.

31 See BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 52 with note 2.

In particular, the Saošiiants may have the epithet *vərəθrajan-*. In a warlike context in **Yt 13.38**, the Saošiiants constitute a group of people fighting against enemies of the Avesta-people:

<i>yūžəm taða tauruuaiiata</i>	'Then you (Frauuāšis) overcame
<i>vərəθrəm dānunqm tūranqm...</i>	the defence of the Turanian Dānus, ...
<i>yūšmaoiio parō karšnazō</i>	Formerly through you the manly Karšnazides
<i>huuira baon səuuīšta</i>	were the strongest,
<i>yōi taxma xštāuuaiio</i>	the swift Xštāuuis,
<i>yōi taxma saošiiantō</i>	the swift Saošiiants,
<i>yōi taxma vərəθrājanō</i>	the swift victorious ones.'

In **Y 70.4** the 'truthful men' (*narō ašauuanō*) with good thoughts, words and deeds say that they want to be Saošiiants and victorious:

yaθa iža vācim nāšīma
 'because through strengthening we want to raise our voice
yaθa vā saošiiantō daxiunqm suiīamna vācim barəntū
 as the Saošiiants of the countries, becoming strong, shall raise their voice;
buiīama saošiiantō buiīama vərəθrājanō
 we want to be Saošiiants, we want to be victorious,
buiīama ahurahe mazdā friia vāzišta astaiio
 we want to be dear, strongest guests of Ahura Mazdā,
yōi narō ašauuanō humatāiš mainimna
 we truthful men who are thinking with good thoughts,
hūxtāiš mruuatō huuarštāiš vərəziiantō
 speaking with good words, acting with good deeds'.

In the singular, *saošiiant-* occurs only with the epithet *vərəθrajan-*, and in that case the word refers to one particular Saošiiant, namely to Astuuat.ərəta. His name is explained in **Yt 13.129**:

yō aṇhaṭ saošiiqs vərəθraja nāma astuuat.ərətasca nāma
auuāθa saošiiqs yaθa vīspəm ahum astuuantəm sāuuaiiāt
auuāθa astuuat.ərətō yaθa astuuā hq uštānauuā
astuuat +aiθiiejahīm paitišāṭ
 'Who will be 'victorious Saošiiant' by name and Astuuat.ərəta by name.
 Saošiiant insofar, as he will strengthen all corporeal life.

Astuuat.ərəta insofar, as being corporeal (and) living he will provide corporeal freedom from danger.'

In this passage, the victorious Saošiiant, being himself 'the one who will be strong', is described as someone who causes 'the corporeal life' to be strong: the transitive interpretation of *saošiiant-* is coming in.

In **Y 59.28** *saošiiantəm vərəθrājanəm yazamaide* the 'victorious Saošiiant' is being worshipped, and in **Y 26.10** (= **Y 59.27**) the 'victorious Saošiiant' denotes the final point in the history of mankind, opposed to the first mortal, *gaiiō marətan-*:

vīspā ašāunəm vaŋ'hiš sūrā frauuašaiiō yazamaide
'We worship all good (and) strong Frauuašis of the truthful ones,
yā haca gaiiāt marəθnať ā saošiiantāt vərəθra-ŋnať
those from Gaiiō Marətan up to the victorious Saošiiant'.

The conception of the history of mankind found in this passage shows that a final Saošiiant is expected who marks the final point of this age and implicitly ushers in a new age. Furthermore, there are two other passages which show that a myth is connected with the 'victorious Saošiiant'. In **Vd 19.5** it is said that the victorious Saošiiant is expected to be born out of Lake Kašaoiia:

janāni pairikəm yəm xnaθaiti 'I shall slay the witch Xnaθaiti,
yahmāi us.zaiiāite until the victorious Saošiiant
saošiiqs vərəθraja will be born
haca apať kašaoiiať out of Lake Kašaoiia,
ušastarať haca naēmāť from the eastern side,
ušastaraēibiiō haca naēmaēibiiō from the eastern sides.'

The birth and rise of the 'victorious one among the Saošiiants', i.e. Astuuat.ərəta, and his actions are described in more detail in the eight final stanzas of the Zamyād Yašt, starting from stanza 89. In stanza 89 it is said that the 'glory', the *x'arənah-*, accompanies the victorious one among the Saošiiants, and also his other companions, so that he will make life wonderful, unageing, undecaying etc.³²:

(x'arənō) yať upaŋhacať '(The glory) which accompanies the
saošiiantəm vərəθrājanəm victorious one among the Saošiiants
uta aňiiāsciť haxaiiō and his other companions,
yať kərənauuāt frašəm ahum in order that he makes life wonderful ...'.

In the next section, starting from stanza 92, it is told that Astuuat.ərəta, the son of Vīspa.tauruuairi, steps forth from Lake Kašaoiia as a messenger of Ahura Mazdā. He is brandishing a weapon, a missile providing victory, which other heroes bore before him: Thraētaona bore this weapon and slew Aži Dahāka, Fraŋrasiian slew Zainigau, Kauui Haosrauuh slew Fraŋrasiian and Kauui Vīštāspa slew the enemies of Truth. It is this weapon with which Astuuat.ərəta will remove Falsehood from the world of truth (stanza 93).

This myth recalls the ancient myth of the hero slaying a dragon, inherited from Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European times, and this myth is explicitly referred to in stanza 92 immediately after the mentioning of Astuuat.ərəta. The verb which describes the killing of a dragon in that stanza as well as in the Indo-European myth is the verb *jan* (IE **g^{wh}en*),³³ and it occurs four times in stanza 92–93 (*jaini* 'he was slain'). Myths of the slaying of a dragon are alluded to several times in the Zamyād Yašt: in stanza 37 it is told how Thraētaona slew the dragon Dahāka who is also called 'Daēvic falsehood' (Av. *daēuuīm drujim*), and stanza 40 tells how the hero Kərəsāspa slew the horn-bearing dragon (*aži- sruuana-*). Thus Astuuat.ərəta also is described as a hero, similar to the heroes of ancient times who slew dragons: as the ancient heroes slew a dragon, so Astuuat.ərəta slays Falsehood.

4. Mingling of religious and heroic traditions

In the Younger Avestan passages which speak of a single 'victorious Saošiiant' the Saošiiant is connected with a tradition different from the religious tradition which prevails in the Gathas. Here it is the tradition of heroic myth and epic. Thus it seems that two different traditions have merged in the notion of the *saošiiant-* of the Younger Avesta. That the religious and heroic traditions are mingled in the Yašts quite widely (e.g. heroes sacrificing to Yazatas, and tales of their deeds being thus introduced) is of

32 On the passages where *saošiiant-* occurs besides *frašō.carətar-* see HINTZE 1994, 154–157.

33 See WATKINS 1987, 270–299.

course obvious,³⁴ and it has become even more readily comprehensible with the realisation that these are from an oral tradition;³⁵ so to describe the Saošiiant's future feats in heroic terms was a natural development within the religious tradition.

The link between the two traditions may be seen in the root *sū* 'to be strong' from which the future participle *saošiiant-* is derived as well as the noun *sūra-* 'hero', the Indo-Iranian term for the hero who slays a dragon. In Vedic, *sūra-* is an epithet of Indra in most instances and Indra is the god who slays the dragon *vṛtrá-*, cf. e.g. RV II 11,5 *áhann áhiṃ sūra vīryēna* 'you [Indra] slew the dragon, o hero, with strength'. For this reason Indra, being the slayer of the dragon *Vṛtra*, is also called *vṛtrahán-* 'slayer of *Vṛtra*', literally: 'breaking the defence'.³⁶ That also the Avestan *saošiiant-* bears the epithet *vərəθrajan-* may be due to the connection of the concept of the Saošiiant with the myth of the hero slaying a dragon.

The name which was given to the final, heroic and victorious Saošiiant, *Astuuat.ərəta*, is strongly ethical and was created by Mazdayasnian theologians of the Younger Avestan period through theological speculation within the religious tradition on the basis of the Gathic passage Y 43.16 *astuuat ašəm xiiāt uštānā +aojōnhuuat* 'truth may be corporeal, strong through vitality'.³⁷ In creating this name the priests used their own dialect form, for *-ərəta-* corresponds to normal Avestan *aša-*. Since the myth of *Astuuat.ərəta* is closely connected with the region of lake Hāmūn (Av. *qasaoiia-*), it is likely that the name itself is a dialect form of that region.³⁸ KARL HOFFMANN and JOHANNA NARTEN have listed a considerable number of other dialectal peculiarities which do not comply with Avestan sound laws. Thus the region of Arachosia/Drangiane seems to have played an important role

34 Cf. e.g. BOYCE, BSOAS 47 (1984), 57 f.; HINTZE 1994, 33 ff.

35 See BOYCE 1975, 108; *ibid.* 283 she remarks rightly that "Astvat.ərəta is seen as the culmination of a line of valiant warriors, all of whom had fought bravely and victoriously against some great evil, embodied in man or beast."

36 Cf. E. BENVENISTE/L. RENOU, *Vṛtra et Vṛθraṇa*. Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne. Paris 1934 (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 3).

37 Cf. on this passage NARTEN 1986, 181, fn.51.

38 So HOFFMANN (Festschrift Humbach. München 1986, 167) and BOYCE 1975, 293, see HINTZE 1994, 371-2. KELLENS 1974, 209 prefers to consider the name as a western Iranian dialect form (cf. OP *arta-*; on the transcription of [ərta-] with *a* see HOFFMANN, Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik II [1976], 627 with fn. 8).

during a significant period of the development of the Mazdayasnian faith and the diffusion of Zoroastrianism, and the priests of that region exerted an influence on the form of the Avestan text as it has come down to us.³⁹ It is therefore not unlikely that the name of *Astuuat.ərəta* is a product of their theological speculations. *Astuuat.ərəta* was connected by them with old Iranian history by placing him in a line with the heroes of ancient times.

But not only the name of *Astuuat.ərəta* is their creation. The whole myth of a saviour stepping forth from lake *Qasaoiia* and bringing about the renovation of the world may have entered the Avesta during that period. All Avestan passages in which *qasaoiia-* or *haētuman-* are mentioned are either geographical descriptions (so Yt 19.66) or deal with eschatology (Yt 19.92 and Vd 19.5).⁴⁰ This reveals a rather rationalistic attitude of the priest poets. One gets the impression that they wanted to make clear that it is this certain lake in *Sīstān* which plays such an important role in *Frašō.kərəti* and that it is this very lake from which *Astuuat.ərəta* steps forth.⁴¹ GHERARDO GNOLI has described the importance of *Sīstān* in his book "Ricerche storiche sul *Sīstān* antico" although I cannot accept that the origins of Zoroastrianism should also be sought there. It rather seems that at a certain stage the priests of that region influenced strongly the development of the Mazdayasnian faith, see BOYCE 1992, 4-5.

5. Conclusion

The Gathic concept of the Saošiiant forms an essential part of Zaratustra's religious message. The Saošiiants constitute a group of people who oppose Evil actively. Without their action Good could never be stronger than Evil. Thus they play a decisive role in the Renovation of the World, in fact they are those who actually bring it about. The emphasis in the concept of Saošiiant lies in this, that he fights Evil actively and by doing so he contributes to the final victory over Evil. In this sense, Saošiiant is *per se* an eschatological term, and this already in the Gathas. The term is coined and filled with content from the perspective of the final victory over Evil. This con-

39 See HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, 77-85. For a criticism of the "Arachosian hypothesis" cf. BOYCE 1991, 122-124.

40 Cf. HINTZE 1994, 41 f.

41 Cf. GNOLI 1980, 87-88, 129 ff.

ception underlies the formation of the word as a future participle. Because the semantic content is reflected in the morphology, it may be assumed that *saošiiant-* was coined as a term by Zaratustra himself to denote these new persons who form such an important and essential part in his religious message.

The notion of the *saošiiant-* as a 'saviour' resisting Aēšma and implicitly also bringing about the final victory over all evil creatures is present in the Gathas (Y 48.12, see above 2d.), but is conceived of there as a collective work of the Saošiiants. The concept of the Saošiiant as it is reflected in the Gathas is a concept of numerous Saošiiants: the more the better. This concept is continued also in the Younger Avesta, e.g. in Y 70.4, where 'the truthful men' pray to be Saošiiants and to be victorious. But the mingling of the religious Saošiiant-concept with the heroic tradition of the myth of the hero slaying a dragon changed the religious concept of Saošiiant by introducing a new semantic component not present in the Gathas: it is the idea of a single Saošiiant who brings about the final and utter defeat of Evil and who is therefore called 'victorious'. The idea of a single Saošiiant as a final World Saviour bringing about utter destruction of Evil is a post-Gathic development. An eschatological myth of a victorious Saošiiant named Astuuat.ərəta was fully developed in south-eastern Iran in the region of the river Haētumant and connected with the local places there. Thus the originally collective work of defeat of Evil brought about by all Saošiiants of the Gathas gradually becomes in the Younger Avesta the work of a single person, of a heroic man, a final World Saviour who is to become the Sōšyans of the Pahlavi texts.

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