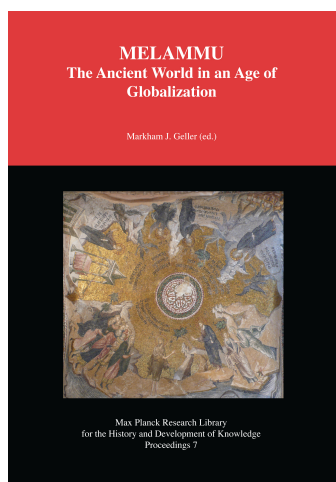Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge
Proceedings 7

Velizar Sadovski:

Religious Ontology and Taxonomic Structures in Indo-Iranian Oral Poetry

Chapter 12
Religious Ontology and Taxonomic Structures in Indo-Iranian Oral Poetry
Velizar Sadovski

12.1 Cataloguing the Universe – (Re-)creating the Universe: Arrangement of Conceptual Lists and Their Items in Indo-Iranian Ritual/Magic Poetry

0. Since the beginning of the last century, researchers of oral literature and religious studies have been discussing the connection between *sacred words* and *sacred rites* in ancient cultures—between *speech* and *performance* in religious and magic ritual. One of the pertinent subjects in this regard was and is the literary genre of *catalogues* and *lists* in sacred poetry,[1] in prayer and cult. In fact, both speech acts and ritual actions share a common feature: If priests and poets systematize the universe in the form of extensive lists, they are believed to exercise magical influence on it. By *cataloguing* the universe, worshippers try to find an underlying matrix system—but also to *re-shape* and *re-create* it magically over and over again. That is why the *logic* of arrangement of conceptual cata-*logues* and their items in Indo-Iranian ritual poetry can shed light on the religious ontology and the systems of values and priorities of the worshippers and societies concerned.

0.1. The interest in this subject started in Near Eastern studies, due to the abundance of lists and catalogues in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hebrew sources: In the 1930s, Wolfram von Soden apostrophized such forms in Semitic as 'list scholarship,' *Listenwissenschaft*[2]—not without a (negatively) judgmental connotation: He claimed that while Old Semitic poetry and science consisted mainly in lists, (Aryan,) Indo-European literature was much more 'sophisticated' in its expressive forms and devices. But this strong opinion completely ignored the fact that

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[1] For a characterization of lists of divine names as a (cross-cultural) form of religious poetry, see (Sadovski 2007, esp. 38–47; Panaino 2002, 15–24, 107ff.).

[2] See (W. von Soden 1936, 555ff.); for the analysis of the (philological and extra-philological) background of his theses, see (Veldhuis 1997, 6f., 137–139); on the assessment of Mesopotamian catalogues from an epistemological perspective, cf. also (Oppenheim 1977, 248; Oppenheim 1978, 634ff. Larsen 1987, esp. 210, 218).

precisely *Indo-Iranian* 'ritual literature' operates to a large extent with *list forms* as basic structural units. This is valid not only for analytic, scholarly texts (Sū-tras etc.) but especially for ritual poetry: Rough empirical statistics concerning Old Indian and Old Iranian corpora show that various types of lists and catalogues form e.g. about 25% of the contents of the Atharvaveda (Śaunaka and Paippalāda versions), and up to 30% of the Avesta—proportions that speak for themselves.

0.2. Comparative and contrastive studies of the literary genre of catalogues in-creased in the last decades, after the discovery of new materials in Egyptian and Ancient Mesopotamian but also in Indo-European contexts[3] as well as on the border between various traditions.[4] Authors like Jack Goody developed en-tire 'theories of lists';[5] lists of objects in decorative art[6] have been compared to lists in literature[7] (scriptual and oral!). After multiple discussions during the *Melammu* conference in Sofia (2008), a number of research projects gave rise to an interdisciplinary forum on multilingualism, *linguae francae* and the history of knowledge in different linguistic and chronological contexts—the *Multilin-gualism Research Group*, which culminated in a series of annual meetings that have been taking place in recent years and have regularly included workshops on problems of classification and systematization of knowledge (among others, in the form of lists and catalogues): The research group unites partners from the University of Oslo (Jens E. Braarvig), the TOPOI Cluster at the *Freie Univer-*

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[3]The connection between representation of knowledge in forms of catalogues and mnemonical/peda-gogical practice in ancient Mesopotamia has been investigated by Niek Veldhuis in a series of articles (e.g. Veldhuis 1999; 2006a; 2006b) and a special monograph (*idem* 1997; cf. also Veldhuis 2004); on the implications of this text genre for hermeneutics and historiography of knowledge see (Kühlmann 1973) and recently (Selz 2007, 2011).

[4]On lists in Ancient Greek and Graeco-Egyptian magic see Richard Gordon's contributions (Gordon 2000, 250–263), on archaic and classical lists, as well as *ibid.* (263–275), on cross-culturally influ-enced Hellenistic lists; cf. also (Gordon 2002); for a metanalytical point of view on Ancient Indian lists in grammar and ritual and their Buddhist correspondents in the plurilingual conditions of Indian, Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan see (Braarvig et al. forthcoming).

[5](Goody 1977, esp. 74–111), modified in (Goody 1986; 1987) as well as, generally, (Gordon 2000, 244f., 250), and (Braarvig 2000, with lit.), on the heuristic value of Goody's 'Grand Dichotomy' concept.

[6]See recently (Eco 2009). One has to recall that this semiotic monograph on lists was intent to accompany—but, in a certain sense, has itself been accompanied by—a concomitant exposition of classical and modern pictures representing 'catalogues' of various spheres of life—styled by the Italian scholar at the Musée du Louvre as a kind of super-list which, moreover, went hand in hand with its own analytical meta-list in a kind of transcendental, ultra-Goedelian (or proto-Münchhausen-ian?) attempt of a system to find a meta-language about itself.

[7]See (Spufford 1989). From the flood of works on catalogues in classical works of oral poetry like the ones by Homer and Hesiod, I shall quote here only (Deichgräber 1965) and (West 1985), each one emblematic for the research accents of its period, characterized by high-level intrinsic comparison and giving certain extrinsic, comparative perspectives—but almost completely lacking contrastive interest in typological parallels in non-'Classical' (in the [Indo-]Euro-centric sense of this term) languages and literatures.

sität and the *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* in Berlin (Florentina Badalanova Geller, Markham J. Geller), the University of Bologna (Antonio Panaino), of the *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* of Munich (Olav Hackstein, Peter-Arnold Mumm), the DARIOSH Project at *L'Orientale* University of Naples (Adriano Rossi) and the University of Viterbo (Ela Filippone), *La Sapienza* University of Rome (Maria Carmela Benvenuto, Flavia Pompeo), the University of Verona (Paola Cotticelli), the University of Vienna (Gebhard Selz and his team, in communication with the European project group *Classifiers*), and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (V. Sadovski). Several thematic conferences and panels on the role of classification in the history of knowledge took place in Athens,[8] Vienna (2009,[9] 2010,[10] 2011[11]), Berlin (2010,[12] 2011[13]), Marburg,[14] and Münster,[15] a seminar on multi-

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[8] *Multilingualism, Linguae Francae, and the Global History of Religious and Scientific Concepts*. An international conference, Norwegian Institute at Athens, April 2–5, 2009, convenors: Jens E. Braarvig and Malcolm Hyman†.

[9] *Classification as a Hermeneutic Tool*. A Workshop at the Oriental Institute, Vienna University, November 2, 2009, convenor: Gebhard Selz. Cf. http://www.univie.ac.at/orges/hp/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/Classification_plakat.pdf (accessed June 10, 2014). See also (Selz forthcoming).

[10] *Multilingual Lists, Catalogues, and Classification Systems*. A workshop within the Interdisciplinary Conference *Multilingualism in Central Asia, Near and Middle East from Antiquity to Early Modern Times*, organized by the Institute of Iranian Studies and the International Relations Department of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, March 1–3, 2010, convenors: Bernhard Plunger, Velizar Sadovski, Florian Schwarz. Cf. http://www.oeaw.ac.at/iran/german/konferenz_multilingualism.html (accessed June 10, 2014).

[11] *Lists, Catalogues, and Classification Systems from Comparative and Historical Point of View*. A workshop of the Multilingualism Research Group, held in the framework of the Interdisciplinary Conference *Multilingualism and History of Knowledge in Asia from Antiquity till Early Modern Times*, Vienna, November 3–5, 2011, organized by the Institute of Iranian Studies and the International Relations Department of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, November 3–5, 2011; convenors like in Fn. 10.

[12] *Crossing Boundaries: Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra*, TOPOI conference, Berlin, November 8–10, 2010, convenor: Markham J. Geller. Cf. http://www.topoi.org/event/crossing-boundaries-multilingualism-lingua-franca-and-lingua-sacra/ (accessed June 10, 2014).

[13] Problems of lists in magical and medical texts have been discussed in a series of papers on the TOPOI Conference *Knowledge to Die For: Transmission of Prohibited and Esoteric Knowledge through Space and Time*, Berlin, May 2–4, 2011, convenor: Florentina Badalanova Geller. Cf. http://www.topoi.org/event/knowledge-to-die-for-transmission-of-prohibited-and-esoteric-knowledge-through-space-and-time/ (accessed June 10, 2014); in preparation is a joint publication of Geller, Badalanova Geller, and Sadovski on the materials discussed in the framework of the two Berlin meetings at the *Max-Planck-Institute for the History of Science*.

[14] *Organization of knowledge in Asian cultures: Lists, catalogues and classification systems between orality and scripturality*. Panel in the framework of the 31st German Congress of Oriental Studies, Marburg, September 20–24, 2010, convenors: Jens E. Braarvig, Markham J. Geller and Velizar Sadovski. Cf. https://archive.today/o/QKkC6/http://www.dot2010.de/index.php?ID_seite=5.

[15] *Multilingualism and Social Experience in Pre-Modern Societies of Ancient Eurasia: Socio-Economic, Linguistic, and Religious Aspects*. Panel in the framework of the 32nd German Congress of Oriental Studies, Münster, September 23–27, 2013, convenors: Velizar Sadovski and Gebhard J. Selz. Cf. http://www.dot2013.de/en/programm/abstracts/panel

lingualism in Chinese Turkestan was organized at the University of Munich in the Summer Semester 2009. Volumes with a selection of relevant proceedings have appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna as well as in the publication series of the *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* in Berlin (cf. Braarvig et al. 2012, 2013).

0.3. My specific research interest concerns the comparative Indo-Iranian perspective:[16] In the last five years, I have been intensely co-operating with the Leiden project of a critical edition of the Atharvaveda-Paippalāda fragments, initiated by Michael Witzel and continued by Alexander Lubotsky who kindly gave me access to the new manuscript materials.[17] The result so far comprises four comparative publications on aspects of ritual poetry and pragmatics—two appeared 2008 and 2009 in the *Festschrift Fragner* and *Festschrift Eichner*, respectively, and two further studies are in press in the proceedings of the *Fifth Vedic Workshop*[18] and of the Marburg panel *Systematization of Universe* of the Congress of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*.[19] Further (so far, nine) papers, given e.g. at the 12th World Sanskrit Conference (Delhi, 2009), the European Conferences of Iranian Studies in Vienna, Salamanca and Cracow (2007–11), two Vedic Workshops in Bucharest (2010–11) as well as in seminars on Indo-Iranian language and cultural history in Leiden (2007–11), have been presenting pertinent material for a monograph in preparation on various spheres of life as reflected in ritual texts containing lists and catalogues. Beyond analysis of figures of speech on a formal, esp. syntactic level (as published in Sadovski 2006 and Sadovski 2007), I have engaged in comparative and typological investigations of stylistic repetition, *Textgestaltung*, and form variation in the Avesta and Veda on the level of major text units—among them, diverse categories of *lists and enumerations*. The major topics of Indo-Iranian catalogues can be seen in Table 1, arranged in a sort of a 'list of lists':

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[16] Abbreviations of texts used: (*a*) Vedic: *RV* = Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. – *AVŚ* = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (Śaunaka branch); *AVP* = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Paippalāda branch; *Kauś* = Kauśika-Sūtra. – *YV(S/B)* = Yajurveda(-Saṃhitā/-Brāhmaṇa), esp.: *Black YV*: *TS* = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā. *TB* = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa. *BaudhŚS* = Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra. *ĀpŚS* = Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra. *White YV*: Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā; *ŚB* = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. (*b*) Avestan: text strata – *GAv.* = Gāthic Avestan. *YAv* = 'Young(er)' Avestan; text corpora – *Y.* = Yasna; *Yt.* = Yašt; *Vd.* = Vīdēvdād.

[17] For relevant texts edited and/or examined so far in the framework of this project, cf. e.g. (Witzel 1985 (AVP and AVŚ); Witzel 1997; Zehnder 1993 (AVP, Kāṇḍa 1); Zehnder 1999 (Kāṇḍa 2); Lubotsky 2002 (Kāṇḍa 5); Griffiths 2002, 2003, 2004 (AVP and Kauś.), 2007, 2009 (Kāṇḍa 6 and 7), Lopez 2010 (Kāṇḍa 13 and 14), and Lelli 2009 (Kāṇḍa 15)).

[18] Edited by S. Bahulkar, Jan Houben, Michael Witzel and Julieta Rotaru, to appear 2015.

[19] Included in the materials collected in the volume (Braarvig et al. forthcoming).

-multilingualism-and-social-experience-in-pre-modern-societies-of-ancient-eurasia-socio-economic -linguistic-and-religious-aspects/, accessed June 10, 2014.

A. Semantic features of list items, e.g.:

1. '*Cosmo*-logical' lists.
2. '*Anthropo*-logical,' esp. '*physio*-logical'/'*somato*-graphical' lists.
3. '*Glotto*-logical' lists.
4. '*Numero/arithmo*-logical' lists.
5. '*Socio*-logical' lists.
6. '*Chrono*-logical' lists.
7. '*Topo*-logical' lists.
8. '*Axio*-logical' lists.
9. '*Genea*-logical' lists.
10. *Akolouthiai*: Lists of routines and (ritual[ized]) procedures.
11. '*Theo*-logical' lists.
12. Complex structures.

B. Structural features of lists, e.g.:

   • Intradependency (within list):

(α.) Dimensionality: linear vs. non-linear structures.
(β.) Coordination and subordination of items: head-initial, head-final, multi-headed list(s) etc.
(γ.) Order of items and directionality within list(s).
(δ.) Correlativity of items within list(s).
(ε.) Variability of items within list(s).
(ς.) Cyclicity vs. openness of list(s).

   • Interdependency (between lists):

(ζ.) Repetitiveness and recursivity.
(η.) Hierarchy between lists, within 'super-list(s)'
(θ.) 'Meta-lists of/about lists.'

    The first table (A.) summarizes aspects of the semantic variety of list contents: Here we find '*cosmo*-logical' lists including items of the *macro-cosm*, and lists of *anthropo*-logically relevant elements, of the (human) *micro-cosm*: e.g. the ones concerning the *physio*-logical sphere or mapping of the human body (the '*somato*-graphical' lists of healing spells or poetical descriptions of heroes, warriors, of beloved beings, and even of gods depicted in 'anthropomorphic' ways). Other types comprise '*glotto*-logical' structures: *phono*-logical plays, entire *morpho*-logical paradigms, embedded in *etymo*-logical games of magic character, even meta-lists of linguistic items. Many enumerative sequences exhibit

numero-logical regularities. Further components of the anthropological sphere are registered, e.g. by lists of '*socio*-logical' elements and features with relevance for the community. *Chrono-* and *topo*-logical lists display measures of time and spatial representations. '*Axio*-logical' lists explicitly valorize concepts of spiritual life and the surrounding macro- and microcosm. Various forms of *genea*-logies represent the idea of continuity (in the form of lists): in the regular case, we have to do with *lists of names* (onomastic catalogues) *sensu lato*, very often of sacral character.[20] And finally, higher themes of spiritual character are subject of theo-logical lists and complex structures like catalogues of theogony, speculative hymns, phrophecies and eschatological visions. The second table (B.) regards structural features. In this framework, we can discuss selected aspects of list types 1–3 in a more detailed way; the groups 4–10 are subject to two further studies, to appear in (Braarvig et al. forthcoming) and in a volume of the series *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, respectively.

12.2   Structure of Poetic/Magic Lists and Their Contents: Internal and External References

1. If we go directly to the material, in both branches of Indo-Iranian sacred poetry we can discover a whole '*cosmo-logia magica*': Mantras and prayers list the Universe in magic catalogues of cosmological concepts—regularly arranged in axiological manner—starting from sacred components of the *macro-cosm*, going via ritual as intermediary between God and men, to end up focusing on sacred components of the *micro-cosm*:

1.1. A common Old Indo-Iranian form of such lists appears in magic hymns for *purification* of the Universe, like the one in Atharvaveda-Paippalāda 9,25. The main mantra here is in Pāda 1d: 'Let (Soma,) the one who *purifies* himself, *purify me*!' What follows, is a series of characterizations of the universal reach of the act of purification by listing elements of the cosmos, varying in a 'vertical' manner, stanza by stanza:

> (1a) *sahasrākṣaṃ śatadhāraṃ*
> (1b) *ṛṣibhiḥ pavanaṃ kṛtam |*
> (1c) *tenā sahasradhāreṇa*
> (1d) *pavamānaḥ punātu mā ||*
> (2a) *yena pūtam **antarikṣaṃ***

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[20]Cf. (Panaino 2002; Schmitt 2003; Sadovski 2007), e.g. on the Indian 'name-praising hymns,' *nāma-stotras*.

(2b) *yasmin **vāyur** adhi śritaḥ* | […]
(3a) *yena pūte **dyāvāpṛthivī***
(3b) ***āpaḥ** pūtā atho **s_uvaḥ*** | […]
(4a) *yena pūte **ahorātre***
(4b) ***diśaḥ** pūtā uta yena **pradeśāḥ*** | […]
(5a) *yena pūtau **sūryācandramasau***
(5b) ***nakṣatrāṇi bhūtakṛtaḥ*** […]
(6a) *yena pūtā **vedir agniḥ***
(6b) ***paridhayaḥ*** […]
(7a) *yena pūtaṃ **barhir ājyam** atho **haviḥ*** | […]
(8a) *yena pūto **yajño vaṣaṭkāra** ut**āhutiḥ*** | […]
(9a) *yena pūtau **vrīhiyavau***
(9b) *yābhyāṃ **yajño** adhinirmitaḥ* |
(10a) *yena pūtā **aśvā gāvo***
(10b) *atho pūtā **ajāvayaḥ*** |
(10c) *tenā sahasradhāreṇa*
(10d) *pavamānaḥ punātu mā* ||

1. Of (a) thousand eyes, of (a) hundred streams
the purification (has been) made by the seers;
by means of this one of (a) thousand streams
let (Soma,) the one who purifies himself, purify me.
2. By which Intermediate Space (is/has been) purified
on which Wind dwells […].
3. By which (both,) Heaven-and-Earth (have been) purified,
Waters (have been) purified, also Sun […].
soll mich der sich Läuternde (S. Pavamāna) läutern
4. By which (both,) Day-and-Night (have been) purified,
Heavenly Regions (have been) purified and by which Earthly
Regions […]
soll mich der sich Läuternde (S. Pavamāna) läutern;
5. By which (both), Sun-and-Moon (have been) purified,
Nakṣatra-s, Bhūtakṛt-s […].
6. By which the Vedi, the Fire(-Altar) (have been) purified,
the Paridhi-s […].
7. By which the Barhiṣ, the Ājya(-oblation), the Haviṣ(-oblation)
(has [= have] been) purified […].

8. By which Sacrifice/Ritual, the Vaṣaṭ-exclamation, and Libation
(has [= have] been) purified […].
9. By which (both), Rice-and-Barley (have been) purified,
by both of which Sacrifice/Ritual has been 'measured into shape'/
fixed […].
10. By which horses, cows (have been) purified,
also goats-and-sheep (have been) purified,
by means of this one of (a) thousand streams
let (Soma,) the one who purifies himself, purify me.

1.1.1. The list structure is (stereo)typical. The main predication is constant ('*X* is purified'), the formulaic context is repeated in each stanza―while only *specific items change*, forming *simple list(s)* with *one variable* or a group of variables. The list exhibits internal correspondence in a unidimensional, here 'vertical,' way, between the varying (groups of) items; this can be summarized by the scheme:

- '*Y* (is) *X* […]; by which **A & B** are *Y*-ed / by which **C & D** are *Y*-ed / by which **E & F** are *Y*-ed …, let the *Y*-ing-oneself *Y* me.'

1.1.2. The list contains the most important cosmological elements―mostly presented in [natural] pairs, often as 'dual *dvandva*' compounds.[21] When pronouncing each one of these ritual formulae, the Brahmán symbolically purifies the parts of the cosmos concerned.

- It starts with nature deities and their domains, such as the Intermediate Space (*antarikṣa-*) with the Wind (*vāyu-*, stanza 2, verses *ab*), the 'Heaven-and-Earth' (*dyāvā-pṛthivī*, stanza 3*a*), the Waters (*āpaḥ*), the Sun[light] (*s_u̯àr*, both 3*b*) and the Day-and-Night (*aho-rātre*, 4*a*).
- Then, the list evokes further structures of the macrocosm: the regions of heaven and of earth (4*b*), cellular bodies / divinities: the Sun-and-Moon (*sūryā-candramasau*, 5*a*), Asterisms: *nakṣatra*s and *bhūtakṛt*s (both 5*b*);[22]
- They are followed by basic components of Vedic ritual: sacrificial ground (*vedi-*); *agni-* [here "fire altar"; both 6*a*], sacrificial materials: the *paridhi*s (6*b*), the *barhiṣ-*, oblations like *ājya-* and *haviṣ-* etc. (7*a*–8*b*), as well as
- the central sacrificial plants―rice and barley (*vrīhi-yavau*, 9*a*, with a specification concerning their function in ritual, 9*b*)―and the most important

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[21] I refer to the analysis of the formation of the compounds and the 'natural' character of the connections between their elements (like in the case of 'rice-and-barley') in (Sadovski 2002, 358–361, with notes 387–389).

[22] For more cosmological lists, mainly in the YV(Br), and their structures, see the choice of texts in (Klaus 1986).

domestic and sacrificial animals[23]—cows and horses (10*a*, also in TB. outside compounds, as *simplicia*), goats-and-sheep (10*b*, also in TB. in a *dvandva* compound).

The elements of the list are arranged:

- partly in accord with the increasing length of the sound complex (Behaghel's law)—cf. e.g. in § 1.1.3. below (*bahv-*)*ajāviká-* (2-syllabic *aja-* + 3-syllabic *avika-*), (*bahu-*)*dāsa-pūruṣá-* (2-syllabic *dāsa-* + 3-syllabic *pŭruṣa-*),
- partly in decreasing gradations (anticlimax): e.g. from *horse/cow* to smaller cattle (*goats, sheep*), with form variation between lists regarding the order of the first elements: *horse–cow* or *cow–horse*, mostly depending on the social perspective—obviously, cows being the animals consecrated to priests (as their primordial dakṣiṇa-), and horses belonging to kings [-and-warriors] (*kṣatrī̆ya-*). For similar gradations in parallel lists in Avestan (*male camel–male horse–bull–cow*) see § 1.3.2.3.

1.1.3. The same groups of concepts of the triad *macro-cosm–ritual–micro-cosm* also appear in Yajurveda mantras, such as the one (in TB. 3,8,5,2–3, BaudhŚS 15,5,209, ĀpŚS 20,4,3) referring to the benediction of the king during the great inaugural horse sacrifice. On its structure cf. (Sadovski 2002, 359): Listed are, first, the valuable animals, above all, cows/cattle, horses, then uncloven-hoofed herd-animals, followed by the most important crops, precious metals and ivory ("elephants" perhaps to be understood here as a metonymy), and, finally, a summary through the general concepts of "wealth" and "blooming/prosperity."

TB. 3,8,5,2–3: […] hótā /
paścā́t prā́ṅ tíṣṭhan prókṣati /
anénā́śvena médhyeneṣṭvā́ /
ayáṁ rā́jāsyái viśáḥ//
bahugvái bahvaśvā́yai bahvajāvikā́yai /
bahuvrī́hiyavā́yai bahumāṣatilā́yai /
bahuhiraṇyā́yai bahuhastíkāyai /
bahudāsapūruṣā́yai rayimátyai púṣṭimatyai /
bahurāyaspoṣā́yai rā́jāstv íti/

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[23]Noteworthy, the same formulaic sequences of domestic animals occur in the purification/lustration formula of TB. cited below, § 1.3.

[...] the Hotar sprinkles [the horse] standing on the West [facing] to the East with these words: 'By means of the sacrifice "with" / of this horse (= after/while one sacrifices this horse), which is fit for sacrifice, may this (king) be (the) king of this settlement, which has
many _cows_, many _horses_, many _goats-and-sheep_,
much _rice-and-barley_,
much _beans-and-sesame_,
much _gold_, many _elephants_,
many _slaves-and-servants_,
which has **_wealth_**, which has **_prosperity_**,
which has much **_wealth-and-prosperity_**.'

1.2. This form of ritual-poetic expression is Indo-Iranian. Also in the Avesta we can observe such lists in identical rituals of *purification of universe* by Haoma, the Iranian counterpart of Soma. Thus, Zaraθuštra lists all relevant concepts of the *macro-* and *micro-cosm* in the typical form of questions and answers: 'How shall I purify the *house*, how the *fire*, how the *water*, how the *earth*, how the *cow*, how the *plant* [the *stars*, the *moon*, the *sun*, and so on]?' Ahura Mazdā's answer is that already the mere uttering of the *purification formula* brings *purification*! Speech acts and ritual acts of purification coincide, in a unity of mantras and ritual actions; theoreticians of linguistic pragmatics like John Austin and John Searle would call this a 'performative speech act.'—Cf. Vd. 11,1–2:

[…] kuθa **_nmānəm_** yaoždaθāni
kuθa **_ātrəm_** kuθa **_āpəm_**
kuθa **_ząm_** kuθa **_gąm_** kuθa **_uruuarąm_**
kuθa **_narəm ašauuanəm_** kuθa **_nāirikąm ašaonīm_**
kuθa **_strə̄š_** kuθa **_mā̊ŋhəm_**
kuθa **_huuarə_** kuθa **_anaγra raocā̊_**
kuθa **_vīspa vohu mazdaδāta ašaciθra_**
āaṯ mraoṯ ahurō mazdā̊:
yaoždāθrəm srāuuaiiōiš zaraθuštra
yaoždāta pascaēta bun **_nmāna_**
yaoždāta **_ātrəm_** yaoždāta **_āpəm_**
yaoždāta **_ząm_** yaoždāta **_gąm_** yaoždāta **_uruuarąm_**
yaoždāta **_narəm ašauuanəm_** yaoždāta **_nāirikąm ašaonīm_**
yaoždāta **_strə̄š_** yaoždāta **_mā̊ŋhəm_**

yaoždāta ***huuarə*** yaoždāta ***anaγra raocā̊***
yaoždāta ***vīspa vohu mazdaδāta ašaciθra***

'[…] How shall I purify the house,
how the Fire, how the Water,
how the Earth, how the Cow, how the Plant,
how the *aša*-ous Man, how the *aša*-ous Woman,
how the Stars, how the Moon,
how the Sun, how the beginningless Lights
how all the Good, the Mazdā-created, the *aša*-originated?'
Thus spake Ahura Mazdā:
'You should *let the purification* (formulae) *be heard*, Zaraθuštra,
then the houses will become purified,
the Fire (will become) purified, purified the Water,
purified the Earth, purified the Cow, purified the Plant,
purified the *aša*-ous Man, purified the *aša*-ous Woman,
purified the Stars, purified the Moon,
purified the Sun, purified the beginningless Lights
purified all the Good, the Mazdā-created, the *aša*-originated.'

Furthermore, in a rain spell + purification mantra (Vd. 21) we find more complex configurations of multiple list types, incl. elaborate *parallelismus membrorum*.

1.3. In such ritual lists, we can observe various structures, starting from the simple to more complex schemes: They are characterized by repetitiveness and correlation of items within lists and between them.

1.3.1.1. The structure of the *simple list type* is similar to the one in § 1.1.1., with *one variable* or a group of variables. Scheme: **ABCDEXF / ABCDEYF / ABCDEZF …** (the variables being set in italics).

One of the most important sorts of simple lists in mantras of the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda is the list of 'identifications-and-consequences (± praise/invocation)'—schemes e.g.: "X_{noun} x_{verb}-**s**, X_{noun} may x_{verb} me(, hail!)"; "**X** is **Y**, **X** may give **Y**(, hail!)" (core mantra of the expanded version in § 1.1.1.); with invocation: "You are **A**, you may give **A**(, hail!); you are **B**, you may give **B**(, hail!) …," or, with a syllogism-like, consecutive relationship, "**X** is **Y; X** being **Y**, should do **Z**, (hail!/come!/go forth! etc.)." This is the typical form of praises, prayers, invocations, and request spells, where the variables regularly contain entire lists of capacities and vital forces (often closed—tetradic, pentadic etc.—,

conventional catalogues of senses, powers, abilities etc.).—AVŚ. 2,17:

ójo ’$_a$s$_i$y ójo me dāḥ svā́hā /1//
sáho ’$_a$si sáho me dāḥ svā́hā //2//
bálam asi bálaṃ me dāḥ svā́hā //3//
ā́yur as$_i$y ā́yur me dāḥ svā́ha //4//
śrótram asi śrótraṃ me dāḥ svā́ha //5//
cákṣur asi cákṣur me dāḥ svā́ha //6//
paripā́ṇam asi paripā́ṇaṃ me dāḥ svā́ha //7//

1. *Force* art thou; *force* mayest thou give me: hail!
2. *Power* art thou; *power* mayest thou give me: hail!
3. *Strength* art thou; *strength* mayest thou give me: hail!
4. *Life-time* art thou; *life-time* mayest thou give me: hail!
5. *Hearing* art thou; *hearing* mayest thou give me: hail!
6. *Sight* art thou; *sight* mayest thou give me: hail!
7. *Protection* art thou; *protection* mayest thou give me: hail!
(Whitney and Lanman 1905, vol. 1, 61)

1.3.1.2. An expanded variant of the scheme shows one main variable consisting of *items grouped pairwise*. This form is more complex than the one in § 1.1.1 (Scheme: **ABCDEF(±G) / ABCDEF'(±G') / ABCDEH(±I) / ABCDEH'(±I')…**, the *variables* being set in underlined italics), with regard to the categories of items and includes concepts of *cosmo-*, *theo-* and *socio*-logical significance. The *constants* in this catalogue of abilities (the nomina praedicati: *force; power; strength; heroism; manliness*) form a *pentadic* group and are largely identical with the variables of the last example AVŚ 2,17 in § 1.3.1.1.!

This format appears in magic lists of the type present in the Śaunakīya-Atharvaveda (AVŚ 10,5,1–2.6), where the basic mantra sounds like this:

  • 'Indra's *force* are you; Indra's *power* are you; Indra's *strength* are you; Indra's *heroism* are you; Indra's *manliness* are you; with **X**-junctions I join you.'

In this sequence of elements—a typical Indo-Iranian *pentadic* group (*paṅkti-*)—, only the last term changes, stanza by stanza, forming a couple every two stanzas: *bráhman-* and *kṣatrá-* (stanzas 1–2)—the pair represents the eponymous qualities of two higher social groups (*brahmán-* 'brahmin' and *kṣatríya-* 'king[-and-warrior]'),—*índra-* and *sóma-* (3–4), king's *power* and *manliness* (5 to 6).

índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāya **_brahma_**yogaír vo yunajmi //1//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … with **_K_** I join you.
índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāya **_kṣatra_**yogaír vo yunajmi //2//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … with **_L_** I join you.
índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāy**_endra_**yogaír vo yunajmi //3//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … with **_M_** I join you.
índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāya **_soma_**yogaír vo yunajmi //4//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … with **_N_** I join you.
índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāy**_āpsu_**yogaír vo yunajmi //5//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … with **_O_** I join you.
índrasy$_{a-}$ $_{-ó}$ja sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *sáha* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *bálaṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *vīryà1ṃ* sth$_{a-}$ $_{-i}$ndrasya *nṛmṇáṃ* stha / jiṣṇáve yógāya **_víśvāni_** mā **_bhūtā́ny_** úpa tiṣṭhantu yuktā́ ma **_āpa_** stha //6//	U = X's A, U = X's B, U = X's C, U = X's D, U = X's E … let all **_P_** wait upon me; joined to me are you, **_Q_**.

1. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;
Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye; Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction (yoga-) with **_brahman_**-junctions I join you.
2. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;
Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye;
Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction, with **_kṣatra_**-junctions I join you.
3. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;
Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye;
Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction, with **_indra_**-junctions I join you.
4. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;

Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye;
Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction, with **_soma_**-junctions I join you.
5. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;
Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye;
Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction, with **_water_**-junctions I join you.
6. Indra's *force* are ye; Indra's *power* are ye;
Indra's *strength* are ye; Indra's *heroism* are ye;
Indra's *manliness* are ye;
unto a conquering junction; let all existences wait upon (*upa-sthā*) me; joined to me are ye, O waters.[24]

1.3.2. _Intra_-textual correlation: More complex list types exhibit *item variation* not simply of one variable element (group)—like in **§ 1.1.[1.]** and **§ 1.3.1.**—but of *at least two variable item groups* per list with internal correlation both between the individual variables $\underline{A}$ and $\underline{a}$ within each formula ('horizontally,' **§ 1.3.2.1.**)— scheme: $\underline{A}$**XYZ**$\underline{a}$**XYZ**—and between the variables ($\underline{A}$, $\underline{B}$, $\underline{C}$, $\underline{D}$, $\underline{E}$..., $\underline{a}$, $\underline{b}$, $\underline{c}$, $\underline{d}$, $\underline{e}$) of the different formulae within the list, on the 'vertical' axis: Scheme: $\underline{A}$**XYZ**$\underline{a}$**X'YZ** / $\underline{B}$**XYZ**$\underline{b}$**X'YZ** / $\underline{C}$**XYZ**$\underline{c}$**X'YZ…** (**§ 1.3.2.2.**). In the list structure, the predication, again, is constant, the formulaic context is repeated—specific items vary, forming this time *complex list(s)* with both internal correspondence and correlation between *at least two variable* groups of items *within one textual unit* (hymn, incantation)—i.e. *intra-textual correlation*.
1.3.2.1. Thus, in the hymn AVP. 7,14 the magic formula for giving life mystically unites *cosmo*-logical elements of the higher, *theo*-logical sphere, with their inherent counterparts in nature: Fire and wood, Sun and sky etc.—The basic mantra sounds:

- '$\underline{A}$ is full of life: he is full of life due to $\underline{a}$. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life'—

e.g. AVP 7,14,1: *agnir* āyuṣmān ' sa *vanaspatibhir* āyuṣmān | sa *mā*yuṣmān āyuṣ- mantaṃ kṛṇotu '*Agni/Fire* is full of life: he is full of life (by means) of/with/due to the *trees/lords of the forest*. (So,) full of life, let him make *me* full of life.'
1.3.2.2. On the vertical axis, within the list AVP. 7,14 we find a first *paṅkti*- (pentadic group) of internally correlating items in stanzas 1–5. It includes five nature deities, which take the position of the *first variable* element ($\underline{A}$, $\underline{B}$, $\underline{C}$, $\underline{D}$, $\underline{E}$): *Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, Soma*. The *second variable* ($\underline{a}$, $\underline{b}$, $\underline{c}$, $\underline{d}$, $\underline{e}$) contains the natural environments of these natural deities: *trees* for the Fire, *space* for

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[24]Cf. (Whitney and Lanman 1905, vol. 2, 579).

the Wind, *sky* for the Sun… In the middle (stanza 6) we find the deified *Ritual* (*Yajña*). Then, another *five* deities are listed as a second *paṅkti-* (Stanzas 7–11): *Indus, Brahman, Indra*, the *Viśve Devāḥ, Prajāpati*. I have isolated similar schemes e.g. in the Seventh book of Atharvaveda-Paippalāda: '*A̲* is X; he is X due to *a̲*; being X, let him make me X. *B̲* is X; he is X due to *b̲*; being X, let him make me X.'

Agni/*Fire* is full of life (or: life-giving, *vivificans*): he is full of life by (means of)/with/due to the **lords of the wood** (the **trees**). (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Vāyu/*Wind* is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **intermediate space**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Sūrya/*Sun* is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **sky**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Candra/*Moon* is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **asterisms**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Soma is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **plants**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Yajña/*Sacrifice* (*Ritual*) is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **sacerdotal fees**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

The **Confluence** (*Indus*/*Ocean*?) is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **rivers**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

Brahman / *the formula*(*tion*) is full of life: it is full of life by/ with the **brahmacārin**s. (So,) full of life, let it make me full of life.

Indra is full of life: he is full of life by/with the **potency**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

The (**All-**)**Gods** are full of life: they are full of life by/with the **amṛta-**. (So,) full of life, let them make me full of life.

Prajāpati / *The* **Lord of** (**Pro-**)**Creation** is full of life: he is full of life by/with the (*pro*)**creations**/**progenies**/**descendants**. (So,) full of life, let him make me full of life.

AVP. 7,14 (ed. Griffiths 2009, ad loc.; transl. partly modified):	Scheme:
agnir āyuṣmān ꞌ sa **vanaspatibhir** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||1||	*A̲* is X; he is X due to *a̲*; as X, let him make me X.
vāyur āyuṣmān ꞌ so **ʼntarikṣeṇā**yuṣmān sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||2||	*B̲* is X; he is X due to *b̲*; as X, let him make me X.

sūrya āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***divā***yuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||3||	**_C_** is X; he is X due to **_c_**; as X, let him make me X.
candra āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***nakṣatrair*** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||4||	**_D_** is X; he is X due to **_d_**; as X, let him make me X.
soma āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***oṣadhībhir*** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||5||	**_E_** is X; he is X due to **_e_**; as X, let him make me X.
yajña āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***dakṣiṇābhir*** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||6||	**_F_** is X; he is X due to **_f_**; as X, let him make me X.
samudra āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***nadībhir*** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||7||	**_G_** is X; he is X due to **_g_**; as X, let him make me X.
brahmāyuṣmat ʼ tad ***brahmacāribhir*** āyuṣmat | tan māyuṣmad āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||8||	**_H_** is X; it is X due to **_h_**; as X, let it make me X.
indra āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***vīryeṇāyuṣmān*** | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||9||	**_I_** is X; he is X due to **_i_**; as X, let him make me X.
devā āyuṣmantas ʼ te **'*mṛtenāyuṣmantaḥ*** | te māyuṣmanta āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇvantu ||10||	**_J_** is X; he is X due to **_j_**; as X, let them make me X.
prajāpatir āyuṣmān ʼ sa ***prajābhir*** āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantaṃ kṛṇotu ||11||	**_K_** is X; he is X due to **_k_**; as X, let him make me X.

1.3.2.3. In the same way, we find double-list structures with parallelism of two variables—again, in purification rituals—both in the Atharvaveda (Śaunaka / Paippalāda) and in the Avesta—, for instance with lists of socio-logically relevant concepts of the kind:

- 'You should *purify A* (in exchange) for *a*, *B* (in exchange) for *b*, *C* (in exchange) for *c*.'

Here, the variable element X represents persons of high social circles in *decreasing* enumeration / gradation: a *priest* (*A*), a '*country*-lord of a *country*' (*B*), a '*clan*-lord of a *clan*' (*C*), a '*settlement*-lord of a *settlement*' (*D*) a '*house*-lord of a *house*' (*E*)—a sequence containing a stylistically marked, continuous paronomastic structure with etymological relation between its elements (cf. Sadovski

2006, 531–535). The variable element Y comprises the *dakṣiṇas* for purification of these persons, arranged in *decreasing* axiological order of appearance: *camel/ horse/bull/cow*:

Vd. 9,37: *āθrauuanəm* yaoždaθō	Purify an *A*
dahmaiiāṯ parō **āfritōiṯ**	for an ***a*** (in exchange).
daiŋ́hə̄uš daiŋ́hu.paitīm yaoždaθō	Purify a *B-lord of B*
uštrahe paiti **aršnō aγriiehe**	for a ***b*** [male] top-animal.
zaṇtə̄uš zaṇtu.paitīm yaoždaθō	Purify a *C-lord of C*
aspahe paiti **aršnō aγriiehe**	for a ***c*** [male] top-animal.
vīsō vīspaitīm yaoždaθō	Purify a *D-lord of D*
gə̄uš paiti **uxšnō aγriiehe**	for a ***d*** [male] animal.
nmānahe nmānō.paitīm yaoždaθō	Purify a *E-lord of E*
gə̄uš paiti **aziiå**	for an ***e*** [fem.] animal.

> You should purify a *priest*
> for a **dahma-ful blessing**;
> you should purify a *country-lord of a country*
> for / against a **male camel** of top/extreme (value);
> you should purify a *clan-lord of a clan*
> for / against a horse, **a stallion (a "horse-stallion")** of extreme
> (value); you should purify a *settlement-lord of a settlement*
> for / against a **[male] cow, a bull (a "cow-bull")** of extreme (value);
> you should purify a *house-lord of a house*
> for / against a **cow, a fertile cow**.

1.3.2.3.1. For the figure '*settlement*-lord of a *settlement*,' Avestan *vīsō vīspaiti*, we can find good parallels in Vedic, RV. 9,108,10b *viś-páti- viśā́m*—cf. also 'cow-herd of cows' in RV. + *go-páti- gávām* (*gónām*), and in Greek (Hom. +) (ἐπι)βου-κόλος βοῶν, so-to-say, 'cow-boy of cows' (!), as opposed to lexicalized βου-κόλος ὑῶν 'cow-herd of pigs' (Hom.+). For evidence of Mycenaean, Homeric, Archaic and Classical expressions (like ἵπποι […] βου-κολέοντο 'the horses were shepherded' in Iliad 20,221f. or ἱππο-βουκόλος 'horse-shepherd,' actually "horse-cowboy," in Sophokles), I refer to (Panagl 1999), esp. 439–443, with my addendum (*ibid.*, p. 442) on parallel Indo-Iranian material in expressions like *áśvānāṃ gópati-* "cow-lord of horses [quasi '*ἱππο-βουκόλος*']" beside *gávāṃ gópati-* "cow-lord of cows" (in RV. 1,101,4a *yó áśvānāṃ yó gávāṃ gópatir vaśī́*).

Compare the lexicalization of Engl. *shepherd*, which is not necessarily related by synchronic language speakers with the original etymological domain of Late Old Engl. *scēap-hierde* 'sheep-herd'[25] but is largely used in generic sense of '*Hirte*' since the 18th century.

1.3.2.3.2. In cases like Yt. 13,150, we find the same IIr. 'hierarchy of social structures,' this time in *increasing* enumeration (gradation): *house* (*E*)—*settlement* (*D*)—*clan* (*C*)—*country* (*B*; the symbol letters here correspond to the ones of the first list in § 1.3.1.). The variables here concern *chrono*-logical dimensions: **past, future, present**:

paoiriiąn ţkaēšā yazamaide	We worship X
*nmānanąm*ca *vīsąm*ca	of *E* and of *D*
*zaņtunąm*ca *dax́iiunąm*ca	and of *C* and of *B*
yōi **åŋharə**:	who **[BE-past]**.
paoiriiąn ţkaēšā yazamaide	We worship X
*nmānanąm*ca *vīsąm*ca	of *E* and of *D*
*zaņtunąm*ca *dax́iiunąm*ca	and of *C* and of *B*
yōi **bābuuarə**:	who **[BE-prospective]**
paoiriiąn ţkaēšā yazamaide	We worship X
*nmānanąm*ca *vīsąm*ca	of *E* and of *D*
*zaņtunąm*ca *dax́iiunąm*ca	and of *C* and of *B*
yōi **hąņti**.	who **[BE-present]**.

> We worship the first teachers
> of the *houses* and of the *settlements*
> and of the *clans* and of the *countries*
> which **were / have been** (there).
> We worship the first teachers
> of the *houses* and of the *settlements*
> and of the *clans* and of the *countries*
> which **will be** (there).
> We worship the first teachers
> of the *houses* and of the *settlements*
> and of the *clans* and of the *countries*
> which **are** ([being] there).

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[25]Cf. (Panagl 1999, 443, with lit., 445, n. 20).

1.3.3. *Inter*-textual correlation: Still more complex list types include *correlations between varying lists*—not only within one textual unit (hymn, incantation)—like in § 1.3.2.[2.] and § 1.3.3.1 (Scheme: **$\underline{A}$XYZ$\underline{a}$X'YZ / $\underline{B}$XYZ$\underline{b}$X'YZ / $\underline{C}$XYZ$\underline{c}$X'YZ…**)—but also *between several textual units* (§ 1.3.3.2.).   Once more, yet again, the predication is constant, the context is repeated: specific items vary, forming complex list(s) with both internal correspondence and correlation between at least two variable groups of items—in this case, however, not only with *intra*-textual but also with **inter**-textual correlation of lists:

1.3.3.1. The basic component here is an *intra*-textually correlative list (consisting, for its part, of sub-elements of simpler shape, as described in § 1.3.2.1.). In the hymn AVŚ. 2,19, for instance, the structure is: **X, $\underline{A_{noun}}$ $\underline{A_{verb}}$Y / X, $\underline{B_{noun}}$ $\underline{B_{verb}}$Y / X, $\underline{C_{noun}}$ $\underline{C_{verb}}$Y …**—items varying and internally correlated within the list, from stanza to stanza. The *pentadic list* contains the invocational spells: 'O, **Agni**, what your *heat* is, heat by/with it [*our hater*]; what your *flame* is, *flame* by it; what your *beam(ray)/gleam/glare* is, *beam/gleam/glare* by it.' So, the *intra*-textual variation goes on through *five* stanzas, in which the deity addressed by listing its main attributes (essentially correlated with one another) is constantly the Fire-god:

Invoc.	Mantra: 'O, X (= Fire), what your **$\underline{ABCDE_{noun}}$** is, do **$\underline{ABCDE_{verb}}$** it against that one who hates us, whom we hate'.

AVŚ. 2,19:			
ágne	yát te **tápas** téna tám práti **tapa** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayám dviṣmáḥ ‖1‖	Agni,	what your **heat** is, **heat** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te **háras** téna tám práti **hara** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayám dviṣmáḥ ‖2‖	Agni,	what your **flame** is, **flame** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te 'r**cís** téna tám prátᵢy **arca** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayám dviṣmáḥ ‖3‖	Agni,	what your **beam** (**ray**) is, **beam** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te **śocís** téna tám práti **śoca** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayám dviṣmáḥ ‖4‖	Agni,	what your **gleam** is, **gleam** by it *against* Y […]

ágne	yát te ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kr̥ṇu*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||5||	Agni,	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it […].

1.3.3.2. However, this list *itself* is part of a complex 'list of lists': In Atharvaveda 2, hymns 19–22, the *paṅkti* of *five* stereotypic invocations is itself repeated *five* times, with variation of address to *five* gods, the 'usual suspects' of mantras of cosmological lists: **Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, Waters**. This is the '***inter***-textual variation' par excellence: Items vary and correlate not only within the list (= § 1.3.3.1.) but also correlate within a complex of 5 lists in total, represented by 5 hymns arranged one after the other:

Invoc.	Mantra: O, **XYZVW** (= Fire, Wind, Sun…), what your <u>***ABCDE_noun***</u> is, do <u>***ABCDE_verb***</u> it against that one who hates us, whom we hate!

AVŚ.	2,19:		
ágne	yát te ***tápas*** téna táṃ práti ***tapa*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||1||	Agni,	what your ***heat*** is, ***heat*** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te ***háras*** téna táṃ práti ***hara*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||2||	Agni,	what your ***flame*** is, ***flame*** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te ’***rcís*** téna táṃ prát¡y ***arca*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||3||	Agni,	what your ***beam*** is, ***beam*** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te ***śocís*** téna táṃ práti ***śoca*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||4||	Agni,	what your ***gleam*** is, ***gleam*** by it *against* Y […]
ágne	yát te ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kr̥ṇu*** yò ’ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ||5||	Agni,	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it.

AVŚ.	2,20:			
vā́yo	yát te ***tápas*** téna tám práti ***tapa*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖1‖		Vāyu,	what your ***heat*** is, ***heat*** by it *against* Y […]
vā́yo	yát te ***háras*** téna tám práti ***hara*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖2‖		Vāyu,	what your ***flame*** is, ***flame*** by it *against* Y […]
vā́yo	yát te '***rcís*** téna tám prát͎y ***arca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖3‖		Vāyu,	what your ***beam*** is, ***beam*** by it *against* Y […]
vā́yo	yát te ***śocís*** téna tám práti ***śoca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖4‖		Vāyu,	what your ***gleam*** is, ***gleam*** by it *against* Y […]
vā́yo	yát te ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kṛṇu*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖5‖		Vāyu,	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it […]

AVŚ.	2,21:			
sū́rya	yát te ***tápas*** téna táṃ práti ***tapa*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖1‖		Sūrya,	what your ***heat*** is, ***heat*** by it *against* Y […]
sū́rya	yát te ***háras*** téna táṃ práti ***hara*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖2‖		Sūrya,	what your ***flame*** is, ***flame*** by it *against* Y […]
sū́rya	yát te '***rcís*** téna táṃ prát͎y ***arca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖3‖		Sūrya,	what your ***beam*** is, ***beam*** by it *against* Y […]
sū́rya	yát te ***śocís*** téna táṃ práti ***śoca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖4‖		Sūrya,	what your ***gleam*** is, ***gleam*** by it *against* Y […]
sū́rya	yát te ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kṛṇu*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yám vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖5‖		Sūrya,	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it […]

AVŚ.	2,22:		
cándra	yát te ***tápas*** téna tám práti ***tapa*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖1‖	Candra	what your ***heat*** is, ***heat*** by it *against* Y […]
cándra	yát te ***háras*** téna tám práti ***hara*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖2‖	Candra	what your ***flame*** is, ***flame*** by it *against* Y […]
cándra	yát te '***rcís*** téna tám prátᵢy ***arca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖3‖	Candra	what your ***beam*** is, ***beam*** by it *against* Y
cándra	yát te ***śocís*** téna tám práti ***śoca*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖4‖	Candra	what your ***gleam*** is, ***gleam*** by it *against* Y […]
cándra	yát te ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kṛṇu*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖5‖	Candra	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it […]

AVŚ.	2,23:		
ā́po	yád vas ***tápas*** téna táṃ práti ***tapata*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖1‖	Waters,	what your ***heat*** is, ***heat*** by it against Y [...]
ā́po	yád vo ***háras*** téna tám práti ***harata*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖2‖	Waters,	what your ***flame*** is, ***flame*** by it against Y [...]
ā́po	yád vo 'ₐ***rcís*** téna tám prátᵢy ***arcata*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖3‖	Waters,	what your ***beam*** (***ray***) is, ***beam*** by it against Y [...]
ā́po	yád vaḥ ***śocís*** téna tám práti ***śocata*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖4‖	Waters,	what your ***gleam*** is, ***gleam*** by it against Y [...]
ā́po	yád vas ***téjas*** téna tám ***atejásaṃ kṛṇuta*** yò 'ₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ‖5‖	Waters,	what your ***glare***/***splendour*** is, ***make***/***render*** Y ***splendourless*** by it [...].

Represented as a summarized list structure:

AVŚ. 2,19:	AVŚ. 2,20:	AVŚ. 2,21:	AVŚ. 2,22:	AVŚ. 2,23:
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*
+ Mantra	+ Mantra	+ Mantra	+ Mantra	+ Mantra [Pl.]
A./Fire	*V.*/Wind	*S.*/Sun	*C.*/Moon	*Āp.*/Waters
(5 items)	(5 items)	(5 items)	(5 items)	(5 items)

1.3.3.3. As a result, we have a *multi-dimensional* list, with both "horizontal" and "vertical" relations *within* and *beyond* the individual list(s): the ultimate form of stereometric, multi-dimensional representation of the Universe.

2,19	2,20	2,21	2,22	2,23	→ Complex list ↓
Invoc.	Invoc.	Invoc.	Invoc.	Invoc.	Mantra: 'what your X is, do X' with it against that one who hates us, whom we hate'
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*	yát te *tápas* téna tám práti *tapa* yò ʼₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ǀ 1ǀ
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*	yát te *háras* téna tám práti *hara* yò ʼₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ǀ 2ǀ
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*	yát te ʼₐ*rcís* téna tám prátᵢy *arca* yò ʼₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ǀ 3ǀ
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*	yát te *śocís* téna tám práti *śoca* yò ʼₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ǀ 4ǀ
ágne	*vā́yo*	*sū́rya*	*cándra*	*ā́po*	yát te *téjas* téna tám *atejásaṃ kṛṇu* yò ʼₐsmā́n dvéṣṭi yáṃ vayáṃ dviṣmáḥ ǀ 5ǀ

- In the Avesta, a similar form of intertexual communication occurring between Yašts (5, 9, 10, 12, 15…) is achieved by the common presence of stylistically repeated formulae in these texts. The internal correspondence of these formulae is based on *chrono*logical, *genea*logical (and even *eschato*logical) principles: Each list stereotypically includes sacrificial

activities in honor of a deity exercised by most prominent protagonists (and adversaries) of Mazdayasnism, in generational order culminating with Zaraθuštra. What then changes from one Yašt to another is the name of the honored deity. Taken together, these lists form one of the strongest cohesive elements of the corpus of the Yašts, just like their introductory formulae,[26] which, in a very direct sense, can also be read as *pentadic lists*—each one consisting of five parts, parts 1–3 and 5 of which exhibiting a generally constant character, part 4 changing according to the part of the day (*chrono*logical axis) and the deity worshipped in the hymn (*theo*-logical axis).

1.3.3.4. Both Indo-Iranian traditions know the type of *multiple* (triple/ triadic, quadruple/ tetradic etc.), expanding lists. The sophisticated Avestan instance in Yt. 3,7–16 displays three, *successively expanding* lists of spells; such complex forms of ritual curses have remarkably similar structure to Vedic mantra lists in spells against demons:

- The first list (Yt. 3,7–9) contains a general survey of adversaries of Zoroastrianism, of diseases and daēuuic creatures, addressing them directly, in an 'exorcist' manner.
- The second list (Yt. 3,10–13) represents an expanded form that subsumes the same creatures within an appeal to kill 'thousands and ten thousand times ten thousands' of them.
- The third turn (Yt. 14–16) contains a complex list of the same creatures, in positive and superlative form, within a lament of Aŋra Mainiiu about their elimination by Aša.

2. '*Physio-logia*.' Another genre of catalogues can be designated as '*physio*logical,' '*physio*-graphical,' or better, '*somato*-graphical' lists. They contain stylistically arranged *enumerations of body parts* and organs, very often displayed 'from [the top of the] head to toe.'

2.1. In Indo-Iranian poetry, *body-depicting* lists are regularly present in healing spells; ritual chants consisting of *body part enumerations* serve to achieve (ritual) completion and perfection. Moreover, they can represent the universe (in anthropomorphic form or as an anthropomorphic metaphor)—in the framework of philosophic, speculative hymns like the Puruṣa-Sūkta of Ṛgveda concerning the creation of the cosmos from the body parts of a ritually dismembered '*Ur-Mensch*'; the Atharvanic variants of this hymn are employed in magic practices

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[26]On these as well as on the conclusive formulae of the Yašts (in their relationship with the Nyayišn corpus) cf. (Darmesteter 1892, 331–334; Lommel 1927, 8ff.) and most recently (Panaino forthcoming).

that show that the performance of such a list can also aim at *re-creation* of the cosmos in a way controlled by the *brahmán* (or by the magician) for various reasons: of manipulation, defense, destruction—or of healing and purification.

2.1.1. The Avesta as well displays highly elaborate lists of body-parts 'from head to toe,' or rather: 'from the top of the head till the end of the heel'—like the *thirtyfold one* within the great *purification ritual* for persons that have had contact with a dead body, in Vd. 8,40–72:

• The main formula can be extrapolated from the sequence Vd. 8,41ff., cf. Vd. 8,41–42:

dātarə gaēθanąm astuuaitinąm ašāum
yezica āpō vaŋuhīš
barəšnūm vaɣδanəm pourum paiti.jasaiti
kuua aēšąm
aēša druxš yā nasuš upa.duuąsaiti:
āaṱ mraoṱ ahurō mazdā̊:
paitiša hē hō.nā *aṇtarāṱ naēmāṱ bruuaṱ.biiąm* aēšąm
aēša druxš yā nasuš upa.duuąsaiti.
42. dātarə gaēθanąm astuuaitinąm ašāum
yezica āpō vaŋuhīš
paitiša hē hō.nā *aṇtarāṱ naēmāṱ bruuaṱ.biiąm* paiti.jasaiti
kuua aēšąm
aēša druxš yā nasuš upa.duuąsaiti:
āaṱ mraoṱ ahurō mazdā̊:
pasca hē *vaɣδanəm aēšąm*
aēša druxš yā nasuš upa.duuąsaiti.

O Creator of the 'bony' / material world, thou Aṣa-ful One!
When the good waters
first arrive to the [*body part A*, here:] top of the head,
whereon of them [= of persons that have had a contact with a corpse]
does the Druj, the Nasu [the mortiferous epidemy witch/ demon],
move?
So spoke Ahura Mazdā:
'Upon the [*body part B*, here:] *inner part between their eyebrows*
the Druj, the Nasu, moves.'
42. O Creator of the 'bony' material world, thou Aṣa-ful One!
When the good waters
arrive up to the [*body part B*, here:]

inner part between their eyebrows,
on which place of them
does the Druj, the Nasu, move?
So spoke Ahura Mazdā:
'Upon the [*body part C*, here:] *backside of their head*
the Druj, the Nasu, moves.'

• The list has complex, *spiral* organization. We can call it 'triple direction-ality': the process develops (1) from the *upper* body part to the *lower* one, (2) from *front* to *back side*, and (3) from *right* to *left*, always recursively, step-by-step:

– Vd. 8,41:	**A** = *top of the head*; **B** = *space between the eye-brows*
– Vd. 8,42:	**B** = *space between the eye-brows*; **C** = *backside of the head*
– Vd. 8,43: […]	**C** = *backside of the head*; **D** = *the upper part of the face*, etc. […]
– Vd. 8,62:	**P** = *right knee*; **Q** = *left knee*
– Vd. 8,63:	**Q** = *left knee*; **R** = *right shin*
– Vd. 8,64:	**R** = *right shin*; **S** = *left shin*
– Vd. 8,65:	**S** = *left shin*; **T** = *right ankle*
– Vd. 8,66:	**T** = *right ankle*; **U** = *left ankle*
– Vd. 8,67:	**U** = *left ankle*; **V** = *right fore-foot*
– Vd. 8,68:	**V** = *right fore-foot/instep*; **W** = *left fore-foot/instep*
– Vd. 8,69:	**W** = *left fore-foot*; **X** = *under the sole of the foot*
– Vd. 8,70:	**X** = *right sole*; **Y** = *left sole*
– Vd. 8,71:	**Y** = *left sole*; **Z** = Ø, i.e.: the Druj Nasu disappears

At the end of the sequence, at the left sole, the witch disappears―the purifi-cation is completed, the danger of infection is stopped, the outbreak of epidemy banned and the contamination ritually healed.

2.1.2. Vedic purification, exorcism, and healing spells are generally arranged in similar form:

2.1.2.1. Lists with body-part groupings (and often with easily comprehensible classificatory organization) are represented by Vedic hymns like the one against the *yákṣma* disease in AVŚ. 2,33:

akṣī́bhyāṃ te nā́sikābhyāṃ
kárṇābhyāṃ chúbukād ádhi |
yákṣmaṃ śīrṣaṇyàṃ mastíṣkāj
jihvā́yā ví vṛhāmi te ||1||
grīvā́bhyas ta uṣṇī́hābhyaḥ
kī́kasābhyo anūkíyàt |
yákṣmaṃ doṣaṇyàm áṃsābhyāṃ
bāhúbhyāṃ ví vṛhāmi te ||2||
hṛ́dayāt te pári klomnó
hálīkṣṇāt pārśᵤvā̀bhᵢyām |
yákṣmaṃ mátasnābhyāṃ plīhnó
yaknás te ví vṛhāmasi ||3||
āntrébhyas te gúdābhᵢyo
vaniṣṭhór udárād ádhi |
yákṣmaṃ kukṣíbhᵢyām plāśér
nā́bhiyā ví vṛhāmi te ||4||
ūrúbhyāṃ te aṣṭhīvádbhyāṃ
pā́rṣṇibhyāṃ prápadābhᵢyām |
yákṣmaṃ bhasadyàṃ śróṇibhyāṃ
bhā́sadaṃ bháṃsaso ví vṛhāmi te ||5||
asthíbhyas te majjábhᵢyaḥ
snā́vabhyo dhamánibhᵢyaḥ |
yákṣmam pāṇíbhyām aṅgúlibhyo
nakhébhyo ví vṛhāmi te ||6||
áṅge-aṅge lómni-lomni
yás te párvaṇi-parvaṇi |
yákṣmaṃ tvacasyàṃ te vayáṃ
kaśyápasya vībarhéṇa
víṣvañcaṃ ví vṛhāmasi ||7||

1. From[27] your *eyes*, from [your] *nostrils*,
from [your] *ears*, from [your] *chin*,
from [your] *brain*, from [your] *tongue*,
I tear away for you the *yákṣma* who is in the *head*.
2. From your *neck*, from the nape of [your] *neck*,
from [your] *vertebrae*, from [your] *spine*,
from [your] *shoulders*, from [your] *forearms*,
I tear away for you the *yákṣma* who is in the *arm*.

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[27]Cf. (Zysk 1998, 15f.).

3. From your *heart*, from [your] *lungs*,
from [your] *hálīksṇa*, from [your] *two sides*,
from [your] two *mátasnas*, from [your] *spleen*,
from [your] *liver*, we tear away for you the *yákṣma*.
4. From your *bowels*, from [your] *intestines*,
from [your] *rectum*, from [your] *stomach*,
from the *lateral parts* of [your] *abdomen*, from [your] *plāśi*,
from [your] *navel*, I tear away for you the *yákṣma*.
5. From your *thighs*, from [your] *kneecaps*,
from [your] *heels*, from the front of [your] *feet*,
from [your] *haunches*, from [your] *bháṃsas*,
I tear away for you the *yákṣma* who is in the *backside*.
6. From your *bones*, from [your] *marrows*,
from [your] *tendons*, from [your] (*blood*) *vessels*,
from [your] *hands*, from [your] *fingers*,
from [your] *nails*, I tear away for you the *yákṣma*.
7. By means of Kaśyapa's exorcising spell,
we tear completely away
the *yákṣma* who is of your *skin*,
who is in your *every limb*,
every hair [and] *every joint*.

2.1.2.2. In the magic spell from the RV. 10,163,1ff. *all body parts* concerned (among them: *various* internal organs, bones/joints, hair etc. [stanza 1–5]) are first listed *individually*, in the framework of a voluminous *enumeratio*. After this, they are summarized by three *generic terms* (*áṅgād-aṅgāl, lómno-lomno, párvaṇi-parvaṇi* in stanza 10,163,6ab quoted below), which, in forming simultaneously a distributive *geminatio* [distributive 'Āmreḍita']), subsume the individual body parts under categories: *limbs, hair*, and *joints*. At the end, the generic terms themselves are once again recapitulated by the generalisation *sárvasmād ātmánas* 'the whole body/trunk.'—RV. 10,163,6:

    áṅgād-áṅgāl lómno-lomno
    jātám *párvaṇi-parvaṇi* /
    yákṣmaṃ <u>*sárvasmād ātmánas*</u>
    tám idáṃ ví vṛhāmi te //

> From *each limb*, from *each hair*,
> the emaciation born/arisen in *each joint*,
> from the *whole (body) trunk*,
> this one I pull off from you now/here.

2.1.3. As is well known, we have to do with a common Indo-European topos of *healing lists*. Parallels in Germanic, related not only typologically but also genealogically to the Indian ones, have been described at the dawn of comparative Indo-European philology by Adalbert Kuhn.[28] They occur in the famous *Merseburger Zaubersprüche*, constantly re-edited and re-assessed ever since the mid-nineteenth century—most recently in the proceedings volume[29] of a colloquium in Halle 2000:

> Phol and Wodan were riding to the woods, when Balder's foal sprained his foot. Bechanted it Sinhtgunt, (and) the Sun her sister; bechanted it Friya, (and) Volla her sister; bechanted it Wodan as best he could. Like *bone*-sprain, like *blood*-sprain, like *joint*-sprain: *bone to bone, blood to blood, joint to joint*: so be they glued.[30]

Cf. Mantras from the Atharvaveda-Śaunaka 4,12,2–6:

> yát te riṣṭáṃ yát te dyuttám
> ásti péṣṭraṃ ta ātmáni /
> dhātā́ tád bhadráyā púnaḥ
> sáṃ dadhat *páruṣā páruḥ* //2//
> sáṃ te *majjā́ majñā́* bhavatu
> sám u te *páruṣā páruḥ* /
> sáṃ te *māṃsásya* vísrastaṃ
> sám *ásthịy* ápi rohatu //3//
> *majjā́ majñā́* sáṃ dhīyatām
> *cármaṇā cárma* rohatu /
> *ásṛk* te *ásthi* rohatu
> *māṃsáṃ māṃséna* rohatu //4//

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[28]Cf. (Kuhn 1864, 49ff.).

[29](Eichner and Nedoma 2000–2001(b)), esp. in the essay (Eichner and Nedoma 2000–2001(a)). Cf. also the divergent interpretative proposals by Wolfgang Beck in Part 2 of the same volume.

[30](West 2007, 336); for modifications cf. the comm. by (Eichner and Nedoma 2000–2001(b), ad loc.).

lóma lómnā sáṃ kalpayā
tvacā́ sáṃ kalpayā *tvácam*/
ásṛk te *ásthi* rohatu
chinnáṃ sáṃ dheh₍ᵢ₎y oṣadhe //5//
sá út tiṣṭha préhi
prá drava ráthaḥ sucakráḥ /
supavíḥ sunā́bhiḥ
práti tiṣṭh_a _urdhváḥ //6//

2. What of thee is torn, what of thee is broken,
(or what) of thee crushed—
let Dhātar (put) it auspiciously
put that together again, joint with joint.
3. Together be (thy) *marrow with marrow*,
together (thy) *joint with joint*;
together thy *flesh*'s sundered [part],
together let thy *bone* grow over.
4. *Marrow with marrow* together be set;
skin with skin let grow;
thy *blood, bone let grow*,
flesh with flesh let grow.
5. *Hair with hair* fit (thou) together;
with *hide together fit hide*;
thy *bone with bone* let grow;
set the severed together, O herb.
6. So stand up, go forth, run forth,
(as) a chariot well-wheeled,
well-tired, well-naved.
Stand firm upright![31]

Cf. also the additional interpretations of the hymn by (Eichner and Nedoma 2000–2001(b)). —A somewhat divergent, important parallel appears in the new fragments of the Paippalāda—AVP. 4,15,1–4. It has been edited by (Bhattacharya 1997) and re-assessed and commented upon by Griffiths and Lubotsky[32] and is, by now, the best preserved parallel to the Germanic formula:

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[31]Cf. (Whitney and Lanman 1905, vol.1, 167; Watkins 1995, 522f. West 2007, 336f.).
[32](Griffiths and Lubotsky 2000–2001), see also p. 209 with a photograph of the ms. Ku 1, fol. 78r.

saṃ *majjā majjñā* bhavatu
sam u te *paruṣā paruḥ* |
saṃ te *rāṣṭrasya* visrastaṃ
saṃ *snāva* sam u *parva* te ||1||
majjā majjñā saṃ dhīyatām
asthnāsth$_i$y *api rohatu |
snāva te saṃ dadhmaḥ *snāvnā*
carmaṇā carma rohatu ||2||
loma lomnā saṃ dhīyatām
tvacā saṃ kalpayā *tvacam* |
asṛk te *asnā* rohatu
māṃsaṃ māṃsena rohatu ||3||
rohiṇī saṃrohin$_i$y
*asthnaḥ śīrṇasya rohiṇī |
rohiṇyām ahni jātāsi
rohin$_i$y as$_i$y oṣadhe ||4||

1. Let *marrow* come together with *marrow*,
and your *joint* together with *joint*,
together what of your *flesh* has fallen apart,
together *sinew* and together your *bone*.
2. Let *marrow* be put together with *marrow*,
let *bone* grow over [together] with *bone*.
We put together your *sinew* with *sinew*,
let *skin* grow with *skin*.
3. Let *hair* be put together with *hair*.
[Rohiṇī-plant ('Grower')], fit together *skin* with *skin*.
Let your *blood* grow with *blood*;
let *flesh* grow with *flesh*.
4. Grower [are you], healer,
grower of the broken *bone*.
You are born on the Rohiṇī day,
you are grower, o plant.

2.2. Other forms of body part lists include depictions of clothing, regalia and armaments of the deity. I analyzed such lists in a book published 2007 and will avoid repeating them here. For illustration, I shall cite only the instance of Yt. 15,57, with the depiction of Vaiiu starting from his head-decoration on (the figure being a repetition figure, *symplokē*, with a *complex anaphora*: **A B C D /**

A B E D / A B F D / A B G D …), in which the context on both sides remains constant, the mid-term of the construction containing the only variable element with reference to clothing and armament:

> vaēm zaraniiō.*xaoδə*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*pusə*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*minə*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*vāṣ̌ə*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*caxrə*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*zaē*m yazamaide
> vaēm zaraniiō.*vastrə*m yazamaide

> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *head decoration*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *diadem*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *necklace*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *chariot*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *wheel*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *weapon*,
> We worship Vaiiu, the one with the golden *robe*/'*vestments*'.

2.3. *Body as list*: Under this rubric, we observe the highly interesting metaphoric type characterized, first, by the ritual *pronouncement* of cursing spells *on body parts of a figurine* (a voodoo-like doll or [schematic] statue).

2.3.1. I comment on lists in formulae of rites of ritual *binding, burying* and *piercing* of figurines in Vedic and beyond in (Sadovski 2012). Here I present only two illustrative examples of body part enumerations. The first one concerns enumerative *binding spells* in maledictions:

2.3.1.1. In Indo-Iranian tradition, the basic mantra structure is represented by binding formulae like the one of AVŚ. 7,73[70], 4–5: 'I [am] bind[ing] X ['s body (parts a, b, c etc.)]':

> ápāñcau ta ubháu *bāhū́*
> ápi nahyām₍í₎y *ās₍i̯₎yàm* |
> agnér devásya manyúnā
> téna te 'vadhiṣaṃ havíḥ ||4||
> ápi nahyāmi te *bāhū́*
> ápi nahyām₍í₎y *ās₍i̯₎yàm* |
> agnér ghorásya manyúnā

téna te 'vadhiṣaṃ havíḥ ||5||

Turned back/behind are your two *arms*.
I bind (your) *mouth*.
With the wrath of god Agni
I destroyed your oblation.
I bind your *arms*,
I bind (your) *mouth*.
With the wrath of terrible Agni
I destroyed your oblation.

2.3.1.2. Parallels from other (Indo-European) traditions come from Greek magic spells, where we find the same basic structure―and the same form of arranging the spells in *increasing* order of the terms (again, 'Behaghel's law')―e.g. on a cursing plate from Attica, beginning of the 4th century BCE:

Side A: (1) I bind down Theagenes, his *tongue* and his soul and the *words* he uses;
(2) I also bind down the *hands* and *feet* of Pyrrhias, the cook, his *tongue*, his *soul*, his *words*; […]
(8) I also bind down the *tongue* of Seuthes, his *soul*, and the *words* he uses, just like his *feet*, his *hands*, his *eyes*, and his *mouth*;
(9) I also bind down the *tongue* of Lamprias, his *soul*, and the *words* he uses, just like his *feet*, his *hands*, his *eyes*, and his *mouth*.

Side B: *All these* I bind down, I make them disappear, 1 bury them, I nail them down (Graf 1997, 122).

On evidence for such practices in Indo-Iranian see (Sadovski 2012, 334ff.); since the RV Khilas and esp. in the Kauśika-Sūtra and texts of the (Black) YV, we have scattered evidence for such rites of *burying figurines* or other objects (*kr̥tyā́*-) and treating (binding, piercing, shooting at) such objects systematically, limb by limb, to damn a person (just like in Graeco-Egyptian magic rites described by Graf 1997, 134ff.). There is a huge literature about Greek and Graeco-Egyptian, but also earlier Egyptian and ancient Mesopotamian traditions of binding and burying spells, apparently without any reference to Indo-Iranian parallels. We even possess little sculptural representations, like the following instances:
2.3.2. *Verba concepta*―mantras of blessing or curse―can exercise their effect not only when being recited: a further projection of their performative force is
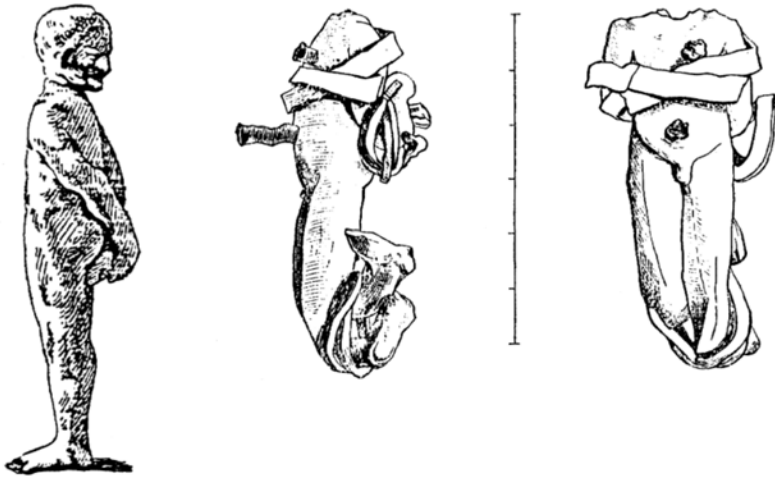
Figure 12.1: Left side: Lead figurine from Athens, first published in Mélusine 9, 1898–1899, 104, fig. 2. Right side: Decapitated lead figurine from Athens (cf. Faraone 1991, fig. 6–7, 2001), first publ. in *Philologus* 61, 1902, 37.

achieved by *writing* sacred syllables of such spells *on body parts* (verbally and/or on a figurine/statue/doll).

Such practices do not concern exclusively the sphere of 'black magic'; there is also the positive version of the '*body as list*' type: This is the case of the special genre of *benedictions* written on a statue or picture of the body of a divine being. A literally eloquent example is contained in the pictures of the Hindu deity Hanuman with Devanāgarī mantras of benediction written on his limbs, published by Fritz Staal in (Alper 1989, 55).

3. '***Glotto-logia***': Among what I subsume under '*glotto*-logical lists,' there are elaborated sequences of language items and metalinguistic analogies. It is about 'linguistic mannerisms' on various levels of poetical language—plays with objective language items, *ana-logiae*, meta-linguistic issues and idiolectal, nonce

formations used by the poets on a range scale between *glosso-lalein*[33] and '*glosso-logein*.'

3.1. *Syntaxis*: To start with higher levels of rhetoric and stylistics, we often meet variations of *inflexional elements*, esp. in the *esoteric declension* of a divine epithet or name:

3.1.1. In case of variation of *nominal case-forms* with different case desinences, classical rhetoric theory speaks of a *polyptoton*. On this figure of speech see (Klein 2000, 133ff.) and (Sadovski 2006, 529f., esp. § 2.1.1.2) in which cf. examples like TS 4,5,1–2, with *six different forms* of the divine epithet *śivá-* (*śivátamā, śivám, śivā́, śivā́, śivā́m, śivena*) and RV. 4,7,11ab, with three different forms within only one hemistich (*tr̥ṣú, tr̥ṣúṇā, tr̥ṣúm*):

> • TS 4,5,1–2:
> yā́ ta íṣuḥ **śivátamā**
> **śivám** babhū́va te dhánuḥ /
> **śivā́** śaravyā̀ yā́ táva
> táyā no rudra mr̥ḍaya // (b)
> yā́ te rudra **śivā́** tanū́r
> ághorā́pāpakāśinī / // (c) […]
> **śivā́m** giritra tā́ṃ kuru […] (d)
> **śivena** vácasā tuvā
> gíriśā́chā vadāmasi / […] // (e)
>
>
> That arrow of thine which (is) the most gracious/propitious,
> what is thy propitious bow,
> what (is) thy propitious arrow(-missile),
> with this (one), Rudra, be thou mild/merciful to us. […]
> That body of thine, Rudra, which is propitious,
> not formidable, not of bad/evil look […]
> make it, o mountain-guardian, (a) propitious (one) […]
> With a propitiatory speech
> we speak to you, (o) mountain-dweller […].
>
>
> • RV. 4,7,11ab:
> **tr̥ṣú** yád ánnā **tr̥ṣúṇā** vavákṣa
> **tr̥ṣúm** dūtáṃ kr̥ṇute yahvó agníḥ /

---

[33]On the notion of *glosso-lalía* see (Güntert 1921, 23–54, esp. 30f.) and cf. (Sadovski 2012) on concepts of the sphere of laletics and their Indo-Iranian dimensions (*japa-*; *vipra-* language etc.).

> Wenn er gierig die Speisen (verzehrend) mit der gierigen (Flamme)
> wächst, so macht der jüngste Agni den gierigen (Wind) zu seinem
> Boten (Geldner 1951–1957, 1, ad loc.).

- *Eight* variants of *four* different case-forms of the name of the Fire-god *agní*-
  appear at the 'locus classicus' RV. 1,1a-5a.6b-7a.9b,[34] with identical stem-
  vowel / case-ending complexes in different morphonological *sandhi*-forms
  each—contracted; elided; with or without accent; with -*ḥ* vs. -*r* etc.

3.1.2. In the specific case which I will call "*pam-ptoton*," we discover a remark-
able later mantra listing a complete paradigm of all eight (= 7+1) case forms of
Rāma's name, in order of a nominal paradigm as taught by Pāṇini (+Voc.!):

Rām.-Mahātmyam 1,1 (cf. Deeg 1995, 59; Liebich 1919, 14f.):	Singular	
śrī***rām***aḥ śaraṇaṃ samastajagatāṃ,	Nom.	The venerable Rāma [Sing. Nom.] is the refuge of all beings.
rāmaṃ vinā kā gatī,	Acc.	Which road/way [is] without Rāma?
rāmeṇa pratihanyate kalimalaṃ,	Instr.	By Rāma, the stain of the Kali epoch is averted.
rāmāya kāryaṃ namaḥ;	Dat.	It is to Rāma veneration has to be done/offered.
rāmāt trasyati kālabhīmabhujago,	Abl.	In front of Rāma, the snake Kālabhīma trembles.
rāmasya sarvaṃ vaśe,	Gen.	In Rāma's power is "(the) all" / entire (universe).
rāme bhaktir akhaṇḍitā bhavatu –	Loc.	Let the devotion/dedication to Rāma be uninterrupted,
me ***rām***a tvam evāśrayaḥ	– Voc. –	to me, o Rāma, be you support!

3.2. *Morpho-logia*: On this level, we find, for example, lists of concepts in all
'*gender*' *forms*, like the ones in masculine/ feminine/ neuter, *pumaṁs- – strī- –
na*(*strī*)*puṁsaka*-, in the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā:

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[34]See (Sadovski 2006, 530).

AVP. 6,8:	Gender	
sahasva *yātudhānān*	Masc.	Suppress the *sorcerers*,
sahasva *yātudhān*ᵢ*yaḥ*		Fem.	suppress the *sorceresses*,
sahasva *sarvā rakṣāṃsi*	Neut.	suppress *all demons*:
sahamānāsᵢy oṣadhe ‖	Generalization	you are suppressing, o Plant!

3.3. And for what regards the '*Phono-logia magica*' in mantras, we see harmonic *sequences of phonological elements* distributed in proportional and (numerically) rational, quantifiable ways, in sound 'symmetries.'[35] Peter Raster discovered such 'symmetries' of *sound classes* for Rigveda, where groups of consonant and vowel phonemes form *integral multiples of the lucky number Eight*; see figures, e.g. in RV 1,1:

- *Consonants* in the first hymn of the RV exhibit statistically significant occurrence frequencies: they seem to be distributed in four classes, according to the features 'voiced' vs. 'voiceless' and 'aspirated' vs. 'unaspirated,' in the following way:

1	voiceless unaspirated consonants	k (4), c (3), t (32), p (8), $\acute{s}$ (6), $\d{s}$ (7), s (20)
2	voiceless aspirated consonants	ch (1), $\d{h}$ (7)
3	voiced unaspirated consonants	g (13), $\dot{n}$ (2), j (4), $\tilde{n}$ (2), $\d{d}$ (2), $\d{n}$ (1), d (17), n (21), m (22), y (16), r (25), v (35)
4	voiced aspirated consonants	dh (5), bh (7), h (4)

The occurrence frequencies of all the four classes are *integral multiples of 8*:

- Relation between the frequencies of the voiced and voiceless consonants: 176: 88 = 2 : 1.
- Relation between the frequencies of the aspirated and unaspirated consonants: 24 : 240 = 1 : 10.

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[35] See (Raster 1992, 22).

	voiced	voiceless	total sum	[1] voiceless unaspirated consonants	80 = 10 x 8
aspirated	16	8	24	[2] voiceless aspirated consonants	8 = 1 x 8
unaspirated	160	80	240	[3] voiced unaspirated consonants	160 = 20 x 8
total sum	176	88	264	[4] voiced aspirated consonants	16 = 2 x 8

• Similar proportions can be established for vowels, too, according to four specific classes. Also here, the occurrence frequencies of all the four classes are *integral multiples of 8*.

3.4. *Semasio-logia* vs. *onomasio-logia*:

3.4.1. On poetic uses of *paronomasia*, Vedic / Avestan parallels have been collected by (Gonda 1959, 232ff. Klein 2000) and (Klein 2006) (appellatives), and (Sadovski 2007) (epithets / *nomina propria*), both last studies being presented for the first time in: (Pinault and Petit 2006), before being then included in larger monographs of their authors.—Here only one key example, analysed in (Sadovski 2007, 533) from the perspective of *paronomasia*, taken now in its relevance with regard to forms of phonologically marked lists:

• Specific item(s) remain[s] constant; general context varies and form (complex) list(s)—RV. 5,40,1c-4b, with *soma*-cult attributes, epicleseis and epithets of Indra:

*vŕ̥ṣ*ann indra *vŕ̥ṣ*abhir **vŕ̥** trahantama //1//
*vŕ̥ṣ*ā grā́vā *vŕ̥ṣ*ā mádo
*vŕ̥ṣ*ā sómo ayáṃ sutáḥ /
*vŕ̥ṣ*ann indra *vŕ̥ṣ*abhir **vŕ̥** trahantama//2//
*vŕ̥ṣ*ā tvā *vŕ̥ṣ*aṇaṃ huve
vájriñ citrā́bhir ūtíbhiḥ /
*vŕ̥ṣ*ann indra *vŕ̥ṣ*abhir **vŕ̥** trahantama //3//
r̥jīṣī́ vajrī́ *vŕ̥ṣ*abhás turāṣā́ṭ
chuṣmī́ rā́jā **vŕ̥** trahā́ somapā́vā /

[…] (o) *bull* Indra, with the *bulls*, you (great)est **Vr̥**tra-killer!
2. **Bull**(-like) is the pressing-stone, *bull*(-like) the intoxication,
bull(-like) this Soma, (when) pressed-out,
(o) *bull* Indra, with the *bulls*, you (great)est **Vr̥**tra-killer!
3. (As a) *bull*, I (am) call(ing) you, the *bull*,
o Vajra-bearer, with (your) wonderful helps/favors,
(o) *bull* Indra, with the *bulls*, you (great)est **Vr̥**tra-killer!
4. Marc-drinking, *vajra*-bearing, a *bull*, overcoming the powerful,
a courageous king, a **Vr̥**tra-killer and soma-drinker […]!

3.4.2. *Etymo-logia magica*: Beyond the *semasio*-logical word-plays in **3.4.1**, I would like to underline two types of esoteric lists: The first are *etymo*-logical or pseudo-etymological associations in mantras per analogiam. The magic (creative or destructive) of 'etymological' (= etymologically right or wrong!) associations include the following aspects:
3.4.2.1. Explicative '*etymologisation*' of epithets, for exegetic purposes: Evidence of the relation between so-called 'semantic etymologies' and magic in the Veda has been investigated e.g. by (Oldenberg 1919, 221ff.; Deeg 1995, 58ff., 75ff.; Bronkhorst 2001, 147ff.). See further following two instances of *esoterical* plays with divine epithets like the name of *Viṣṇu* or the appellative for 'yoke,' *dhū́r*-, in invocations—from AVP 6,9,2ab [= TB 2,4,7,1(2)ab]:

viṣuvā́n viṣṇo bhava
t_uvam yo nr̥patir mama

O *Viṣṇu*, be the culminating point (*viṣuvánt*-),
thou who art my lord. (cf. ed. Griffiths)

or from TS. 1,1,4,1de:

dhū́r asi; *dhū́r*va tám̐ yò 'ₐsmā́n *dhū́r*vati
tám̐ *dhū́r*va yám̐ vayám̐ *dhū́r*vāmas

Thou art the *yoke*. *Injure* him who *injures* us,
injure him whom we *injure*.[36]

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[36]See (Keith 1914, 1, 4; Deeg 1995, 65).

as well as in the typical Indo-Iranian genre of what I call 'auto-doxological hymns' ("self-praises" of a deity, cf. the Avestan Yašts 1 and 15 with the Vedic *ātmastuti*s, like e.g. in RV. 10,48 and 10,49) such as the one of Vaiiu speaking of himself in Yt. 15,43 of the Avesta[37]:

vanō.vīspå nąma ahmi […]	***A-B*** **C D**
auuaṯ ***vanō.vīspå*** nąma ahmi	**E** ***A-B*** **C D**
yaṯ uua dąma ***vanāmi***	**F G *A'***
vohuuaršte nąma ahmi […]	***H-I*** **C D**
auuaṯ ***vohuuaršte*** nąma ahmi	**E** ***H-I*** **C D**
yaṯ ***vohū vərəziiāmi***	**F *H I***

I am '*All-Vanquisher*' by name,
Therefore I am '*All-Vanquisher*' by name
because I *vanquish* both creations,
I am '*Good-Doer / Bene-factor*' by name,
Therefore I am '*Good-Doer / Bene-factor*' by name
because I *do good / bene-fit*.

3.4.2.2. Not only *verba sacra* stand for *res sacrae*—but also *res sacrae* occur because of *verba sacra*: This phenomenon concerns the 'inverse' influence of word and sound structures on ritual actions by association chains. We can cite e.g. the method of choosing ritual plants (only) on the basis of their names—like the ones of the exemplary list of AVŚ. 8,8,3 (cf. Bloomfield 1897, 117f., 583f.):

amū́n ***aśvattha*** níḥ ***śṛṇīhi***
khā́dāmū́n ***khadirā***jirám |
tājád***bháṅga*** iva bhajantāṃ
hánt_uv enān ***vádhako vadháiḥ*** ||3||

Tear as under those (enemies), o Aśvattha (ficus religiosa)!
devour (***khāda***) them, o ***Khad***ira (acacia catechu)!
Like the Tājad***bhaṅga*** (ricinus communis) they shall be broken
(***bhaj***)!
May the ***vadhaka-***(tree) kill them with (its) weapons (***vadha-***).

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[37]Details in (Sadovski 2006, 534f.).

3.4.3. *Polysemics* can be involved as a device in ritul poetry especially in the case of mystical associations of divergent meanings of a sound complex—cf. the associative play with polysemantic words like *suvarṇa*—are to be found throughout Indian poetical tradition, also in post-Vedic times, like in the beautiful 'manneristic' example of Rāmāyana 5,32,45:

> **suvarṇasya suvarṇasya**
> **suvarṇasya** ca bhāvini /
> rāmeṇa prahitaṃ devi
> **suvarṇasyā**ṅgurīyakam

> Rāma sends you, fair princess, this ring,
> made of gold [*suvarṇa*-], of beautiful colour [*suvarṇa*-]
> and well-engraved [*suvarṇa*-] letters and weighing a *suvarṇa*.[38]

Highlights of other types of catalogues and enumerations (as given above in the list in § 0.3., Table A) are discussed in two further studies to appear in the Proceedings of the Meetings of the Multilingualism Research Group. For what concerns the given matrix, a combined comparative and typological approach to the literary gender of lists and catalogues of Veda and Avesta indeed turns out to be heuristically fruitful—and to enrich our knowledge about the ways of reflection on the structures of the Universe and of the human microcosm in Indo-Iranian ritual poetry.

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[38] Cf. (Gonda 1959, 332), after H. R. Diwekar.

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