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Reward for sacrifice:
The Pahlavi version of Yasna 9.1-15

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Abstract

The present work provides a detailed study of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15. The title ‘reward for sacrifice’ alludes to the feature that the Indo-Iranian ritual forms part of a system of *do-ut-des*. It is inspired by the aspect of the story related in Y 9.1–15, that the four personages who pressed Hōm before Zaratuštra, were rewarded with the birth of a son for their efforts. The work provides a text-critical edition of the Pahlavi version based on six manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna copies (Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b) and of three manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna (J2, K5, M1). While the transliteration and the variant reading are included in an Appendix, the main body of the thesis provides the transcription of the text and a translation together with a detailed commentary and an introduction. The present work goes beyond earlier studies by covering the glosses of the Pahlavi version as well as the translation of the Av. original, and by investigating the reception of themes of this text in Indo-Iranian and in later Zoroastrian literature.

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Abbreviations

1) General

abl.	Ablative
acc.	Accusative
aor.	Aorist
Av.	Avestan
AY.	Era after Yazdgird III
CE.	Common Era
dat.	Dative
du.	Dual
f.	Feminine
fn.	Footnote
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
impf.	Imperfect
ipt.	Imperative
ind.	Indicative
inj.	Injunctive
instr.	Instrumental
fol.	Folio
gen.	Genitive
Gr.	Greek
Kurd. Sor.	Kurdish, Sorāni
loc.	Locative
m.	Masculine
marg.	Margin
MIr	Middle Iranian
NP.	New Persian
ntr.	Neuter
OAv.	Old Avestan
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP.	Old Persian
opt.	Optative

Oss.	Ossetian
Phl.	Pahlavi
Pl.	Plural
pres.	Present
sg.	Singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
subj.	Subjunctive
YAv.	Young Avestan
vb.	Verb
Ved.	Vedic
voc.	Vocative

2) Texts

AB	Āṣār al-Bāqiya ‘n al-Qorun al-Xāliya
ASd	Artaxerxes, Susa, d
AWZ	Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag
DB	Darius, Bistun
DHR	Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat
DkM	Dēnkard Madan
DSK	Darius, Susa, k
FīŌ	Frahang ī Ōīm
FrW	Fragment Westergaard
H	Hādōxt Nask
HN	Hērbedestān and Nērangestān
HP	Hādōxt Nask Pahlavi
HR	Husraw ud Rēdag
IrBd	Iranian Bundahišn
KM	Kalila wa Dimna
KN	Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pāpagān
MB	Mu‘jam al-Buldān
MBP	Mahābhārata, Poona edition
MHD	Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān
PRDd	The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg

RV	Rig-veda
SdBd	Sad-dar Nasr Bundahišn
ŠB	Śrīmad Bhāgavatam
ŠĒ	Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr
ŠNŠ	Šāyist Nē Šāyist
Vd	Vīdēvdād
VdIndS	Vīdēvdād Indian Sāde
VdIrS	Vīdēvdād Iranian Sāde
VdP	Vīdēvdād Pahlavi
Vd-sts.no.-A	Vīdēvdād, stanza number, Avestan original
Vd-sts.no.-P	Vīdēvdād, stanza number, Pahlavi version
VrIndP	Visperad Indian Pahlavi
VrIndS	Visperad Indian Sāde
VrP	Visperad Pahlavi
Vyt	Vištāsp Yašt
Y	Yasna
YIndP(s)	Yasna(s) Indian Pahlavi
YIndS	Yasna Indian Sāde
YIrP(s)	Yasna(s) Iranian Pahlavi
YIrS	Yasna Iranian Sāde
YSkt	Yasna Sanskrit
Y-sts.no.-A	Yasna, stanza number, Avestan original
Y-sts.no.-P	Yasna, stanza number, Pahlavi version
Yt	Yašt
Zs	Zādsparam

3) Books, journals and collections

AcIr	Acta Iranica
AI	Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik
AiGr	Altindische Grammatik
AirWb	Altiranisches Wörterbuch
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archív Orientální

BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DKhS	Dictionary of Khotan Saka
EWAia	Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen
GlrPh	Grundriss der iranischen Philologie
IEW	Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
Kratylos	Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
LIV	Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben
Ln	Loġatnāma, Dehkhoda
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
StIr	Studia Iranica
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

Notes on the present edition

The Avestan and Pahlavi texts are transcribed according to the systems suggested by Hoffmann (1970) and MacKenzie (1971), respectively. However, as regards MacKenzie's system, in the following examples, the new scholarly trends are followed:

<'> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<'> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<H> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<H> for 𐬀 in heterograms

Phl. *mynwd* (*mēnōy*) rather than *mynwk* (*mēnōg*)

Phl. *gytyy* (*gētīy*) rather than *gytyk* (*gētīg*)¹

In addition to the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, Arabic, New Persian and (Vedic) Sanskrit passages are studied in the commentaries when necessary. As far as the transcription of the Arabic and New Persian texts are concerned, the signs are built on MacKenzie's system of transcription in the present edition. The reason is that while the phonetic values of Classic New Persian and Pahlavi are close, New Persian shares a similar alphabetic system with Arabic. Therefore, the phonemic values of the of the Arabic alphabet, which is a consonantal system, are drawn according to the following table:

خ :<x>	ح :<h>	ج :<j>	ث :<s>	ت :<t>	ب :	ء :<'>, <ā>, <u>, <i>
ص :<š>	ش :<š>	س :<s>	ز :<z>	ر :<r>	ذ :<z>	د :<d>
ق <q>	ف <f>	غ <g>	ع :<'>	ظ :<z>	ط :<t>	ض :<ž>
ه <h>	و <v>	ن <n>	م <m>	ل <l>	گ <g>	ك <k>
						ی <y>

Regarding the transcription of New Persian, it should be noted that there are four consonants پ, چ, گ and ژ which are absent in Arabic. In the present edition, they are shown by *p*, *č*, *g* and *ž*. Moreover, while the Arabic loanwords are written exactly as in Arabic,

¹ For the transcription *mēnōy* and *gētīy* rather than *mēnōg* and *mēnōg* see Skjærvø (1995: 269, fn. 15; 2002: 30, fn.7; 2009b: 480, fn.8 and 481 fn. 12; 2011c: 63 fn. 33).

there are Arabic consonants which are alien in New Persian. These consonants are assimilated to their closest corresponding phonemes in New Persian as follows:

ط, ت are realised to /t/.

ص, س, ث are realised to /s/.

ح is realised to /h/.

ذ, ز, ض are realised to /z/.²

Likewise, they are transcribed by *t*, *s*, *h* and *z*, in the present edition. The vowels in classic New Persian are similar to those of Pahlavi. However, they develop from Classic to Modern New Persian according to the following table:³

Classic New Persian	Modern New Persian
ā	ā
a	a
i	e
ī/ē	i
u	o
ū/ō	u

In the present edition, the New Persian texts of the Šāhnāma, Garšāsbnāma, colophons and interlinear version of the Avestan original and its Zand together with the Zoroastrian New Persian passages of the Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, Sad-dar Nasr Bundahišn and Zarātuštāna are transcribed according to the Classic New Persian vowel system. Finally, the Devanāgarī script of the Sanskrit texts are transcribed according to the following tables:

Sanskrit vowels	
अ a	आ ā
इ i	ई ī
उ u	ऊ ū

² See Perry (2002).

³ See Abolghassemi (1996 (1375): 18); Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 425).

ऋ ṛ	ॠ ṝ
ए e	ऐ ai
ओ o	औ au

Sanskrit consonants							
	-V, -A ⁴	-V, +A	+V, -A	+V, +A	+V	+V	-V
Guttural	क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa		ह ha
Palatal	च ca	छ cha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña	य ya	श śa
Retroflex	ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	र ra	ष ṣa
Dental	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na	लृ la	स sa
Labial	प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	व va	

⁴ -V: Non-voiced, +V: Voiced; -A: Non-aspirate, +A: Aspirate.

1 Introduction

The present work provides a detailed study of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 which itself is a translation accompanied by commentaries of its corresponding Avestan original. Y 9 is the first of the three chapters of the Hōm Yašt, a hymn to Av. *haōma*⁵ (= Phl. *hōm*), an Indo-Iranian deity who represents the embodiment of the sacrificial plant used in the chief Zoroastrian ritual, the Yasna. During the ceremony, twigs of the plant are pressed to extract its juice. As a result, the deity Haōma rewards worshippers with strength, victory, health, healing and knowledge.⁶ The opening stanzas of the Hōm Yašt (Y 9.1-2) is followed by Y 9.3-15 whose feature is described by Malandra (2004: 431) as follows:

‘From a text-critical perspective, it does not seem possible to trace the origin of these passages to Yašt passages, nor to derive the Yašt passages from them. Rather, this material appears to have been drawn from common oral sources, which all precede the redaction of the extant Avesta.’

The justification for choosing Y 9.1-15 as a text within Y 9 for edition is that it constitutes an independent subsection in Y 9. The first stanza of Y 9 describes the meeting of Av. *zaraθuštra*- (= Phl. *zardušt*) with the deity Haōma while the former was reciting the Gāθās and purifying the fire. In the Pahlavi version, the deity Mihr also attends Zardušt’s ceremony together with Hōm.⁷ In a conversation that develops between Zaraθuštra and Haōma, the former asks questions to Haōma about the first four individuals who pressed him.⁸ Haōma instructs Zaraθuštra that in addition to his father Av. *purušaspa*- (= Phl. *porušasp*), there were three other figures who pressed Haōma in the past before Pourušaspa and they were granted with the reward of the birth of heroic sons. These fathers were, chronologically, Av. *vīuuauṇ^vhaṇt*- (= Phl. *wīwanghān*), Av. *āθβiia*- (= Phl. *āspiyān*) and Av. *θrita*- (Phl. *srīd*). The sons of Vīuuauṇ^vhaṇt and Āθβiia were Av. *yima*- (= Phl. *jam*) and Av. *θraētaona*- (= Phl. *frēdōn*), respectively. In contrast to the other fathers, two sons, namely Av. *uruuāxšaiia*- (= Phl. *urwāxš*) and Av. *kərəsāspa*- (= Phl. *kirsāsp*), were born to θrita as a result of pressing Haōma.⁹ The title of this thesis, ‘reward for sacrifice’, is inspired by this aspect of the story and alludes to the feature that the ritual forms part of a system of *do-ut-des*, or exchange and reciprocity.

⁵ The diphthong *aō* < **au* is the preferred spelling in manuscripts, giving better readings. See Hintze (2014a: 24); de Vaan (2000: 523-533).

⁶ For Haōma in the Indo-Iranian tradition see section 1.2.

⁷ For the occurrence of Mihr in Y 9.1 see Y 9.1 commentary 8 *mīhrō upāit zardušt* and also, Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*.

⁸ See Y 9.1-3, 6, 9, 12.

⁹ See Y 9. 4, 7, 10, 13.

The first hero, Yima, made by his rule animal, man, water and plant undying (Y 9.4). Moreover, during his reign there was neither old-age nor death, nor the demon-created envy and with a growth of a fifteen-year old,¹⁰ father and son each other went forth (Y 9.5). Ōraētaona appears as a hero who killed the dragon Dahāka. Interestingly, some manuscripts add a Pahlavi commentary according to which the dragon was fettered by Frēdōn rather than being killed by him (Y 9.8).¹¹ As mentioned above, Ōrita had two sons rather than just one (Y 9.10). Urwāxšaiia is described as a judge who according to Yt 15.28 was killed by Hitāspa. It is known from Yt 19.41 that his second son, Kirsāsp, killed the murderer of his brother.¹² In the both Avestan and Pahlavi literature, Kərəsāspa is a major hero, however, committed the offence of slaying of the Fire according to Pahlavi Rivāyat and Zoroastrian Persian texts.¹³ In the Hōm Yašt (Y 9.11), he is described as the killer of the horned dragon. Zaruštra is the last son who was born to Pourušaspa. Zaruštra recited the Ahunawar prayer and made in the earth all the demons, who previously, having the shape of humans appeared on this earth (Y 9.14-15). According to the Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.15, the demons before the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt were of two types:

- 1) Demons whose material bodies were transformable into their spiritual forms.
- 2) Demons who were unable to transform their material form into the spiritual shape.

While the demons of the first group are still able to do evil in the body of humans and animals, those of the second group were destroyed through the recitation of Ahunawar by the prophet.¹⁴

The present edition consists of an Introduction in chapters and of a main part. The first chapter of the Introduction discusses the features of the Pahlavi version of the Avestan original and Indo-Iranian features of the plant-deity Hōm according to the Vedic, Avestan and Pahlavi literature. It also includes an overview of the poetic structure of the Yašts in general and of the hymn to Hōm in particular. Finally, past scholarship on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta from the eighteenth century onwards is reviewed.

¹⁰ In Zoroastrianism, fifteen years old is the age of maturity after which men and women should not walk without the sacred girdle. See Vd 18.54.

¹¹ For Frēdōn as a hero captor and hero slayer see Y 9.8 commentary 1 *kē-š zad*.

¹² See Y 9.10 commentary 5 *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*.

¹³ See Skjærvø (2011a).

¹⁴ See Y 9.15 commentary 1 *pad dēw kirbīh*.

The second chapter deals with the colophons of manuscripts collated in the present edition. These manuscripts are, of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna (YIrP) Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b, and, of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna (YIndP) J2, K5 and M1. Of the six Iranian manuscripts, studied in the present edition, four contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, dated 1495 CE. Hōšang Syāwaxš's colophon is followed by another one in which the history of the compilation of the first bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi manuscript is narrated. However, while the colophons as they appear in Pt4 and Mf4 have been studied extensively, their text in the two other copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,¹⁵ or G14 and T6, has not been investigated. They are studied here for the first time in greater detail. On the basis of an examination of the text of the colophons in these manuscripts, I suggest that the colophon as it appears in G14 and T6 has been corrected. Furthermore, I put forward a new filiation which differs from proposals by West (1896-1904), Dhabhar (1923), Tavadia (1944) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005). In addition to the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, other colophons in Pahlavi (Mf4, G14, J2, K5, M1), New Persian (T6), Sanskrit (K5)¹⁶ and Gujarati (G14, F2, T6)¹⁷ which appear in the manuscripts are discussed.

The history of the transmission of the Avesta and Zand is discussed in the first section of the third chapter according to narratives attested in the Zoroastrian, Greek and Latin sources together with evidence from the manuscripts. In the section, the quality of the collated manuscripts in the present edition is also examined. As for the old YIndPs, their quality cannot be investigated because they were written by the same scribe in 1323 CE and no older manuscript is available for comparison. As far as possible corrections in the manuscripts are concerned, according to Anquetil-Duperron (1771), the Iranian priest called Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati, arrived in India in the early eighteenth century. Reviewing the Vīdēvdād manuscripts, he declared that their Pahlavi version is too lengthy and inaccurate. As a result, he corrected them. He also had three students who, following his teachings, produced new copies different from their older counterparts. Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008) investigated the features of the corrected Vīdēvdād manuscripts. In the present edition, it is shown that the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna copies, written down after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, have the same features as the Vīdēvdād corrected codices. Apart from the corrected parts, the Iranian and Indian copies offer the same text with minor variations

¹⁵ The manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, which contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, are called the copies of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line in the present edition.

¹⁶ The translation is after Goldman (in press).

¹⁷ Kerman Daruwalla kindly translated the Gujarati colophons upon my request.

which are mainly orthographic. For example, in Y 9.1 line 3, the verb *raft* is written by the eteogram *lpt* and the heterogram *SGYTWN-t* in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts, respectively. In the following section, the methods of textual criticism are critically analysed. Considering the features of the Pahlavi manuscripts, the old Indian sister manuscripts J2 and K5, predating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, were nominated to serve as the base text. Of the two, the manuscript K5 was selected because while J2 is silent as to its source, in the colophon of K5, the scribe, Mihrābān Kayhusraw, names a manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān as the source of his copy.

The main part of this thesis consists of an edition and English translation of the Pahlavi version of the Yasna 9 stanzas 1-15 in transcription, based on YIndP K5.¹⁸ The Pahlavi text is preceded by the transcription and English translation of its corresponding Avestan original, based on the edition of Geldner. While the English translation aims at being as close as possible to the Avestan and Pahlavi original, this has not been always possible. For example, the literal translation of *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* as “what respect was made to him” is incorrect in English. Therefore, it is translated as “what respect was shown to him” in the present edition. The Avestan original and Pahlavi version are followed by the commentary section in which different linguistic, ritualistic and mythological aspects of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, as an independent text or in association with its Avestan original, are discussed in detail. It should be noted that the number of the linguistic studies outweighs that of the two latter ones. The reason is that on the one hand, many mythological aspects of the characters in the Hōm Yašt have so far been studied by scholars. On the other hand, connotation to the rituals are mainly attested in Y 9.1 and Y 9.14. Furthermore, although the focus of the present edition is on the Pahlavi version, on two occasions, long commentaries to the Avestan words *pourušaspa-* and *nmāna-* are provided. The reason for analysing the former is that the decision on the phonemic values of the vowels of the Avestan word can contribute into the edition of its Pahlavi counterpart whose phonemic values of the vowels as a loanword cannot be determined from the Pahlavi orthography of the variant readings attested in the manuscripts.¹⁹ Regarding *nmāna-*, it occurs with *pourušaspa-* as gen. sg. *nmānahe pourušaspahe* in Y 9.13, translated by Phl. *andar mān ī porušasp* in Pahlavi. Studying two possible meanings of *nmāna-* as “house” vs. “household”, its interpretation in the Pahlavi literature is investigated. The evidence favours

¹⁸ For the method of research see section 3.2.

¹⁹ See Y 9.13 commentary 2 *porušasp*.

the former meaning of house as a physical construction in the both languages. Furthermore, it is suggested that the genitive case of *nmānahe pourušaspāhe* in Y 9.13 agrees with an IE formula in the same case which identifies ancestry. Following this suggestion, the Pahlavi translation of genitives identifying ancestry is studied in Y 9.13 and Y 43.7 and it is shown that the Pahlavi translators rendered them correctly from the semantic point of view by the preposition *andar* and *az*, respectively.

The ensuing chapter is the Appendix in which the transliteration of the Pahlavi text and the variant readings of the six manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi and of the three manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna are provided. Their readings are arranged in the text-critical apparatus according to the following order:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1.

Obviously, although K5 serves as the base text, the variant readings of the Iranian manuscripts precede those of their Indian counterpart. The reason is that at the time of drawing the apparatus, following the scholarly consensus, it was assumed that the quality of the Pahlavi version of YIrPs surpasses that of their Indian counterparts. However, this consensus is mainly based on the interpretation of the colophons of the Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and the better quality of their Avestan texts. By contrast, as mentioned above, the analysis in the present research suggests that the Pahlavi text of YIrPs is corrected.

1.1 The Avestan and Pahlavi languages

For the Iranian languages, scholars consider three developmental stages which chronologically are termed Old, Middle and New Iranian (Windfuhr 2009: 9). The earliest Zoroastrian texts in Avestan, an Old Iranian language closely related to the (Vedic) Sanskrit, were composed in the primary linguistic stage known as Old Avestan presumably in the mid-second millennium BCE. These Old Avestan texts petrified and were canonised, probably at an early stage, while the oral composition of new texts belonging to a later chronological stage continued and came to be classified as Young Avestan. These Avestan texts were in all likelihood transmitted exclusively in an oral setting until the advent of the Sasanians (224-651 CE) when they were written down in a consciously invented and extremely clear phonetic script reflecting the accurate recording of the recitatives (Skjærvø

2009: 43-46).²⁰ The liturgical text of the Yasna with 72 chapters, or *hāitis*, constitutes one of the most important books of the extant Avesta. The Old Avestan texts, consisting of the Gāṅās, the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti together with three short prayers, are embedded in the centre of the Yasna and are flanked on the either sides by the Young Avestan texts (Hintze 2007a: 1). As regards the grammar, the Avestan nouns maintain the Indo-Iranian declension system in which three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and eight cases (nominative, accusative, ablative, instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, vocative) exist. Like the Vedic language, the Avestan verbal system knows three numbers (singular, dual, plural), four tenses (present, imperfect, perfect, aorist), five moods (indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, imperative) and two voices (active, middle). The language of some Avestan texts such as Y 12-15 and 58 are called pseudo-Old Avestan, or better: Middle Avestan, whose feature is described by de Vaan (2003: 8) as follows:

‘They show the lengthening of originally short Young Avestan word-final vowels. Here, we are clearly dealing with a much later, artificial development, which was intended to give the Young Avestan text an Old Avestan flavour’.

However, there are pseudo-Old Avestan forms which have no parallel either in the OAv or YAv texts. Proposing the term Middle Avestan, Tremblay (2006: 233-281) suggests that pseudo-Old Avestan texts show a middle stage from which YAv. developed. However, Skjærvø (2009c: 45), being cautious about accepting Tremblay’s suggestion, states that:

‘On the one hand, the Old Avestan texts contain many elements that are clearly borrowed from or influenced by Young Avestan and, on the other hand, Young Avestan texts contain both elements that are imitations of Old Avestan (pseudo-Old Avestan) and later features introduced by the scribes (including from local spoken languages). This makes it a challenge to determine which of the sound changes we observe in our extant manuscripts already belonged to the ‘original’ two languages and which ones were introduced during the oral and written transmission of the texts. It renders even more problematic attempts to identify additional linguistic stages between Old and Young Avestan.’

By contrast, pointing out three forms which disagree with both OAv and YAv linguistic features, Hintze (2014a: 17-19) takes side with Tremblay. These forms are *hā* < **sa-s*, the nom. sg. m. of the 2nd person demonstrative pronoun; gen. sg. *aṣaṅhācā* of the stem *aṣa-* and gen. sg. *aṣāuuairiāscā* of the stem *aṣāuuairī-*.

²⁰ For the tradition of transmission see section 3.1.

During the Sasanian (224-652 CE) and early Islamic periods, parts of the Avesta, including the long liturgical texts,²¹ were translated by Zoroastrian priests into Zoroastrian Middle Persian, or Pahlavi, a Middle Iranian language, which was the then vernacular *koine* and the ancestor of New Persian. These translations included commentaries on the passages of the Avesta. The original Avestan text of the Yasna and its Pahlavi translation and commentary of the liturgical texts, appear in bilingual manuscripts in a feature according to which Pahlavi translations and commentaries are inserted between short sections of Avestan phrases. This feature is remarkable in that there is only one known parallel outside the Zoroastrian tradition: The bilingual Prākṛit-Aramaic regnal inscription of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka (r. 3rd century BCE).²² As regards the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avesta, Josephson (1997: 120-151) extensively studied it in the Hōm Yašt. Cantera (2004: 240-341) completed Josephson's research by examining the Pahlavi translation technique of other Avestan texts, especially that of the Vīdēvdād, Yasna, Yašts and Xwardag Abestāg. Josephson (1997: 154) summarises the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan categories as follows:

‘Av. is a language with a rich system of inflection and an extensive pattern of agreement. Phl. has a greatly reduced system of inflection and uses lexical items (prepositions and particles), word order (e.g. adjacency in noun phrases) and semantic context in addition to inflection to realize syntactic relations.’

The Pahlavi word order has been shown to result from a word for word translation of the Avesta original, for example:

Y 9.1	Av.	<i>haōmō</i>	<i>upāiṭ</i>	<i>zaraθuštrəm</i>
	Phl.	<i>hōm</i>	<i>abar raft</i>	<i>ō zardušt</i>

Y 9.5	Av.	<i>yauuata</i>	<i>xšaiiōiṭ</i>	<i>hūuqθβō</i>	<i>yimō</i>	<i>vīvaŋ^vhatō</i>	<i>puθrō</i>
	Phl.	<i>hamē tā ka</i>	<i>padixšā būd</i>	<i>huramag</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>ī wīwanghān</i>	<i>pus</i>

²¹ Long liturgical texts are the Yasna, Visperad, Vīdēvdād and Vištāsp Yašt.

²² See Cantera (2004: 240-242); Josephson (1997: 120-165); Spiegel (1860: 5-6).

As the Pahlavi version is mainly a calque of the Avestan original, it usually disagrees with the Pahlavi SOV²³ syntax, for example, the correct order of the two translations mentioned above is as follows:

* *hōm ō zardušt abar raft*

* *hamē tā huramag jam [šēd] ī wīwanghān pus padixšā būd*

However, the order is not always determined by the Avestan original. For example, as pointed out by Josephson (1997: 45), the order of the Avestan formulaic structure *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*²⁴ was changed in the Pahlavi version according to which *astōmandān gēhān*, translating *astuuaiθiiāi* and *gaēθiiāi*, respectively, are juxtaposed as *astōmandān gēhān*. Another example is the Pahlavi translation of Y 9.5 *pañca dasa fracarōiθe pita puθrasca raodaēšuuu katarasciṭ* in which the translation of *raodaēšuuu*, or Phl. *ārōyišn*, occurs after the Pahlavi translation of *pañca dasa*, or *pānzdah sālag*:

Av. *pañca dasa fracarōiθe pita puθrasca raodaēšuuu katarasciṭ*

Phl. *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid ud pus kadār-iz-ē*

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that the Pahlavi version is not entirely based on the order of the Avestan original and the Pahlavi exegetes maintained a limited degree of freedom. Unlike the Pahlavi translation, the commentary usually follows the Pahlavi syntax. However, for example the structure of the commentary *xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh* “the glorious has the duty” in Y 9.4 is closer to the Pahlavi translation as the expected syntax is **xwarrahōmand xwēškārīh dārēd*. This suggests that the commentary was borrowed from a lost Pahlavi translation of an Avestan verse. In addition, Avestan quotations or Avestan Pahlavicised forms occur in the Pahlavi version, for example:

Y 9.8 *kō θβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm*

Y 9.11 *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barāšna*

Y 9.1 *mīhrō upāit zardušt*

²³ Subject, object, verb.

²⁴ It occurs in Y 9.4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 and 13.

From the semantic point of view, having studied the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, Spiegel (1860: 69) argues that while there are several examples which show that the grammatical features of the Avestan original are expressed incorrectly, the Pahlavi version usually renders the original words correctly. Likewise, recent findings confirm Spiegel's evaluation.²⁵ In the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, mistranslations of the Avestan grammatical categories also occur. For instance, the Avestan nom. sg. *mašiiiō* in Y 9.3, 6, 9 and 12 is translated by the pl. *mardōmān* preceded by the preposition *az* "from, among" (Josephson 1997: 45). In Y 9.14, the nom. sg. *srūtō* is translated by *ān ī nāmīg* preceded by *andar* "in" (Josephson 1997: 55). Moreover, the superlative adjectives Av. *tañcištō* "mightiest" and *vərəθrajaštəmō* "the most victorious" are expressed by the absolute Phl. *tagīg* "brave" and the comparative adjective *pērōzgartar* "more victorious" in Y 9.15. In the same stanza, the impf. 3rd sg. *abauuaṭ* "he was, he became" is also rendered by 2nd sg. *dād ēstē* "you have been created" (Josephson 1997: 56). By contrast, it is sometimes impossible to express the Avestan grammatical categories in Pahlavi. For instance, 2nd sg. impf. *ākərənauuō* in *tūm zəmərgūzō ākərənauuō vīspe daēuua zaraθuštra* is expressed by 3rd pl. past *kard hēnd* in agreement with the grammatical subject *harwisp dēw* rather than the agent *tō* in the ergative construction *tō andar zamīg nigān kard hēnd harwisp dēw* (Josephson 1997: 56).

Finally, Spiegel (1860: 28-29) compares the similarities between the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta and the Aramaic version (*targumim*) of the Old and New Testaments. He suggests that the Targumim had a great impact on the development of the Pahlavi translations. These similarities are:²⁶

- 1) Both traditions show the word-by-word translations technique.
- 2) Both translations include comments and glosses.

Cantera (2004: 244-245), however, casts doubt on Spiegel's suggestion by stating that the Pahlavi manuscripts display a mixture of features of the Indo-Iranian tradition and that attested in the Targum. As an example of the differences between the Pahlavi and Targum traditions, he mentions that while the Aramaic translations were written down to be recited in synagogues, the Pahlavi translations, representing the Zoroastrian scholastic tradition, are not ritual texts.²⁷ For the Indo-Iranian features of the Avestan-Pahlavi texts, he compares

²⁵ See Cantera (2015a).

²⁶ See Cantera (2004: 244-245).

²⁷ For the Zoroastrian texts see section 1.4.

the similarities between the Rig-vedic Padapāṭha structure and the Avestan compositional and word-separating dot.²⁸

1.2 Haōma in the Indo-Iranian and Zoroastrian Traditions

Av. *haōma-* (= Phl. *hōm*)/Ved. *sóma-* is the Indo-Iranian name of a plant and deity.²⁹ In contemporary Zoroastrianism, the plant is regarded as a species of Ephedra (Kotwal & Boyd 1991: 16-17).³⁰ In agreement with the age-old Indo-Iranian tradition, the plant twigs are pressed to extract its juice which is mingled with water and milk.³¹ In the Vedic mythology, Soma is consumed by Indra as a stimulant juice to smash the dragon Vṛtra:

RV 1.32.3 *vṛṣāyámāṇo ṽṛṇīta sómaṃ trikadrūkeṣu apibat sutásya...*³²

Acting the bull, he chose for his own Soma. He drank of the pressed Soma among the Trikadrukas [= Maruts?] ...³³

Unlike the oldest Vedic text, the Rig-veda, *haōma-* is absent in the Old Avesta although its attributes namely *dūraoša-* “who averts perdition?” (Y 32.14) and *mada-* “intoxication” (Y 48.10) do occur in the Gāṇās. They have been associated with rituals performed by Kauuis and Karapans who were the enemies of Zaraθuštra according to the Zoroastrian tradition. Therefore, they have been traditionally regarded as two examples showing Zaraθuštra’s opposition to the Haōma ritual (Rose 2011: 15). According to Y 32.14, Kauuis are *yā dūraoṣəm saocaiiaṭ* “who burn Dūraoša”. However, as discussed by Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part II, 106), the stanza only mentions the burning of Dūraoša (= Haōma?) by Kauuis and nothing is mentioned about the rejection of Haōma ritual by Zaraθuštra. Furthermore, the relationship between *dūraoša-* in Y 32.14 and *haōma-* is uncertain because it is the direct object of the causative verb *saocaiia-* “to burn”. This concept can correspond to RV 4.21.6 in which Ved. *duróṣa-* is the epithet of Agni “fire” (Kellens & Pirart 1991: 92). As regards Y 48.10, the verb *ajēn* and *mūθra-* in *kadā ajēn mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā* “when-*ajēn-mūθrəm*-of this/his-intoxication” have been interpreted differently by scholars.

²⁸ For a comparison between the Avestan texts and the Rig-vedic Padapāṭha texts see Cantera (2004: 329-336).

²⁹ For the botanical identity of Av. *haoma*/Ved. *sóma-* see: Clark (2017); Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 31-32); Houben (2003: 1-47); Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part I, 3-102).

³⁰ For the botanical identity of Av. *haōma-*/Ved. *sóma-* see: Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 32); Falk (1989: 77-90); Flattery & Schwartz (1989: 3-102).

³¹ Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 30-31); Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 16-17).

³² Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 20).

³³ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 135).

For example, translating *mūθrəm* as “booze-urine”, Puhvel (1987: 97) considers it as the object of the 2nd sg. verb *ajān*.³⁴

Y 48.10 *kadā ajān mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā*
yā aṅgriiā karapanō urūpaiieṅti

When will you crack down on this booze-urine
Whereby the mumbler-clergy wickedly bring on vomiting (Puhvel: 1987: 97).

By contrast, Insler (1975: 290-291) derives *ajān* from the verbal root *aj-* “to fear” cf. Gr. *ákhomai*. Moreover, he posits that as a hapax legomenon, *mūθra-* is derived from the root *mū* “to be deluded, to fool” according to which he translates the passage as follows:

When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink,
through the effects of which the Karpans torture (Insler 1975: 93).

Skjærvø (2004: 261-262, 268), on the one hand, interprets *ajān* as the 3rd sg. impf. of the root *jan* “to kill” and mentions that *mūθrəm* can be taken as both the subject or direct object of the verb. On the other hand, he draws attention to semantic difference between YAv. *maēsman-* “urine” and YAv. *mūθra-* “dead matter, (evil) urine” and to a Vedic myth according to which the divine (Indra) urine, produced by the consumed Soma liquid, is described as fertilising. He mentions that to understand the meaning of the Gāṅdic *mūθra-*, the mythology of its Vedic counterpart, Ved. *mūtra-* “urine” and YAv. *mūθra-* should be considered (Skjærvø 2004: 265-268). He also shows that while according to Y 48.10, Karpans’ *xratu-* “guiding thought” leads to *dušə.xšaθra-* “bad command”, the followers of the *duš.xratu-* “bad guiding thought” increase *aēšma* “Wrath” (Y 49.4). Moreover, the context of Y 48.9-12 compares the results of the rituals performed by *saošaiiaṅt-* “savour, revitaliser” and those performed by Karpans (Skjærvø 2004: 274-277). Therefore, since in the Avesta, *aēšma-* is opposed by *sraoša-*, Y 48.9-12 describes that while the performer (*par excellence*) of the Haōma ritual enables Sraoša to smash Wrath, the ritual performed by Karpans is inefficient.³⁵

‘In conclusion then, it would seem that our text refers to the ritual myth of the *haoma* and the intoxication of the divinity, the victory over the forces of anti-fertility and the

³⁴ The analysis of the verb *ajān* as 2nd sg. has been refuted. See Skjærvø (2004: 259).

³⁵ Skjærvø (2004: 277-281).

fertilizing of the world by means of the heavenly rain/urine/semen.³⁶

Moreover, Skjærvø suggests that Haōma is encrypted in Y 29.7 since the ingredients of its ritual are attested; Av. *āzuiti* “for libation”, *maqra* “sacred utterance” and *xšuuīd* “milk” (Skjærvø 2015: 420). Following Skjærvø, we may conclude that there are indications in the Gāθās that, rather than being opposed, the Haōma ritual is regarded as a weapon against the evil forces.

In YAv. and the Vedic texts, Av. *haōma*-/ Ved. *sóma*- is described as a yellowish mountainous plant whose twigs are pounded to extract its juice. This pressed plant, as a deity, is revered for imparting strength, victory, health, healing and knowledge.³⁷ In some passages of the Avesta and Rig-veda, the adjective Av. *maða*- and its corresponding Ved. *mada*- "intoxication" are also used to describe *haōma*-/*sóma*. For example:

Y 10.8 *vīspe ahiie madāñhō*
aēšma haciñte xruuī.druuō
āaṭ hō yō haomahe maδō
aša hacaiite uruuāsmana
rəñjaiti haomahe maδō

Indeed all, other [forms of] intoxication
 are accompanied by the Wrath of the bloody club,
 but Haōma’s intoxication
 is accompanied by joyful Truth.
 Haoma’s intoxication [weighs] light...³⁸

RV 8.48.6. *agnīm ná māthitām sám didīpaḥ prá cakṣaya kṛṇuhí vásyaso naḥ*
*áthā hí te máda á soma mánye revám iva prá carā puṣṭím ácha*³⁹

You have enflamed me like a churned fire. Make us conspicuous; make us better off.
 For now, in the exhilaration, Soma, I think of myself as a rich man. I shall advance to prosperity.⁴⁰

In the Avesta, the pressed Haōma also brings immortality. This is stated, for example in Vd 6.43 *nōiṭ haōmō hutō axtiš nōiṭ mahrkō* “the pressed Haōma has neither illness nor

³⁶ Skjærvø (2004: 281).

³⁷ For the similarities between the Iranian and Indian Haōma/Soma rituals see Haug (1862: 281-283). For the Haōma ritual in Iran see Boyce (2003: 662-667); Kotwal & Boyd (1991). For Av. *haōma*- see Josephson (1997: 43, 51-52, 59, 70, 83-85, 101). For Ved. *sóma*- see MacDonell (1917: 152-154).

³⁸ Edition and translation by Josephson (1997: 89).

³⁹ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 383).

⁴⁰ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1129).

death”. Likewise, Soma averts death. For example: RV 8.48.3 *ápāma sómam amṛtā abhūma* “We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal”.⁴¹

In the Pahlavi literature, the mythological White Hōm tree (Phl. *gōkaren*) grows in the mythical river Phl. *ardwīsūr* (IrBd 6.5). It is also the master of all plants and brings immortality: IrBd 16.5 *u-š pad frašgird anōšagīh az-iš wirāyēnd urwarān rad ast* “and they prepare immortality therefrom [i.e. the white Hōm] at the renovation of the universe. It is the chief of plants.”⁴² In the Vedic literature, the master of plants is also Soma (MacDonell 1917: 154). Apart from Haōma’s Indo-Iranian inherited features, the plant-deity plays an important role in the story of Zardušt’s birth as his Frawahr⁴³ was embedded inside a twig of the plant Hōm:

Zs. Chapter 6. *kū frawahr andar hōm u-š xwarrah pēm ī gāw be dahīhistan*

His Frawahar being in the Hōm, his glory was consigned to the milk of the cow.⁴⁴

Later, the twig was cut by the father of Zardušt, or Porušasp. Then, it was pounded and mingled with cow’s milk which carried Zardušt’s Glory (Phl. *xwarrah*) and the mixture was drunk by Dōgdōw, the mother of Zardušt,. As a result, his Glory was united with his Frawahr in the body of his mother (Amouzegar & Tafazzoli 1991(1370) 39-41).

1.3 The metrical system of the Avestan Hymn to Haōma

The Yašt are 21 hymns to the Zoroastrian deities. The hymn to Haōma, or the Hōm Yašt, constitutes Yt 21 which is also incorporated into the Yasna with 72 chapters in which it constitutes Yasna 9-11.⁴⁵ As mentioned in section 1, Y 9 commences with a dialogue between Zaruštra and Haōma when the deity attends Zaruštra’s worship. Then, come stanzas 3-15 which list questions posed by Zaruštra the seer to Haōma about fathers who pressed Hōm through which heroic sons were born to them. These fathers are Vīuuaj^hhañt, Āṅβya, Ōrita and Pourušaspa to whom Yima, Ōraētaona, Kərəsāspa and Zaruštra were born, respectively. The core of the Hōm Yašt encompasses a series of prayers and eulogies.

⁴¹ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 383). Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1129).

⁴² The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 146-147).

⁴³ The Zoroastrian concept which became blended with the notion of *ruwān* “soul” at the early stage of Zoroastrianism (Boyce 2001: 195).

⁴⁴ The text is after Anklesaria (1964: 52, LXXXIV).

⁴⁵ Hintze (2014c).

The last chapter, or Y 11, is about the curses of the cow, horse and Haōma on priests, warriors who do not treat them as prescribed in the religion (Kellens 1987: 37).

The composition of the Hōm Yašt is different from the other Yašts as it lacks the usual beginning and ending formula and in particular the *ahe raiia* which is the introduction of the formula concluding a Karde (Josephson 1997: 23). Apart from the Gā9ās, the Yašts are the only Avestan texts whose compositional structure is predominantly metrical. However, their irregular metrical nature has caused continuous scholarly debate. Geldner (1877) showed that the verse lines of eight syllables are dominant. Recent studies also confirm the octosyllabic structure of the Yašts.⁴⁶ Regarding the Hōm Yašt, the metrical octosyllabic structure is mainly close to the Sanskrit *anuṣṭubh* (four times eight syllables), but there is no fixed number of verse lines per stanza. Other metres are *gāyatrī* (8 + 8: 8) and *pankti* (8 + 8 : 8 + 8 : 8). There are also examples of stanzas containing 16 (7+9 or 9 +7) syllables.⁴⁷ As far as the first fifteen stanzas of the Hōm Yašt, studied in the present edition, are concerned, the metre of some verse lines which describe the question of Zara9ustra from Ahura Mazdā in Y 9.1(c-d) is irregular:

Y 9.1 ... ā dim pārəsa9 zara9uštṛō: 8
kō narə ahī (d) yim azəm: 8
vīspahe a9həuš astuuatō: 8
sraēštəm dādarəsa:6
x^vahe gaiiehe: 5
x^vanuuatō aməšahe: 8

According to Pirart (2003: 158-162), the irregular metric verse lines in Y 9.1 have parallels in other YAv. texts, where they are, however, metrically regular: H 2.10 (= Vyt 57.2) *yəm i9 yauua carāiti9əm* (8), *kəhrpa sraēštəm dādarəsa* (8) and Yt 8.11 *šūšui9əm x^vahe gaiiehe* (8), *x^vanuuatō aməšahe* (8). On this basis, he corrects Y 9.1 *sraēštəm dādarəsa x^vahe gaiiehe* to **(kəhrpa) sraēštəm dādarəsa (yim azəm) x^vahe gaiiehe* (Pirart 2003: 161). However, Kellens (2006: 275-276) mentions that the composer had the possibility to produce an octosyllabic metre by changing the place of *sraēštəm*:

**kō narə ahī sraēštəm* (8) “who-man-are (you)-the most beautiful (in the accusative case)”
vīspahe a9həuš astuuatō (8) “of all-the material-world”
**dādarəsa x^vahe gaiiehe* (8) “I see-in (of) one’s own sunny immortal life”.

⁴⁶ For a review on the composition of the Yašts See Hintze (2014c).

⁴⁷ For the metric structure of the Hōm Yašts see Malandra (2004: 434); Pirart (2004: 149-248); Kellens (2006: 257-261).

Therefore, according to Kellens (2006: 276), it seems that in Yasna 9.1, like in the expression in Hādōxt Nask 2.10 *kəhrpa sraēštqm dādarəsa*, the juxtaposition of the verb *dādarəsa* and *sraēšta-* is a stylistic and semantic feature which was more important to the composer than maintaining the metrical regularity. Another irregularity is the metre of the interrogative *kasə ʒwqm* occurring in Y 9.3, 6, 9, 12. It is followed by octosyllabic verse lines, for example: Y 9.6 *bitiō haōma mašiiō* (8) *astuuaiʒiiāi hunūta gaēʒiiāi* (8). However, the answer to *kasə ʒβqm* is also irregular in Y 9.4, 7 and 13:

Y 9.4 *vīuuay^vhā mqm paoiriō mašiiō*
 Y 9.7 *āʒβiiō mqm bitiō mašiiō*
 Y 9.13 *pourušaspō mqm tūriō mašiiō*

By contrast, the metre in Y 9.10 *ʒritō sāmanqm səuištō* (8) *ʒritiō mqm mašiiō* (7), the answer to Y 9.9, is relatively regular according to which Kellens (2006: 277) reconstructs their corresponding regular octosyllabic formula as follows:

Proper name + epithet (like *sāmanqm səuištō*)
 Ordinals (for example *paoiriō*) + *haōməm mašiiō*

In the Pahlavi version, the dividing manner of the Pahlavi translation and commentary shows that the Pahlavi translators knew the octosyllabic structure of the Hōm Yašt (Josephson 1997: 162).

1.4 The Zoroastrian Texts and Their Translations

Two Zoroastrian liturgical sets have been identified; the so called “short liturgy” and the “long liturgy”. The short liturgies (Xwardag Abestāg and Yašts)⁴⁸ represent the cults recited by both the laity and priests. As mentioned above Yašts are 21 hymns in Avestan dedicated to the Zoroastrian deities. The Xwardag Abestāg, by contrast, alongside liturgies composed in Avestan (Niyāyišn, Gāh, Āfrīnagān, Sīh-Rōzag and Yašts), includes some other short

⁴⁸ As pointed out by Hintze (2014c), ‘historically, however, the Yašts also formed part of a priestly high ritual, the Bagān Yasn, now lost, by way of their intercalation into the Yasna cum Visperad, along the model exemplified by the Vištāsp Yašt Sāde’.

texts which are composed in Pahlavi and Pāzand. The manuscripts may also contain short liturgies in New Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati. Therefore, there is no codified text.⁴⁹

Unlike short liturgies, the long ceremonies are only performed inside the fire temple by priests who have undergone the purification ceremony, *barašnūm*.⁵⁰ There are five types of such liturgies as found in the manuscripts namely: 1) Yasna; 2) Yasna ī Rapihwīn; 3) Visperad; 4) Vīdēvdād and 5) Vištāsp Yašt.⁵¹ The Yasna of 72 chapters, or *hāiti*, is the base text of all other Zoroastrian high rituals. The recitation of 72 chapters of the Yasna plays an important role in the religious ceremonies. It is carried out by two priests early in the morning, or Hāwan Gāh (Hintze 2007a: 1). As mentioned above in section 1.1, the Yasna encompasses texts composed in Old Avestan and Young Avestan. Ahunawar, or Yaθā Ahū Vairiō (Y 27.13), Ašəm Vohū (Y 27.14), the five Gāθās (Y 28-34, 43-46, 47-50, 51, 53), the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti (Y 35-41) and Airiāman, or Ā Airiōmā Išiiō, (Y 54) are in Old Avestan. By contrast, the following texts form the Young Avestan section of the Yasna:

Y 1-2: Introductory sections; Y 3-8: Drōn ceremony to Srōš; Y 9-11: Hōm Yašt; Y 12-13: The confession of faith (Frauarānē); Y 14-18: More invocations; Y 19: Commentary to Yaθā Ahū Vairiō; Y 20: Commentary to Ašəm Vohū; Y 21: Commentary to Yəḡhe Hātəm; Y 22-27.12: More invocations; Y 42: A YAv text interpolated between OAv Y 41 and 43; Y 52: A YAv text interpolated between OAv Y 51 and 52; Y 55: Praises of the Gāθās and the Staota Yesniia; Y 56: Short invocation of Sraoša; Y 57: Long invocation of Sraoša (Srōš Yašt); Y 58: Fšūšō Maθra; Y 59: The stanza repeats Y 19 and Y 26; Y 60: Dahmā Āfritiš; Y 61: Glorification of some prayers; Y 62: Ātaš Nyāyišn; Y 63-69: Āb Zōhr; Y 70-72: Concluding praises.⁵²

The Yasna ī Rapihwīn is a ceremony during which chapters 1 to 4, 6, 7, 17, 22, 59 and 66 of the Yasna celebrate *rapihwīn gāh*, or the noon-watch of the day (Hintze 2012a: 245). In the Visperad ceremony, the text of the Visperad with 22 chapters⁵³ is incorporated into the text of the 72 chapters of the Yasna.⁵⁴ The Visperad serves as a basis for the Vīdēvdād⁵⁵

⁴⁹ For short liturgies see Andrés-Toldeo (2015: 521-522).

⁵⁰ The greatest purification ritual which lasts nine nights (Boyce 1975b: 111).

⁵¹ See Cantera (2012a: 280); Andrés-Toldeo (2015: 519-522).

⁵² See Malandra (2006b); Andrés-Toledo (2015: 520).

⁵³ It ‘supplements the Yasna with invocations and appeals to the patrons (*ratu-*).’ (Kellens 1987: 38).

⁵⁴ For the insertion formula see Malandra (2013).

⁵⁵ Vīdēvdād includes 22 chapters. With the exception of the first two chapters and chapter 19 which contains the temptation of Zarathuštra, the text of Vīdēvdād deals with the purity laws. Chapter 1 narrates the account of the sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazdā, which were afflicted by the counter creation of Anra Maniiu. Chapter 2 describes the story of Yima (Kellens 1987: 39-40).

and Vishtāsp Yasht⁵⁶ ceremonies in which further ceremonies are celebrated by intercalating the Vīdēvdād or Vištāsp Yašt texts (Cantera 2012: 280). The liturgical texts of the Yasna, Visperad, Vīdēvdād, Vištāsp, Xwardag Abestāg and some Yašts have been translated into Pahlavi. The Pahlavi version of the Avesta is traditionally called the Zand. Manuscripts that only include the Avestan liturgical texts and the ritual instructions in Pahlavi, New Persian or Gujarati are called *sāda* “Simple”. By contrast, if the Avestan text is accompanied by its corresponding translation and commentary, it is called exegetical which represents the scholastic tradition (Andrés-Toledo 2015: 522-523). However, the history of the exegetical tradition can be traced back at least to the Young Avestan period during which were composed Y 19, 20 and 21 which are commentaries on the Ya9ā Ahū Vairiīō, Aṣəm Vohū and Yəṅhe Hātəm prayers, respectively (Hintze 2015: 36).

In addition to the bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi Yasna copies, three other types of the exegetical Yasna manuscripts have been distinguished so far:

a) Sanskrit: The manuscripts include the Avestan text which is accompanied by its Sanskrit translation and commentary.

b) Gujarati: In the manuscripts, the Avestan text and its Gujarati translation are written in Gujarati script.

c) New Persian: In the manuscripts, part or all of the Avestan text of Y 9-11 is translated into New Persian. Some Pahlavi manuscripts like T6, also provide an interlinear New Persian translation of the Avestan and Pahlavi version.⁵⁷

Chronologically, the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta belong to one of the following periods: 1) the Sasanian; 2) the ninth and tenth centuries and 3) the late period (11-19th CE). The Pahlavi version of the Vīdēvdād belong to the first group. By contrast, the Pahlavi text of the Yasna shows the morphological features of the Pahlavi language of the ninth century (Cantera 2004: 231-239).⁵⁸ However, regarding the Hōm Yašt, Josephson (1997: 164) draws attention to the translation of the Avestan preposition *paiti* which rather than the expected *pad* or *abar* is rendered in Y 9.30-32 by *be*, the common translation of *paiti* in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.⁵⁹ Such features stand side by side with the correct Pahlavi translations according to which Josephson (1997: 164) concludes that:

⁵⁶ Vištāsp Yašt comprises some quotations from the Vīdēvdād (Kellens 1987: 40).

⁵⁷ See Hintze (2012a: 245). For T6 see the website of the Avestan Digital Archive.

⁵⁸ In addition to the Vīdēvdād, the Pahlavi versions of the non-liturgical texts of the Hērbadestān and Nērangestan show the features of Sasanian Pahlavi.

⁵⁹ Y 9.30 Av. *paiti aṣōiš zairitahe* “against the yellow dragon” vs. Phl. *be az ī zard* “against the yellow dragon”; Y 9.31 *paiti mašiiēhe druuatō sāstarš* “against the deceitful tyrant man” vs. Phl. *be mardōm ī druwand ī sāstār* “against the deceitful tyrant man”; Y 9.32 *paiti jahikaiīi yātumaitiīi* “against the body of the prostitute full

‘Thus, while the study of the Hōm Yašt does not give a clear answer to the question when the extant translation was made, it suggests that it contains passages representing the work of different translators who lived at different periods. It indicates that there may have been an old Phl. rendering of the Yašt upon which later translators built, but that subsequently there was a steady deterioration of all aspects of the work.’

Josephson’s suggestion also agrees with the history of the Zoroastrian written tradition according to which the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts were written in the late tenth century.⁶⁰ Therefore, later features can be the result of later corrections.

It is generally assumed that Sanskrit version was produced based on the Pahlavi Yasna. It has traditionally been attributed to Nēryosangh Dhaval. However, the time of Nēryosangh is not mentioned in the colophons. As a result, scholars have put forward very different estimates about his time. For example, eighth and fifteenth centuries according to Meherjirana (1899: 9-10) and Haug (1884: 55), respectively. While the earliest Zoroastrian Gujarati texts date to the early fifteenth century, the oldest Gujarati manuscript with date at our disposal was completed in 1824 CE.⁶¹ The manuscripts, which include the New Persian translation of the Yasna, are also late as the oldest known manuscript was completed in 1707 CE (Hintze 2012a: 274).⁶²

Based on the origin of the manuscripts, they have traditionally been assigned into two groups: 1) Iranian and 2) Indian. Iranian manuscripts were either produced in Iran or copied from an Iranian manuscript in India whereas their Indian counterparts were copied in India from an Indian manuscript (Geldner 1886-1896: xiii-llv).

1.5 Previous Research on the Pahlavi Versions of the Avesta

The first comprehensive work on the Avesta was undertaken by N. L. Westergaard (1852-1854) followed by K. Geldner (1886-1896). Westergaard edited the Avesta based on the manuscripts which were brought to Copenhagen in 1820 by Rasmus Rask. Moreover, he collated manuscripts from private collections and various libraries in London, Oxford and Paris. Geldner continued Westergaard’s work and had access to 133 manuscripts which are around five times as many as Westergaard (Hintze 2012b: 420). As regards the Pahlavi

of sorcery” vs. Phl. *be jeh-ē ī jādūg* “against the body of a prostitute, the sorcer”.

⁶⁰ For the completion date of the manuscripts associated with the copy of Hōšang Syāwaxš see Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40)

⁶¹ See Hintze (2012a: 262-263); Sheffield (2015: 544).

⁶² According to my knowledge, no scholarly work has been performed on the features of the New Persian and Gujarati versions of the Avesta.

version of the Avesta, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were divided between two views:⁶³

a) the traditional view, represented by J. Darmesteter and F. Spiegel, was that the Avesta can be understood with the assistance of the Pahlavi version. Following this view, Spiegel (1853-1858) published the first edition of the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the *Vīdēvdād* (volume I) and *Visperad* and *Yasna* (volume II) in which the Pahlavi version is reproduced in the Pahlavi script.⁶⁴ L. Mills extensively engaged in translating the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta which were published in a series of articles between 1890-1914.⁶⁵ Of his works five are dedicated to the edition of the Pahlavi version of the *Hōm Yašt*. In 1900, Mills edited the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, followed by its English translation (Mills 1903c). In three separate articles, he also published the edition (Mills 1902) and English translation (Mills 1903a) of Y 9.16-32 together with the edition of Y 10 (Mills 1903b). One year later, the English translation of the Pahlavi version of Y 11-12 was published (Mills 1904: 495-512). During this period, the Parsi priest and scholar P. Sanjana (1895) also edited the Pahlavi version of the *Vīdēvdād* (Vd 1-9, 19). An important step forward in the Avestan studies was Bartholomae's (1904) *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* in which the vocabulary of Avestan and Old Persian is given. As regards the Avestan words, their corresponding Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations are also provided in transcription.

b) The followers of the Vedic view, represented by Geldner (1896), pointing out the mistakes in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta, argue that the etymological approach and comparative studies with the Vedas are the most reliable guide to the Avesta.

The direction of the Avestan studies, during the first half of the twentieth century, was changed by Andreas's theory. According to the Pahlavi book of the *Dēnkard*, the Arcasid king Valaxš made the first attempts at restoring the Avesta after the Alexander conquest.⁶⁶ In agreement with the teaching of the *Dēnkard*, F. C. Andreas (1902)⁶⁷ affirmed the existence of the Arsacid archetype and stated that the Arsacid Avesta was presumably written down in an Aramaic script similar to that of Pahlavi texts. Later, during the Sasanian

⁶³ For a comprehensive review on the history of the Avestan studies in the nineteenth century see Cantera (2004: 65-75).

⁶⁴ In addition to the Pahlavi version, the Avestan original is given in a separate section. Spiegel also translated the original Avestan of the *Vīdēvdād*, *Visperad* and *Yasna* into German, mainly by considering the indigenous Pahlavi redactions. For Spiegel see Schmitt (2002).

⁶⁵ For Mills's works on the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna* see Cantera (2004: 70, fn. 74); Gropp (1991: 79, fn. 5).

⁶⁶ For a discussion on the *Dēnkard* text see Cantera (2004: 106-113).

⁶⁷ Andreas declared his theory at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Hamburg. In the following year, he published it entitled: *Die Entstehung des Awesta-Alphabetes und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert*.

epoch, it was mechanically transposed into the invented Avestan script by ignorant priests. He concluded that a philological approach is the only authentic way to understand the Avesta. For example, he posits that the Avestan letters *e* (𐬀) and *ē* (𐬁) are the ligatures of *y-y-w* and in the Arsacid Avesta they were spelled as either *yo* or *yō* or *yu*. He also suggested that there was no real dialectical difference between OAv and YAv with the exception of the lengthening of the final vowels in Old Avestan. Therefore, for example the gen. sg. ending *-hyā* (𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀) and its vulgate YAv counterpart *-he* (𐬀𐬀𐬀), according to Andreas, represent the original Arcasid *-(a)hya*. As a result, the work on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta was abandoned for about four decades in favour of studies aiming at reconstructing the suggested Arsacid copy.⁶⁸

During this quiet period of Pahlavi studies in the West, Parsi scholars were mainly involved in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta. For example, the first substantial study of the Pahlavi version of Yasna IX is M. Davar (1904). Unvala (1924) edits and translates the Sanskrit version of Y 9-11. However, in his work, the Sanskrit text in transcription is accompanied by its original Avestan and Pahlavi counterparts. T. Anklesaria (1949), gives the first full transcription and English translation of the Vīdēvdād. B. N. Dhabhar (1927 and 1949) edits the entire Pahlavi text of the Xwardag Abestāg and Yasna, respectively. Like Spiegel, in Dhabhar's edition, the Pahlavi texts appear in its respective Pahlavi script. Moreover, he completed his English translation of the Zand of the Xwardag Abestāg which was published posthumously (Dhabhar 1963).⁶⁹

Andreas's theory was refuted in independent studies by H. Bailey (1943), W. B. Henning (1942b) and G. Morgenstierne (1942). Briefly, his assumption of the mechanical transposition of the Avestan texts has been criticised as it ignores the complicated written and oral history of the transmission of the Avesta. Furthermore, on the one hand, it is unlikely to assume that the Avestan script, showing even the slightest nuances of the recitative, is an invention of ignorant priests. On the other hand, the existence of the Arsacid copy is uncertain. Moreover, it is impossible to explain the Avestan vowels *ə* (𐬀), *ā* (𐬁), *o* (𐬂) *ō* (𐬃), *u* (𐬄), *ū* (𐬅) by Andreas's theory according to which they are all derived from *w*. Andreas also suggests that *ā* (𐬁) is the transcription of the Arsacid <'>. However, it is shown that in Pahlavi the *matres lectionis* represent short vowels only in certain occasions. For example, the Pahlavi *a* is only expressed by 𐬀 before <h>.

⁶⁸ For Andreas's theory and its counterarguments see Cantera (2004: 76-82); Kellens (1987: 41-42); Schlerath (1985: 27-30).

⁶⁹ For a review on the studies on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta by the Parsis see Cantera (2004: 102-104).

In 1970, Hoffmann argues that the extant Avesta is the work of the Sasanian priests and a combination of both traditional and philological methods should be used to understand the Sasanian Avesta. His suggestion was widely accepted among scholars and as a result it led to the revival of the studies on the Pahlavi redactions of the Avesta. The reason is that the Pahlavi version carries important information about the composition history of the Avesta. Moreover, from the lost sections of the Avesta, there are commentaries which only occur in the Pahlavi texts. Therefore, serious academic works on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta gradually started again in the West from the late 1960s onwards. In 1968, G. Klingenschmitt, a student of Hoffmann, finished his doctoral dissertation on the bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi Dictionary, *Frahang ī Oīm*. In 1969, Humbach & Jamaspasa, translated the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of *Vaēθā Nask*. The same scholars, in 1971, edited the bilingual Avestan and Pahlavi *Pursišnīhā*, followed by an English translation. Z. Taraf (1981) supplied the edition of the original Avestan of the *Niyāyišn* together with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, based on the editions of Geldner, Dhabhar and Bharucha, respectively. Her edition is also accompanied by a German translation of the three versions, followed by a commentary. In 1985, Ph. Kreyenbroek edited and translated into English the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the hymn to *Sraoša* (Y 56, 57; Yt 11) based on the Avestan edition of Geldner and Pahlavi edition of Dhabhar. In 1992, F. M. Kotwal and Ph. Kreyenbroek published their edition of the Avestan and Pahlavi versions of the *Hērbedestān* and *Nērangestan*. In 1997, Josephson studied the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan text of the *Hōm Yašt*.

In the 21st century, completing Josephson's observations, A. Cantera (2004) published *Studien zur Pahlav-Übersetzung des Avesta* in which he studies the history and features of the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta. W. Malandra & P. Ichaporia (2010) transcribed the Pahlavi version of the Old Avestan *Gāθās* and *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, based on Dhabhar's edition. The text is followed by a glossary in which is given the Pahlavi words and their translation (Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 97-184) together with Ichaporia's translation of Y 28 (Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 271-274). M. Moazami (2014) edited the Pahlavi version of the *Vīdēvdād*, followed by an English translation and a commentary. In the same year, Raffaelli's (2014) edition and English translation of the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the *Sīh-rōzag* was published. On the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, A. Zeini (2014, unpublished) edited and translated the text into English based on YIrP Pt4. Recently, G. König's (2016) research results on Yt 3 has been published as a book in which the Pahlavi text of Yt 3 is examined alongside the original Avestan and New Persian version.

As far as the present edition is concerned, according to the literature review, the following works have so far been devoted to the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15:

1) Spiegel's (1858: 29-242) edition of the Pahlavi Yasna, based on the readings of YIndP K5.

2) Mills's edition (1900: 511-528) and English translation (1903c: 313-324) of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15:

Mills (1900: 511-515) collated six books as follows: YIndP Pt4, J2, K5, M1,⁷⁰ fragments of the Yasna from Haug's collection, Spiegel's edition and the manuscript 12a whose Pahlavi text is written in the Persian script. In the English translation of the text, short commentaries are also provided in the footnotes.

3) Davar's (1904) edition and English translation of Y 9, based on the collation of mainly two (J2, K5) and occasionally three manuscripts (J2 K5, Mf4).

4) Dhabhar's (1949) edition of the entire Pahlavi Yasna in its respective script, based on four manuscripts; Pt4, Mf4 of the YIrP group and J2, K5 of its YIndP counterpart. Like Mills's edition, short commentaries are given in the footnotes.

5) Josephson's (1997) study on the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan original of the Hōm Yašt. In her work, the Avestan original and its corresponding Pahlavi translation are provided together with their corresponding English translations. While the former is based on the edition of Geldner, the Pahlavi translation follows the text of Dhabhar's edition. It should be noted that since the main purpose of the research was to investigate the Pahlavi translation technique, Pahlavi commentaries, with the exception of some short ones, are omitted in her edition.

Among the studies on the Hōm Yašt listed above, the common problem is that a detailed analysis of the history of the copies and the method of textual edition are wanting. Furthermore, new manuscripts are now available that their quality should be studied. Moreover, the old-fashioned transcriptions of the editions of Davar (1904) and Mills (1900) should be replaced by D. N. Mackenzie's (1971) widely accepted system of transcription.

In conclusion, in the present study, the Pahlavi text of Y 9.1-15 is treated as an independent subsection within Y 9. It commences with a dialogue between Zaraθuštra and Haōma when the deity attends Zaraθuštra's worship. Stanzas 3-15 list questions posed by Zaraθuštra to Haōma about who pressed Haōma in the past and which reward was received

⁷⁰ For Pt4, J2, K5, M1 see section 2.1 and 3.1.

for the pressing. Haōma states the names and says that heroic sons were born to them.⁷¹ Although the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 is generally a calque of the original Avestan, the order of the former is not always determined by its Avestan counterpart. Unlike the Pahlavi translation, the Pahlavi commentaries usually follow the proper Pahlavi syntax. Exceptions could be related to the borrowed Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts which are lost.⁷² As for the poetic structure of the Avestan original of the hymn, the octosyllabic metre predominates in the Yašt and the dividing manner of its Zand shows that the Pahlavi exegetes were aware of its metrical structure.⁷³ Chronologically, the text of the Pahlavi version betrays the features of the ninth-tenth centuries Pahlavi. Nonetheless, Josephson adduces an example of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries Pahlavi which suggests that the text was the subject to some later interpretive activities.⁷⁴ The literature review of the past scholarship reveals that during the twentieth century, scholars mainly focused on the edition and study of the Avestan original. As a result, the Zand which shows the understanding of Zoroastrian priests of the Sasanian and early Islamic periods received little attention and even in these studies, an analysis of the transmission of the text is wanting.⁷⁵ Therefore, in order to justify conclusions in the present edition, the text is edited following a detailed study of the transmission of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15. Moreover, features of the collated manuscripts such as the geographical typology, date of completion, possible correction and contamination are analysed to evaluate their quality.

⁷¹ See section 1.

⁷² See section 1.1.

⁷³ See 1.3.

⁷⁴ 1.4 See section 1.4.

⁷⁵ See section 1.5.

2 Description of the Manuscripts

The present edition of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 is based on the collation of nine manuscripts called Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b, J2, K5 and M1. Of the manuscripts, Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b are Iranian whereas J2, K5, M1 belong to the category of the Indian manuscripts. Traditionally, Iranian and Indian Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts are represented by Pt4, Mf4 and J2, K5, respectively.⁷⁶ According to their colophons, Pt4 and Mf4 are descendants of a copy written down by Hōšang Syāwaxš in the fifteenth century. After the translation of the colophon of Pt4 by West (1896-1904), the manuscript received a particular attention by scholars because it is believed that the text is about the history of the compilation of the first bilingual Pahlavi manuscript. However, as discussed in section 2.1, the text of the colophons has been interpreted differently by scholars. Furthermore, while the manuscripts Pt4, Mf4 have always been evaluated according to their Avestan original, the quality of their Pahlavi version is unknown.⁷⁷ In addition, in the present edition, the manuscripts G14 and T6 are collated. The reason is that although like Pt4 and Mf4, they contain the colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš, neither their colophon nor their Pahlavi text has so far been studied. Moreover, the Pahlavi text of the Iranian manuscripts F2 and T55b is studied in the present edition, as the former is not a member of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and the latter is an undated manuscript whose scribe is unknown. Regarding the Indian manuscripts, J2 and K5 are the oldest Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts at our disposal. Furthermore, I collate the readings of another Indian copy namely M1 since it is contemporaneous with Pt4, Mf4 and G14 which were produced in the eighteenth century. Therefore, the relationship between the Pahlavi version of M1 and the two old Indian manuscripts, together with the scribal traditions in the eighteenth century, can be studied.

2.1 The Colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6⁷⁸

Pt4 (fol. 2v-4v), Mf4 (p. 2-8),⁷⁹ G14 (fol. 18v-21r) and T6 (fol. fol. 5v-8v) contain an Introduction which includes two colophons on Pt4 (fol. 3v line 1-16), Mf4 (p. 4 line 7-17, p. 5 line 1-6), G14 (fol. 19v line 4-14) and T6 (fol. 6v line 10-13, fol. 7r line 1-8). The first colophon mentions the name of Hōšang Syāwaxš as the scribe of the manuscript that is ancestral to the entire group. While in the colophon, the completion date of the manuscript

⁷⁶ In addition to Pt4 and Mf4, YIrPs are also represented by Mf1 (Hoffmann & Narten 1989: 15). However, since Mf1 only has the Avestan text, it is not studied in the present edition.

⁷⁷ For a discussion see section 3.1.

⁷⁸ Facsimiles of the manuscripts Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. For Mf4 see Jamasp Asa & Nawabi 1976 (2535).

⁷⁹ Unlike other manuscripts having folio numbering, in the Mf4 published facsimile, pages are numbered.

of Hōšang Syāwaxš is not stated, such a date is found in the third colophon of Mf4 (p. 599-600) according to which he completed the manuscript in AY 864 (= 1495 CE).⁸⁰

The second colophon provides details about the history of the compilation of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. They have been studied by West (1896-1904: 84-85), Dhabhar (1923a: 90-93; Pahlavi text, 114-118; English translation), Tavadia (1944: 321-332) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 31-42).⁸¹ By interpreting the text differently, scholars have put forward significantly diverging filiations. Moreover, there is no agreement regarding the place of caesura between the two colophons.

Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 35, fn. 2-18) compare the variant readings of the Pt4 and Mf4 colophons and show that the textual divergences between the two manuscripts are minor. By contrast, as mentioned above, the text of colophons in G14 and T6 has so far not been examined. In what follows, the text of the colophon in Pt4 is reproduced while the variant readings of Mf4, G14, T6 are recorded in the footnotes:⁸²

- Pt4 fol. 3r line 21) ... *nibišt*
 fol. 3v line 1) *rāy pad hamuskārišnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag*⁸³ *hōšang*
 2) *syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār az*⁸⁴
 3) *paččēn hērbed mihrābān spanddād mihrābān*⁸⁵
 4) *ō az paččēn hērbed*⁸⁶ *māhpanāh*⁸⁷ *ī*⁸⁸ *āzādmard* *ī*⁸⁹
 5) *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg čiyōn mard*⁹⁰ *nēk*
 6) *abarmāndīg*⁹¹ *pad dēn ud ruwān abēgumān u-š kāmāg*
 7) *frārōn* *ō*⁹² *yazdān wehān rōstahm* *ī*⁹³ *dād ohrmazd*
 8) *nōgdraxt ī az farrōx būm ī spāhān az rūddašt*
 9) *rōstāg az waržuk deh abestāg az paččēn-ē*⁹⁴

⁸⁰ See the Mf4 description.

⁸¹ West's translation is based on the text of the colophons in Pt4. By contrast, Dhabhar translates the text of the colophons in Mf4. Tavadia provides a detailed description of the Introduction and the colophons of Pt4 and Mf4. However, the original Pahlavi text is wanting in his work. Cantera & de Vaan edit the text based on the colophons in Pt4. They also give the variant readings of Mf4 and manuscript readings of the edited words in the footnotes.

⁸² The variant readings of the colophons recorded in the footnote are provided in transcription rather than transliteration. Therefore, insignificant variations such as *nibišt*: Pt4, Mf4, T6 *npšt'* vs. G14 *npšt* are not indicated.

⁸³ Mf4 writes *hērbed* after *bandag*.

⁸⁴ Mf4 G14 T6: *ōy az* ('L MN)

⁸⁵ G14 T6: *kē ābān spēndād kē ābān* (MNW 'p'n' sp'yn'd't (T6: sp'ynd't) MNW 'p'n').

⁸⁶ T6: *deest*.

⁸⁷ Mf4: *māhp* (*m'hp*).

⁸⁸ Mf4: *deest*.

⁸⁹ G14 T6: *deest*.

⁹⁰ T6: *mard ī* (GBR' Y).

⁹¹ G14: *ud abarmāndīg* (W 'plm 'nykyk).

⁹² Mf4 *ud* (W' L).

⁹³ G14 T6: *deest*.

⁹⁴ G14 T6: *deest*.

- 10) *ud zand az paččēn-ē⁹⁵ anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš*
 11) *rāy nibišt ēstād jādag⁹⁶ anōšag ruwān māh-*
 12) *ayār ī⁹⁷ farroxzād ī⁹⁸ az ham bēšāzwār⁹⁹ awestān¹⁰⁰*
 13) *az kāzerōn¹⁰¹ rōstāg anōšag ī man¹⁰² māhwindād ī¹⁰³*
 14) *narmāhān¹⁰⁴ ī¹⁰⁵ wahrām mihr az ham¹⁰⁶ paččēn paččēn-ē¹⁰⁷ az*
 15) *xwāyišn ī pērōzgar abunast¹⁰⁸ mardšād ī šābuhr*
 16) *az¹⁰⁹ farrox būm ī¹¹⁰ šīrāz*

The colophons text as interpreted in the present edition is as follows:¹¹¹

- 1) For similar deliberation, I, victorious servant of the religion, Hōšang
- 2) Syāwaxš Šahryār Bakhtāfirīd Šahryār, wrote (= *nibišt* fol. 3r line 21) it from
- 3) the copy of Hērbed Mihrābān Spanddād Mihrābān (and)
- 4) that¹ from the copy of Hērbed Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard,
- 5) protector² of the region of Kāzerōn like a good
- 6) heir (?), without doubt about religion and soul and with an honest desire
- 7) for the good gods. Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd
- 8) Nōgdraxt³ from the blessed land of Spāhān from the Rūd-Dasht (?)
- 9) region from the town of Waržuk (?), the Avesta from a copy
- 10) and Zand from another copy⁴ for the possession of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār⁵
- 11) had written⁶ for the sake of⁷ the immortal souled Māh-
- 12) ayār son of Farroxzād from the same salubrious⁸ district
- 13) from the region of Kāzerōn, (and) I⁹, the immortal Māhwindād son of
- 14) Narmāhan Wahrām Mihr. From the same copy, (I wrote) a copy
- 15) at the request of the victorious Abunast Mardshād¹⁰ son of Šāhpuhr
- 16) from the blessed city Šīrāz.

⁹⁵ G14 T6: deest.

⁹⁶ G14: *jādag ud (j`tk w)*.

⁹⁷ G14 T6: deest.

⁹⁸ G14 T6: deest.

⁹⁹ G15 *bīšāpur (byš`pwl)*; T6: *nēšāpuhr (nyš`pwhl)*.

¹⁰⁰ T6: *xujst`n (xwjst`n)*: The reading *x* is shown by the diacritic dot above 𐬭. As discussed in the present section, *xujestān* is the corrected variant of *awestān*.

¹⁰¹ G14: *kābuhl (k`pwhl)*; T6: 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀. In the New Persian version, it is rendered by *kābol* (کابل).

¹⁰² G14 T6: *az (MN)*.

¹⁰³ G14 T6: deest.

¹⁰⁴ G14 T6: *rumāhān? (lm`h`n)*.

¹⁰⁵ Mf4: deest.

¹⁰⁶ G14 T6: deest.

¹⁰⁷ G14 T6: deest.

¹⁰⁸ G14 T6: *ābānsar (p`n`sl)*.

¹⁰⁹ Mf4: *ī az*.

¹¹⁰ G14: deest.

¹¹¹ My translation builds on that of Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36-37) and Tavadia (1944: 325). However, wherever my translation is very different from that of other editions, it is discussed in the commentary.

1) Line 4 *ō* “that”

Phl. *ō* in the manuscripts is spelled as ‘L “to”. However, as a preposition its occurrence before *az* “from” is semantically problematic. Therefore, with Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 35, fn. 5) it has been taken as a corrupt form of *ōy* (‘LH) “that” in the present edition.

2) Line 5 *panāh* “protector”

By interpreting *panāh* “protector” as the short form of the personal name [*māh*]*panāh*, Tavadia (1944: 325) reads line 4-5 *hērbed māhpanāh ī azādmard ī panāh* as *hērbed māhpanāh ī azādmard ī [māh]panāh* “Hērbed Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard son of [Māh]panāh”. He mentions that the grandsons are sometimes named after their grandfathers. However, his interpretation is entirely hypothetical and it is not supported by any of the manuscripts readings.

3) Line 7-8 *rōstahm ī dād ohrmazd nōgdraxt* “Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt”

Through the addition of ‘son of’ (line 7) in brackets before Rōstahm son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) mention that he was the father of Māhpanāh Āzādmard, described as line 5 *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg* “the protector of the region of Kāzerōn”. Slightly different form Cantera & de Vaan, *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg* ... “the protector of the region of Kāzerōn...” is associated with Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt through the insertion of ‘who was’ and ‘viz.’ in brackets before Rōstahm, by West and Dhabhar, respectively:

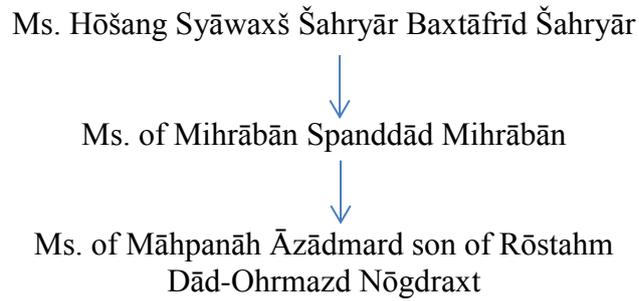
“Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard, son of the protector of ... (who was), Rōstahm, Dād-Ohrmazd” (West 1986-1904: 85).

“Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard, (son) of the protector of ... viz., Rōstahm, Dād-Ohrmazd” (Dhabhar 1923a: 115).

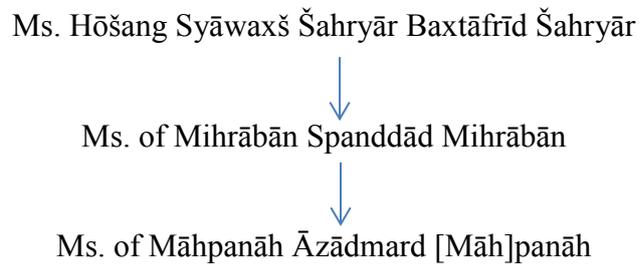
While Dhabhar writes ‘son’ in brackets, West probably interprets that the second *ī* (line 4) in *māhpanāh ī azādmard ī panāh* expresses the possessive relationship between Māhpanāh Āzādmard and Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd.

Tavadia (1944: 325) suggests that Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdrakht belongs to the second colophon. According to his interpretation, Rōstahm wrote the first bilingual manuscript. Therefore, as regards the first colophon, the two following filiations have so far been suggested by scholars:

1) The model of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan:¹¹²



2) The model of Tavadia:



In contrast to the interpretations of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan, Tavadia’s suggestion is entirely based on the manuscript readings and no hypothetical words are incorporated into his translation to relate Māhpanāh to Dād-Ohrmazd. Tavadia’s suggestion is also supported by considering the meaning of *xwēš rāy* and the verb *nibišt ēstād* as discussed below.

4) Line 9-10 *abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē* “the Avesta from a copy and Zand from another copy”

Regarding the Pahlavi sign 𐬨 after *abestāg az paččēn* and *zand az paččēn*, West (1986-1904: 84-85), Dhabhar (1923a: 115) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) take it as the indefinite article *ē* and translate the phrase as “Avesta from one copy and Zand from another¹¹³ copy”. Dhabhar (1923a: 115) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) assume that the name(s) of the scribe(s) of the two separate Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts is unmentioned. By contrast, West (1896-1904: 85), interprets that *abestāg az paččēn ē* “Avesta from one copy” and *zand az paččēn ē* “Zand from another copy” were the

¹¹² The filiation of Geldner (1886-1896: xxxiv) agrees with the interpretation of West.

¹¹³ Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) translate the second *ē* as one(ther) rather than another.

productions of Māhayār Farrozzād and of Māhwindād Narmāhān Wahrām Mihr(ābān), respectively:

“the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy (which were) the production of the glorified Māhayār son of Farrozzād, from the same salubrious place of the district Kāzerōn, (and of) me, the immortal Māhwindād son of Wahrām.”¹¹⁴

Although, West transcribes the Pahlavi sign 𐬨 as *ē* rather than the *ezāfa ī* “of”, he associates the manuscripts with their suggested scribes by adding ‘which were’ hypothetically in the brackets. Later, Dhabhar (1949: 7) takes side with West by mentioning in the introduction of his *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad* that ‘Farrbay wrote his manuscript from two separate copies, 1) the Avesta text from the manuscript of Māhayār Farrozzād and 2) the Pahlavi text from the manuscript of Māhwindād Narmāhan Wahrām Mihr[abān]’. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 325) reads the Pahlavi sign 𐬨 as the *ezāfa ī* “of”:

(Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd) “had written for himself the Avesta from the copy of the Blessed Dādag Māhyār Farrōxzād ... and the Zand from the copy of the blessed Farrbay Srōšayār.”¹¹⁵

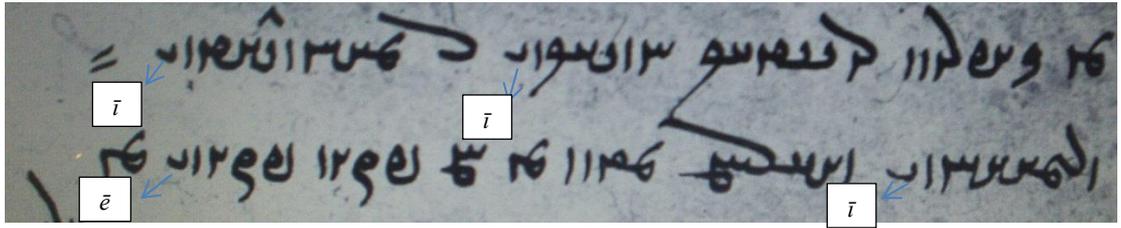
Tavadia (1944: 330) suggests that the scribe probably forgot to write *dādag*¹¹⁶ *māhayār farrozzād* after *abestāg az paččēn ī*. Therefore, he wrote the name of the scribe in margin. Later, the second scribe misplaced it after *nibišt ēstād*. It is obvious that Tavadia’s suggestion is entirely hypothetical. As far as the transcription of the Pahlavi sign 𐬨 as the indefinite article *ē* or the *ezāfa ī* is concerned, it is impossible to draw a decisive conclusion according to the Pt4, Mf4 palaeography. The reason is that in their colophons, the manuscripts do not differentiate between *ē* and *ī*, for example *ē* in *paččēn-ē* (fol. 3v line 14) and *ī* in *anōšag ī* (fol. 3v line 13), *māhwindād ī* (fol. 3v line 13) and *narmāhān ī* (fol. 3v line 14):

¹¹⁴ Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 37-38) write that West ‘concludes that Franbay son of Srōšyār had copied the manuscript from one Avestan and one Zand copy, both produced by Māhayār son of Farrōkhzād’. Their interpretation of West’s translation is according to his insertion of (which were) in brackets (line 11). However, their suggestion is incorrect because Cantera and de Vaan do not consider that West also adds (and of) before “me, the immortal Māhwindād son of Narmāhan” in brackets (line 13). Later in the same article, they mention that West assumed Māhayār Farrokhzād and Māhwindād Narmāhān Wahrām Mihr[ābān] as the scribes and Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts, respectively (Cantera & de Vaan 2005: 39).

¹¹⁵ My translation from German.

¹¹⁶ Tavadia reads *jādag* “for the sake of” as the first member of the proper noun *dādag anōšag ruwān māhayār farrozzād*. See my commentary to *jādag*.

Figure 1. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 3v line 13-14).



By contrast, the Pahlavi sign 𐭮 after *abestāg az paččēn* and *zand az paččēn* is omitted in G14 (fol. 19v line 10) and T6 (fol. 7r line 3-4). According to the variant readings of Y 9.1-15, collated in text-critical apparatus, and those of the colophon provided in the footnote above, G14 and T6 sometimes delete the *ezāfa ī*. For example, in line 4, 7, 12, 13 and 16 of the colophon. Regarding the palaeographical feature of *ē*, *paččēn-ē* (line 14) is deleted in the colophon of G14 (fol. 19v line 13) and T6 (fol. 7r line 7) after *ham paččēn*. Therefore, its palaeographical feature in the colophon of G14 and T6 cannot be studied. However, in Y 9.1 (line 28), while *ē(w)* “one” is written by 𐭮 in Pt4 (54v line 5), Mf4 (p.146 line 17), it is represented by 𐭮 in G14 (fol. 52v line 10), T6 (fol. 43v line 12). In Y 9.2, the indefinite article *ē* is also given in the margin of the manuscripts G14 and T6¹¹⁷ and like Y 9.1, its palaeography is similar to that of *ī*:

Figure 2. Left: An example of the palaeography of *ī* in the colophon of G14 (fol. 19v line 9); right: An example of the palaeography of *ē* in G14 (Y 9.2 fol. 53r).



Figure 3. Left: An example of the palaeography of *ī* in the colophon of T6 (fol. 7r line 2); right: An example of the palaeography of *ē* in Y 9.2 T6 (fol. 44r).



Therefore, the evidence from G14 and T6 favours the reading *ī* because while the *ezāfa* is often omitted in their texts, in the two occasions in Y 9.1, 2, *ē(w)* is written. However, the texts of G14, T6 are not as reliable as those of Pt4, Mf4 because as discussed below, they have possibly been corrected by their scribes. Furthermore, the reading the Pahlavi sign 𐭮 as

¹¹⁷ The commentary including *ē* is absent in Pt4, M4.

the *ezafa ī* is problematic because the names of their related scribes occurs several words after *abestāg az paččēn ī ud zand az paččēn ī*. In conclusion, considering the grammar of the Pahlavi language, *ē* is considered as the correct reading of the Pahlavi sign 𐬀 in the present edition.

5) Line 10-11 *anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy* “for the possession of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār”

Phl. *farr* (*pln*) in *farrbay* is transcribed as *farnbay* in the mentioned scholarly works. However, based on the *rn > rr* development, *pln* has been taken as a historical writing and it is transcribed as *farr* in the present edition.

Regarding *xwēš rāy*, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 38) show that meaning “for the possession of”, it usually indicates the addressee or patron of the copy in the texts. Therefore, they translate *anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy* as “for the possession of the immortal Farrbay, son of Srōšayār”. By contrast, West (1896-1904: 85) and Dhabhar (1923a: 115) had considered Farrbay son of Srōšayār as the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript by translating lines 9-11 *abestāg az paččēn-ē anōšag farrbay srōšayāryār xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād* as follows:

“The immortal Farrbay son of Srōšyār had written a copy for himself, the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy.” (West 1896-1904: 85).

“The immortal Farrbay Srōšayār had himself written a copy, the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy.” (Dhabhar 1923a: 115).

While Dhabhar translates *xwēš rāy* as “himself”, West renders it as “for himself”. Likewise, Tavadia (1944: 325) translates *xwēš rāy* as “for himself”. However, he associates it with the Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd (line 7) who is the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript according to his interpretation:

Rōstahm (son of) Dād-Ohrmazd (son of) Nōgdrakht ... had written for himself the Avesta from the copy of the ... and the Zand from the copy of¹¹⁸

Regarding the translation of *xwēš rāy*, that of Cantera and de Vaan is based on the meaning of the expression in parallel examples. As a result, Farrbay Srōšayār cannot be the

¹¹⁸ My translation from German.

scribe who produced the first bilingual manuscript as suggested by West and Dhabhar. Moreover, Dhabhar's translation as "himself" does not render *rāy*.

6) Line 11 *nibišt ēstād* "had written"

Regarding the translation of the verb *nibišt ēstād*, except for Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36), other scholars translate it as active. Moreover, Cantera and de Vaan consider Māhayār Farrozzād as the first scribe of the bilingual manuscript:

"The Avesta has been written from one copy and the Zand from one (other) copy for the possession of the immortal Farrbay, son of Srōšayār, as a production (?) of the immortal Māhayār, son of Farrozzād, from the same salubrious district from the region of Kāzerōn."

However, as discussed below, *jādag* is rendered as "for the sake of" in the present edition because its translation as "as a production of, the production of" is problematic. Therefore, while Māhayār Farrozzād cannot be taken as the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript, only remains one candidate who is Rōstahm Dād Ohrmazd (line 7). With this interpretation, he is the subject of the 3rd sg. past perfect *nibišt ēstād* in the ergative construction.¹¹⁹ The evidence also agrees with Tavadia's interpretation. It should be noted that while Cantera & de Vaan discuss the translations of West and Dhabhar, they do not examine Tavadia's translation. The only problem with the present interpretation is that since two words, or *abestāg ... zand*, are the objects of the sentence, the form *nibišt ēstād hēnd* is expected. However, the text is late and it is possible to find New Persian-like constructions.¹²⁰ It is also corroborated by the defective texts of the colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš in which, as discussed below, the influences of New Persian are noticeable.

7) Line 11 *jādag* "for the sake of"

The reading and translation of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭 preceding *anōšag ruwān māhayār ī farrozzād* is debated among scholars. While West (1896-1904: 84-85) and Dhabhar (1923a: 115, fn. 6) read *d'tk* "production" and *j'tk* "for the sake of, for the preserving of the memory of", respectively, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 38) mentioning that the form *d'tk* is unknown,

¹¹⁹ For Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd see commentary 3) Line 7-8 *rōstahm ī dād ohrmazd nōgdraxt*.

¹²⁰ For examples of the change of the ergative constructions to their accusative counterparts in Pahlavi under the influence of New Persian see Skjærvø (2009a: 228).

choose the spelling *j'tk* and the translation “production”. However, none of the scholars examine the problematic word in detail. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 329-330) studies the word in Pahlavi and New Persian. He shows that in the Zoroastrian New Persian texts, *jāda* denotes “for the sake of” especially in association with deceased ones. Furthermore, he points out that *jādagīh* in the third Pahlavi colophon of Mf4 has been translated as “for the sake of”. He also compares the word with the Pahlavi legal terms such as *jādag-gōw* “intercessor”.¹²¹ However, at the end, reading *dādag*, he interprets it as the first member of the proper name Dādag Māhayār Farroxzād. As a proper noun, although Phl. *jādagīh* or *dādagīh* may occur in IrBd. 35A.8 *ud man farrbay xwānēnd dādagīh ī ašawahišt* “and I Farrbay whom they call Dādagīh son of Ašawahišt”, the form *dādag* has no parallel in the Pahlavi and Zoroastrian New Persian literature. By contrast, by translating *jādag* as “for the sake of (a deceased person)” the sequence of *xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād jādag* makes sense. The reason is that *xwēš rāy*, indicating the addressee or patron of the manuscript, is preceded by *farrbay srōšayāryār* carrying the epithet *anōšag*. By contrast, *jādag* is followed by *māhayār farroxzād* which is described as *anōšag ruwān*. Therefore, it implies that the scribe wrote the manuscript for the possession of the *anōšag* “immortal (= living)” Farrbay Srōšayār and for the sake of the *anōšag ruwān* “immortal souled (= deceased)” Māhayār Farroxzād.

8) Line 12 *bēšāzwār* “salubrious”

The Pahlavi  in *az ham*  occurs in the following context:

- 11) *jādag anōšag ruwān māh-*
- 12) *ayār ī farroxzād ī az ham bēšāzwār* (Tavadia: *wehšāpuhr*) *awestān*
- 13) *az kāzerōn rōstāg*

- 11) for the sake of the immortal souled Māh-
- 12) ayār son of Farroxzād from the same salubrious (Tavadia: Wehšāpuhr) district
- 13) from the region of Kāzerōn,

Tavadia (1944: 325) reads  as *wehšāpuhr*, the other pronunciation of “the city Bīšāpuhr”. However, the preceding *ham* “same” casts doubt on Tavadia’s interpretation as the name of the city Bīšāpuhr is previously unattested to need the anaphor *ham* “the same”.

9) Line 13 *man* “I”

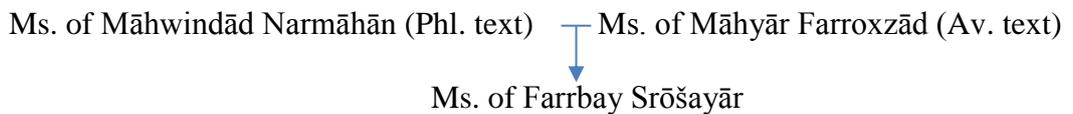
¹²¹ See the section on T6 description

The Pahlavi sign 𐭮 precedes *māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr*. Dhabhar (1923a: 116) regards *L (man)* “I” as a corrupt form or an abbreviation of *lwb ’n (ruwān)* “soul” which in combination with *anōšag* means “immortal souled”. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 325) leaves 𐭮 untranslated. Regarding the reading of 𐭮, the interpretation of Dhabhar who takes it as the abbreviated form of *ruwān* is entirely hypothetical. Furthermore, there is no parallel example of such an abbreviation as far as I know. Therefore, 𐭮 is transcribed as man “I” in the present edition.

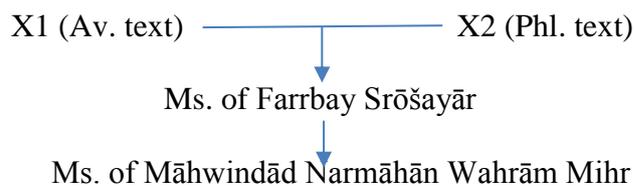
10) Line 15 *mardšād* “Mardšād”

All of the collated manuscripts obviously spell *š ’t’ (šād)*.¹²² Although Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 35-36) transliterate it correctly, they transcribe the word as *šāh*. However, they do not explain the reason for their correction of *šād* to *šāh*.

As regards the filiation of the second colophon, according to West (1896-1904: 85), Farrbay Srōšayār produced the first bilingual copy:¹²³



Likewise, Dhabhar (1923a) takes Farrbay Srōšayār as the first producer of the bilingual manuscript:¹²⁴



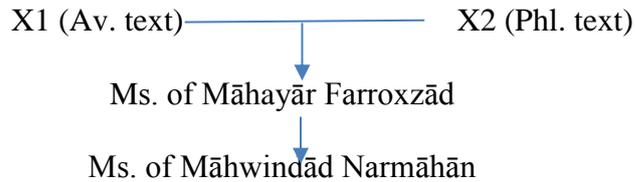
However as mentioned above, the meaning of *xwēš rāy* preceding Farrbay Srōšayār casts doubt on their interpretation. Furthermore, the translation of *jādag* as “the production of” through which West considers Māhayār Farroxzād and Māhwindād Narmāhān as the copyists of the separate Avestan and Pahlavi texts is entirely hypothetical and not based on the evidence from the Pahlavi language.

¹²² See Pt4 (fol. 3v line 15), Mf4 (p. 5 line 5), G14 (fol. 19v line 14), T6 (fol. 7r line 8).

¹²³ West does not draw the filiation of the colophon but Geldner’s (1896: Prolegomena xxxiv) genealogical tree is based on the translation of West.

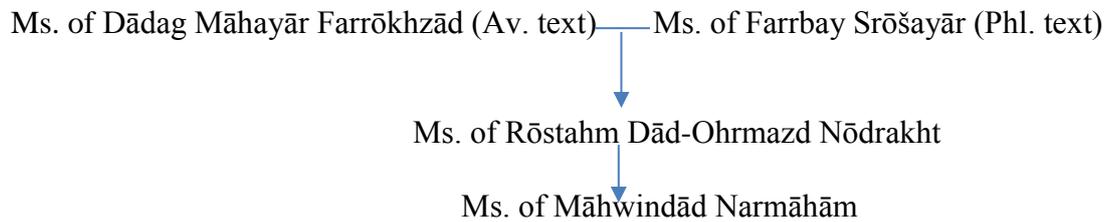
¹²⁴ Dhabhar does not draw a genealogical tree and the filiation is drawn by me according to his translation.

According to Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 37-8) the first colophon, showing the usual regressive chronology, is written by Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār Baxtāfrīd. By contrast, the second colophon, starting from *abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē*, is written by Māhwindād son of Narmāhān son of Wahrām Mihr whose name occurs in the middle of the second colophon (line 13-14):¹²⁵



However, as discussed above, the rendering of *jādag* as “as a production of” is problematic. Furthermore, Tavadia’s suggestion is left undiscussed in their article.

Different from the proposal of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan, Tavadia (1944: 332) considers Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd Nōdrakht and Māhwindād Narmāhām as the first producer and copyist of the bilingual manuscripts, respectively:



As mentioned before, the evidence supports Tavadia’s suggestion that the first bilingual manuscript was a production of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd Nōdrakht. However, Tavadia’s interpretations of *dādag* and *xwēš rāy* are problematic. With Tavadia’s suggestion, Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd and Māhwindād Narmāhān are interpreted as the first and second scribes of the bilingual Pahlavi texts in the present edition. By contrast, as regards the scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, it seems that their names are left unmentioned because as stated above, the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 should be read as the indefinite article *ē* rather than the *ezāfa ī*. Therefore, the following filiation is suggested in the present edition:

¹²⁵ For the filiation see Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40).

Bīšāpu(h)r”. Furthermore, in the same line, *k'clwn* “Kāzerōn” is spelled as *k'puhl* “Kabul” in G14:

G14 (fol. 19v line 12). *az ham bīšāpuhr awestān az kābul rōstāg*
(Māhayār Farroxzād comes) from same Bīšāpuhr place of the district Kābul”.

The phrase seems to be corrected in G14 because Bīšāpuhr, located in the modern Iranian Fārs province and Kābul in the modern Afghanistan are not geographically related together. Moreover, with the reading *bīšāpuhr*, the occurrence of the preceding *ham* “same” then, would be inexplicable as Bīšāpuhr has not been mentioned previously in the text.

In T6, which provides the interlinear New Persian translation of the colophon text, more cities are identified with those in eastern Iran:

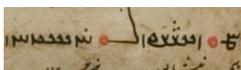
Hērbed Māhpanāh Āzādmard: T6 (fol. 6v line 13) **وس کابول** “Kāzerōn” (In the New Persian version کابل “Kabul”).

Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd: Spāhān.

Māhayār Farrōkhzād: T6 (fol. 7r line 6) **کابل و نیشاپور**? (In the New Persian version کابل “Kabul”).

Moreover, *ham bēšāzwār awestān* (**هم نیشاپور و خوجستان**) “the same salubrious region (of)” in Pt4 Mf4 appears in T6 (fol. 7r line 6) as *ham nēšāpur xujestān* (**هم نیشاپور و خوجستان**)¹²⁷ “the same Nēšāpur Xujestān”. Likewise, it is translated in the interlinear New Persian version as *ham nēšāpur xujestān* (هم نیشاپور و خوجستان), both of which, *nēšāpur* and *xujestān*, are located in Khorasan.¹²⁸

Like G14, the text of T6 seems to be subject to the re-interpretation according to scribe’s mindset.¹²⁹ The reason is that in fol. 6v line 13, the word in the Pahlavi version is spelled apparently as *k'clwn* (*kāzerōn*) while in the New Persian version کابل “Kabul” is given. Furthermore in fol. 7r line 6 **کابل و نیشاپور**? “Kābul?” is probably the corrected variant of the original **وس کابول**. As mentioned before, *nēšāpur xujestān* (**هم نیشاپور و خوجستان**), is the variant reading of **هم نیشاپور و خوجستان**. However, it is a misreading because the name *nēšāpur xujestān*



¹²⁷ (The reading *x* in *xujestān* is shown by one diacritical dot above **خ**. Three diacritical dots are placed above **ش** to indicate *š*).

¹²⁸ See *Ln.* Vol. VI, 8381; Vol. XIV, 20290-20291.

¹²⁹ G14 and T6 are closely related. See T6 description.

“Nēšāpur Xujestān” does not occur before to need the anaphor *ham* “the same”. In G14 (fol. 19v line 5-6), T6 (fol. 6v line 12), the name of the famous scribe *mihrābān spanddād* (or *spandyād* in YIndP J2, K5) *mihrāban* is also written as *kē ābān spendāt kē ābān* “who is Ābān Spandāt who is Ābān”:

Pt4 fol. 3v line 1) ... *pērōzgar man dēn bandag hōšang*

2) *syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār az*

3) *paččēn hērbēd mihrābān spanddād mihrābān* (G14 T6: *kē ābān spendāt kē ābān*)

1) “I, victorious servant of the religion, Hōšang

2) Syāwaxš Shahryār Bakhtāfrīd Shahryār, (wrote it) from

3) the copy of hērbad Mihrābān Spanddāt Mihrāban (G14 T6: who is Ābān Spendāt who is Ābān).

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that the meaning of the colophons was even unclear in 1780 and 1842 CE when G14 and T6 were completed by Indian priests who were the descendants of the famous Māhayār Rāna, namely Kāwūs son of Suhrāb son of Rōstam and Suhrāb son of Frāmarz son of Suhrāb, respectively.¹³⁰ Compared to G14, T6, the colophons in Pt4 and Mf4 are less corrupt. However, although G14 is contemporaneous with Pt4 and Mf4, it is unclear whether or not the latter ones were also written down by Indian scribes.

2.2 The Manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna

a) Pt4: The manuscript has 283 folios, measuring 33.93 × 20.6 cm and written 21 lines per page. The completion of the manuscript is dated around 1780 CE according to the family tradition of Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (Hintze 2012a: 253). Mills (1893: 519) mentions that:

‘According to its introduction, page 2, we gather that D (or Pt4) were written down in 1780 by Dastoor Kavasji Sobraji Mihirji-rāna.’

Assuming that Mills’s Sobraji is the typo for Sorabji, Dastoor Kavasji Sorabji Mihirji-rāna, the scribe of Pt4, is probably the father of Sohrābji son of Kāušji Sohrābji Meherjirāna who copied F2 (completed in 1814 CE). It is exciting because as discussed in section 3.1, while Pt4 is corrected, F2 shows the traces of contamination. However, unlike Mills’s report, in the introduction of Pt4, the name of Kavasji Sorabji Mihirji-rāna does not occur.

¹³⁰ See sections on G14 and T6 description.

b) Mf4: The manuscript has 357 folios¹³¹ and it was copied shortly after 1780 CE. The folios are 28 × 18.3 cm, written 17 lines to page. (Hintze 2012a: 254). In addition to the common colophons with Pt4, G14, T6 written by Hōšang Syāwaxš as discussed in section 2.1, Mf4 has another colophon which was produced by the same scribe. It was transcribed and translated by Dhabhar (1923a:117-118) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40-41):

Mf4 (p. 599 line 6) *yašt zand tamām šud andar farrōxīg ud pērōzīg andar*

7) *rōz ī wād ī hudāhag māh amurdāt pērōzgar sāl ī*

8) *864 pas az yazdgird šāhān*

9) *šāh man dēn bandag hōšang syāwaxš šahryār ī*

10) *baxtāfrīd šahryār ī wahrām ī husraw šāhag*

11) *anōšagruwān nibišt ud frāz hišt xwēš ī*

12) *xwēš rāy ud frazandān xwēš rāy har kē*

13) *xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb paččēn az-iš¹³²*

14) *kunād jādagīh ī man nibištār pad patet bawēd*

15) *tā-šān awiš afrīn kardārtar bēm nē ahlawdād*

16) *kē-š nām ī man u-š awestarēd ka-š*

17) *awestarēd u-š hamēmāl ham pad*

Mf4 p. 600 line 1) *dādwar ī dādār ī ohrmazd*

2) *be dānad har kē ōy hušyār bāšad zi bahr ī mēnovān dar kār bāšad*

6) The Zand Yasna was¹³³ completed in prosperity and victory on

7) the day of the beneficent Wād, the month of the victorious Amurdad, the year

8) 864 after Yazdgird, King of

9) Kings, I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār son of

10) Baxtāfrīd Šahryār son of Wahrām son of Husraw-Šāhag

11) Anōšagruwān wrote¹³⁴ and published it for my

12) own possession and for that of my offspring. Everyone who

13) reads it or teaches it or makes a copy of it,

14) will be in Repentance for the sake of me, the writer,

15) so that I may perform blessing to them. No(t worthy of) charity

16) (is) he who stains my name, when he

17) stains (it) I shall be his adversary before

Mf4 p. 600 line 1) the judge, the creator Ohrmazd.¹³⁵

2) Everyone who is conscious knows (that) he should work for the sake of spiritual beings.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Jamasp Asa & Nawabi 1976 (2535) who published the Mf4 facsimile in 2 volumes give page numbers (vol. 1, p. 2-400; vol 2, p. 401-720) rather than folio numbers.

¹³² Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) read 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 as *u-š* “and it”. However, the context suggests that it should be read *az-iš* meaning “of/from it” as correctly appears in their translation.

¹³³ The use of *šudan* originally meaning “to go” as an auxiliary verb in Pahlavi is late (Nyberg 1974: 188). Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) translate *šud* as “is”. However, the past tense auxiliary verb is translated as “was” in the present study.

¹³⁴ Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) translate the simple past *nibišt* as “have written”.

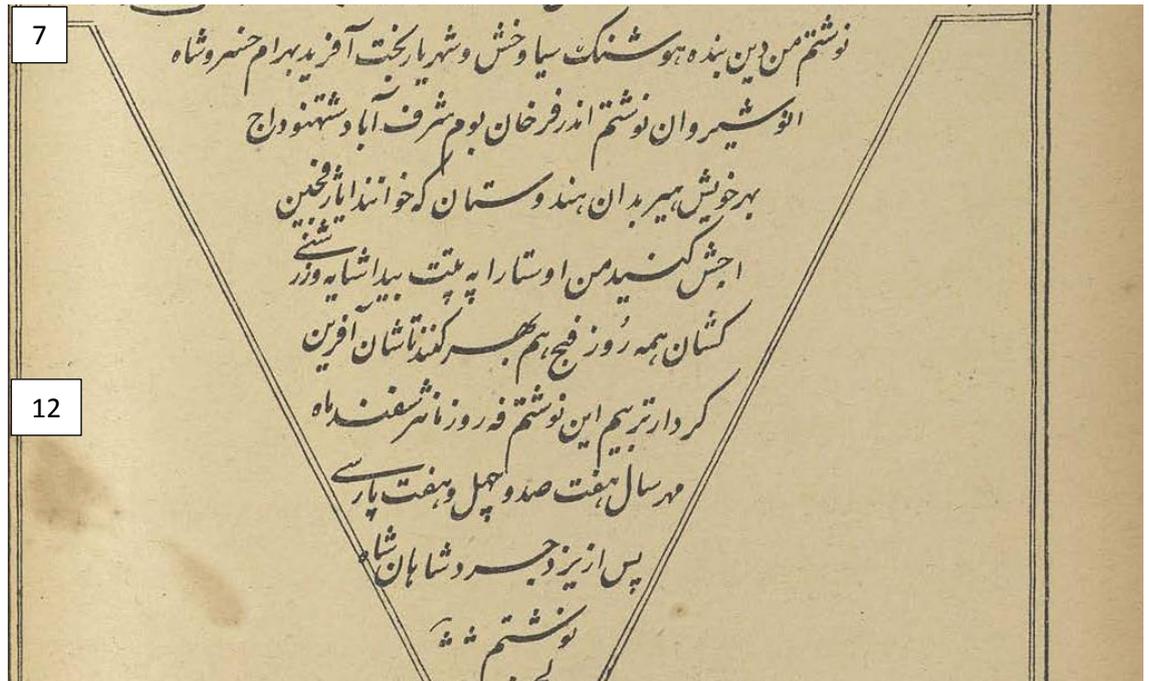
¹³⁵ The translation is after Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41).

¹³⁶ My translation.

As discussed in section 2.1, the colophon shows the influence of New Persian. Furthermore, the closing text in p. 600 line 2 is a poem in New Persian which is absent in the translations of Dhabhar (1923a: 118) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41).

There is also a New Persian colophon of Hōšang Syāvaxš in DHR according to which he completed his Pāzand text in 747 Pārsī:

Figure 4. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 368.



DHR 368 line 7) *nivištam man dēn banda hōšang syāvaxš u šahryār baxtāfrīd bahrām xusrāw šāh*

8) *anōšīrvān nivištam andar farroxān būm ī šarafābād*

12) *ēn nivištam fa rōz-ī mānsaresfand māh*

13) *mihr sāl haftsad-u čihil-u haft ī pārsī*

14) *pas az yazdjird šāhān šāh*

15) *nivištam*

7) I, the servant of the religion Hōšang Syāvaxš and? Šahryār Baxtāfrīd Bahrām Xusrāw Šāh

8) Anōšīrvān wrote. I wrote in the blessed land of Šarafābād

12) I wrote this on the day of Mansaresfand, the month

13) Mihr, the year seven hundred and forty-seven Parsī,

14) after Yazdjird, King of Kings.

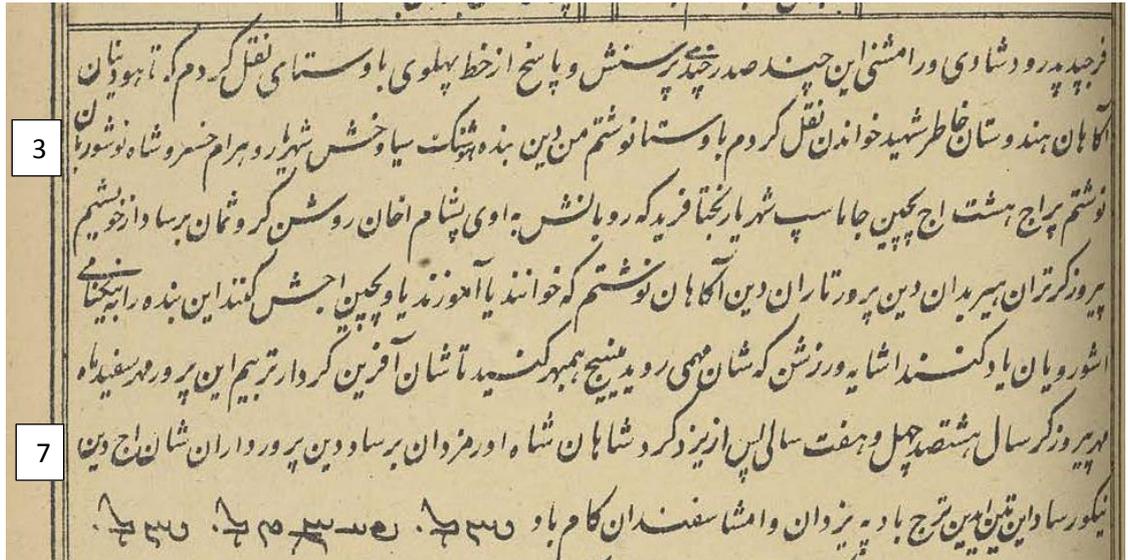
15) I wrote.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ My translation.

The comparison between the two colophons, written down by a single scribe, shows that there is a difference of 97 years between the completion date of Mf4 in AY 864 and that of the Pāzand text in 747 Pārsī (= AY 767).

However, in DHR 371, there is another colophon of Hōšang Syāvaxš according to which he completed a Pāzand text in AY 847:

Figure 5. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 371.



Line 3) ... *man dēn banda hōšang syāvaxš šahryār vahrām xusrav šāh nōšīrbān*

4) *nivištam* ...

7) *mihr pērōzgar sāl haštsad-u čihil-u haft sālī pas az yazdgird šāhān šāh ōrmazdān*

3) ... I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang Syāvaxš Šahryār Vahrām Xusrav Šāh Nōšīrabān

4) wrote ... (in the month of)

7) victorious Mihr, the year eight hundred forty-seven years after Yazdgird, King of Kings, son of Ōrmazd...¹³⁸

In addition, there are colophons which were produced by Šāpur Jāmāsb. For example:

DHR 372.

... نوشتم من دین بنده شاپور

جاماسب شهریار بخت آفرین شهریار بهرام نوشیروان ...

نوشتم اندر روز

خورداد ماه مهر ماه قدیم و سال هشتصد و چهل و هفت یزدگردی شهریار اندر مقام شرفاباد...

line 6) ... *nivištam man dēn banda šāpur*

7) *jāmāsb šahryār baxtāfrīn šahryār bahrām nōšīrvān* ...

9) *nivištam anadr rōz*

10) *xurdād mihr māj qadīm-u sāl haštsad-u čihil-u haft yazdgirdī šahryār andar maqām*

¹³⁸ My translation.

šarafābād ...

- 6) ... I, the servant of the religion Šāpur
- 7) Jāmāsb Šahryār Baxtāfrīn Šahryār Bahrām Nōšīrvān wrote ...
- 9) I wrote on the old day
- 1) Xurdād, month Mihr and year eight hundred forty-seven Yazdgirdī, the king, in the place of Šarafābād ...¹³⁹

It seems that like Hōšang Syāwaxš, Šāpur Jāmāsb is also a grandson of Šahryār Baxtāfrīn (or Baxtāfrīd) Bahrām (or Vahrām). Therefore, Hōšang Syāwaxš should be contemporaneous with Šāpur Jāmāsb. According to DHR 372, the completion date of Šāpur's text (AY 847) agrees with that of T6 (AY 864) and DHR 371 (AY 847). As a result, the date 747 Pārsī should be a mistake. Moreover, in T6 (p. 599 line 10-11), DHR (368 line 7) and DHR (371 line 3), Hōšang's genealogy goes back to Xusraw Šāh Anōšīrvān. It is replaced by Nōšīrvān in Jāmāsb's colophon (DHR 372 line 7). Since *šāh* is not attested alone as a proper name, therefore, Phl. *anōšagruwān*/NP. *nōšīrvān* "of immortal soul" is probably the epithet of *xusraw šāh* "king Xusraw" and the family claimed to be descendants of the Sasanian king Xusraw I (r. 531-579 CE) who carried the epithet Phl. *anōšagruwān* > NP. *nōšīrvān* after his name. Finally, in T6, *-ag* in line 10 *husraw šāhag* is to be regarded as the suffix with affective connotations.¹⁴⁰

c) G14: The size of folios is 30.2 × 21.8 cm. The manuscript was completed in AY 1149 (1780 CE) and it is related to the family of Hōšang Syāwaxš. G14 has the Avestan text and Pahlavi version of Sīrōza (folios 1v-16r) and Yasna (folios 17v-198r) (Hintze 2012a: 253-254).¹⁴¹ In addition to the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār which was discussed in section 2.1, the scribe of G14 also adds his colophon as follows:

- G14 fol. 21r line 6) *ēn daftar fradom andar hindūgān dastōr kāwūs*
- 7) *pus dastōr suhrāb pus dastōr rōstam pus dastōr mānak*
- 8) *pus mihrnōš az pušt ī māhayār rānān andar kasabak ī nōgsārīg*
- 9) *andar rōz hordād ud māh ī farrōx frawardīn sāl abar 114-*
- 10) *9 yazdgirdīg šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān nibišt ēstād kē*
- 11) *abar ō ōy nibēsēd xub frazām kāmag hanjām bawād pad*
- 12) *yazdān ayarīh*

¹³⁹ My translation.

¹⁴⁰ For the usage of the suffix *-ag* with affective connotations see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 157, §297).

¹⁴¹ According to the folio numbering of the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, the Sīrōza appears in fols. 2v-17r and the Yasna section starts from fol. 18v. So far, Y 0.1-9.32 have been uploaded onto <http://avesta-archive.com/> (Accessed online on 31/03/2017). Collating the manuscript readings from the published facsimile on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, I follow its folio numbering in the present edition.

- 6) This manuscript first (was written) in India. The priest Kāwus
- 7) son of the priest Suhrāb son of the priest Rōstam son of the priest Mānak
- 8) son of Mihrnōš a descendant of Māhayār Rāna had written (it) in the town of Nawsārī
- 9) on the day Hordād and the blessed month Frawardīn, the year 114-
- 10) 9 of Yazdgird, King of Kings, descendant of Ohrmazd. Who
- 11) writes for the sake of him (scribe), may he be of good fortune (and) successful through
- 12) the assistance of the Yazds.¹⁴²

d) F2: The manuscript provides Avestan and Pahlavi texts, accompanied by the interlinear New Persian translation, in 2 volumes (volume 1: Folios 1-116 and volume 2: Folios 117-268). The folios are 29.8 × 23.5 cm and are written 15 lines to page. The scribe is Dastōr Sohrābji Meherji Rāna who copied it in Samvat 1870 (= 1814 CE) (Hintze 2012a: 254). The vol. 1, which includes Y 9, has two colophons in Gujarati as follows:

Colophon 1. Fol. 1r. line 1) *āe pahl[avi] sāth[ni] ijaśne-nu daftar peh-lu samvat 1870*
 2) *na sālma roj 10 mäh 1 la. dastur [so]hrābji kāuš*
 3) *ji bin sohrābji meherjirānā-e potāne vaste*
 4) *lakhine śampurna kidhu che ane e daftar dastur era*
 5) *cji surābji meherjirānā-nu che ae upar koino chāpo*
 6) *nathi*

- 1) This register of Yasna with Pahlavi (was completed) in first Samvat year 1870
- 2) on day 10 month 1. The scribe priest Sohrābji Kāuš-
- 3) ji son of Sohrābji Meherjirāna has written for himself
- 4) and finished it. And this register belongs to priest Era-
- 5-6) cji Sohrābji Meherjirāna. There is no stamp of anyone on it [i.e. no one else has a right on it].¹⁴³

Colophon 2. Fol. 116v. line 1) *āe pahlevi sāthni ijaśninu daftar pehla dastu(r) sohrā-*
 2) *bji kā[uš]ji bin dastur so[hrā]bji meherji[rāna-e] po*
 3) *tāne vāste samvat 1870 nā varśma roj 10 mah 1 lakhi*
 4) *ne tamām kidhu-che ane ae daftar eracji sohrā*
 5) *bji meherjirānā-nu che*

- 1) This register of Yasna with Pahlavi, 1st priest Sohrā-
- 2) bji Kāušji son of Dastur Sohrābji Meherjirānā
- 3) has written for himself. In Samvat year 1870 on day 10 month 1
- 4-5) he has finished and this register belongs to priest Eracji Sohrābji Meherjirānā.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² My translation.

¹⁴³ I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.

¹⁴⁴ I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.

According to the colophon of the second volume, it was also completed by the same scribe on the 17th day of the 6th month of 1879 Samvat (Dhabhar 1923b: 1, no. 2). As discussed in section 3.1, although F2 is an Iranian manuscript, it is contaminated *i.e.* it has readings that are typical of YIndPs.

e) T6: Like F2, the New Persian translations of the Avestan original and its Pahlavi version appear beneath the lines of the main text. T6 has 299 folios, measuring 30.2 × 24.1 cm. Moreover, the folios are written 13 lines to page (Hintze 2012a: 254). As discussed in section 2.1, the colophons of Hōšang Sīyāvaxš Šahryār Baxtāfarīd Šahryār is also present in T6. In addition, T6 has two colophons in New Persian and Gujarati:

T6 fol. 295v:

این کتاب ایزشنه بروز مبارک اردی بهشت امشاسپند و ماه مبارک سفندارمد امشاسپند سنه 1211
یکهزار و یازده یزدجردی کاتب الحروف کمتربین موبد سهراب ابن دستور فرامرز ابن دستور سهراب
ابن دستور رستم از نسل دستوران دستور ماهیار رانه

5) *ēn kitāb ī ēzišna be rōz ī mubārak ī urdibahišt amšāspand-u māh ī mubārak
sfandārmad amšāspand sana-yī 1211*

6) *yak-hazār-u yāzdah ī yazdjirdī kātib al-horuf kamtarēn mōbed suhrāb ibn dastōr
frāmarz ibn dastōr suhrāb*

7) *ibn dastōr rōstam az nasl ī dastōrān dastōr māhayār rāna*

5) This book of the Yasna (was completed) on the blessed day of Urdibahišt Amšāspand and the blessed month Sfindārmad Amšāspand, the year of 1211,

6) one thousand and eleven of Yazdgird. The scribe [lit. the writer of the words] (is) the least priest Suhrāb son of the priest Frāmarz son of the priest Suhrāb

7) son of the priest Rōstam from the generation of Priest of Priests, Māhayār Rāna.¹⁴⁵

The New Persian colophon is peculiar as the completion dates, written in numbers (1211) and in words (one thousand and eleven), show a difference of 200 years. However, the completion date in the Gujarati colophon concurs with that written in numbers in its New Persian counterpart, or AY 1211:

T6 fol. 1r line 1) *ijašne (avesta Pehlevi), pehlevima kriya sāthe ane farsi*

2) *tarjuma sāthe hošang šyavakš-na asal lekh uparthe nakal*

3) *sane 1149 yazdgerdi dastur kāvasji sorābji meherjirānā-e*

4) *navsari-ma eni ?¹⁴⁶ nakal hati te uparthe sane 1211 yazdgerdi*

5) *dastur sorābji framji meherjirānā-e lakhi aapi che*

¹⁴⁵ My translation. The colophon has also been transcribed by Andrés-Toledo, published on <http://avesta-archive.com/colofones/view/14>. However, he omits the date written in words and transcribes *sana* and *nasl* mistakenly as *sar?* and *sun?*, respectively.

¹⁴⁶ A word is illegible.

- 1) The Yasna (Avesta-Pahlavi) with Pahlavi ritual instructions and with Persian
- 2) translation. From Hošang Šyāvaks's written original, a copy
- 3) in the year 1149 of Yazdgerd by Dastur Kāvusji Sorābji Meherjirāna
- 4) was copied in Navsari. From that one in the year 1211 of Yazdgerd
- 5) Dastur Sorābji Frāmji Meherjirāna has written and given as a gift.¹⁴⁷

According to the Gujarati colophon, T6 is a direct descendant of G14. The data of the text-critical apparatus of the present edition also show the close relationship between G14-T6.

f) T55b: The copy has two incomplete versions: Avestan-Sanskrit and Avestan-Pahlavi. The manuscript has 144 folios and the folios 58r-113v offer the Avestan original and Pahlavi translation of Y 7.19-Y13.8.¹⁴⁸ It measures 28.4 × 19.8 cm and the folios are written 15 lines per page (Hintze 2012a: 258). This is the only collated manuscript in the present edition without colophon. T55b was regarded as a YIndP manuscript.¹⁴⁹ However, in my unpublished MA dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 27-33), it was suggested that it belongs to the group of YIrPs. Independently and almost at the same time in September 2013, the website of the Avestan Digital Archive also moved T55b from the category of YIndP manuscripts and placed it under that of YIrP.

2.3 The Manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna¹⁵⁰

a) J2: The manuscript J2 measures ca. 27 × 22 cm. It was written in AY 692 (= 1323 CE) in the city of Cambay by Mihrābān Kayhusraw in response to the request of the merchant Čāhil Sangan. The manuscript has 385 folios, written 15 lines to page. (Hintze 2012a: 255). The colophon appearing in fol. 383v of the manuscript is as follows:

- J2 fol. 383v line 3) *wahman māh frawrdīn rōz sāl ī 692*
- 4) *yazdgirdīg man dēn bandag hērbēd zāt mihrābān*
- 5) *ī kayhusraw mihrābān ī spandyār mihrābān marzb[ān]*
- 6) *hērbēd nibišt pad yazdān kāmag bād*

¹⁴⁷ I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.

¹⁴⁸ The folio numbering of the website of the Avesta Digital Archive is different from Dhabhar (1923b: 129) and Hintze (2012a: 258) according to whom the Pahlavi Yasna appears in fols. 89-144. Collating the manuscript readings from the published facsimile on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, I follow its folio numbering in the present edition.

¹⁴⁹ See Dhabhar (1923b: 129); Hintze (2012a: 258).

¹⁵⁰ Facsimiles of the manuscripts J2, K5 and M1 are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. J2 and K5 had also been published by Mills (1893) and Barr (1937), respectively.

- 7) *wahīzag kē man dēn bandag be būm hindūgān mad ham andar*
 8) *sāl 692 yazdgirdīg man dēn bandag hērbēd zād*
 9) *mīhrābān ī kayhusraw ī mīhrābān ī spandyād ī mīhrābān ī*
 10) *marzbān hērbēd nibišt az bahr čāhilag sangan ud čāhil ī wahm[an]*
 11) *bahrām kambaytīg nibišt xwāstār ham az xwand[ārān]*
 12) *ēn nibēg kē abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g]*
 13) *dārēd čāhil az xwēš uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār ham az bah[r]*
 14) *ruwān an[ō]šag ruwān čāhil sangan ud az bahr ruwān pidar xwad*
 15) *kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād*

- 3) Day Wahman, month Frawardīn, year 692
 4) of Yazdgird, I, the servant of the religion, Hērbēd-born Mihrābān
 5) son of Kayhusraw Mihrābān son of Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān
 6) Hērbēd wrote. May it be according to the will of Yazds¹⁵¹.
 7) It was in the movable month that, I, the servant of the religion, came to the land of Indians. In
 8) the year 692 of Yazdgird, I, the servant of the religion Hērbēd-born
 9) Mihrābān son of Kayhusraw son of Mihrābān son of Spandyād son of Mihrābān son of
 10) Marzbān Hērbēd wrote (the manuscript) for the sake of Čāhil Sangan and Čāhil Son of Wahman
 11) Bahrām of Cambay. I am a requester to the readers,
 12) this manuscript which is read, (the reader) should consider Čāhil worthy (of a prayer for his) immortality of the soul.
 13) Čāhil defrayed the expenses for it from his own (wealth). I am the writer for the sake of
 14) the soul of the immortal souled Čāhil Sangan and for the sake of (my) own father
 15) so that heaven may be the share of his immortal eternal Garōdmānic soul.¹⁵²

In line 6, as far as selection between *bawād* and *bād* with *w* absorption, is concerned,¹⁵³ it is impossible to decide according to its spelling by the heterogram *YHWWN- 't*. However, the reading *bād* is favoured in the present edition because in line 15, the subjunctive verb is spelled as *b 't'*.

In line 7, the preposition *be*, showing direction, in *be būm hindūgān mad* “came to the land of Indians” is borrowed from New Persian.¹⁵⁴ It should be noted that the text of the lines 11-15 of the colophon of J2 agree with that of the lines 2-6 of the second colophon of K5 fol. 327v:

¹⁵¹ Unvala (1940: 121) translates *yazdān*, the plural of *yazd*, as the singular “god”.

¹⁵² The translation is after Unvala (1940: 121). He translates the simple past *nibišt* (line 6), *mad* (line 7) and *nibišt* (line 10) as “have written”, “have come” and “have written”, respectively.

¹⁵³ For *baw-/b-* see Sims-Williams (1989: 259).

¹⁵⁴ The expected preposition in Pahlavi is *ō*. For the preposition *be* in New Persian see Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 441).

J2 (fol. 383v)	K5 (fol. 327v)
11) ... <i>xwāstār ham az xwand[ārān]</i>	2) ... <i>xwāstār ham az xwāndārān</i>
12) <i>ēn nibēg kē abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g]</i>	3) <i>ēn nibēg abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān</i>
13) <i>dārēd čāhil az xwēš uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār ham az bah[r]</i>	4) <i>arzānīg dārēd čāhil az nibištān uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār</i>
14) <i>ruwān an[ō]šag ruwān čāhil sangan ud az bahr ruwān pidar xwad</i>	5) <i>ham az bahr ruwān ōy anōšag ruwān čāhil sangan az bahr</i>
15) <i>kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād</i>	6) <i>ruwān pidar ī xwēš kū-š wahišt bahr anōšag</i> 7) <i>jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bawād</i>

In line 11, *whl`m* is transcribed as *bahrām* in the present edition instead of *wahrām* usually given in the transcriptions of the classic Pahlavi texts. The pronunciation of *b* and the development of *w > b* are confirmed by the colophon of J2 sister manuscript, or K5, in which the word is spelled as *b`hl`m* (fol. 326v line 3, fol. 327v line 12, 13).

In line 12, *kē* is edited to *ka* “when” by Unvala (1940: 121, fn. 3). However, the phrase *ēn nibēg kē xwānīhēd* “this manuscript which is read” is semantically meaningful and does not need any edition. Regarding *xwānīhēd* (*KLYTWN-yh-yl*)¹⁵⁵ in line 12, Unvala (1940: 121), reading *xwānīhand*, translates it as active “(they) recite” which is not a proper translation of the verb with the passive suffix *-īh*.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the occurrence of *rāy* as the postposition marking direct objects in *čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g] dārēd* shows the influence of New Persian.¹⁵⁷

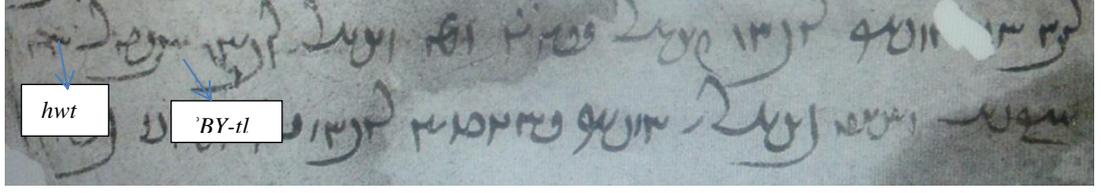
As regards line 14 *pidar xwad*, Unvala (1940: 121) edits *pidarān [ī xwad]* “(my) own forefather”. In the manuscript, however, the text appears as below:

¹⁵⁵ The spelling of the verb is similar to that in the recurring text attested in K5. See the K5 description, colophon 2 Figure 7.

¹⁵⁶ For the passive construction see Durkin-Meisterernst (2013: 229, §467).

¹⁵⁷ For *rāy* see Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34); Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753).

Figure 6. YIndP J2 (fol. 383v line 14-15).



As it is shown, unlike Unvala’s edition adding *xwad* in the brackets, *hwt* (*xwad*) occurs in the manuscript although the last letter, representing *t*, is very pale. Furthermore, Unvala’s suggestion of the plural *pidarān* is unlikely because the spelling *’BY-tl hwt* (*pidar xwad*) “(my) own father” is also corroborated by the parallel text in K5 (fol. 327v line 6) spelling *’BY-tl Y NPŠH* (*pidar ī xwēš*).

In line 15, Unvala (1940: 121) translates *kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād* as “that they (in manuscript sg.) may be the participants of heaven (and) always having their soul in the Garōdmān.” However, not only there is no evidence to confirm that the 3rd sg enclitic pronoun *-š*, occurring after *pidar* “father”, replaces the plural *-šān* but also in the colophon 1 of K5 (fol. 326v line 11), written by the same scribe, the 3rd pl *-šān* is correctly attested in *u-šān ruwān* “their soul”. It shows that the scribe distinguished the difference between *-š* and *-šān*. Unvala’s translation of *-š* as “they” is probably based on his interpretation of *pidarān* as a plural noun. Moreover, translating *garōdmānīg* as “in Garōdmān” (= *andar garōdmān*) is incorrect because the local preposition *andar* “in” is absent in the text and Phl. *garōdmānīg* is an adjective rather than a noun. Therefore, in the present study, *garōdmānīg* is translated as “Garōdmānic”.

b) K5: The manuscript K5 measures 27.3 × 22.2 cm and it has 328 folios of which the first folio is missing. Folios 1-91 have 17 lines per page while folios 92-327 have 15 lines to the page (except folio 188 which has 16 lines). Like J2, the manuscript K5 was copied by Mihrābān Kayhusraw for Čāhil (Hintze 2012a: 255). The manuscript has three colophons; two in Pahlavi and one in Sanskrit as follows:

Colophon 1, fol. 326v line 1) *rōz āsmān māh day wahīzag kē man dēn bandag hērbed zād*

2) *mihrābān ī kayhusraw ī mihrābān ī spandyād ī mihrābān ī*

3) *marzbān ī bahrām dazūk rōstāg čiyōn pahlomagān mard*

4) *stāyišn xwābar az ahlāyīh ahlawdom az yazdān ān*

5) *ī meh ohrmazd abar stāyišn xwānam kū-š az ān*

- 6) *ī wēš stāyišn abar kunam wahīzag abar sāl ī 6*
- 7) *92 yazdgirdīg šāhān šāh ohrmazdān man dēn bandag ī*
- 8) *mihrābān kē mad ham andar hindūstān šahrestān kāmbayt*
- 9) *ēn kurāsk az dast hērbēd rōstahm mihrābān nibišt*
- 10) *az xwānīdārān ēn nibēg xwāyišnīg ham kē amāh rāy*
- 11) *pas widard pad patet ayād dārēnd u-šān ruwān*
- 12) *garōdmānīg bād*

- 1) Day Āsmān, the movable month Day. I, the servant of the religion, Hērbēd-born
- 2) Mihrābān son of Kayhusraw son of Mihrābān son of Spandyād son of Mihrābān son of
- 3) Marzbān son of Bahrām (of the) village Dazūk, like the best man, recite
- 4) the praise of the beneficent, the most righteous in righteousness among Yazds, the
- 5) great Ohrmazd. That means: From the
- 6) many praises, I perform (a praise) to him. In the movable month, in the year 6-
- 7) 92 of Yazdgird, King of Kings, the descendant of Ohrmazd, I, the servant of the religion,
- 8) Mihrābān, who came to the Indian city of Cambay,
- 9) wrote this book from the hand written of Hērbēd Rōstahm Mihrābān.
- 10) I desire from those who read this manuscript that
- 11) they should remember us in the Repentance after (our) passing away. And their soul
- 12) may be Garōdmānic.¹⁵⁸

Unlike J2, in K5 Mihrābān Kayhusraw mentions his source, or the manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān. In line 9, the word *kurāsk* “book” is comparable with the Aramaic loan word in Parthian *kulāst* “miscellany, collection”.¹⁵⁹ In line 10, the expected *kū* “that” is replaced by *kē* “who”. The replacement could be due to the scribal confusion between Phl. *kē* and NP. *ka/ke* (𐭅𐭆) “that”.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, the phrase *kē amāh rāy pas widard pad patet ayād dārēnd* “that they should remember us in the Penitentiary prayer after (our) passing away” (line 10-11) shows the influence of New Persian because of the direct object postposition *rāy*.¹⁶¹

- Colophon 2, fol. 327v line 1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn frazāmēnīd ēn kurāsk az bahr*
- 2) *čāhīl sangan kambāytīg nibišt xwāstār ham az xwānīdārān*
 - 3) *ēn nibēg abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān*
 - 4) *arzānīg dārēd čāhil az xwēš¹⁶² uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār*

¹⁵⁸ The translation is after Unvala (1940: 129). He translates the simple past *mad* (line 8) and *nibišt* (line 9) as “am come” and “have written”, respectively. He also translates *garōdmānīg bād* as “may reside in the Garōdmān”. For a discussion on the translation of *garōdmānīg* see the section on J2 description.

¹⁵⁹ See Durkin-Meisterernst (2013: 92-93). I would like to thank Leon Goldman who drew my attention to Durkin-Meisterernst’s article when I was working on the etymology of *kurāsk*.

¹⁶⁰ The pronunciation of *a* and *e* is dialectical (Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 429).

¹⁶¹ For *rāy* see Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34); Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753).

¹⁶² In the manuscript, it is spelled as *npštn*. However, Unvala (1940: 130, fn. 6) suggests convincingly that

- 5) *ham az bahr ruwān ōy anōšag ruwān čāhil sangan az bahr*
- 6) *ruwān pidar ī xwēš kū-š wahišt bahr anōšag*
- 7) *jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād*
- 8) *rōznāmag be nibēsam az bahr čāhil kambāytīg niyāgānān*
- 9) *har kē ēn kitāb xwānēd dārēd dāšt ōyšān ahlaw kun[ēd]*
- 10) *māh amurdāt rōz frawardīn sangan čāhil rōzag*
- 11) *māh day rōz frawardīn čāhil wahman ād[ur]¹⁶³ rōzag*
- 12) *ādur māh frawardīn rōz wahman bahrām rōzag*
- 13) *ādur māh frawardīn rōz bahrām adur čāhil rōzag*
- 14) *māh tīr rōz anagrān dārag čāhil rōzag*
- 15) *māh day ādur mālān¹⁶⁴ sangan rōzag*

- 1) Completed in welfare and joy and pleasure. It is completed. This book was written¹⁶⁵ for
- 2) Čāhil Sangan of Cambay. I am a requester to the readers,
- 3-4) this manuscript which is read, (the reader) may consider Čāhil worthy (of a prayer for) immortality of the soul. Čāhil defrayed the expenses for it from his own (wealth). I
- 5) am the scribe (of this manuscript) for the sake of the immortal souled Čāhil Sangan (and) for the sake of
- 6) the soul of my father that he may be a partaker of heaven, (may he be) immortal,
- 7) his soul (may be) immortal (and) Garōdmānic.
- 8) I write down the register of the days (of deaths) for the sake of Čāhil of Cambay (and) ancestors.
- 9) Everybody who reads, keeps (or) kept this book, he may be made righteous.
- 10) Month Amurdāt, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Sangan Čāhil.
- 11) Month Day, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Čāhil Bahman Ādur.
- 12) Month Ādur, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Bahman Bahrām.
- 13) Moth Ādur, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Bahrām Ādur Čāhil.
- 14) Month Tīr, day Anagrān, anniversary of Dārag Čāhil.
- 15) Month Day, day Ādur, anniversary of Mālān Sangan.¹⁶⁶

Unvala (1940: 130) reads the passive *xwānīhēd* (line 3) “was read” as the active *xwānand* “(they) read”¹⁶⁷ but in the manuscript the verb is clearly written as *xwānīhēd* (*KLYTWN-yh-yf*):

since *npštn* (*nibištan*) “to write” is semantically meaningless in the context of the colophon, it should be edited to *NPŠH* (*xwēš*) “own”.

¹⁶³ The reading *ādur* is uncertain because while in the manuscript, 't' is only written, it is also crossed out by a horizontal line.

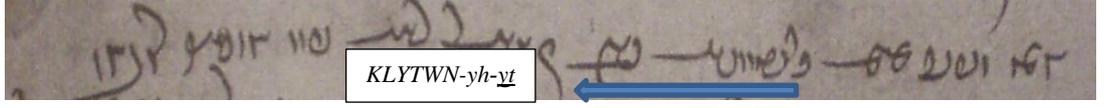
¹⁶⁴ It is written with the Avestan letters for *ā* and *ə*.

¹⁶⁵ Unvala (1940: 130) translates the simple past *nibišt* in the passive sense as “is written”.

¹⁶⁶ The translation is after Unvala (1940: 130-131).

¹⁶⁷ Unvala is not consistent in transcribing the Pahlavi verb as in J2 he reads the same spelling as *xwānīhand* “they recite”.

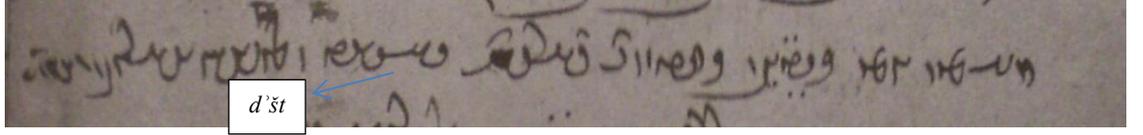
Figure 7. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 3).



In addition, in line 3, the direct object postposition *rāy* shows the influence of New Persian. Furthermore, in line 7, Unvala (1940: 130) translates the adj. *garōdmānīg* as “in Garōdmān”, rather than “Garōdmānic” in the present edition.¹⁶⁸

In line 9, Unvala (1940: 130) reads *har kē ēn kitāb xwānēd dārēd ayād ī ōyšān ahlaw kun[ēd]* “Everybody who reads or keeps this book should render their memory pious”. The text of K5 in line 9, however, appears as follows:

Figure 8. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 9).



While Unvala’s reading *ayād* “memory”, spelled as *'byd't* in Pahlavi, is unlikely, the word is to be read as *d'st* (*dāšt*) “held”. With the latter interpretation, *dāšt* is the last verb in a series of verbs whose subject and object are *har kē* “Everybody” and *ēn kitāb* “this book”, respectively. Moreover, the Arabic loanword in New Persian, or *kitāb* “register, book”, is another example, alongside the object postposition *rāy* (line 3), confirming the influence of New Persian.

In fol. 328r lines 1-12 appears the Sanskrit colophon which has been transcribed and translated by Goldman (2018: 5) as follows:

- 1) *saṃvat 1379 varṣe mārgga śudi 8 budhe pāsī*
- 2) *saṃ 692 varṣe māha dai roja āsmān adhyeha*
- 3) *staṃbhatīrthe sultatāna śrī gayāsaddīne rājyaṃ paripaṃ*
- 4) *thayatītyevaṃ kāle erāñjamīdeśāt sāma*
- 5) *yāta pārasijñātīya ācārya kaiṣusravasuta*
- 6) *acāryamihiravānasya bahutaraṃ mānaṃ kāgalaṃ*
- 7) *likhāpanaṃca pradāya pārasī vyava sāmgaṇasuta*
- 8) *vyava cāhileṇa puṇyārthaṃ etasya pārśvāt idaṃ*
- 9) *pustakaṃ likhāpitaṃ | īyasnijaṃdanāmā | yaḥ ko*
- 10) *pi pustakamidaṃ rakṣati | paṭhati tena vyava cāhi*
- 11) *lasya pūrvajānāṃ muktātmanām tathā etasya nimi*

¹⁶⁸ Lines 2-7 are repeated in J2. For a discussion see the J2 description.

12) *ttam puṇyaṃ karanīyaṃ* ॥

[Copied] in the year Saṃvat 1379 on Wednes[day], the 8th of the bright half of the month in the month of Mārga[śirṣa], in the Parsi year 692, the month Dai, the day Asmān, here today in Stambhatīrtha (= Cambay) at the time when Sultān Śrī Gayāsadīn is exercising his royal authority. Thus, the trader Cahil, son of the trader Saṃgan, a Persian, having sent a letter (written with) the greatest respect and a perquisite for writing, caused this manuscript, namely the īyasna (=Yasna) with its jaṃda (=Zand), to be copied *at his own expense (?) for merit's sake by Ācārya Mihravan, son of Ācārya Kaikhusrava, belonging to the Persian community and coming from the land of Iran.

Whoever protects [and] recites this manuscript, so on account of him merit is to be accrued by the trader Cahil [and] his liberated ancestors.

c) M1: The manuscript contains Y 0.6-72.5 and it is a descendant of K5. It also measures 17 × 11.5 cm and has 768 folios, written 13 lines to page by two hands. The second hand commences from folio 697v (Hintze 2012a: 256). The Pahlavi colophon, written by the scribe called Kāwus son of Frēdōn in AY 1103 (=1734 CE), is attested in folios 765r to 768v as follows:¹⁶⁹

M1 fol. 765r line 5) *pad nām ī dādā[r]*

6) *ohrmazd*

7) *frazaft pad drōd ud šād-*

8) *īh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn-*

9) *īh pad nēk dahišnīh*

Fol. 765v line 1) *xūb murwāg abestāg*

2) *yazišnīh abāg ma 'nīg*

3) *zand nibištām ud frāz*

4) *hištām man dēn bandag*

5) *mowbed kāwus ibn ī wahištīg*

6) *dastōr frēdōn dast-*

7) *ōr wahman bahrām frāmarz*

Fol. 766r line 1) *andar rōz mubārak day-pad-*

2) *ādūr ud az māh farrox*

3) *ādūr sāl bar*

4) *1103*

5) □ □ □

6) *pas az sāl man ba-*

7) *y yazdgird šāhān šāh*

Fol 766v line 1) *šahryārān nibišt-*

2) *e šude andar kišwar*

3) *hindōān dar bandar mubārak*

4) *surat har kas kē*

5) *xwānād ayāb hammōzād*

6) *ayāb paččēn az-iš kun-*

7) *ād ruwān man nibištār*

¹⁶⁹ The interlinear New Persian translation of the Pahlavi colophon is also provided in the manuscript.

- Fol. 767r 1) *rāy pad nēk nāmīg ud*
 2) *ahlaw ruwānī[h] ud kirbag*
 3) *ud mizd ham bahrag kun-*
 4) *ād u-š rā¹⁷⁰ pad gētīyīh*
 5) *tan husraw ud pad*
 6) *mēnōy ruwān garōdmānīg*
 7) *bād agar nām man nibištār*

Fol. 767v line 1) *rā awestarēd ayāb abgan-*

- 2) *ēd ayāb ayād nē*
 3) *kunēd u-š rā pad*
 4) *gētīy tan dusraw ud*
 5) *pad mēnōy ruwān druwand*
 6) *bād u-š rā hamēmāl*
 7) *ham pad dādwar dādār*

Fol. 768r line 1) *ohrmazd pad hanjaman¹⁷¹ isat*

- 2) *wāstar zarduštān*
 3) *xwāyišnīg ham kē*
 4) *čiyōn ēn bande dar*
 5) *nibištan dast gāhīg*
 6) *nē dāšt ham*
 7) *škastagīg ēn nibištāg*

Fol. 768v *rāy mu ‘āf framāyēnd pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmīh bawād¹⁷²*

Fol. 765r line 5) In the name of the creator

- 6) Ohrmazd.
 7) Completed in welfare and joy
 8) and happiness and pleasure
 9) in good luck (and)

Fol. 765v 1) auspiciousness, the Avesta

- 2) the Yasna with the translation,
 3) the Zand. I wrote and
 4) and launched (it), I, the servant of the religion,
 5) the priest Kāwus son of the heavenly
 6) priest Frēdōn (son of) the priest
 7) Wahman Bahrām Frāmarz,

Fol. 766r line 1) on the blessed Day-pad-

- 2) Adur day and from the auspicious month
 3) Adur, year
 4) 1103
 5) □ □ □

- 6) after the year of my lord,
 7) Yazdgird, King of Kings,

Fol. 766v line 1) son of Šahryār. It is written

- 2) in the land of
 3) Indians in the blessed port
 4) of Surat. Everybody, who

¹⁷⁰ Here and in fol. 767v, lines 1, 3 and 6, the text spells *l*.

¹⁷¹ As the reading of  is unclear, *hanjaman* is based on the corresponding New Persian *anjuman* (انجمن).

¹⁷² Fol. 768v is not uploaded on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. Therefore, its text is copied from Unvala (1940: 51) who writes neither the folio nor the line number.

- 5) reads it, or teaches it,
 6) or makes a copy from it,
 7) should make my soul, the scribe,
 Fol. 767r line 1) participant in the good fame and
 2) in the righteousness of the soul and in the good deed
 3) and reward.
 4-5 And the renowned body (may be) for him in the material world and in
 6) the spiritual world, (his) soul may be Garōdmānic.
 7-Fol 767v line1) If he stains my name, the scribe, (or) throws it away (in oblivion),
 2) or does not mention it,
 3-4 may the ill-famed body (be) for him in the material world and
 5) in the spiritual world may (his) soul be deceitful,
 6-7) and I am his opponent before the judge, the creator
 File 768r line 1) Ohrmazd, before the assembly of Isad-
 2) wāstar son of Zardušt.
 3) I desire that
 4-768v) as this servant has not got the skill in writing they will pardon the shortcoming
 [lit. breaks] of this manuscript. May it be according to the will of the Yazads and the
 Amshāspands.¹⁷³

There are several Arabic loanwords in the colophon, coming from New Persian: 1) *ma`nīg* “meaning” (fol. 765v line 2) which is the Pahlavicised form of the Arabic *ma`nī*, 2) *ibn* “son” (fol. 765v line 5), 3) *mubāarak* “blessed” (fol. 766r line 1; fol. 766v line 3) and 4) *mu`āf kardan* “to pardon” (fol. 768v). In fol. 766v line 1-2, *nibište šūde* (*YKTBWN-st-yh*) and *bande* (*bndyh*) in fol. 768r line 4, are the Pahlavicised forms of the New Persian *nivišta šuda* (نوشته شده) in which the final *h* (ه, ه) represents the New Persian suffix *a* derived from *-ka > Phl. -ag > NP. -a (ه).¹⁷⁴ The spelling -yh (*e*) rather than -ah (*a*) is also dialectal.¹⁷⁵ It should be noted that in M1, *št* in *nibištār* is replaced by *st* which also seems to be dialectal. The direct objects *ruwān man nibištār* (fol. 766v line 7) and *nām man nibištār* (fol. 767r line 7) are marked by the direct object postposition *rā(y)* (fol. 767r line 1, fol. 767v line 1) that, as mentioned before, it is a feature of the late New Persian-like Pahlavi texts. In fol. 767r line 7 and fol. 767v line 6, *YHWWN-`t* can be transcribed as either *bawād* or *bād*. In the present edition, it is shown as *bād* because of the reading of the interlinear New Persian translation *bād* (باد) and the reading *bād* with *w* absorption in the Pahlavi colophon of the older Indian J2 manuscript as discussed above. In fol. 768r line 4, *dar* is transcribed instead of *andar* “in” because it is represented by the heterogram *BBH* (*dar*), originally meaning “door” in Pahlavi. The occurrence of *dar*, showing the development Phl.

¹⁷³ The translation is after Unvala (1940: 52-53).

¹⁷⁴ For *-ka > Phl. -ag > NP. -a (ه) See Abolghassemi (1996 (1375): 20).

¹⁷⁵ See Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 429).

andar > NP. *dar* “in”, is another example of the influence of New Persian on the Pahlavi text of the colophon of M1.¹⁷⁶

Unvala (1940: 51) giving *kirbag ud mizd* (fol. 767r line 2-3) in his transcription, translates it as “the reward of good deeds”. However, Phl. *ud* “and” cannot be interpreted as the *ezāfa ī* “of”. The spelling of the vertical stroke 𐬨 as *W* (*ud*) is confirmed by its corresponding interlinear New Persian translation *u* (و) “and”.

¹⁷⁶ For the omission of the initial *a* in New Persian see Mazdapour (2011 (1390): 180-182).

3 Tradition of Transmission and Method of Research

3.1 Tradition of Transmission

It is mentioned in the Dēnkard VIII that the Sasanian Avesta was divided into 21 *nask-*s “bundles”. Moreover, a Pahlavi translation of this Avesta was probably available since the description of the Dēnkard is based on the Pahlavi version (Gignoux 1996: 288). Until the late 20th century, it had been assumed that the extant Avestan texts are the remnants of the Sasanian Great Avesta. Kellens (1998), however, rejects this relationship. He suggests that the Avestan texts at our disposal, including the Yasna, are liturgical texts reaching back to the Old Iranian period. By contrast, as pointed out by Hintze (2014a: 7), ‘while Kellens’s conclusions on the antiquity of the rituals incorporated in the extant Avesta have been widely accepted, the question of the relationship between the Dēnkard and ritual Avestas still remain open’.

The manuscripts provide evidence for both an oral and a written tradition of the Avestan texts and their Zand. As is now widely understood, the oral tradition has always played an important role in Zoroastrianism. In particular, as discussed above in section 1.1, the Avesta was both composed orally and transmitted orally until it was written down probably during the late Sasanian period. From then on, the oral tradition has continued in an unbroken line alongside the written one up to the present day. That the oral tradition was regarded superior to the written one emerges from a passage in the Dēnkard V (DkM. 460.6-8) where *wāz gōwišnīh* “oral tradition” is considered to be of greater legitimacy than its written counterpart.¹⁷⁷ The oral tradition is explicitly referred to in the Pahlavi text of Husraw ud Rēdag according to which pages had to memorise the Avesta and Zand in the priestly schools:

HR 8-10. *pad hangām ō frahangestān dād ham
ud-am pad frahang kardan saxt ōštāft būd ham
ud-am yašt ud hādōxt ud bayān ud juddēvdād hērbedīhā warm
gyāg gyāg zand niyōxšīd ēstād
ud-am dibīrīh ōwōn
kū huwasp nibēg ud ray nibēg
bārīk dānišn kāmagkār hudast
frazānag az-iš ham*

In due time, I was given to the school
and in my study, I was very diligent.
I memorised the Yašt and the Hādōxt, the Bayān and the Vīdēvdād like a Hērbad
and passage by passage heard the Zand.

¹⁷⁷ For a translation see (Amouzegar & Tafazzoli 2007 (1386): 88).

And my scribal ability was such
that I am a good writer and a swift writer,
with keen understanding, successful, skilful
and learned.¹⁷⁸

However, the influence of the oral tradition is mainly present in the Sāde manuscripts whose study is beyond the scope of the present research.¹⁷⁹ As for the written tradition of the Avesta and Zand, the Dēnkard III (DkM 405.11-21), relates a legend according to which the interrogation between Zardušt, his first disciples and the First Teachers (*pōryōtkēšān*) was written down under the king Wištāsp. Then, a copy of it was committed to *ganj ī šspyk 'n* (*šāhīgān*?) “Treasure of Lords?”.¹⁸⁰ Later, several copies of it were produced to be circulated over the country and a copy was also sent to *ganj nibišt* “Fortress of Writing” to be kept there. It should be noted that while the localization of *ganj ī šāhīgān* is unmentioned in the sources, the Pahlavi text of the Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr 2-5, associates the treasury in which the Avesta was kept with the city of Samarkand:

ŠĒ 2-5 *pad kust ī xwarāsān samarkand šahrestān kāūs ī kawādān bun fragand*
syāwaxš ī kāūsān be frazāmēnīd
kay-husraw ī syāwaxšān anōh zād
u-š warzāwand ātaxš wahrām anōh nišāst
pas zardušt dēn āwurd
az framān ī wištāsp šāh 1000 ud 200 fragard pad dēn dibīrīh pad taxtagīhā ī zarrēn kand
ud nibišt ud pad ganj ī ātaxš nihād
ud pas gīzistag skandar sōxt ud andar ō drayāb abgand

In the Eastern direction, the foundation of the city of Samarkand was laid by Kāūs, the son of Kawād.

Syāwaxš, the son of Kawād, completed it.

Kay Husraw, the son of Syāwaxš, was born there
and he set the miraculous Wahrām fire there.

Then, Zardušt brought the Religion.

By the order of the king Wištāsp 1200 chapters in the Avestan script were engraved on golden tablets,

and written and deposited in the treasury of that fire (temple).

And then, the accursed Alexander burnt and threw it in the sea.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ The text is after Bailey (1943: 160). For texts emphasising on the importance of memorising the Zand see Bailey (1943: 158-161).

¹⁷⁹ For recent results on the tradition of the transmission of the Avestan texts in the Sāde manuscripts see Cantera (2012a: 279-346).

¹⁸⁰ In the Dēnkard, it is spelled as *šspyk 'n* (DkM 405.19, 406.1); *šp 'n'* (DkM 406.9, 649.19); *špyk 'n'* (DkM 412.4-5, 412.22). For a review on different scholarly interpretations of the word see Hintze (2008: 147, fn. 2), and also Shaki (1981: 115, fn. 2).

¹⁸¹ The text is after Daryae (2002: 13, 17). According to the Dēnkard V (DkM 437.16-23), the teachings of the vizier Jāmāsp were also kept in *ganj ī xwadāyān* “Treasury of Lords” in addition to the Avesta and its Zand.

In other Pahlavi texts, *diz ī nibišt* is placed in Staxr:

AWZ 1.12-18 *ud ēn dēn čiyōn hamāg abestāg ud zand ī abar gāw pōstīhā ī wirāstag pad āb ī zarr nibištāg andar staxr ī pābagān pad diz ī nibišt nihād ēstād ōy petyārag ī wad-baxt ī ahlamōg ī druwand ī anāg-kardār aleksandr ī hrōmāyīg ī muzrāyīg mānišn abar āwurd ud be sōxt*

And this scripture namely all the Avesta and Zand had been written with gold water on prepared cowhide and disposed in Staxr ī Pābagān in the Fortress of Writing. The wicked, wretched, heretic, sinful, maleficent Alexander the Roman, resident of Egypt, took (them) away and burnt.¹⁸²

Regarding the alleged Achaemenid copy of the Avesta and Zand, like AWZ 1.12-18, other Zoroastrian sources refer to its existence. For example, according to the Dēnkard IV (DkM 412.3-5), Dārāy ī Dārāyān kept two copies of the Avesta and Zand in the Fortress of Writing and Treasury of *špyk`n'* (*šāhīgān*?) as it had been revealed to Zardušt.¹⁸³ According to the Dēnkard III (DkM 405.21-406.2), after Alexander's invasion, one of the manuscripts in the Fortress of Writing was burnt and the second copy *ō yōnāyīg uzwān be wizārd* "was translated into the Greek language".¹⁸⁴ Later, the Arsacid king Valaxš is said to have ordered to collect the Avesta and Zand which either were left in the *nibištāg* "written" form or had survived through *uzwān abespārisnīg* "oral transmission" (DkM 412.5-11).

The mentioned stories of the existence of a written Avesta even in pre-Achaemenid times are all legendary as there is no evidence that such a written Avesta ever existed. The first Iranian language which was committed into writing is Old Persian whose script was probably invented around 520 BCE under Darius I.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the Avestan script is mainly based on fully developed cursive form of the Pahlavi script and the latter reached its final development between the fifth and seventh centuries CE.¹⁸⁶ However, a historical component in the account of the Dēnkard could be that the Achaemenid Avesta was accompanied with its Zand. The reason is that although Zand means the Pahlavi version of the Avesta including commentaries, the YAv texts of Y 19-21 are commentaries to the Ya9ā Ahū Vairiō, Ašəm Vohū and Yeṅhe Hātām prayers, respectively.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, as

¹⁸² The text is after Wahman (1986: 77, 191).

¹⁸³ For a translation of DkM 412.3-415.3 see Shaki (1981: 118-121).

¹⁸⁴ For a translation see de Menasce (1973: 379).

¹⁸⁵ For Old Persian script see Skjærvø (2009c: 47, 52-53).

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion on the dating of the Avestan script see Hintze (1998: 156-157), and also Cantera (2004: 157-163).

¹⁸⁷ See Hintze (2015: 36).

mentioned above, the Pahlavi texts claim that a copy was kept in Staxr in Pārs. The existence of an Avestan version redacted in Pārs agrees with the studies of Hoffmann according to whom the present Avesta is highly influenced by the Achaemenid dialect of the province of Pārs.¹⁸⁸ Regarding the existence of a written version of the Avesta during the late Achaemenid, Arsacid and early Sasanian periods, although it cannot be ruled out, the present written version of the Avesta cannot be dated sooner than fifth-seventh centuries due to palaeographical evidence as mentioned above.¹⁸⁹

Non-Zoroastrian sources on the transmission of the Avesta during the Arsacid and early Sasanian periods are contradictory. The Greek writers Pausanias, living in the second century, Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340 CE), the Manichaean Kephalia book in Coptic and the Latin author Pliny (23-79 CE) refer to the Avesta copies. Pausanias reports the existence of a manuscript from which a Lydian Zoroastrian priest read the prayers in the Fire Temple. Eusebius also refers to the sacred collection of the Zoroastrian scripture. According to the Coptic Kephalia, Zaradēs (= Zardušt) had not written a book but his students wrote a book after him. Pliny cites Hermippos's account according to which Zoroaster, living 6000 years before Plato and Aristotle, had written two million verses. By contrast, the bishop Basilios of Caesarea of Cappadocia mentions in a letter sent to the bishop Epiphanius of Constantia in 377 CE, that the folk of magi, who came from Babylonia to Cappadocia, did not possess books. Moreover, some Syrian Christian authors mention that the Zoroastrian tradition is purely oral. However, the authenticity of these reports is questioned. For example, it is possible that the Greek alphabet was used by the Lydian priests to write down their text. Furthermore, the story of Pliny is legendary. Regarding the Manichaean account, it could be based on a similar Zoroastrian story which was later attested in the Dēnkard as mentioned above. The reports of Basilios and other Christian authors are also unreliable because they are obviously hostile towards the religion of magi. Furthermore, they were not well acquainted with the Zoroastrian teachings and rituals. For example, Basilios mentions that the followers of magician did not have teachers of the faith.¹⁹⁰

According to the Pahlavi account, during the Sasanian period (224-651 CE), several attempts were made at restoring the canon. Tansar, the high priest of the first Sasanian king of kings, Ardaxšīr, is said to have chosen one version of the Avesta. Under Ardaxšīr's son,

¹⁸⁸ For a review of Hoffmann's works on the dialect of the Avesta see Hintze (1998: 154 and 154, fn. 40-42).

¹⁸⁹ For a review on different suggestions on the written transmission of the Avesta see Hintze (1998: 151). For a discussion on the dating of the Avestan script see Hintze (1998: 156-157), and also Cantera (2004: 157-163).

¹⁹⁰ See Hintze (1998: 149-150); Stausberg (1998: 259-261); Cantera (2004: 135-159).

Šāpuhr, the dispersed Avestan *nibēgīhā* “books” in Rome, India and other places on non-religious subjects were also added to the religious material. These texts were on *bizeškīh* “medicine”, *star gōwišnīh* “astronomy”, *čandišn* “movement”, *zamān* “time”, *gyāg* “space”, *gōhr* “substance”, *jahišn* “accident”, *bawišn* “becoming”, *wināhišn* “decay”, *jadag wihrīh* “transformation”, *gōwāgīh* “logic” and *abārīg kīrrōgīh* “other arts”. Furthermore, a copy was given to the Treasury. In the reign of Šāpuhr son of Ohrmazd, the high priest Ādurbād son of Māraspand chose a version of the Avesta which was accepted by other priests as the canon (DkM 412.11-413.8). Its correctness was proved by the ordeal of the molten bronze according to the following story:

AWZ 2.10-13 *ādurbād ī māraspandān kē-š pad-iš passāxt ī pad dēn kard rōy ī widāxtag abar war rēxt ud čand dādestān ud dāwarīh abāg jud-kēšān ud jud-wurrōyišnān be kard*

Ādurbād ī Māraspandān about whom the ordeal according to the religion was performed: Melted copper was poured on his breast, and he held several processes and (passed) judgement (on) the unbelievers and heretics.¹⁹¹

However, the appearance of Mazdak and his teachings of the community of property and women were troublesome (DkM 6.17-22). According to ZWY 2.2-4, after overcoming his heresy, Husraw II held another council in which it was decided to ban teaching the Zand to the laity.¹⁹²

As far as the existence of a written version of the Avesta and Zand during the Sasanian period is concerned, Cantera (2004: 229-230) argued that at least, a written Pahlavi translation of the Vīdēvdād had probably been produced. It is based on the Pahlavi translation and commentary of *hāmō.šīiaoθna* in Vd 4.43 *hāmō.šīiaoθna tē pascaēta bauuainṭe* “your deeds then become the same”. In the Pahlavi version, *hāmō.šīiaoθna* is rendered by *ham-t wināh* in *ham-t wināh awēšān pas bawēnd* word for word translation: “same-your-offence-their-then-become” in which *ham* correctly translates Av. *hāmō* and *-t* corresponds to *tē*. Obviously, the co-occurrence of *-t* “your” and *awēšān* “their” is semantically problematic. Pointing out the problem, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1804) had suggested that the original *ham-t* was read later as *ka* (‘*MT*’) “when”. As a result, *awēšān* is a late secondary intrusion into the sentence to render *tē*. The Pahlavi translation is also followed by a commentary on offence opening with *ka-šān* “when their”. Following Bartholomae’s suggestion, Cantera (2004: 229-230) examined *ka-šān* which corresponds to

¹⁹¹ Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 79, 191).

¹⁹² For an edition and a translation of ZWY 2.2-4 see Rezania (2012: 486-487).

the Pahlavi translation *ham-t* /*ka*. He concluded that the interpretation of 𐬕𐬀 as *ka* rather than the correct *ham-t* in the commentary is explainable by assuming the existence of a written translation to which the commentary opening with *ka* ('*MT*) (𐬕𐬀) was added before the final codification based on the wrong interpretation of *ham-t*. However, Cantera's (2012a: 279-346) recently published article casts doubt on his aforementioned suggestion. There reason is that such features can also be the result of a late collation process.

It is also possible that a written tradition of the Avesta existed in Sogdiana. The reason is that a ninth or tenth century Sogdian document, kept in the British Library, contains the famous Ašəm Vohū prayer adapted to the local dialect. Evidence suggests that such a tradition, cannot be dated before the time of Māni living in the third century CE because the prayer is written in the Manichaean script.¹⁹³

According to the Dēnkard III (DkM 407.10-408.15), the Avesta and Zand were scattered after the Arab conquest of Iran for the second time after Alexander's invasion, but Ādurfarrbay son of Farroxzād reunited the dispersed texts which were passed down to his son Zardušt. Unluckily, due to a bad accident happened to him, the texts were dispersed again but Ādurbād son of Ēmēd re-collected them. He also added new texts to the collection which was called the Dēnkard of 1000 chapters by him.

Regarding the transmission of the Pahlavi version of the Hōm Yašt, as mentioned in section 1.4, it has the features of the Pahlavi language of the ninth and twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that either an oral or a written version of the Sasanian Zand of the Hōm Yašt should have existed. The reason is that as mentioned in section 1.4, the Zand of the Vīdēvdād and Hērbedestān have the features of the Sasanian Pahlavi. One of the commentators of the both texts was Rōšn whose name also appears in Y 9.2 as the interpreter of *dūrōših* "averting perdition":

rōšn guft hād aōših pad hōm bawēd

"Rōšn said, 'that is that imperishableness is through Hōm'".

Historically, the compilation of the known bilingual Pahlavi manuscripts, containing the Hōm Yašt, goes back to the tenth or eleventh century according to the colophons of the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line attested in the IrPY Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ See Hintze (1998: 155-156); Stausberg (1998: 259-261); Cantera (2004: 135-159).

¹⁹⁴ For the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš see 2.1.

However, as discussed below in the present section, although the Iranian manuscripts contain such an important colophon, they are late and their Pahlavi version is corrected. By contrast, the oldest manuscripts at our disposal are YIndP J2 and K5 written down in AY 692 (1323 CE). The problem with the two manuscripts is that their quality cannot be determined as they were produced by a single scribe. Regarding the readings of J2 and K5, they show the variant readings according to the following table, based on the text-critical apparatus of Y 9.1-15:

Stanza-line number	J2	K5
Y 9.1-4 ¹⁹⁵	deest	<i>gāh</i> (<i>g's</i>)
Y 9.1-7	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i>)	<i>ka-š</i> (' <i>MT-š</i>)
Y 9.1-7	deest	<i>kē</i> (<i>MNW</i>)
Y 9.2-1	<i>ōy</i> (' <i>LH</i>)	deest
Y 9.2-8	<i>xwarišn xwarišn (hwłšn' hwłšn')</i>	<i>xwaršin (hwłšn')</i>
Y 9.3-3	<i>tō</i> (<i>LK</i>)	<i>tō hōm</i> (<i>LK hwm</i>)
Y 9.3-6	<i>kard kū</i> (<i>krt' 'YK</i>)	<i>kard</i> (<i>krt</i>)
Y 9.4-15	<i>rōšn</i> (<i>lwšn'</i>)	<i>hād r(ō)šn</i> (<i>HWH-t lšn</i>)
Y 9.4-22	<i>xward</i> (' <i>ŠTHN-t'</i>)	<i>xwarišn</i> (<i>hwłšn'</i>)
Y 9.5-2	deest	<i>būd</i> (<i>YHWWN-t'</i>)
Y 9.5-5	<i>būd hād</i> (<i>YHWWN-t HWH-d</i>)	<i>būd</i> (<i>YHWWN-t</i>)
Y 9.5-8	<i>burzōy ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus</i> (<i>bwlcwk 'ytnw' nywk YHWN-t cygwn pws</i>)	<i>burzōy</i> (<i>bwlcwk</i>)
Y 9.6	<i>ābādīh</i> (' <i>p'tyh</i>)	<i>nēkīh</i> (<i>nywkyh</i>)
Y 9.7-7	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i>)	<i>kū</i> (<i>MNW</i>)
Y 9.7-7	deest	<i>zād</i> (<i>YLYDWN-t</i>)
Y 9.10-1	deest	<i>ēg-iš</i> (' <i>DYN'-š</i>)
Y 9.10-6	deest	<i>būd</i> (<i>YHWWN-t</i>)
Y 9.10-11	<i>čē ō</i> (<i>MH 'w'</i>)	<i>ō</i> (' <i>w'</i>)
Y 9.10-11	<i>mad</i> (<i>mt'</i>)	<i>ān mad</i> (<i>ZK mt'</i>)
Y 9.10-12	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i>)	<i>ka az</i> (' <i>MT MN</i>)
Y 9.10-20	deest	<i>guft</i> (<i>gwpt</i>)
Y 9.10-21	deest	<i>māhgušnasp</i> (<i>m'hwšnsp'</i>)
Y 9.11-1	deest	<i>az</i> (' <i>c'</i>)
Y 9.11-22	<i>tazīd</i> (<i>tcyt'</i>)	deest
Y 9.13-1	deest	<i>ōy</i> (' <i>LH</i>)
Y 9.13-2	deest	<i>ahlaw</i> (' <i>hlwb'</i>)
Y 9.14-2	deest	<i>weh</i> (<i>ŠPYL</i>)
Y 9.15-10	<i>kū</i> (' <i>YK</i>)	<i>čē</i> (<i>MH</i>)
Y 9.15-15	<i>kē</i> (<i>MNW</i>)	deest

¹⁹⁵ The line numbers are according to the line numbering of the present edition.

As the scribe of the old Indian J2 and K5 is the same person, namely Mihrābān Kayhusraw, it cannot be assumed that the variant readings represent two different traditions. Furthermore, while in J2, Mihrābān Kayhusraw is silent as to his source, in the colophons of K5 he writes that it was copied from the manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān. As long as there is no evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that Mihrābān Kayhusraw also used the same source for his J2 manuscript. It should be noted, however, that the table excludes minor variant readings such as *ī*, *ud* or insignificant spelling discrepancies. For example, in Y 9.4 line 7 according to the present edition, J2 and K5 spell *pūs* “son” as *pws* and *BRH*, respectively. As a result, the variant readings listed above show that the manuscripts are not very faithful copies of the original source and the scribe probably used his memory alongside the original copy in compiling the manuscripts. The variant readings also suggest that in the fourteenth century, the quality of learning the Zand by heart was impaired. Regarding the latest witness of YIndP collated in the present edition, Geldner (1896: Prolegomena, xxx) mentions that M1, written in 1734 CE, is a descendant of K5. His suggestion concurs with the preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus of the present edition which shows a close relationship between the Pahlavi version of the two manuscripts.

As far as the Pahlavi texts of YIrPs especially those of Hōšang Syāvaxš’s family are concerned, the extant manuscripts date from the late eighteenth century onwards.¹⁹⁶ They were copied after Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati arrived in India. He came from Kerman to Surat around 1720s to solve the dispute among Parsis about issues concerning Padām and the burying of corpses. In Gujarat, after examining the Indian Pahlavi Vīdēvdāds, Jāmāsp declared that the Indian Pahlavi version is too lengthy and inaccurate. He corrected the Pahlavi text and he also trained three priests, namely Dārāb from Surat, Jāmāsp from Nawsari and a priest from Baruch who subsequently followed his teachings.¹⁹⁷ Although Anquetil-Duperron gives no information about the Yasna manuscripts, it is possible that the mentioned movement also influenced the Zand of the Yasna. In Jāmāsp’s post-arrival Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts, Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008: 91-99) identify three features of the revised Zand:

1) Some commentaries are shortened or omitted in Jāmāsp’s post-arrival Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts.

¹⁹⁶ See section 2.1 and 2.2.

¹⁹⁷ See Anquetil-Duperron (1771: Vol. 1, 326-327); Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008: 82-83).

2) The prepositions and adverbs can be missing if they are thought to have no corresponding Avestan word.

3) Some glosses are added which are absent in older manuscripts.

A preliminary comparative study with the readings of Y 9.1-17 illustrates that YIrPs of the Hōšang Syāvaxš-line, all of which were copied after 1720, share the same features with those Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts which were copied after Jāmāsp's arrival.

Regarding feature 1, some commentaries are omitted which are present in pre-1720 manuscripts of the YIndP. In addition to commentaries, the omissions can extend to the Pahlavi translations of the original Avestan in YIrPs. For example, in Pt4, Mf4, G14,¹⁹⁸ T6 and T55b,¹⁹⁹ the Pahlavi commentary and translation [*ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan*] *gāhān srāyīšnīh*, corresponding to Av. *ātrəm pairi.yaoždaθəntəm gāθāsca srāuuaiiaṇtəm* are omitted (see Y 9.1 commentary 2).

In Y 9.1, YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b omit *tan* in *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* “That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal” (see Y 9.1 commentary 13).

In Y 9.7, Phl. *was* is omitted from the commentary *xānag az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd* in G14 and T6 (see Y 9.7 commentary 3).

In Y 9.16, Phl. *zarrēn gōn* “golden coloured”, the translation of Av. *zairi.gaonō*, is shortened to *zarrēn* “golden” in Pt4 (fol. 60v line 1), Mf4 (p. 159 line 9), G14 (fol. 58v line 6), T6 (fol. 50v line 1) and T55b (fol. 77v line 5).

As to the second feature, in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2,²⁰⁰ T6 and T55b, the dative expressing preposition *ō* is omitted in the translation of Y 9.3 *nəmō haōmāi*, or Phl. *namāz (ō) hōm*, while in J2 and K5, *ō* is attested (see Y 9.3 commentary 1).

In Y 9.8, the dative expressing preposition *ō* is deleted in *wattar ō gēhān*, rendering Av. *aγam gaēθāuuuiō*, in YIrPs (see Y 9.8 commentary 6).

Regarding the third feature, in Y 9.1, the Avestan quotation *miθrō z(a)iiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* is attested in YIrP Pt4, F2 and G14-T6, in the margin, at the end of the Avestan text of Y 9.1c and at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c, respectively. The evidence suggests

¹⁹⁸ The Phl. *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan* appears in the margin of G14. It shows that the Pahlavi sentence is separated from the main Pahlavi text.

¹⁹⁹ The preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus suggest that T55b is closely related to Pt4. However, in the available incomplete manuscript starting from Y 7.19, the colophon of Hōšang ī Syāvaxš is wanting.

²⁰⁰ F2 is an Iranian manuscript written after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp. However, it does not have the colophon of Hōšang Syāvaxš.

that because of the proliferative feature of the long commentary, the Avestan quotation from a lost text is incorporated into the text of the mentioned Iranian manuscripts. (see Y 9.1 commentary 12).

At the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, the late corrupt Phl. *amarg kard jān [ī xwēš rāy] pad stāyišn [ī ohrmazd]* renders Av. *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* in YIrP G14 and T6 (see Y 9.1 commentary 15).

In Y 9.2, the Pahlavi translation and commentary [*kē tis-ē*] *xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*, corresponding to *ā mąm yāsaṅ^vha spitama frā mąm* are added in the Pahlavi version of YIrP G14, F2 and T6 (see Y 9.2 commentary 5).

In Y 9.8, the commentary *kū band kard* is inserted between *kē-š zad* and *az ī dahāg* in YIrP Pt4 (superscr.), G14 and T6. Furthermore, in Pt4 the object postposition *rāy* is added in margin after *dahāg* under the influence of New Persian (see Y 9.8 commentary 1).

In Y 9.8, *hazār wizōstār* is explained by the commentary *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* in the margin of YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.8 commentary 3).

In Y 9.8, the superscript commentary *abāyēd ā-š kard* is added at the end of the Pahlavi version in YIrP Pt4 (see Y 9.8 commentary 10).

In Y 9.11, the superscript commentary *kū kard ud abāz dāšt ud dūr kard* is inserted after *kē-š zad* in YIrP Pt4 (see Y 9.11 commentary 1).

In Y 9.11, associated with *kū dō pā būd*, the commentary *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* is added in the margin of YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.11 commentary 11).

In Y 9.16, the commentary *kū tis ī ō ōy dahē* is added between the Pahlavi translation *weh hōm ī hudāg* and the following commentary *kū pad frārōnīh dād ēstē* in YIrP Pt4 (superscr. fol. 59r line 14), G14 (fol. 58r line 14 - fol. 58v line 1) and T6 (fol. 50r line 7-8).

In Y 9.16, the commentary *kū hōm xwarēnd andar yazišn ud hōm drōn ud čānīg be xwarēnd* takes place above the line and in the margin of YIrP Pt4 (fol. 59v line 3) after *kat xwarēnd*.

In addition, there are other examples suggesting that YIrPs have been corrected:

- a) As mentioned in section 2.1, the colophons of YIrP G14 and T6 are corrected.
- b) In Y 9.1, Av. *upāit* “went” is rendered by *pēš raft* in YIrP Pt4 in contrast to the *lectio difficilior abar raft* in other manuscripts (see Y 9.1 commentary 1).
- c) In Y 9.1, the pahlavicised *mtlwk (mihrō)* “Mihr” is interpreted as *mad* “came” and *rōy* “face” in YIrP Pt4, F2, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.1 commentary 8).
- d) In G14 and T6, the order of the Avestan original *huuarə.darəsō mašiiānəm* and its Pahlavi translation and commentary *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān [būd hučašmtom]* is

different from that of the other copies (see Y 9.4 commentary 4).

e) In Y 9.4, the number 2 is added at the beginning of the corrupt Pahlavi translation of Av. *aṅhaošəmn* in YIrP G14 and T6 to express the Avestan dual number (see Y 9.4 commentary 7).

f) In Y 9.7, *ēd* in YIrP G14, F2, T6 and YInd J2, K5, M1 is replaced by *ō* in YIrP Pt4, T55b and *ō ēd* in YIrP Mf4 (see Y 9.7 commentary 2).

g) In Y 9.8, Av. *aš.aojaṅhəm* is translated in the YIrP Pt4, G14 and T55b by *ōzōmand* in contrast to *was ōz* in the other collated manuscripts (see Y 9.8 commentary 4).

h) In Y 9.10, *dād* “rule” is corrected to mean *gad* “mace, weapon” in YIrP Pt4, F14, F2, T6 and T55b. Moreover, *tāzīg* and *turk* appear as the plural *tāzīgān* in YIrP Pt4, G14, T6 and *turkān* in YIrP Pt4, G14, F2 and T6. Furthermore, the 3rd sg. ind. *dārēd* is replaced by 3rd pl. subj. *dārānd* in YIrP G14 and T6 (see Y 9.10 commentary 13).

i) The sections c and d of Y 9.11 (according to the present edition) merge together in G14 and T6. Furthermore, the verb *xwist* is corrected to *xwāst* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.11 commentary 11).

j) In Y 9.12, Phl. *hōm*, rendering Av. *haōma*, is replaced by *hād* in YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.12 commentary 1).

k) In Y 9.14, the ergative construction *tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* is corrected to the accusative *tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd hē* under the influence of New Persian in YIrP Pt4, G14 and T55b (see Y 9.14 commentary 3).

l) In Y 9.14, the ergative construction *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard* is corrected to *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard hē* under the influence of New Persian in YIrP Pt4, G14, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.14 commentary 4).

m) Davar (1904: 14) had also suggested that YIrP Mf4 is corrected, stating ‘as to Mf4, though it often gives the better preserved text, I am inclined to think that the copyist has, at times, meddled with the text.

n) As noted by Zeini (2014: 28) in his unpublished dissertation on *The Pahlavi Version of the Yasna Haptanghāiti*, the Pahlavi version of the manuscripts attributed to Hōšang Syāwaxš ‘seems to show a larger degree of variation compared to the Avestan text’.

Furthermore, the study of diacritical marks among the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts shows that in YIrPs, a systematic set of diacritic marks are recruited to represent /j/, /š/, /x/, /y/.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ The diacritical marks of Y 9.1-4 are studied among YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1 in my unpublished Master dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 39-55).

These factors should be considered in choosing a proper research method. For the relationship between YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and G14, written in 1780 CE, although the colophon of Hōšhang Syāvaxš appears in all of them,²⁰² they bear the traces of independent priestly correction activities. Regarding the other Iranian manuscripts, the preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus point to a close relationship between YIrP Pt4 and undated T55b on the one hand and G14 and T6 on the other hand. However, as shown above, the marginal or superscript texts in Pt4 are sometimes absent in T55b. Regarding F2, although it is a YIrP, its spellings and orders occasionally agree with those of YIndPs. For example, in Y 9.1 line 15, *ēd rāy* in the Iranian manuscripts contrasts with *ēd rāy ēē* in YIndPs together with F2 and as mentioned above in Y 9.3 line 2, YIrPs have *namāz hōm*, but YIndPs and F2 write *namāz ō hōm*. Finally, the names and a short description of the manuscripts collated here, together with a summary of the preliminary results according to their internal and external evidence (variant readings,²⁰³ date of completion and names of scribes) are summarised in the following table:

Group	Siglum	Completion date	Scribe	Other features	Preliminary results
Iranian	Pt4	1780 CE	Unknown	It belongs to the Hōšhang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	Mf4	1780 CE	Unknown	It belongs to the Hōšhang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	G14	1780 CE	Kāwus Suhrāb Rōstam Mānak Mihrnōš Meherjirāna	It belongs to the Hōšhang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	F2	1814 CE	Sohrābji Kāušji Sohrābji Meherjirāna	-	Contaminated.
	T6	1842 CE	Suhrāb Frāmarz Suhrāb Rōstam Meherjirāna	It belongs to the Hōšhang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected. Closely related to G14. Copied from G14 according to its colophon.
	T55b	Unknown	Unknown	-	Corrected. Closely related to Pt4.

²⁰² See section 2.1.

²⁰³ See text-critical apparatus.

Indian	J2	1323 CE	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān	-	Quality unknown.
	K5	1323 CE	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān	-	Quality unknown.
	M1	1734 CE	Kāwus Frēdōn Wahman Bahrām Frāmarz	-	Closely related to K5.

It should be noted that the phrase ‘closely related to’, in the right column refers to spelling similarities between the collated manuscripts²⁰⁴ and it does not necessarily indicate the direct genealogical relationship between two copies. For the genealogical studies of the manuscripts, the methods derived from the phylogenetic analyses in biology have recently been suggested. However, these studies are beyond the scope of the present edition.²⁰⁵

In conclusion, six different periods for the transmission of the Zand can be distinguished:

1) The oral composition of the Zand during the Sasanian period. It is also possible that a written version of it was produced.

2) The production of the first known bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi manuscript in the tenth or eleventh century.

3) From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, the Pahlavi text was the subject to some minor interpretive activities.

4) In the fourteenth century, the Zand was mainly transmitted in written form but traces of the oral transmission are also noticeable.

5) In the eighteenth century, the period of revisions starts, represented by the corrected YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and G14 copies. By contrast, the only Indian copy, or M1 (1734 CE), is closely related to K5 (1323 CE).

6) After revisions, scribes reproduced faithful copies of the corrected ones. For example, YIrP T6 (1842 CE) which is a copy of G14 (1780 CE) and YIrP T55b, although undated, is very close to Pt4 (1780 CE). An exception is F2 (1814 CE) in which the text of the old tradition is collated with the contrasting corrected one.

²⁰⁴ See text-critical apparatus.

²⁰⁵ For methods of building genealogical trees between manuscripts see Cantera (2012a: 279-346).

3.2 Method of Research

While in scholarly works on the Zand, the methodology of edition is usually left undiscussed, the methods of textual criticism in the field of Avestan studies are borrowed from the field of Classical and Biblical studies in which different approaches to textual criticism have been developed. Furthermore, in the editions of the Zand, the evaluation of manuscripts is mainly based on the external evidence from their Avestan original and colophons rather than the internal evidence from the Zand itself.²⁰⁶

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars of Avestan studies adopted the Lachmannian, or stemmatic, theory with slightly different methodologies in their editions of the Avesta. For example, while Geldner mainly followed the readings of the oldest witnesses, which were the manuscripts of Mihrābān Kayhusraw, Hoffmann believed that philological analyses are necessary for the reconstruction of the Sasanian archetype (Cantera 2012b: 461-462).²⁰⁷ The theory is associated with Karl Lachmann who declared that a firm basis based on manuscripts should be established for an edition. According to his method, the genealogical relationships of codices should be clarified prior to the edition. Thereafter, the aim of the edition is to reconstruct the archetype based on the readings of the best and the oldest copies of different genealogical groups.²⁰⁸

By limiting the number of the collated manuscripts, the Lachmannian method is applicable in the edition of the Greek and Latin texts with their strong and solid written tradition. By contrast, only around 28 Pahlavi Yasna copies are currently known. Furthermore, as mentioned before, the existence of an archetype from which all manuscripts are derived is uncertain. Moreover, the traditional binary division of the manuscripts into the Iranian and Indian groups is based on the analysis of their Avestan original according to the Lachmannian theory. By contrast, the results of the present edition show that the Lachmannian is inadequate to do justice to the complex transmission of the Pahlavi Yasna. For example, according to the results presented in section 3.1, the Pahlavi version shows six phases of textual development which cannot be explained by the common Iranian-Indian grouping of manuscripts. Moreover, according to the colophon of YIndP J2 and K5, they

²⁰⁶ See the section 1.5.

²⁰⁷ Hoffmann himself edited no Avestan text but his suggestions were widely accepted by scholars.

²⁰⁸ See Epp (2013: 534-535). Publishing an edition of the New Testament, Lachmann proposed no theory but his method was formulated by Maas (1927).

were written down by an Iranian scribe. Therefore, it can be concluded that all manuscripts are ultimately Iranian.²⁰⁹

A non-eclectic method is the diplomatic method, suggested by Bédier (1928) according to whom, all orthographic features of a manuscript, without introducing any critical edition should be given. In the field of Avestan studies, with the diplomatic method, Brockhaus (1850) reproduced the text of the Videvdād Sāde P1.²¹⁰ Recently, Zeini (2014) also reproduced the Pahlavi text of Pt4 in his unpublished PhD thesis on *The Pahlavi version of the Yasna Haptañhāiti* according to the diplomatic method as he claims. However, in his edition, the Pahlavi version of Pt4 is emended in cases of obvious spelling mistakes (Zeini 2014: 27) which makes his edition closer to the copy-text method as discussed below. Although the diplomatic seems to be the method of choice with regard to the Sāde manuscripts, by adopting it in the present edition, the fact is ignored that at least the written tradition outweighs the contrasting oral one in the transmission of the Pahlavi version of the Yasna.

To restrict the editorial judgements of the Lachmannian method, a new theory emerged in the early twentieth century called the copy text method. It was first employed by Ronald McKerrow and later developed by Walter Greg. In the copy-text method, the editor chooses one copy as the best text and s/he only emends the text when the reading is substantially erroneous.²¹¹ At the beginning, the scholars of the copy-text method were very conservative. For example, McKerrow, chose the second edition of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* in 1904 as his copy text and emended it only at obviously erroneous points (Tanselle 1994: 1-2). However, scholars gradually accepted greater freedom. For example, Greg, in his article "The Rationale of a Copy Text" in 1950, supports editorial freedom. He states that it is 'disastrous to curb the liberty of competent editors'. He also adds that the judgement of an editor is likely to bring us closer to what the author wrote.' (Greg 1950: 32-34).

According to the features of the available Pahlavi Yasna texts at our disposal, in the present edition, the preferred method for the edition is the copy-text method. The reason is that the relationship between the liturgical Avestan texts and their Zand, on the one hand, and the Sasanian Great Avesta, on the other hand, is dubious.²¹² Furthermore, the linguistic

²⁰⁹ In the field of Biblical studies, likewise, Lachmann's method has been criticised because in almost every case the manuscripts are categorised in two groups. See Bédier (1928); Vaganay (1986).

²¹⁰ For the use of the diplomatic method in the edition of the Avestan manuscripts see Cantera (2012b: 460-461).

²¹¹ As far as I know, no edition has been claimed to be done in the field of Avestan studies according to the copy-text method.

²¹² See section 3.1.

features and contents of the Sasanian Hōm Yašt are unknown. Therefore, the the aim of the present edition is to edit the text according to historical and linguistic available evidence. To choose the base text, the external and internal evidence of the manuscripts should be analysed. The most important external evidence, as discussed above, is the completion date of the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts and the correction movement which started after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati in India. The internal evidence also corroborates that the Pahlavi version of the Iranian manuscripts, postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, is corrected. Therefore, in the present edition K5 serves as the base text because as the oldest Yasna manuscript alongside J2, it predates the arrival of Jāmāsp. Moreover, unlike J2, its source, or the copy of Rōstam Mihrābān, is mentioned in its colophons.²¹³ The Pahlavi version is also compared with its Avestan original, based on Geldner’s edition. The Avestan and Pahlavi text of each stanza are followed by the commentary section in which are discussed:

- 1) my editions, if the manuscripts attest different variant readings.
- 2) my translations, if they are very different from that of other editions.
- 3) mythological aspects of Y 9.1-15 in a wider range of the Zoroastrian and Indo-Iranian mythology.
- 4) Similarities between the ritualistic aspects of the hymn on the one hand and traditional and contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual on the other hand.

However, minor spelling differences are not discussed in the commentaries. For example, the spellings of *tarsagāhīh* in Y 9.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 and 13. The reconstructed illegible words in K5 or corrected spellings are marked by the superscript + on the top left of the word in the transliteration section of Appendix. The transliteration is accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* offering variant readings of the collated manuscripts.

²¹³ See section 2.1.

4 Text and Commentary

4.1 Y 9.1

- 1 (Y 9.1aA) *hāuuanīm ā ratūm ā*
 2 *haōmō upāiṭ zaraθuštrəm*
 3 (Y 9.1bA) *ātrəm pairi.yaoždaθəntəm*
 4 *gāθāsca srāuuaiiantəm*
 5 (Y 9.1cA) *ā dim pərəsaṭ zaraθuštrō*
 6 *kō narə ahī (miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm)*
 7 (Y 9.1dA) *yim azəm vīspahe aṅhāuš*
 8 *astuuatō sraēštəm dādarəsa*
 9 *x^vahe gaiiehe x^vanuuatō aməšahe*

- 1 (Y 9.1aA) At the morning watch,
 2 Haōma approached Zaraθuštra
 3 (Y 9.1bA) as he was purifying the fire
 4 and chanting the Gāθās.
 5 (Y 9.1cA) Zaraθuštra asked him:
 6 “Who, O man, are you (*Mithra should be known to Zaraθuštra*).
 7-8 (Y 9.1dA) whom I have seen of all the material world as the most handsome
 9 in one’s own sunny immortal life?”

- 1 (Y 9.1aP) *pad hāwan radīh*
 2 [*pad hāwan gāh*]
 3 *hōm abar raft ō zardušt*
 4 (Y 9.1bP) *pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh*
 5 [*ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan*]
 6 *gāhān srāyīšnīh*
 7 [*ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš*]
 8 (Y 9.1cP) *u-š az ōy pursīd zardušt*
 9 *kū kē mard hē*
 10 [*hād nē pad yašt ī fradom bawēd az pēš paydāg*]
 11 *u-š dānist kū hōm ōh rasēd*
 12 *ka mad būd ā-š pursīd abāyist*
 13 *mīhrō upāit zardušt*
 14 *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt*
 15 *ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād*
 16 *u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd*
 17 *hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd*
 18 *u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft*
 19 *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād*
 20 *kū har dō ōh rasēnd*
 21 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*
 22 (Y 9.1dP) *kē man az harwisp axw*
 23 *ī astōmand ham nēktar dīd hē*
 24 *čē-t ān ī xwēš gyān nēk kard ēstēd amarg*
 25 [*hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd*]
 26 *nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud*

27 *u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād*

28 *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*

29 *amərəza gaiiehe stūna]*

1 (Y 9.1aP) At the morning watch,

2 [at the morning time],

3 Hōm went towards¹ Zardušt

4 (Y 9.1bP) while at the fire [stand], he was around, making (the fire) pure,

5 [when he desired to wash the fire-stand]²

6 (while) reciting the Gāθās,

7 [when he recited the Ašəm Vohū three times which precedes the Frawarānē]³,

8 (Y 9.1cP) and Zardušt asked him

9 that: “Who, O man, are you?”

10 [That is:⁴ It was clear from before that (he) is not at (his) first Yasna ceremony

11 and he knew⁵ that Hōm would arrive in the usual way⁶.

12 When he had come then he wanted to ask⁷ him,

13 Mihr approached Zardušt.⁸

14 It is clear that he knew him

15 since⁹ he had been with more Yazds at that time

16 and the Yazd was¹⁰ more known to him.

17 That is: He knew this chapter by heart¹¹

18 and because of his desire, he spoke with Hōm.

19 There is one who says thus: ‘Yes, Ohrmazd had said

20 that: They both arrive in the usual way

21 (and) when Hōm had come (to Zardušt), then he knows Mihr].¹²

22-23 (Y 9.11d) Whom I saw better than all material world,

24 since your life has been well-created, immortal.”

25 [That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,¹³

26 not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam

27 and they, bodily, had become immortal,

28 as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal,¹⁴

29 *The pillars of life are non-removable*].¹⁵

1) Line 3 Y 9.1aP *abar raft* “went towards”

With the exception of YIr Pt4, the Avestan preverb *upa-* in *upāit* “approached” is rendered in the collated manuscripts by Phl. *abar* “up, on(to)”. By contrast, in Pt4 (fol. 54r line 3), a word or grapheme is crossed out at the end of the line while in the margin, Phl. *pēš* (L ‘YN’) “near” appears as the translation of the Avestan preverb:

Figure 9. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r lines 2-4).



The unique marginal gloss together with the crossed out word or grapheme in Pt4 suggests correction, probably under the influence of New Persian. The reason is that the preverb *abar*, while being productive in Middle Persian and Early New Persian as *bar* (بر), gradually becomes unproductive.²¹⁴ Therefore, the scribe of Pt4 corrects *lectio difficilior* Phl. *abar raft* to *pēš raft* which is also still used in modern Persian. The suggestion agrees with the late time, or 1780 CE, in which Pt4 was copied.²¹⁵

2) Line 5-6 Y 9.1bP *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan gāhān srāyišnīh* “when he desired to wash the fire-stand and (while he was) reciting the Gāthas”

In YIrP G14, F2 and YIndP J2, K5 and M1, the commentary *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan* occurs in the following context:

Y 9.2 pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh
[ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan]
gāhān srāyišnīh

The commentary to *pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh* is followed by the word for word translation of the Avestan original *gāθāśca srāuuaiiantəm*, or *gāhān srāyišnīh* “and (while he was) reciting the Gāθās”. While Av. *gāθāśca srāuuaiiantəm* is present in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T6 and T55b, its corresponding Pahlavi translation and preceding commentary are absent in their Pahlavi versions. The deletion of the commentary-translation in the Iranian manuscript of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line²¹⁶ seems to be the result of correction

²¹⁴ For Middle Iranian preverbs which become unproductive in New Persian see Ahmadi-Givi (2001 (1380): 853-860).

²¹⁵ The preliminary results suggest that the Pahlavi version of the extant manuscripts of Hōšang ī Syāwaxš, written down after the arrival of Jāmāsp Velāyati, share similar features with those of Jāmāsp’s post arrival corrected Pahlavi Vīdēvdād copies. See section 3.1.

²¹⁶ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

because it is present in another member of the line, or G14, which is also closely related to T6.²¹⁷ Moreover, the deletion of the commentary agrees with a feature of the corrected manuscripts postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India according to which, as discussed in section 3.1, some commentaries in the older manuscripts are shortened or omitted. Therefore, in the present edition, the Pahlavi commentary *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan* and the Pahlavi translation *gāhān srāyišnīh*, corresponding to *gāθāsca srāuuaiiaṇtəm* are employed.

As far as the continuity of the Zoroastrian traditions is concerned, the commentary agrees with the directions of the contemporary Yasna ritual according to which after pressing out the Hōm juice, the chief priest, Zōt, should wash the fire-stand (Unvala 1928: 203, fn. 2^{4a}). In the text on *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar,²¹⁸ which appears after VrS K7b, written by Rōstam Mihrābān in 1288 CE, the washing of the fire-stand is also mentioned:

K7. ka adurgāh kāmēd šustan naxust dast pad pādyāb be kunišn u-š ātaxš ud barsom be nigērišn u-š yatāhōwairyō 7 be gōwišn u-š az nōg dast pad pādyāb abāz kunišn u-š xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōidite tā fərašōtəməm be gōwišn u-š az nōg dast pad pādyāb abāz kunišn ud ašəm vohū 3 frauuarāne cē gāh dārēd āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra tā gyāg pad mān ī ātaxšān ud ka mān ī wehān bawēd tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra tā gyāg u-š wāz az ān ī parāhōm kard frāz gīrišn u-š ādurgāh pad 3 ašəm vohū frāz šōyišn

When he (the priest performing the initiation Nāwar ceremony) desires to wash the fire-stand, first, he should make the hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and he (should) look at the fire and Barsom and he should recite 7 times the Yatāhōwairyō prayer and he should again make hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and he should recite *xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōidite* up to *fərašōtəməm* and he should again make the hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and (recite) *ašəm vohū* three times (followed by) *frauuarāne*, whatever watch he keeps it. *Āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra* up to the end (should be recited) in the abode of fires, and when he is in the house of the faithful *tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra* up to the end (should be recited) and he must take the Bāj from one who prepared the Parāhōm and should wash the fire-place with (the recital) of 3 *ašəm vohū*.²¹⁹

3) Line 7 Y 9.1b *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* “when he recited the Ashəm Vohū three times which precedes the Frawarānē”

²¹⁷ For correction see section 3.1.

²¹⁸ Nāwar is term for the initiation ceremony into the priesthood and the first Yasna in the ceremony is dedicated to *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar”. For a discussion on *nāwar* and *mēnōy nāwar* see Y 9.14 commentary 4 *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard*.

²¹⁹ The text is after Kotwal (1988: 303-304, 305). The text on *nāwar* appears after VrS K7b, fol. 101v line 14- fol. 104r line15.

Phl. *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* is a gloss on *gāhān srāyišnīh* “(while he was) reciting the Gāθās”:

gāhān srāyišnīh

[*ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš*]

The phrase *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* identifies reciting the Gāhān with chanting the *ašəm vohū* prayers. It agrees with the Zoroastrian tradition according to which, three Ašəm Vohū and one Frawarānē are to be recited by Zōt, while washing the fire-stand (Unvala 1924: 2-3, fn. 2^{4d}). As stated in the previous commentary, the text on *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar” also proves the antiquity of this Zoroastrian practice. In conclusion, the two commentaries, *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan* and *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* explain that the meeting of Hōm and Zardušt as attested in Y 9.1 took place in the Yasna ceremony when Zardušt, as a Zōt, was purifying the fire-stand and reciting the sacred prayers.

4) Line 10 Y 9.1cP *hād* “that is; yes”

The Pahlavi verbal form *hād*, 3rd sg. subj. of *ah* “to be” functions either as a verb or as a particle in the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts. As the verb, the subjunctive *hād* “so be it”, translates Av. *xiīāṭ*, 3rd sg. opt. of *ah*. For example:

Y 40.4A. *aθā x^vaētūš*
aθā vərəzəṇā
aθā haxəmqm xiīāṭ

Likewise (grant us) families,
 Likewise communities!
 May thus be the fellowships²²⁰

Y 40.4P. *ēdōn xwēš*
ud ēdōn wālun
ēdōn hambrādag ā-m hād [kū-m dahād] ...

Likewise, my own (be to me) ([he may grant it to me]),
 and likewise, the community (be to me) ([he may grant it to me]),
 likewise, the fellows be to me, [he may grant it to me]...²²¹

²²⁰ Edition and translation by Hintze (2007a: 299-300).

²²¹ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 175).

Moreover, *hād* occurs as a particle in the Pahlavi commentaries. Skjærvø (2010: 182-190) examines contexts in which the particle *hād* occurs. He argues that in standard Pahlavi *hād* is spelt as *ḤWH-t'* when it functions as the 3rd sg. subj. verbal form, but it is spelled as *ḤWH-t'* when it is used as the particle. According to him, *ḤWH-t'* without the phonetic complement represents an archaism as compared to the spelling of *hād* (*ḤWH*) in the third century Pahlavi inscriptions in which it denotes the subjunctive mood (Skjærvø 2010: 183). The manuscripts of the Pahlavi Yasna, however, show no systematic distinction in the spelling of the particle and the finite verbal form, as both are indiscriminately spelt as *ḤWH-t'* and *ḤWH-t'*. For example, Pt4 (fol 159r line 16) and J2 (fol 220v line 8) write *ḤWH-t'* as the translation of the Avestan verb *xiīāṭ*.

In the commentaries, the article *hād* either introduces a new commentary or occurs in the commentary after the *verbum dicendi* Phl. *guftan* “to say”, citing the comment of a known or an anonymous authority. In the former use, *hād* introduces commentator’s interpretation of the Avestan word or phrase. For example:

Y 9.1A *kō narə ahī*

Who, O man, are you

Y 9.1P *kū kē mard hē*

hād nē pad yašt ī fradōm bawēd az pēš paydāg

That who, O man, are you?

That is: It was clear from before that (he) is not at (his) first Yasna ceremony.

Skjærvø (2010: 184-190) studies the use of *hād*, attested after the verb *guftan*. According to his interpretation, it denotes the agreement with the preceding statement which is followed by an additional statement to restrict the original one (Skjærvø 2010: 187). Accordingly, he translates the particle *hād* after the verb *guftan* as “yes”, “yes and (also)”, “yes but (only)” and “yes, that is so” (Skjærvø 2010: 184-190).

As far as the Sanskrit version is concerned, it translates the particle *hād* as the interjection *aho* “oh!” or the adverb *kila* “indeed”.²²² There are also several examples according which *hād* is left untranslated or written by the neuter relative pronoun *yat*. For example:

Y 9.2P. *guft hād ahōšīh pad hōm bawēd*

²²² See Unvala (1924: 5).

(Rōšn) said: ‘Yes, imperishableness is through Hōm.’

Y 9.2Skt. *uvāca yat akṣayatvaṃ hūmena bhavati*

(Rōšn) has said that imperishableness is through Hūma.²²³

In the New Persian version, the particle *hād* is rendered in a variety of ways, including *zāher ēnke* (ظاهر اینکه) “it seems that” (T6 fol. 43r line 7), *drust ast ke* (درست است که) “it is correct that” (T6 fol. 43v line 3), *zāher (h)ast ke* (ظاهر هست/است که) “it is clear that” (T6 fol. 44r line 4; fol. 47r line 11; fol. 47v line 11; fol. 48r line 3; fol. 48v line 4; fol. 49v line 8; fol. 51r line 1, 10; fol. 64r line 7), *hast ke* (هست که) “it is that” (T6 fol. 45r line 2; fol. 45v line 6; fol. 48r line 6, 7; fol. 53r line 10), *bāšad ke* (باشد که) “it should be that” (T6 fol. 45r line 4) and *zāher šude ke* (ظاهر شده که) “it has become obvious that” (T6 fol. 46r line 10).²²⁴

As far as the translation of *hād* in the Pahlavi Yasna is concerned, the evidence examined so far suggests that depending on the context and the position of *hād* in the commentary, it may be rendered as “that is (so), it means” for the *hād*, introducing redactor’s interpretation of the Avestan word or phrase and “yes”, “yes and (also)”, “yes, but also” and “yes, that is so”, for when *hād* introduces direct or indirect speech after the verb *guftan*.

5) Line 11 Y 9.1cP *u-š dānist* “and he knew”

In YIrP Pt4, the superscript *ēn* “this” appears after the 3rd sg. past *dānist* according to which *u-š dānist ēn* means “and he knew this”. However, *ēn* is absent in the other collated manuscripts, especially those of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,²²⁵ T55b which is closely related to Pt4, and also the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, since the reading *ēn* seems to be added by the scribe of Pt4, it is not employed in the present edition.

6) Line 11 Y 9.1cP *ōh rasēd* “would arrive in the usual way”

The particle *ōh* is spelled in YIrPs and their Indian counterparts with the heterogram *KN* and eteogram ‘w’, respectively. Phl. *ōh*, corresponding to Av. *auuaḡa* “in that manner”, always occurs before the verb and it has usually been translated as “thus, in that manner”. However, these translations have been criticised by Skjaervø (2010: 194-199) arguing that

²²³ Edition and translation by Unvala (1924: 7).

²²⁴ The New Persian translations of *hād* occurring in Y 9-11 are from YIrP T6 (fol. 43r-70v).

²²⁵ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

the reference of the particle is ‘unclear or altogether missing’. He, therefore, suggests the translation “in the usual way” for the particle that ‘does not seem to refer to anything nor does it enter into comparisons’. With Skjaervø, *ōh* is translated as “in the usual way” in the present edition.

7) Line 12 Y 9.1cP *pursīd* “to ask”

Phl. *pursīd* in K5 and M1 replaces *pursīdan*, occurring in the other collated manuscripts. The infinitive in Pahlavi can either end in *-tan* > Ir. **-tanai* or *-t* > Ir. **-tai*.²²⁶ Therefore, from the grammatical point of view, both readings *pursīdan* and *pursīd* are correct. Following the reading of the base text K5, *pursīd* is employed in the present edition.

8) Line 13 Y 9.1cP *mīhrō upāit zardušt* “Mihr approached to Zardušt”

The sentence *mīhrō upāit zardušt* is attested in all the collated manuscripts. In his translation of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, Mills (1903c: 314 and 314, fn. 4) reads the phrase as *mitrōk xūp āit zartūšt* “the good one of Mitra is Zardušt.”²²⁷ By contrast, Davar (1904: 27) mentions that this is the Pahlavicised form of the Av. **miθrō upāit zaraθuštrəm*. As a result, he translates it as “Mihr came to Zardušt”. According to his interpretation, **سدم** **س ۱۳ ۱۳۶** should be transliterated as *mtlwk 'wp 'yt*. The spelling *mtlwk'* instead of the Phl. *mtr'* confirms the Pahlavicised form of the sentence. It should also be noted that the alternative reading *mīhrō xūb ast* “Mihr is good” is semantically meaningless in the context of Y 9.1. With Davar’s reading, the formulaic structure of *mīhrō upāit zardušt* is similar to that of Y 9.1 *haōmō upāit zaraθuštrəm* “Haōma approached Zarathushtra”. The reading *mīhrō upāit zardušt* is also confirmed by the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 which is about the meeting of Zardušt with Hōm and Mihr. However, no consensus existed neither about the meaning nor about the reading of the Pahlavicised form in later periods. In YIrP Pt4, F2, T6 and T55b, the copyists consider *mt* and *lwk* as two words. It is confirmed by the subscript New Persian translations of **۱۳۶** (*mt*), as رسید “arrived”, **۱۳۷** (*lwk*) as روی “face” and **س ۱۳** as خوب “good” in F2 (fol. 51v line 2) and T6 (fol. 43r line 9-10). Separating **۱۳۶** and **۱۳۷** by a vertical dotted line, Pt4 (fol. 54r line 12) also writes خوب روی “of good face” in the margin as the translation of **س ۱۳ ۱۳۶**:

²²⁶ See Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 260, §513).

²²⁷ Following MacKenzie’s system of transcription, it would be *mīhrō xub ast zardušt*.

Figure 10. YIrP F2 (fol. 51v line 2).

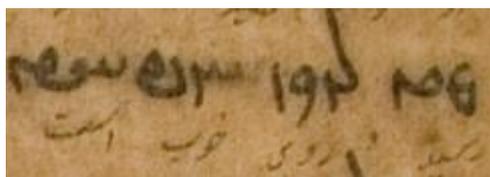


Figure 11. YIrP T6. (right: Fol. 43r line 9; left: Fol. 43r line 10).

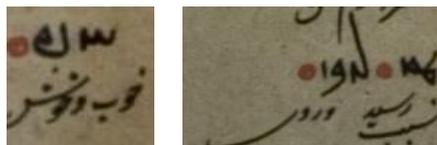
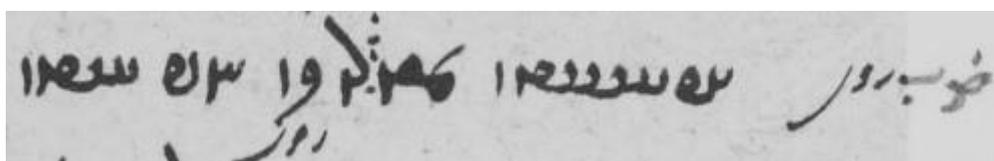


Figure 12. Pt4 (fol. 54r line 12).



Furthermore, it has been suggested that *mīhrō upāit zardušt* corresponds to *mīhrō z(a)iiāit zardušt* according to which *upāit* in *mīhrō upāit zardušt* is the misspelling *z(a)iiāit* in the manuscripts.²²⁸ However, it is unlikely to assume that *zaiiāit* (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥)²²⁹ can be the variant reading of the Pahlavicised form *upāit* (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥).²³⁰

9) Line 15 Y 9.1cP *ēd rāy čē* “since”

In the manuscripts YIrP F2 and YIndP J2, K5 and M1, *čē* “what, which; for, because” appears after *ēd rāy* while it is absent in the other copies. The problem with the editorial judgement is that both formula *ēd rāy* and *ēd rāy čē* meaning “because, since” occur in Pahlavi (MacKenzie 1971: 30). In the present edition, Phl. *čē* is employed because it is attested in the base text K5 and its sister manuscript J2.

10) Line 16 Y 9.1cP *būd* “was”

The verb *būdan* “to be, to become” is attested as the 3rd sg. pres. *bawēd* (YḤWWN-yt) in YIrPs with the exception of F2 in contrast to the 3rd sg. past *būd* (YḤWWN-t/J2: *bwt*) in

²²⁸ See Spiegel (1861: 52); Davar (1904: 27).

²²⁹ Av. *mīθrō zaiiāit zaraθuštrəm* is discussed in Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*.

²³⁰ For the Avestan phrase see Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*.

YIndPs together with the Iranian manuscript F2. In a wider range of context, the enclitic *u-* “and” connects *-š yazd āšnāgtar būd* (YIndPs + F2)/*bawēd* (YIrPs – F2) with the preceding sentence governed by the the periphrastic perfect verb as follows:

ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd.

As far as choosing between *bawēd* and *būd* is concerned, sentences governed by the periphrastic perfect verbs are usually connected with those governed by the verbs in the past tense, for example:

KN 1.11 *har sē šab xwamn čiyōn dīd ēstād pēš ī ōyšān guft*

The dream of each three nights as he (i.e. Ardawān) had seen (it), he related (it) before them (sleep interpreters).²³¹

AWZ 26.16-17 *u-m dīd ruwān ī zan-ē kē-š uzwān pad gardan hamē kešīd ud az andarwāy āwēxt ēstād u-m pursīd*

And I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was pulled far out of her neck (= throat) and she was suspended in the air and I asked ...²³²

Therefore, in the present edition, with the reading of the base text K5, other YIndPs and YIrP F2, *būd* is employed.

11) Line17 Y 9.1cP *u-š ēn fragard warm būd* “he knew this chapter by heart”

In the commentary of Y 9.1, the Iranian manuscripts Pt4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b write:

u-š ēn fragard ōy (‘LH) bawēd

And this chapter (Hōm Yašt) is to him.

By contrast, the following sentence appears in the Indian manuscripts J2, K5 and M1 together with YIrP Mf4:

u-š ēn fragard 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 būd (Mf4 *bawēd*)...

And he knew (Mf4 knows) this chapter (Hōm Yašt) by heart.

²³¹ My translation. Edition by Anita (1900: 3).

²³² Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 127, 203).

Mills (1900: 518), Davar (1904: 15), Unvala (1924: 4) and Dhabar (1949: 56) edit 𐭪𐭩𐭫𐭭. Moreover, Davar (1904: 15) and Unvala (1924: 4) translate it as “soft” which is based on the transcription of the Pahlavi word 𐭪𐭩𐭫𐭭 as *narm* (*nlm*). However, its corresponding form is attested in New Persian as the noun *barm* “memory” and the verb *barm dāštan* (برم داشتن) “to know by heart”.²³³ Therefore, it is transcribed as *warm* in the present edition.

A possibility of reconciling the readings *LH* and *wlm* could be that *LH* is the consequence of copyist's mistake in which a stroke was added after 𐭪 (*m*) and the letter became 𐭪(H). However, since the variant reading *LH* occurs in all of the Iranian manuscripts with the exception of Mf4, it should be associated with scribal correction.²³⁴

The second difference is the verb. Iranian manuscripts write the present tense verb *bawēd* while the Indian manuscripts attest the past tense *būd*. In a wider range of context, the Pahlavi sentences *u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd* (see Y 9.1 commentary 10 on *būd*) and *u-š ēn fragard warm būd/bawēd* are preceded and followed by sentences governed by the perfect and past tense verbs, respectively:

ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād
u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd
hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd/bawēd
u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft

As shown above, the Pahlavi commentary describes an event in the past, therefore, with YIndPs, *būd* is employed in the present edition.

12) Line 21 Y 9.1cP *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* “when Hōm had come (to Zardusht), then, he knows Mihr”

In YIRPs F2 and T6, *ka* “when, if” is replaced by *kū* “that”. According to the context of the sentence *ka/kū* (F2, T6) *hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* “when/that means (F2, T6) he had come (to Zardusht), then he knows Mihr”, both readings are possible. However, apart from F2 and T6, in the other copies, especially the older YIRPs of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line²³⁵ (Pt4, Mf4, G14) and old YIndP J2, K5, *ka* is attested. Furthermore, considering *ka*, the sentence follows *ka ... ā-* “when/since ... then” formula which is another reason for

²³³ *Ln.* Vol. III, 4019; MacKenzie (1971: 87).

²³⁴ For corrections in YIRPs see section 3.1.

²³⁵ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

choosing *ka* over *kū* in the present edition.²³⁶

Regarding the verb, *mad* in *ka hōm mad* occurs with the auxiliary verb *būdan* “to be” which appears as the 3rd sg. present *bawēd* in YIrPs in contrast to 3rd sg. past *būd* in YIndPs. The sentence *ka hōm mad bawēd/būd* is connected by *ud* “and” with the preceding sentence, providing 3rd pl. pres. *rasēnd* “(they) arrive” in the following context:

kū har dō ōh rasēnd
ka hōm mad bawēd (YIrPs) / *būd* (YIndP) *ā-š mihr šnāsēd*

As far as the meaning of the past participle + *bawēd* is concerned, Nyberg (1974: 283, 7:10) translates it as the future perfect according to which *kū har dō ōh rasēnd ud ka hōm mad bawēd* (YIrP) *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* means “that means: They both arrive in the usual way and when/since Hōm shall have come then he knows Mihr”.²³⁷

Regarding the construction past participle + *būd* attested in YIndP, Nyberg (1975: 283, 7.9) states that the related construction *kard būd* has the perfect and plusperfect meaning. Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 376) also mentions that PP + *būd* denotes the present perfect tense. Although the reading of YIrPs better fit the context, it is unclear whether they write the original reading or the corrected one.²³⁸ Therefore, with the reading of the old J2, K5, predating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India, *būd* is employed in the present edition.

As regards *šnāsēd*, the verb of the subordinate clause appears as *šnāxt* “knew” in YIrPs G14, F2 and T6. However, such a reading is absent in the related YIrP Pt4 and Mf4 together with the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, in the present work, the reading *šnāsēd* is employed.

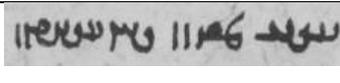
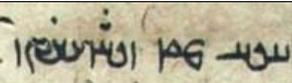
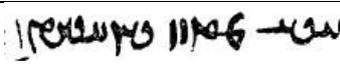
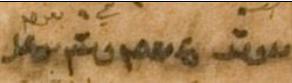
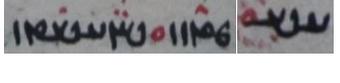
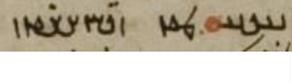
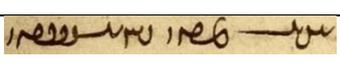
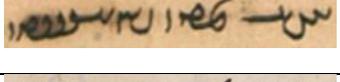
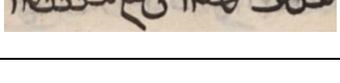
As far as *mihr* is concerned, Mills (1903c: 314) translates it as “arrived” in “when Hōm had come Zardušt recognises(-sed) him (as being himself who had) arrived”. Likewise, Davar (1904: 15) reading *mad*, renders it as “(have) come” in “when he knew (him) (to have) come” (Davar 1904: 28). It should be noted that while the spelling of YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T55b and YIndPs can be interpreted as either *mad(an)* or *mihr*, YIrP G14, T6 and F2, obviously read *mad*:

²³⁶ For *ka* ... *ā-* see Nyberg (1974: 108-109).

²³⁷ Passive constructions can also be formed by *baw-* (Skjaervø 2009a: 232). However, in the present example, it is evident that the verb *madan* “to come” is intransitive.

²³⁸ For correction see section 3.1.

Figure 13. The variant readings of mad(an) or mihr in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts.

<i>mad(an) or mihr</i>		<i>mt</i>	
Pt4 (fol. 54r line 17)		G14 (fol. 52v line 2)	
Mf4 (p. 146 line 10)		F2 (fol. 51v line 7)	
T55b (fol 68r line 11-12)		T6 (fol. 43v line 5)	
J2 (fol. 80v line 11)		-	-
K5 (fol. 60r line 16)		-	-
M1 (fol. 156r line 2)		-	-

It is obvious that the reading of G14, F2, T6 and the translations of Davar and Mills as *ā-š mad šnāsēd* word for word translation “then-him-came-knows” are problematic from the semantic point of view. It explains why both scholars added explanations in the brackets to make their translations understandable.

Another possibility is to read the clause as *ā-š madan (mtn') šnāsēd* “then he (Zardušt) knows his coming”. It agrees with the reading of T55b in which *d* is shown by the diacritic [^].²³⁹ However, the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 is about the meeting of Zardušt with two deities namely Hōm and Mihr rather than Hōm alone. The presence of the two deities is also insisted by the preceding *har dō ōh rasēnd* “they both arrive in the usual way”:

kū har dō ōh resēnd
ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr/madan šnāsēd

Furthermore, *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* corresponds to Av. *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* “Miθra should be known to Zaraθuštra”, as discussed below.²⁴⁰ Therefore, unlike Mills and Davar, the Pahlavi word is interpreted as *mihr* in the present edition.

Regarding the Avestan phrase *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, Geldner (1886-1896: I, 39 and

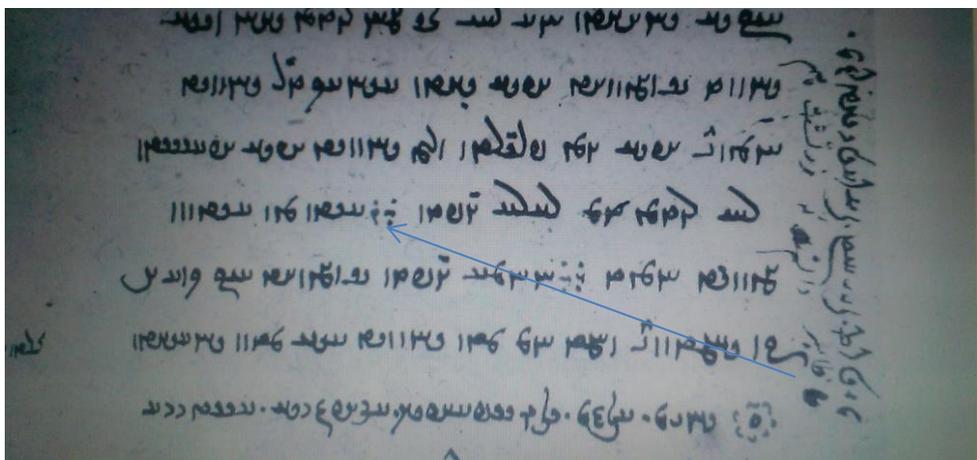
²³⁹ I discuss the diacritic mark of the [d] pronunciation in my unpublished MA dissertation Khanizadeh (2013: 51-52).

²⁴⁰ Analysing ²*zan* “to know”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1559-1660, fn. 4) also mentions that *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* (see Y 9.1 line 14 in the present edition) corresponds to *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*. It seems that in the Pahlavi commentary, *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* is itself a gloss to *miθrō upāit zardušt ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* corresponding to **miθrō upāit zaraθuštrəm* and *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, respectively.

39 fn. 7) omits the phrase in his edition but notes that the Yasna Sāde manuscript P6²⁴¹ has *miθrō.ziiāṭ*. However, he considers the manuscript as ‘without the value of text criticism’ (Geldner 1896: Prolegomena, xii). Likewise, Josephson (1997: 41) and Pirart (2004: 59) delete the Avestan phrase it in their editions of Y 9.1.

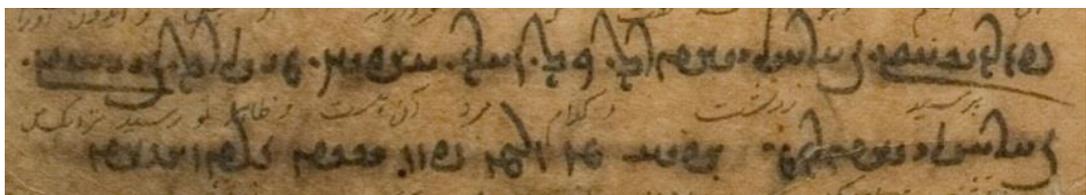
While the position of the phrase is not fixed, *zaiiāṭ* is spelled differently in codices which write the Avestan phrase. The scribe of Pt4 writes *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* in the margin and probably marks its place in the main text (fol 54r line 16) before *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād* by the inverted “?” appearing before *ast*:

Figure 14. The suggested place for the Avestan phrase in YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r line 16).



G14 and T6 write the variant *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c following *ā-š mihr šnāsēd*. In F2, the Avestan phrase *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, following *kō narə ahī* (F2 *ahe*), is incorporated into the Avestan original:

Figure 15. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 12).

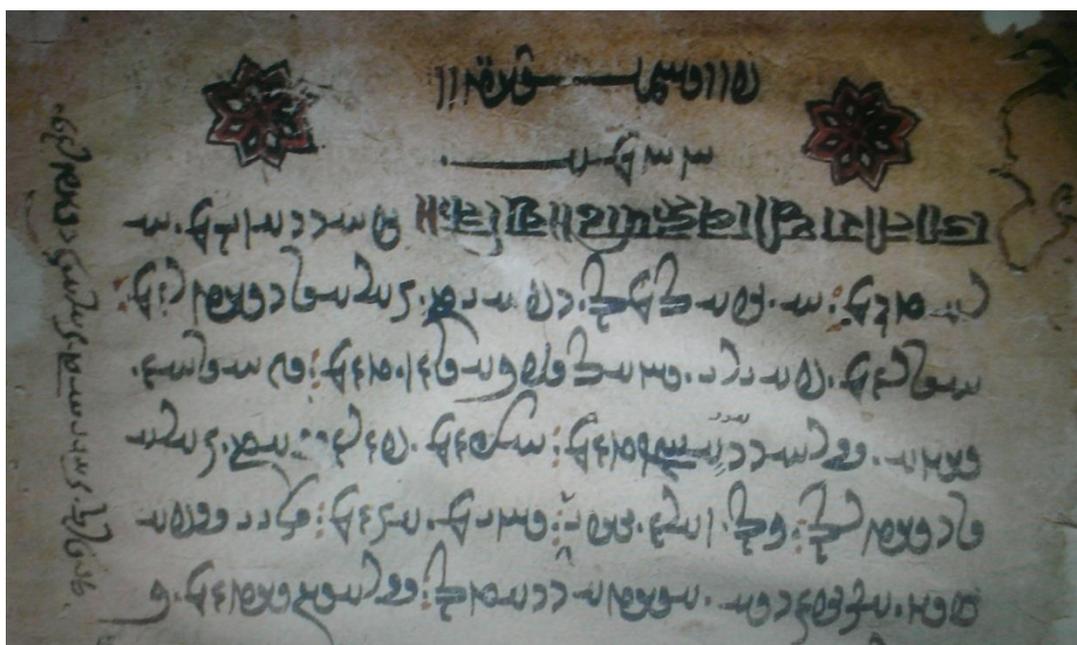


By contrast, the Avestan text is absent in YIrP Mf4, T55b; YIndP J2, K5 and M1. As regards *z(a)iiāṭ*, Pt4 and F2 read *ziiāṭ* in contrast to *zaiiāṭ* in G14 and T6. A comparison between the the Avestan text of the Sāde manuscripts shows that it is absent in the Iranian

²⁴¹ P6 is not available on the website of the Avesta Digital Archive.

Sāde MZK4 ML15284,²⁴² F3A,²⁴³ and ML15285²⁴⁴. In the Indian Sāde manuscripts B3²⁴⁵ (fol. 31v) K11A²⁴⁶ (fol. 45r) L17²⁴⁷ (fol. 46r), the phrase is attested as *miθrō zaiiāt zaraθuštrəm*, *miθrō ziiāt zaraθuštrəm* and *miθrō ziiāt zaraθuštrəm*, respectively, in margin while its place is marked after the Avestan *kō narə ahi* in the main text by the “Λ” and “v” signs. For example, the place of the phrase is probably shown by “Λ” and “v” in fol. 31v line 7 of the manuscript B3:

Figure 16. YIndS B3 (fol. 31v).



In the Indian Sāde manuscripts Bh5²⁴⁸ (fol. 35v lines 2-4) and G97²⁴⁹ (fol. 38r lines 7-8), the phrase is written as *maiθrō zīāt zaraθuštrəm* and *məθrō ziiāt zaraθuštarəm*, respectively, in the main text after Av. *kō narə ahi*. It seems that the phrase is borrowed from a lost Avestan text because:

1) As stated above, while the Avestan quotation is absent in some manuscripts, its place

²⁴² The date of completion is unknown but it must be completed before AY 1192, or 1823 CE (Hintze 2012a: 246).

²⁴³ The manuscript completed in AY 1247, or 1878 CE (Hintze 2012a: 247).

²⁴⁴ The manuscript has no colophon but it must be completed before AY 1262, or 1893 CE. (Hintze 2012a: 247).

²⁴⁵ Although the manuscript is undated, it seems to be the oldest known Yasna Sāde manuscript (Hintze 2012: 250).

²⁴⁶ The manuscript contains the Yasnā Sāda, Sīrōza and Visperad Sāde. According to its Sanskrit colophon, the Visperad was completed in AY 1030, or 1661 CE (Hintze 2012a: 248).

²⁴⁷ According to its Persian colophon, the manuscript was completed in AY 925, or 1556 CE (Hintze 2012a: 247-248).

²⁴⁸ An undated manuscript without the colophon (Hintze 2012a: 250).

²⁴⁹ The year of the completion is illegible (Hintze 2012a: 250).

is not fixed among the manuscripts writing it.

2) While the sentence seems not to be an integral part of the Avestan original, a detailed description of the meeting of Zardušt and Mihr is attested in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, corresponding to the Avestan phrase. As regards the Pahlavi version, the long commentary of Y 9.1 shows the features of proliferativity which is the scholastic intention to include inconsistent texts.²⁵⁰

Therefore, following the base text K5, the Avestan phrase is not employed in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 in the present edition. However, as it seems that the phrase corresponds to *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* and *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* which are part of the commentary section occurring after the Pahlavi translation *kē mard hē*, it is placed at the end of the Avestan version of Y 9.1c after *kō narə ahī*, in the brackets.

As far as the scholarly translations are concerned, reading *ziiāṭ*, Pirart (2004: 322) edits it as the compound *miθrō.ziiāṭ*. He interprets the form as the abl. sg. of *miθrō.ziiā*- “*qui prive Miθra (de la part sacrificielle)*”.²⁵¹ In his view, the second term of the compound is from the root *ziiā* “to damage”. Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 11) also translates *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštarəm* as “*loin de celui qui prive Miθra (de la part sacrificielle qui lui revient) á Zaraduštra*”.²⁵² Interpreting *Miθra* of IE **mei* “to exchange”, according to him, the Avestan sentence also means “*loin de celui qui fait dévier l’échange (que le ritual établit entre les mondes) á Zaraduštra*”²⁵³ (Pirart 2004: 59, fn. 11). He also compares *miθrō.ziiā*- with the same stem occurring in Yt 10.82:

Yt 10.82 *yeṅhe hazarəm yaoxštinəm*
fradaṅaṭ ahurō mazdā
baēuuarə dōiθranəm vīdōiθre
āṅā ābiiō dōiθrābiiō
aiβiiasca yaoxštibiiō
spasiieiti miθrō.ziiāṅ
miθrō.drujəmca ...

On whom Ahura Mazda a thousand perceptions,
 conferred
 (and) ten thousand eyes for seeing all-round,
 Then, because of these eyes
 and perceptions
 he spots the infringer of the

²⁵⁰ For proliferativity see Cabezón (1998: 5).

²⁵¹ “one who deprives *Miθra* (of the sacrificial share)”.

²⁵² “far from who deprives *Miθra* (of the sacrificial part which belonged to him) to *Zaraθuštra*”.

²⁵³ “far from who diverts the exchange (which the ritual establishes between the worlds) to *Zaraθuštra*”.

contract and the man false to the contract ...²⁵⁴

Apart from Yt 10.82, the compound *miθrō.ziiā-* also occurs in Y 61.2 as the infringer of contract:

Y 61.3 ... *hamistaiiaēca nižbərətaiiaēca*
miθrō.ziiqmca miθrō.drujəmca

... (we encourage Ahuna Vairiia, Asha Vahišta, Yeñhē Hātəm and Dahmā Āfritiš) to suppress and to carry away the one who infringes the contract and the one who is false to the contract.²⁵⁵

While *miθrō*° in *miθrō.ziiā-* is traditionally translated as “contract”,²⁵⁶ Pirart leaves the reason for his interpretation of *miθra-* as the ritual exchange between (the material and spiritual) worlds undiscussed. Furthermore, *miθrō.ziiā-* is not associated with *haōma-* in the Avesta. In addition, in both Y 61.2 and Yt 10.82, the compound *miθrō.ziiā-* appears together with *miθrō.druj-*. Such is not attested in Y 9.1. It should be noted that the closest phrase to the ritual exchange and the sacrificial share of Haōma occurs in Y 11.5:

Y 11.5 *yō məm taṭ draonō zināṭ vā*
trəfiāṭ vā apa vā yāsāiti
yaṭ mē daṭaṭ ahurō mazdā
aṣauua haṇ^vharəne maṭ
hizuuō hōiiūmaca dōiθrəm

Whoever damages,
steals or takes away from me the share
which the righteous Ahura Mazda gave to me, both jaws
with the tongue and the left eye.²⁵⁷

In the above passage, Haōma threatens those who do not give his sacrificial share, but unlike the suggested stem *miθrō.ziiā-*, the Avestan verb *zināṭ* “damages”, governing two accusatives namely *məm* and *draonō*, takes place without *miθra-*.

From a different point of view, *miθra-* can be interpreted as the nom. sg. of *miθra-* “(deity) Miθra” which agrees with the suggestions of Haug (1862: 177, fn. 1), Spiegel (1861: 52, fn. 3), Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1659) and Gershevitch (1967: 269, note 118³). While Haug

²⁵⁴ The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 112-113).

²⁵⁵ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: I, 212).

²⁵⁶ See *AirWb.* 1186; Gershevitch (1967: 113).

²⁵⁷ Edition and translation by Josephson (1997: 114).

(1862: 177, fn. 1) translates the Avestan sentence as “May Miθra favour Zaraθuštra”, he provides no explanation for his translation of the verb as “may favour”. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1659, fn. 2) associates *zaiiāṭ* with the root ²*zan* “to know”. It should be noted that the stem *zaiia-* cannot be attributed to the root ¹*zan* “to beget, to give birth” because there is no reference neither in the Avesta nor in other Zoroastrian texts that “Miθra was born to Zaraθuštra”. By contrast, Ahura Mazdā creates Miθra as the worthiest to be venerated:

Yt 10.1 *mraoṭ ahurō mazdā^ḥ spitamāi zaraθuštrāi*
āaṭ yaṭ miθrəm yim vouru.gaoiiaoiṭīm frādadəm
azəm spitama āaṭ dim dadəm
avāntəm yesniata avāntəm vahmiiata
yaθa maṃciṭ yim ahurəm mazdəm

Said Ahura Mazdā to Zaraθuštra the Spitamid:
 ‘When I created grass-land magnate Mithra,
 O Spitamid! I made him such in worthiness to be worshiped and prayed
 to as myself, Ahura Mazdā’.²⁵⁸

Although Bartholomae analyses the verb, he does not translate the phrase but Gershevitch (1967: 269, note 118³) interprets the sentence as the active “Miθra knew Zaraθuštra”. However, apart from *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, in other occurrences, the transitive present stem of ²*zan* is formed through the attachment of the ending *nā-/n-* to the root *zan* (Kellens 1984: 179). Therefore, *zaiia-* should carry a different meaning from that of the transitive present stems *zanā-/zan-*. It is possible that *zaiia-* is the passive stem from the same root in the zero grade, to which the suffix *-iia-* is attached. Similarly, its passive counterpart *zaiia-* “to be born” from the homonymous root ¹*zan* “to beget, give birth” is well attested in the Avesta (*AirWb.* 1657-1658). Regarding the active ending *-ṭ*, it should be noted that the passive forms take both active and middle endings. The active ones especially appear in the 3rd sg. subjunctive (Kellens 1984: 129). For example:

Yt. 13. 50. *kahmāi nō taṭ dāθrəm daiiāṭ*
yaṭ hē aṇhaṭ x^vairiiṇ ajiiamnəm
yauuaēca yauuaētātaēca

To which of us will be given such an offering
 which, while being eaten, will be undiminishable to him
 for ever and ever²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 74-75).

²⁵⁹ Edition and translation by Hintze (2009b: 114).

In addition, although from the IE **ǵnh₃-je/o-*²⁶⁰, the passive stem **zāiia-* is expected, the shortening of *-āiia-* > *-aiia-* occurs in the Avesta.²⁶¹ The subjunctive mode is also characterised by the lengthened *-a-* in *zaiiāt* which denote the meaning “should be known”.

The interpretation of *miθra-* as the deity Miθra and *zaiiāt* as “should be known” also agrees with the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 which is about the meeting of Zardušt with both Hōm and Mihr. According to its Pahlavi version, *mihrō upāit zardušt* “Mihr approached Zardušt”. Then, the text continues, explaining how Zardušt knew Mihr:

Y 9.1P *mihrō upāit zardušt*
ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt
ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād
u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd
hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd
u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād
kū har dō ōh resēnd
ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd

“Mihr approached Zardušt”

It is clear that he knew him

since he had been with more Yazds at that time
 and the Yazd was more known to him.

That is: He knew this chapter by heart
 and because of his desire, he spoke with Hōm.

There is one who says thus: Yes, Ohrmazd had said
 that: ‘They both arrive in the usual way

(and) when he (Hōm) had come (to Zardušt), then he knows Mihr].”

The occurrence of the name of the deity Miθra in the context of Y 9.1 could be seen in connection with god’s exercising jurisdiction over the ceremonies performed at the morning time (Boyce 1969: 27). For example:

DkM. 793.13-15. *ud gāh ī yazišn ī mihr ī frāx gōyōd ud rāmišn xwārom mēnōy*
abērtar pad hāwan radīh

And the time of the worship of Mihr of wide pastures, and of the spirit of the
 pleasure of eating is mostly in the morning watch.²⁶²

Furthermore, the occurrence of the name of Mihr at the beginning of the Pahlavi version

²⁶⁰ For the IE root see *IEW*. 376 and Beekes (1973: 147).

²⁶¹ See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 58, §24); de Vaan (2003: 147-149); Hintze (2014: 22); Martinez & de Vaan (2014: 11).

²⁶² My translation.

of the Hōm Yašt, when Hōm approaches Zardušt at the morning time, suggests a relation between Mihr and Hōm. Their coincidence could be explained through common features they share such as being strong, victorious and mighty smashers of the evil.²⁶³ Apart from the Hōm Yašt, the term Miθra appears together with Haōma in the Mihr Yašt where Haōma worships the god:

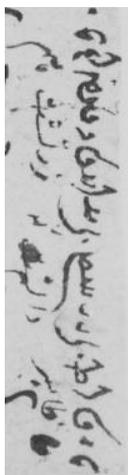
Yt. 10.88. *miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitīm...jayauruuāñhəm*
yim yazata haōmō
frāmšiš baēšaziō srīrō
xšaθriiō zairidōiθrō
barəzište paiti barəzahi
haraiθiiō paiti barəzaiiā...

Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship...
 whom glowing Haōma
 the healer, beautiful,
 majestic and golden-eyed
 worshipped on the highest peak
 of Harā the high...²⁶⁴

The name of Zaraθuštra also occurs together with Miθra, where Zaraθuštra is seen invoking Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and Sraoša (Vd 19.15). In conclusion, the examined evidence favours *zaiiāi* as the 3rd sg. of the passive stem *zaiia-* in the subjunctive mode. It also agrees with the reading of YIndS B3, the oldest Sāde manuscript at our disposal.

By contrast, the New Persian commentaries, attested in YIrP Pt4, T6 and F2, interpret the Avestan phrase in a different way:

Figure 17. YIrP P4 (fol 54r).



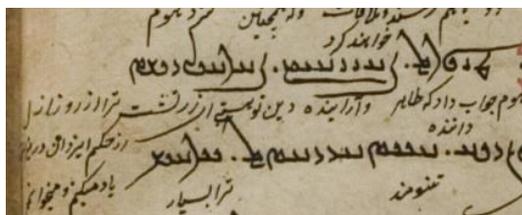
²⁶³ For a comparison between Haōma and Miθra see Boyce (1970: 80).

²⁶⁴ The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 114-115).

Pt4 fol. 54r marg. *zāhir dānam ka zartušt ham*

I obviously know that I am Zartušt.²⁶⁵

Figure 18. YIrP T6 (fol. 43v line 5-6).

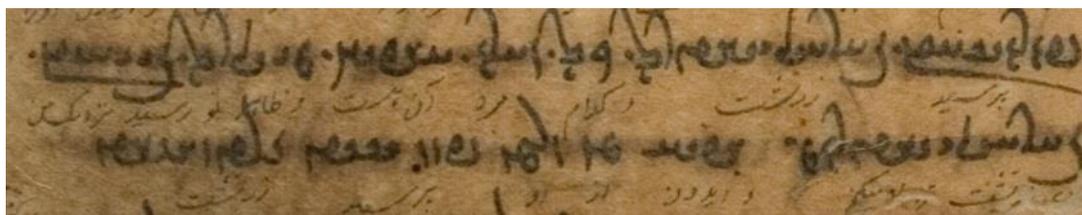


T6 fol. 43v line 5 *hōm javāb dād ka zāhir dānanda-u ārāyanda-yī dēn tō hastē ay zartušt*
 Fol. 43v marg. *tō-rā az rōz ī azal az hokm ī īzadān dar yašt? yād mē-kunam-u mi-xvānam*

Fol. 43v line 5 Hōm answered that obviously, you are who knows and adorns the Religion, O Zartušt!

Fol. 43v marg. I remember and recite you from the beginning in the Yašt according to the order of Yazds.²⁶⁶

Figure 19. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 11-12).



F2 (fol. 51r line 11) *va zāhir nō rasīd nazdīk-ī man*

Fol. 51r line 12 ? *zartušt ? mē-kunam*

Fol. 51r line 11 and it is obvious that he approached me fresh.

Fol 51r line 12 ? I perform ? Zartušt.²⁶⁷

The different New Persian translations show that no consensus existed among the scribes about the meaning of the Avestan phrase. However, of the three New Persian versions quoted above, that of Pt4 is the closest to the meaning of the Avestan phrase, suggested in the present edition, but the 1st sg. ending *-am* in *danam* “I know” and the verb *ham* “I am” have no counterpart in the Avestan phrase. In addition, in all of the New Persian translations, Av. *miθrō* is left untranslated.

²⁶⁵ My translation.

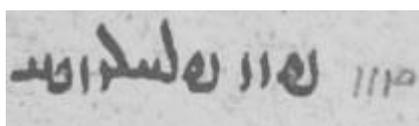
²⁶⁶ My translation.

²⁶⁷ My translation.

13) Line 25 Y9.1dP *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* “That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal”

Phl. *tan*, in *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* is absent in YIrP Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b. In Pt4, although it is absent in the main text, it appears in the right margin written down by pale letters:

Figure 20. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 3).



The absence of Phl. *tan* “body” describing *gyān* “life”, agrees with one of the features of the corrected manuscripts according to which some commentaries or glosses are shortened or omitted if they seemed to be unnecessary.²⁶⁸ In the present edition with the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *tan* is employed.

Furthermore, in YIrPs Pt4 (in marg.) Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b, the adverb *ā* “then” appears after *frārōnīh* in *hād gyān pad frārōnīh (ā) amarg kard ēstēd* in contrast to YIrP F2 and YIndPs in which the adverb *ā* is unattested. Although the adverb *ā* “then” is usually attached to an enclitic pronoun, it can also occur alone. For example:

ŠNŠ 2.20 *ka-š nasāy-ē az bērōn pad xumb-ē abāz ēstēd kē-š may andar ā xumb rēman may pāk*

If a carrion stands from outside on a jug in which is wine, then, is the jug impure (and) wine pure.²⁶⁹

As far as editorial judgement is concerned, the text is semantically meaningful with and without the adverb but in agreement with the old YIndP J2 and K5, *ā* is omitted in the present edition.

14) Line 28 Y 9.1dP 28 *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* “as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal”

The Pahlavi phrase *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* appears in the following context:

²⁶⁸ For correction see section 3.1.

²⁶⁹ My translation.

*hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd
nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud
u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād
tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*

That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,
not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam
and they, bodily, had become immortal,
as far as apart from (one's) body, everybody is immortal.

The meaning of *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* shows a break from its preceding *nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād* according to which everybody's body became immortal by eating the meat provided by Jam. Probably, *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* denotes that after the period of immortality although *tan* "body" became mortal, other faculties of human were remained immortal.²⁷⁰ According to Y 26.4 (=Yt 13.149), at least five immortal elements namely *ahu-* "vital strength", *daēnā-* "vision", *baodah-* "perception", *uruuan-* "soul" and *frauuaši-* "choice" can be enumerated. The reason of their immortality is that those of the deceased first teachers, hearers and righteous men and women are worshipped in the stanza.²⁷¹

15) Line 29 Y 9.1dP *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* "The pillars of life are non-removable"

In all of the collated manuscripts, the Avestan phrase *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* is attested unanimously following the Pahlavi commentary *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* "as far as apart from (one's) body, everybody is immortal". Regarding *stūna*, due to the existence of both *stūnā-* f. and *stūna-* m. meaning "pillar" (*AirWb.* 1608), it is either nom. sg. of the former or inst./voc. sg. or nom. pl. of *stūna-* masculine. For example, translating the phrase as "O imperishable pillar of life", Haug (1862: 177 and 177, fn. 2) interprets *stuna* as the voc. sg. declension of *stūna-*:

*yim azəm vīspahe aṅhəuš
astuuatō sraēštəm dādarəsa
x^vahe gaiiehe x^vanuuatō aməšahe
[amərəza gaiiehe stūna]*

Who appearest to me

²⁷⁰ The period of immortality is considered as 300 and 150 years by MX 61.18 and the Pahlavi version of Vd. 2.41, respectively. For Jam See Skjærø (2012: 501-522).

²⁷¹ For human faculties in Zoroastrianism see Shaked (1994: 141-145).

The finest in the whole material world,
 having such a brilliant, immortal form of your own
 [O imperishable pillar of life]

However, Haug's association with the Avestan original is problematic because the function of the Avestan quotation in the Pahlavi version is to substantiate the Pahlavi translation or commentary. For example:

Vd 1.18P. *pānzdahom az gyāgān ud rōstāgān ā-m pahlom frāz brēhēnīd*
man kē ohrmazd ham
kē haft hindūgān
[u-š haft hindūgān ēd kū
sar xwadāy haft ast
ēd-iz. nē gōwam kū haft rōd
čē ān az abestāg paydāg
haca ušastara hiṇduua auui daošatarəm hiṇdūm
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
har kišwar-ē ēk ast] ...

Then, I fashioned forth the fifteenth of places and settlements as the best,
 I who am Ohrmazd,
 which is Haft-Hindūgān.
 [And being Haft-Hindūgān is this
 (the number) of chiefs is seven.
 This is also I do not say that it has Seven-Rivers.
 For, that is known from the Avesta:
From the down-side river to the evening-side river.
 There is one who says:
 One (chief) is for each region] ...²⁷²

Therefore, according to the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, it seems that *stūnā*- “pillar” should be related to *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*. As discussed in Y 9.1 commentary 14, the Pahlavi phrase denotes that after the period of immortality although *tan* “body” became mortal, the other faculties of human were remained immortal. As a result, *stūna* is taken as the nom. pl. of *stūna*- m. “pillar” in the context of Y 9.1.

While *gaiiehe* is obviously gen. sg. of *gaiia*- “life”, the meaning of *aməṛəza* is debated. Haug (1862: 177, fn. 2) translates it as “imperishable”. Although Haug does not explain his translation, it should probably be similar to Bartholomae's explanation as discussed below. By contrast, Darmesteter (1898: 258) translates *aməṛəza* and the phrase by conjecture as “marrowless” and “the column of life [made] marrowless”, respectively, but he adds no

²⁷² The text is after Moazami (2014: 40, 41 and 41 fn. 3).

comment to his translation. He also leaves the reason of the incorporation of the verb “made” into his translation undiscussed. In addition, as mentioned by Davar (1904: 39, fn. 4⁷), the meaning does not fit the context. Reading *amərəza* as *amərəca*, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 143) interprets *amərəca* as nom. pl. of *amərak-* “indestructible”. However, his suggestion is unlikely because *amərəca* is absent in manuscripts. Furthermore, *k^h* in IE. **melk^h* > Av. *marək* only develops to either /k/ or its allophone [c] before the front vowel *e* or *i* in Avestan.²⁷³ The phrase is left untranslated in Mills’s (1903c: 315) work. Translating *amərəza* as “unsustained”, Davar (1904: 29 and 29, fn. 4⁷) compares the phrase with Yt 10.71 *mərəzuca stūnō gaiiehe* in which *mərəzu-* is rendered by him as “stain, filth”. He also compares *amərəza* with the Pahlavi interpretation of *mərəzu-*, or *āhōg* “sin, defect” (Davar’s translation), in the compound *mərəzu.jīti-*, occurring in Vd. 19.26 and 29. In contrast to Davar’s suggestion, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1174), interprets *mərəzu-* in the context of Yt 10.71 as “vertebra; neck and back” (*AirWb.* 1173-1174). The meaning of *mərəzu-* as “vertebra” is also confirmed by Henning (1942a: 242). Likewise, Gershevitch (1967: 106-107) translates Yt 10.71 *yauuata aēm nijaiṇti mərəzuča stūnō gaiiehe mərəzuča xā uštānahe* as “until he smashed even the vertebrae, the pillars of life even the vertebrae, the springs of vitality”:

Yt 10.71. *yō frąštacō hamərəθāda*
upa.haxtō ā.mananḥa
haθra nairiia ḥam.varəta
stija nijainti hamərəθā
naēda maniiete jaṇvā
naēda cim xənqm sadaiieiti
yauuata aēm nijaiṇti
mərəzuca stūnō gaiiehe
mərəzuca xā uštānahe

as he (= Vərəθraṇna = boar) catches up with the opponent(s)
beset by passion,
simultaneously by manly valour,
he knocks them (lit. opponents) down with a toss (of his head).
He does not even think he has struck,
nor has he the impression he is hitting anybody,
until he has smashed
even the vertebrae, the pillars of life
even the vertebrae, the springs of vitality.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 100); For the IE root see *LIV.* 434-435.

²⁷⁴ The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 106-107).

Like Davar, Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 16) compares the phrase of Y 9.1 with that of Yt 10.71. Leaving the phrase untranslated, he only discusses it briefly in the footnotes. However, Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 16) rightly points out that it is difficult to connect *mərəzu-* with *amərəza*. The reason is that the development of *u-* stems to words ending in *alif*, or *ʿ*, only occurs in Middle Iranian. Such developments, for example Av. *nasu-* > Phl. *nasā*, should be sought in the lengthened *-ā-*, found in the declension of *u-* stems like nom. pl. *nasāuuō* rather than a shift from *u-* to *a-* stems.²⁷⁵ Therefore, the development of Av. *mərəzu-* > Av. *mərəza* is unlikely.

There are also other factors which cast doubt on the semantic relation between two phrases attested in Y 9.1 and Yt 10.71. For example, *stūnō* in Yt 10.71 is acc. pl. of *stun-*, related to the preceding verb *nijaiṅti*.²⁷⁶ By contrast, as mentioned above, *stūna* is either nom. sg. of its feminine stem or inst./voc. sg. or nom. pl. of *stūna-* masculine. Furthermore, in contrast to *mərəzu* in Yt 10.71, *amərəza* is negated by the negation prefix *a* and if it is associated with *mərəzu-*, its meaning “invertebrate, without vertebra, or non-neck” would be semantically problematic. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is only the lexical resemblance between *amərəza* and *mərəzu*.

While relating *amərəza* to *mərəzu-* is unlikely, the plausible stem with which *amərəza* can be associated is *amərəzā-*. Considering the suggested stem, *amərəzā-* would be a hapax legomenon of the root *marəz* to which the negation suffix *a* and the primary suffix *a-* are attached. The formation follows the Indo-Iranian word formation rule according to which the zero grade of *a-* stems, making adjective, occurs mainly in roots with the short or long vowels *i*, *u*, *r* (*AiGr.* II 2, 69, §22-22a). However, it should be noted that although such formations in zero grade often denote the sense of either an agent noun or a present participle (*AiGr.* II 2, 69-73, §22b), in the context of Y 9.1, as translated by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 143) and Haug (1862: 177, fn. 2), it should be interpreted as an adjective denoting capability.

One of the meanings of IE **h₂merǵ* > AV *marəz* is “to touch, to rub”²⁷⁷ but from the semantic point of view, *amərəza-* from the root *marəz* “to touch, to rub” is problematic. The reason is that *amərəza gaiiehe stuna* means “the pillars of life are non-touchable”. Moreover, the verbal stem *marəza-* in Yt 10.95 and Yt 14.21 means “to sweep across”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ For a discussion on the development of OIr. *-a-* stems to Mlr *-a* see (Gershevitch 1967: 221, §71⁶).

²⁷⁶ See *AirWb.* 143, 1608; Gershevitch (1967: 107).

²⁷⁷ See *AirWb.* 1152-1153; *EWAia.* 324-326; Cheung (2007: 180-182); *LIV.* 280-281.

²⁷⁸ For Yt 10.95 see Gershevitch 1967: 120-121. In Yt 14.21, *Vərəθraṅna* sweeps across the canyons of mountains, (he) sweeps across the summits of mountains, (he) sweeps across the depths of valleys, (he) sweeps across the tops of plants.

which again disagrees semantically with the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1. The other possibility is to consider another meaning of IE **h₂merǵ*, or “to wipe (off), to clean, to pick”, which appears for example in Ved. *mārṣṭi* “s/he wipes, s/he cleans”, Oss. *mærzyn/mærzun* “to wipe, to clean”, Kurd. Sor. *mālīn/māl* “to wipe off” or Gr. ἀμέργω “I pick”.²⁷⁹ It seems that the semantic component of “to remove (something by touching or scrubbing)” is present in all uses of this verb. Furthermore, the meaning “to remove” is also corroborated by the corresponding Sanskrit root *marj* which can also means “to sweep away, to remove” (McDonnell 1893: 233). With this interpretation, *amərəza-* in the context of the last Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.1 means as follows:

hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd
nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud
u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād
tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg
amərəza gaiiehe stūna
tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg
amərəza gaiiehe stūna

That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,
 not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam
 and they, bodily, had become immortal,
 as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal,
[The pillars of life are non-removable].

In association with the preceding Pahlavi commentary, it denotes metaphorically that although the *gyān* “life” of people became mortal after committing the offence of eating the meat provided by Jam, it is impossible to take the other faculties. Therefore, since the translation of *amərəza* as “non-removable” rather than “non-touchable” better fits the context of Y 9.1, the former is chosen in the present edition.

As far as the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan phrase is concerned, it is left untranslated in the manuscripts with the exception of the G14, T6 and F2 in which *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* is followed by the Pahlavi translation and commentary *amarg kard jān [ī xwēš rāy] pad stāyišn [ī ohrmazd]* “he made [his] life immortal by praising [Ohrmazd]”. It is evident that because of the postposition *rāy*, expressing the object of the sentence in New Persian,²⁸⁰ the Pahlavi phrase is late. Furthermore, *amərəza* and *stūna* are misinterpreted as *amarg*

²⁷⁹ See *EWAia*. 324-326; Cheung (2007: 180-182); *LIV*. 280-281.

²⁸⁰ For *rāy* in Middle Persian see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753); Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34).

“immortal” and *stāyišn* “praising”, respectively. In F2 (fol 51v line 15) and T6 (fol. 43v line 13), the following interlinear New Persian translation of the Pahlavi phrase is also provided:

وبی‌مرگ کردی (کرده: F2) جان خویش را از ستایش کرد (کردن: F2) هورمزد
va bē marg kardē (karda) jān xvēš rā az stāyišn kard (kardan) hormazd

and made your life (F2 his life) immortal because of worshipping Ohrmazd.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ My translation.

4.2 Y 9.2

1 (Y 9.2aA) *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*
2 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
3 (Y 9.2bA) *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra*
4 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
5 (Y 9.2cA) *ā mąm yāsaṅ^vha spitama*
6 *frā mąm hunauuaṅ^vha x^varətāē*
7 (Y 9.2dA) *aoi mąm staomaine stūiḍi*
8 *yaθa mā aparaciṭ*
9 *saošiantō stauuqṇ*

1 (Y 9.2aA) Thereupon answered me,
2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:
3 (Y 9.2bA) ‘I am, O Zaraθuštra,
4 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult.
5 (Y 9.2cA) Hold me, O Spitama,
6 press me out for drinking.
7 (Y 9.2dA) Praise me for praising,
8 like subsequent
9 saviours will praise me.

1 (Y 9.2aP) *ō man ōy passōx guft*
2 *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*
3 [*hād dūrōšīh ēd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōmān dūr darēd*
4 *rōšn guft*
5 *hād aōšīh pad hōm bawēd*]
6 (Y 9.2bP) *an ham zardušt*
7 *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*
8 (Y 9.2cP) *ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn [xwaišn rāy be hun]*
9 (Y 9.2dP) *abar man pad stāyišn stāy [andar yazišn]*
10 *čiyōn man pas-iz*
11 *sūdōmand stāyēnd [ā-š ān ī tō tō rāy]*

1 (Y 9.2aP) He answered me¹
2 the righteous Hōm who averts perdition²,
3 [that means: Averting perdition is this that he keeps perdition far from the soul of men.
4 Rōšn said,
5 ‘that is³ that imperishableness is through Hōm’],
6 (Y 9.2bP) ‘I am, O Zardušt,
7 the righteous Hōm who averts perdition⁴.
8 (Y 9.2cP) That means that press me for drinking, [for drinking, press me].⁵
9 (Y 9.2dP) Praise me in the worship [in the Yasna ceremony⁶]
10-11 like the saviour will praise me after this. [Then, that is thine, for thee].

1) Line 1 Y 9.2aP *ō man ōy passōx guft* “He answered me”

While *ōy*, corresponding to Av. *aēm*, is absent in YIndP K5 and M1, it appears after *man* in the K5 sister manuscript, or J2, and YIrPs. Although it is absent in the base text K5, in agreement with the Pahlavi word-for-word translation technique of the Avestan original, *ōy* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

2) Line 2 Y 9.2aP Phl. *dūrōš* “who averts perdition”

Interpreting Av. *dūraoša-* as “who averts perdition”, the Pahlavi commentators associated *dūr*^o with Phl. *dūr* “far”:

Y 9.2a ... *dūrōših ēd kū ōš az ruwān mardōmān dūr dārēd...*

...The concept of *dūrōš* is that he keeps perdition far from the soul of men...

As the cognate of the Ved. *duróša-*, the Avestan word appears once in the Gāθās (Y 32.14) but its association with Haōma is uncertain.²⁸² By contrast, in the Hōm Yašt, it is obviously the epithet of Haōma. Bartholomae translates it as “*dem das Verderben fern bleibt, der es fern hält, Todwehrer*” (*AirWb.* 751-752). Bartholomae’s interpretation entails that the first syllable of Av. *dūraoša-* is Av. *dūra-* adj. (= Ved. *dūrá-*) ‘far’. Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part II, 130) accept this interpretation and argue that the short vowel, /u/ in the Sanskrit word *duróša-*, is the result of popular etymology. As a result, they translate it as “averting perdition” which is similar to the interpretation of the Pahlavi commentators. The problem is that while in the Sāde and Pahlavi manuscripts, short and long vowels are frequently confused, the vowel quantity is usually faithfully preserved in the Vedic sources (Hoffmann 1987: 51).

According to another explanation suggested by Gershevitch (1974: 45-76), the first element of the compound is to be compared with the Baluchi word *dōr* “pain”. Therefore, the compound would mean “pain-killer”, whereby *dōr* would function as the object of *aoša* “killing, destroying”. Reconstructing the first element as **dūra-*, Bailey (1936: 95-97) suggests that it is derived from *dvar* “to run” according to which *dūraoša-* means “from whom destruction flees”. However, *dūraošəm* is trisyllabic in the Gāθās and with all of the

²⁸² For a discussion on *dūraoša-* in Y 32.14, see section 1.2.

mentioned suggestions, *dura* ^ʹ(*a*)*ušəm* would be tetrasyllabic.²⁸³ Bailey (1957: 41-59) also argues that /u/ in *dūra* was lengthened because of the confusion between the short and long quantities /u/ and /ū/. He suggests that the word comes from the verbal base *dur-* “to pierce” attached to the double suffix Old Iranian **auša-* (Av. *aoša-*; Skt. *ṣa-*) meaning “pungent, sour, pained, causing pain”. As a parallel example of the suffix *auša-* in the Iranian languages, he refers to Khot. *-ūš*, however, the existence of the Khotanese suffix was questioned by Degener (1989: 182) according to whom it may have been extracted from one or two words which happened to end in this sequence of sounds. The quantity of /r/ in *dur* can also be compared with the Sandhi variant *dur* from Ir. **dus* in Vedic. However, this is not found in Avestan, where we only have the variants *duš* and *duž*.²⁸⁴ According to Hoffmann (cited in Humbach 1957: 300), the form *dūraoša-* results by dissimilation of **duž-auša-*. It should be noted that although a Sandhi variant *dur* is not found elsewhere in Avestan, it could in fact be attested in Middle Iranian: cf. Bactrian *λρουμνο*, *δρουμνο*, *δδρουμνο* [*drumin*] noun “enemy” < **duš-manyu-*, Av. *dušmainiu-* (Gershevitch, 1979: 65 note a), where Gershevitch considers Indian influence: ‘the fact that in Indian the prefix regularly is *dur* may also have played a part’. The variant *dur* could also be present in Manichaean Bactrian *drwfr* [*drufarr*] adj. “unfortunate” (prefix *drw-* “bad” = *λρoυ-*, *δρoυ-* in *λρoυμνο*, *δρoυμνο* “enemy”, cf. Parthian *dwšfr* ‘unfortunate’) (Sims-Williams 2009: 245-268) and *λρoυμνο/δρoυμνο* “enemy” < *dur* + $\sqrt{\text{man}}$ (Sims-Williams 2007: 83). Therefore, it seems that associating *dūr* with Ir. **dus* is less problematic than the other interpretations, discussed above.

The second element *aoša-* has usually been translated by scholars as “death” or more specifically “destruction by fire”.²⁸⁵ Therefore, deriving the compound from Ir. **dus-auša-*, the Avestan term *dūraoša-* is translated as “whose destruction is difficult” in the present edition.

3) Line 5 Y 9.2aP *hād* “that is”

In YIndP J2, *hād* is replaced by *ay* “that is”. Although both readings are semantically meaningful, in agreement with the base text K5, *hād* is employed in the present edition.

²⁸³ See Kellens (1996: 595-596); Kellens & Pirart (1990: 260). Unlike Kellens & Pirart who count the syllables of the stem, the declined form *dūraošəm* is attested in the present commentary. The reason is that stems never occur in the texts.

²⁸⁴ See Humbach (1957: 300).

²⁸⁵ See Humbach (1957: 300); Kellens (1996: 595-596).

4) Line 6-7 Y 9.2bP *an ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš* “I am, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition”

In Y 9.2, Av. *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra haōmō ašauua dūraošō* “I am, O Zaraθuštra, Haōma whose destruction is difficult” is translated as follows in the manuscripts:

YIrP Pt4, G14, Mf4, F2, T6, T55b:

an (‘NH)²⁸⁶ *ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*

I am, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition.

YIndP J2, K5, M1:

hōm (HWM)²⁸⁷ *ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*

(I) am Hōm, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition

Dhabar (1949: 56) edits in agreement with the Iranian manuscripts, but Davar (1904: 16), Josephson (1997: 29) and Mill (1900: 519) choose the second reading. Josephson (1997: 162) compares it with Y 11.7 in which *hōm* is repeated:

Y 11.7 *ān ī ān hōm sūr [kū hōm drōn be paydāgēn]*

“about the meal of Hōm’s [Reveal Hōm’s share]”

However, the difference between the text of Y 9.2 and that of Y 11.7 is that while *an/hōm* in the former corresponds to Av. *azəm*, the repeated *hōm* in Y 11.7 occurs in the commentary. Josephson also suggests that the repeating style has parallels in Y 10.3-5 in which Phl. *rust estē* translates Y 10.3 Av. *urūdušuuā*; Y10.4 Av. *raodahe* and Y 10.5 Av. *raose*. Furthermore, the past tense is repeated in Y 10.10-12:

Y 9.10 Phl. *be dād hē* translating Av. *nidaθat*

Y 9.11 Phl. *be burd hē* translating Av. *vibarən*

Y 9.12 Phl. *be rust hē* translating Av. *viraodahe*²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ For example: Pt4 (fol. 54v line 11)



²⁸⁷ For example: K5 (fol. 60v line 13)



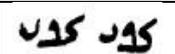
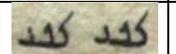
²⁸⁸ For the Avestan and Pahlavi texts and their English translations see Josephson (1997: 91-94).

However, the examples of the repeating style in the Pahlavi translation of Y 10 are correct cognates of the Avestan original although the grammatical features of their corresponding Avestan words are expressed incorrectly. By contrast, in the Indian manuscripts, Av. *azəm* is left untranslated in Y 9.2. Elsewhere in the same publication, Josephson (1997: 153) correctly argues that Pahlavi translators' first goal was to translate the original Avestan text by employing the closest corresponding Pahlavi word and to maintain the word order of the Avesta. Furthermore, her analysis of the Pahlavi translation of the Hōm Yašt shows that while mistranslations of the Avestan grammatical forms are common in the Pahlavi version, there is no consistent erroneous translation of the Avestan words (Josephson 1997: 164). Therefore, since the first Avestan word is the nominative personal pronoun *azəm* "I", the corresponding Pahlavi word must be a translation of it. As a result, in the present edition the reading *'NH* is favoured over *hwm*. The reading of the Indian sister manuscripts J2, K5 and M1, closely related to K5, could be due to the misinterpretation of 𐭪𐭫𐭮 as 𐭪𐭫𐭮.

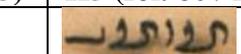
5) Line 8 Y 9.2cP *ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn [xwarišn rāy bē hun]* "That means that press (me) for drinking, for drinking [press me]".

In what follows the manuscripts spellings of the suggested reading *an ī any* in the present edition are shown:

a) Y IrP:

Pt4 (fol. 54v line 14)	Mf4 (p. 147 line 10)	G14 (fol. 53r line 4)	F2 (fol. 53r line 4)	T6 (fol. 44r line 8)	T55b (fol. 69r line 5)
					

b) Y IndP:

J2 (fol. 81r line 15)	K5 (fol. 60v line 15)	M1 (fol. 157r line 5-6)
		

The Pahlavi *ZK Y ZK Y* occurs with minor variations in YIrP T6 as *ZK ZK Y* and YIndP K5?, M1 as *ZK W ZK Y*. Regarding the spelling of K5? and its descendant M1, *ud* does not

fit the context of Y 9.2 from the semantic point of view:

*hōm*²⁸⁹ *ham zardušt*
hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš
ān ud

‘(I) am Hōm, O Zardušt,
 the righteous Hōm who averts perdition,
 that and/that means and.

As regards the reading of YIrP T6, it is a late manuscript of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line and the descendant of G14. Therefore, it is not as important as Pt4, Mf4 and G14 in editorial judgements. Therefore, in the present edition, in agreement with the reading of J2 (sister manuscript of the base text) and YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14 and F2, *ZK Y* is employed.²⁹⁰ This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

As far as the reading of *ZK Y ZK Y* in *ZK Y ZK Y man hun ō xwarišn [xwarišn rāy be hun]* is concerned, the first *ZK Y* should be read as *ān ī* “that is that” or “that means”, introducing the new commentary. As far as the transcription of the second *ZK Y* is concerned, it should be noted that in addition to *ān ī*, it can also as the heterogram *ZK-ȳ* (*any*) replace *’H̄RN-ȳ* (*any*) in the manuscripts.²⁹¹ In combination with pronouns, *any* implies ‘a partly distinctive, partly emphasising sense’ (Nyberg 1974: 16). For example:

DkM. 604.7-8. *ohrmazd tō dānē any amahraspand hēm ...*
 (Ohrmazd) thou knowst that we are (only) Amahraspands ...²⁹²

The formula *any man* has also a parallel in the following early Jewish New Persian fragment from Dandān-Uiliq:

čōn any man pa tō u-m(ard) darum yakē kā(r)

²⁸⁹ For *hōm* see Y 9.2 commentary 4 *an ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*.

²⁹⁰ In the editions, Mills (1900: 519) gives *ZK Y ZK Y* (*ān ī ān ī*), Davar (194: 16) edits *ZK ZK Y* (*ān ān ī*). However, as mentioned above, *ān ān ī* is only attested in the late YIrP T6 manuscript which was not at Davar’s disposal. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 42-43), omitting one *ZK Y*, edits it as *ān ī man* “mine” according to which *ān* and *man* translate the Avestan preverb *ā* and the accusative pronoun *maq̄m*: *ān ī man xwāhēd spitāmān [ō xwarišn rāy] be hun* “Fetch that which is mine, O Spitama, extract [me] for drinking”. It is obvious that Josephson’s reconstruction has no parallel in the manuscripts.

²⁹¹ For the reading of *ZK Y* as *any* in Pahlavi language see Salemann (*GlrPh* I/1, 294).

²⁹² My translation.

As otherwise I to you, and I have a man, one work²⁹³

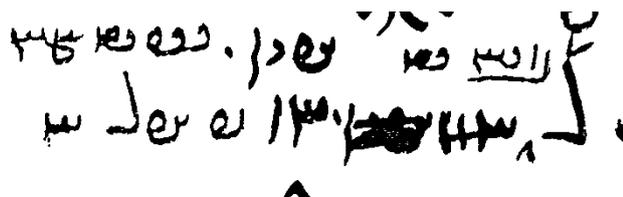
Therefore, the second heterogram is interpreted as *any* in the present edition. In addition, in YIrP Mf4?, G14, F2 and T6, the following commentary-translation appears after *ān ī any man (ō)*:

... [*kē tis-ē*] *xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* ...

... [for whom, (who) wants a thing], O Spitāmān and for my sake

In YIrP Mf4 the phrase appears corruptly in the text above the crossed out *hun hun* (in Avestan script) in p. 147 line 10, but *kē tis-ē* and the vocative particle *ay* “O” are absent and the reading of 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 in the margin is obscure:

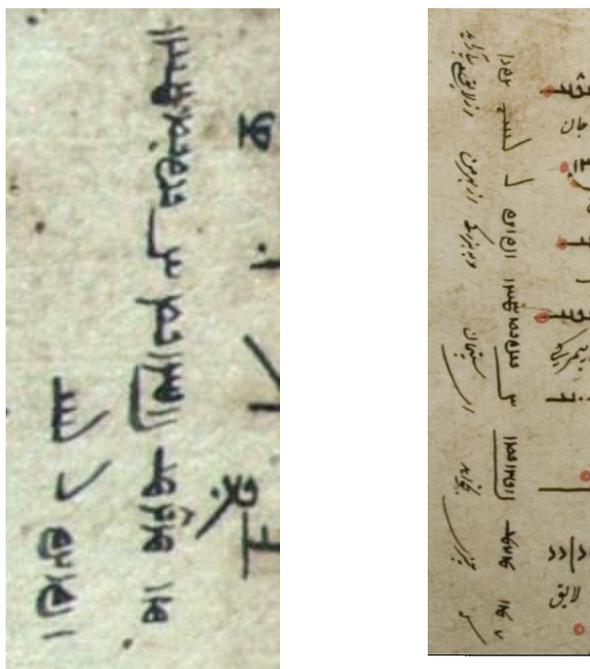
Figure 21. YIrP Mf4 (p. 147 lines 9-11).



In YIrP G14 and T6, the Pahlavi phrase [*kē tis-ē*] *xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* (T6 *hun*) occurs in the left margin of fol. 53r and fol. 44r, respectively:

²⁹³ See Utas (1968: 129-130).

Figure 22. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r); left: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r).



The marginal phrase is probably associated with *ān* (*ī*) *any man* *ō* in the main text by “^” in G14 (fol. 53r line 5) and “v” in T6 (fol. 44r line 8), corresponding to “v” in its margin, respectively:

Figure 23. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r line 5); right: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r line 8).

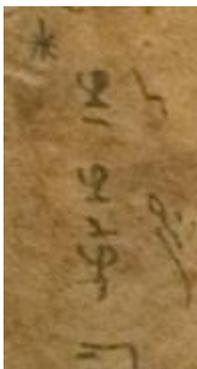


In F2, the phrase *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* is written by pale letters in the left margin of fol. 52r, marked by the asterisk (*). Likewise, its place in the text is probably marked by the same pale asterisk (*) in fol. 52r line 7 after *ān ī any man*:

Figure 24. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r. line 7).



Figure 25. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r). An asterisk appears at the beginning of *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*.



The Pahlavi *xwāhēd ay spitāmān* and *frāz man rāy* corresponds to Av. *ā ... yāsaŋ^vha spitama* and *frā maṃ*, respectively:

Y 9.2A *ā maṃ yāsaŋ^vha spitama*
frā maṃ hunauuaŋ^vha x^varətāē

YIrP Mf4? G14 F2 T6: Y 9.2P *ān ī any man [ō kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān*
ud frāz man rāy hun xwarišn xwaišn [rāy be hun]

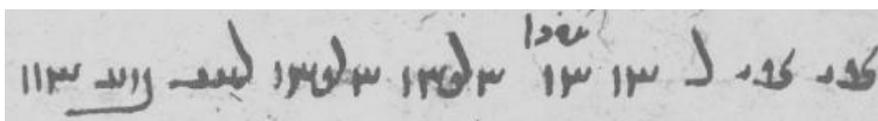
In addition, in the manuscripts G14, F2 and T6, *any man* “for me” is glossed by the commentary *kē tis-ē* “to whom (who wants) a thing”, following *man ō*.²⁹⁴ In the present edition, the mentioned commentary-translation is not employed. The reason is that they are absent in the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP Pt4 which is related to G14, T6.²⁹⁵ Moreover, with regard to Mf4, either the corresponding corrupt and incomplete text is added by a second hand after crossing out the previously written words *hun hun* or the scribe was uncertain about the authenticity of the Pahlavi translation-commentary or while he did not know it by heart, it was also absent in his source. It should also be noted that as discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the Pahlavi text of the YIrPs, especially that of G14 and T6 are corrected.

Omitting *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*, YIrP Pt4 and its closely related T55b write ‘w’ before *hwn* (*hun*):

²⁹⁴ As discussed, the reading of Mf4 is obscure.

²⁹⁵ See section 2.1.

Figure 26. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 14).



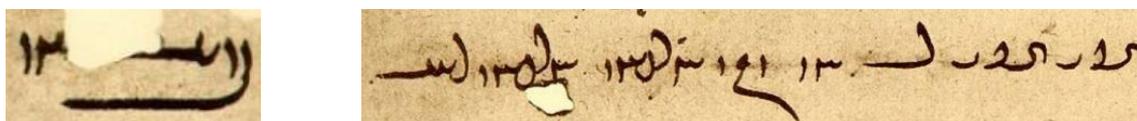
Pt4 Y 9.2. fol. 54v line 14. *ān ī any man ḡh ('w') hun (hun: Spuerscript) xwarišn xwarišn rāy be hun*

“That means, press me in the usual way, drinking, for drinking press me.

The Pahlavi reading *hun* “press” is confirmed by the superscript *hun* written in the Avestan script. Therefore, the preceding *'w'* should be considered as the particle *ḡh* “in the usual way” rather than the preposition *ḡ* “to” because while the occurrence of the preposition *ḡ* before *hun* is semantically meaningless and ungrammatical, *ḡh* always takes place before verbs.²⁹⁶

In YInd J2, the heterogram *KN* is preceded by the Pahlavi **𐭮𐭲** which can be transliterated as either *'w'* for the preposition *ḡ* or *hwn* for the 2nd ipt. *hun* “press”:

Figure 27. Right: YIndP J2 (fol. 81r line 15); left: YIndP J2 (fol. 81v line 1).



J2 Y 9.2 fol 81r line 15 *ān ī any man ḡ (or hun) ? KN xwarišn xwarišn rāy* fol 81v line 1 *be hun*

If the preceding word to *KN* (*ḡh?*) is considered as the verb *hwn* (*hun*), the occurrence of the particle *ḡh* after *hun* is unlikely. Moreover, if **𐭮𐭲** is transcribed as *ḡ*, the occurrence of *ḡ ? ḡh* is semantically meaningless. However, as a corrupt heterogram, *KN* can represent the preposition *ḡ*. The suggestion is supported by the reading of its sister manuscript YIndP K5 together with YIndP M1 in which *KN* is replaced by the heterogram *L* representing *ḡ*:

Figure 28. YIndP K5 (fol. 60v line 15).



²⁹⁶ For *ḡh* see Skjærvø (2010: 183).

K5. Y 9.2 fol. 60v line 15. *ān ī any man ō (or hun) ō xwarišn rāy bē hun*

Therefore, it is certain that according to K5, 𐬨𐬀 should be read as *hun* because while the meaningless sequence *ō ō* has no corresponding word in the Avestan original, *hun* renders imperative *hunauuaṇha* “press”. It should be noted that in J2, *KN*, corresponding to ‘L’ in K5, is written as 𐬨𐬀 rather than 𐬨𐬀. The first Pahlavi stroke (𐬨) could have been originally the final stroke of the preceding word *hwn’*. As a result, the Pahlavi sentence in YIndP J2, K5, M1 is transcribed as follows:

ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn xwarišn (deest K5 M1) rāy bē hun

That means, press me for drinking, press for drinking.

In conclusion, although the reading of the both YIrP (*ōh hun*) and IndYP (*hun ō*) can be adopted in the present edition, the reading of the Indian manuscripts, or *hun ō* is preferred because they represent the oldest collated manuscripts, written down before the eighteenth century during which the Pahlavi texts were corrected.²⁹⁷ Moreover, apart from YIndP K5 and M1 in which *xwarišn* appears once, in the other collated manuscripts, *xwarišn* is repeated.²⁹⁸

Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2: *xwarišn xwarišn rāy*

K5 M1: *xwarišn*

In the present edition, unlike the reading of the base text K5, *xwarišn* is repeated because it forms the repetition style with *ān ī any* in *ān ī any ... xwarišn xwarišn*. It should be noted that the repetition style has parallels in the Hōm Yašt (Josephson 1997: 162). Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the majority of manuscripts, especially J2 (the sister manuscript of K5), *xwarišn xwarišn* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

As far as the translation of the Avestan verb is concerned, Josephson (1997: 43) translates *ā ... yāsaṇ’ha* as “fetch” which is based on Bartholomae’s suggestion (*AirWb.*

²⁹⁷ See section 3.1.

²⁹⁸ The preliminary results show that IndPY M1 descends from IndPY K5.

1288-1289) of the preverb *ā* added to the root *yās* “to desire, to want”. However, Bartholomae’s suggestion of the verbal root *yās* has been challenged and it is widely accepted now that the present stem *ā ... yāsa-* is the inchoative formation of the root *yam* “to hold”.²⁹⁹ By contrast, the Pahlavi version of YIrP G14, F2 and T6 translates *ā ... yāsa* *yha* by *ān ī... xwāhed* according to which, as stated above, the preverb *ā* is represented by *ān ī* “that means” and *xwāstan* “to desire, to want” translates *yāsa-* “to hold”.

6) Line 9 Y 9.2dP *yazišn* “Yasna ceremony”

Instead of *yčšn* (*yazišn*), YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b write *ycšn* (*īzišn*) which shows the late? *ya-* > *ī-* development. Another similar example is the development of *yazd* to *īzad*.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ For Av. *yāsa-* see Kellens (1984: 157-158); Hintze (1994a: 254).

³⁰⁰ See Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 139, §252).

4.3 Y 9.3

- 1 (Y 9.3aA) *āaṭ aoxta zaraṭuštrō*
 2 *nəmō haōmāi*
 3 (Y 9.3bA) *kasə ʔwqm*
 4 *paoiriiō haōma mašiiō*
 5 *astuuaiʔiiāi hunūta gaēʔiiāi*
 6 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī*
 7 *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

- 1 (Y 9.3aA) Thereupon, Zaraṭuštra said:
 2 ‘Reverence to Haōma.
 3-5 (Y 9.3bA) Who, O Haōma, as the first mortal pressed you for the material creature?
 6 What reward was granted to him?
 7 What boon came to him?’

- 1 (Y 9.3aP) *u-š guft zardušt*
 2 *kū namāz ō hōm*
 3 (Y 9.3bP) *kē tō*
 4 *fradom hōm az mardōmān*
 5 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*
 6 *az ān tarsagāhīh kard*
 7 [*ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād*]
 8 *čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

- 1 (Y 9.3aP) and Zardušt said
 2 that: ‘Reverence to Hōm,¹
 3-5 (Y 9.3bP) who, as the first one, O Hōm, among men pressed you² in the material world³,
 6 from that respect was shown⁴
 7 [that goodness so that it will be mine],
 8 what prosperity came to him?’

1) Line 2 Y 9.3aP *kū namāz ō hōm* “that: Reverence to Hōm”

As regards the preposition *ō*, it expresses the Avestan dative case in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta. However, it is absent in the translation of dat. sg. *haōmāi* in YIrPs in which *hōm* occurs alone. By contrast, in YIndPs, Av. *haōmāi* is rendered by Phl. *ō hōm* “to Hōm”. It appears as *ō hōm* in the editions of Mills (1900: 519), Davar (1904: 16) and Josephson (1997: 44) whereas Dhabhar (1949: 57), omitting *ō*, writes *hōm*.

As far as YIrPs are concerned, in T6 (fol. 44r line 12, 13), both Av. *haōmāi* and Phl. *hōm* are translated by the interlinear NP. *ay hōm* (ای هوم) “O Hōm” which could suggest that in YIrPs, it was interpreted as the vocative. Moreover, as discussed in section 3.1, the preposition omission in YIrPs is a feature of Jāmāsp’s post-arrival corrected manuscripts.

Therefore, associating the omission of the preposition *ō* in YIRPs with correction, Av. *haōmāi* in Y 9.3 is translated by Phl. *ō hōm* in the present edition.

It should be noted that *namāz (ō) hōm*, translating *nəmō haōmāi*, also occurs in Y 10.17. Josephson (1997: 101) edits *namāz hōm* in her edition of Y 10.17 and in the commentary to the dative case, she mentions that it is an example which shows that the dative case at the beginning of the verse can occur without the preposition (Josephson 1997: 127). However, the distribution pattern of the preposition *ō* in Y 10.17 is like that of Y 9.3 because while *ō* is omitted in YIRPs,³⁰¹ it is present in YIndP J2 (fol. 103r line 1), writing *namāz ō hōm*. In K5, due to the poor condition of fol. 76r, the text of Y 10.17 is illegible, but it is written as *namāz ō hōm* in its closely related copy M1 (fol. 199r line 12). Therefore, Y 10.17 *namāz hōm* is another example of correction by the omission of preposition in YIRPs, postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati.

2) Line 3 Y 9.3bP *tō* “you”

In YInP K5 and its closely related M1, *hōm* is added after *tō* in *kē tō (hōm) fradom hōm az mardōmān andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē* “who, as the first one, O Hōm, among men in the material world pressed you, (O Hōm)?”. By contrast, it is absent in J2 (K5 sister manuscript) and their Iranian counterparts. While *fradom hōm* corresponds to *paoiriō haoma*, the first *hōm* in K5 and M1 does not have an Avestan counterpart. In addition, the same formulaic structure occurs in Y 9.6, 9 and 12 in which *hōm* is not written after *tō* in K5, M1. Therefore, it seems that the incorporation of *hōm* after *tō* into the sentence in K5 was a scribal mistake which was copied by the scribe of M1.³⁰² As a result, in agreement with J2 and YIRPs, the sentence is edited as *kē tō fradom hōm az mardōmān andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē* in the present edition.

3) Line 5 Y 9.3bP *andar astōmandān gēhān* “in the material world”

Av. *gaēθā-* is rendered in Pahlavi by *passim* pl. *gēhān*, derived from **g^heih₃*, “to live”.³⁰³ As its main meaning, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 476-479) translates the Avestan word as “being, material being, creature”. However, in some occasions, *gaēθā-* can (secondarily) mean “world”. For example, when it occurs with *vispa-* “all” or *astuuaitī-* in *astuuaitī- gaēθā-*

³⁰¹ See Pt4 (fol. 69r line 9); Mf4 (p. 183, line 8); Y 10 is absent from G14; T6 (fol. 64r line 1); T55b (fol. 95v line 12-13).

³⁰² For the relationship between K5 and M1 see section 2.1 and 3.1.

³⁰³ See *AirWb.* 476-479; Kent (1953: 182); Nyberg (1974: 82); *LIV.* 215.

“material *gaēθā-*” (*AirWb.* 477-478). Likewise, in the editions of the Hōm Yasht, *gaēθā-* in *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is translated by most scholars as “world”.³⁰⁴ Although *gaēθā-* in the mentioned Avestan formula can be translated as “world” and “creature”, in the following example, the translation of Av. *gaēθā-* as “world” is problematic:

Y 34.3 *aṭ tōi miiazdəm ahurā*
nəmanhā ašāicā dāmā
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi
yā vohū θraoštā manahā
ārōi zī hudānhō
vīspāiš mazdā xšmāuuasū sauuō

Then, O Lord, we, all creatures (worlds?), give an offer to you
 by reverence and through the Truth
 under (your) rule.
 whom you nourished through the Good Thought.
 Indeed, the salvation be granted to the beneficent man
 By all those among your kind, O Wise one.³⁰⁵

The Gāθic verse challenges the interpretation according to which OAv. *vispa-* *gaēθā-* means “all world”. The same conclusion most probably applies to YAv. *gaēθā-* *ašāhe*, which is usually translated as “creature of the Truth” by scholars.³⁰⁶ The evidence agrees with the suggestion of Lommel (1930: 104) who while interpreting *gaēθā-* as “world”, rightly insists that “world” must be understood in its narrow sense referring to what flies and crawls, or living beings. He also adds that the development of the meaning of the word from “creature” to “world” starts from the Young Avestan period. However, the beginning of the semantic development should be later than the Young Avestan period because OP. *gaiθā-* means “living personal property, cattle” (Kent 1953: 182):

DB. 1.64-66 *adam niyaçārayam kārahyā abicariš gaiθāmca māniyamcā vⁱθibišca tyādiš*
gaumāta^hhya magus adīnā

I (Darius) restored the pasture land of the people and the cattle and the household slave and together with the houses of which Gaumāta, the magus, deprived them.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ For the occurrences of *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* in the Hōm Yašt see Y 9.3; Y 9.4; Y 9.6; Y 9.7; Y 9.9; Y 9.10; Y 9.12; Y 9.13. For translations see Darmesteter (1898); Wolff (1910); Josephson (1997); Pirart (2004).

³⁰⁵ My translation builds on Insler (1975: 55) and Humbach (1959: I, 105).

³⁰⁶ See Jamaspasa and Humbach (1971: 23); Hintze (1994a: 118, 252, 267); Josephson (1997: 40); Pirart (2004: 67).

³⁰⁷ The Text is after Kent (1953: 118, 120).

Moreover, in the Pahlavi version of Vd 18.65, *gēhān*, is glossed by *gōspandān* “small cattle” which shows that by the insertion of the gloss, it is intended to insist that the meaning of Phl. *gēhān* as the translation of Av. *gaēθqm* “fold” is different from its common meaning in Pahlavi as “world”:³⁰⁸

Vd 18.65A. *tāšca tē mraomi spitama zaraθuštra jaθβōtara ...
yaθa vāhrqam azrō.daiδīm gaēθqm auui frapataiti*

And I tell you, O Spitama Zaraθuštra, about those (who) are worthier to be killed ... like the hunting wolf which attacks the fold.³⁰⁹

Vd 18.65P. *awēšān čē rāy ō tō gōwam spitāmān zardušt kū zanišntar hēnd čiyōn ...
gurg wiškar dahišnīh ka ō gēhān fraz patēt [ō gōspandān]*

and those (females) I say to you, O Spitāmān Zardušt, are more worthy of smiting than ... the wolves of wilderness who fall upon the world [upon small cattle].³¹⁰

Therefore, Av. *gaēθā-* in *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is translated as “creature” in the present edition rather than “world” which has a broad sense of anything made of matter. By contrast, as mentioned above *gēhān* obviously denotes “world (of creatures), earth” in Pahlavi. For example:

Vd. 2.19Phl *u-š ēn gēhān pad sē bār ān and jam be kard*

He, Jam, made this earth, larger by three times.³¹¹

As far as Av. *astuuaitī-* f. is concerned, from the etymological point of view, it means “provided with bones” (Hintze: 1994: 411). However, in Old and Young Avestan, *astuuant-* in *astuuant-ahu-* formula is contrasted with *manahiia-ahu-* “mental or spiritual, existence”. It shows that from the Old Avestan time onwards, its meaning extended to describe the material existence and beings.³¹² Therefore, in the present edition, it is translated as “material”.

In the Pahlavi version, Av. *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is rendered by *astōmandān gēhān*. Mills (1903: 316) and Davar (1904: 30) translate it as “corporeal world” and “material world”, respectively. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 45) argues that the Avestan adjective

³⁰⁸ For the meaning of *gēhān* in Pahlavi see Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 169); Nyberg (1974: 82); MacKenzie (1971: 36).

³⁰⁹ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 121).

³¹⁰ Edition and translation by Moazami (1949: 422-423).

³¹¹ Edition and translation by Moazami (1949: 54-55). In the Avestan original, “the earth” is given by *zam-*.

³¹² See Y 28.2; Y 43.3; Y 57.25; P 40.

astuuaiθiiāi is substantivised by the plural sign *-ān* in Pahlavi and consequently, she interprets *astōmandān gēhān* as the *ezāfa* construction “the world of material beings”. However, it should be noted that the adjective of plural nouns in Pahlavi can occur either singular or plural, marked by *-ān* (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 203, §424). Therefore, considering *astuuaitī-* adj. in the Avestan original, Phl. *astōmandān* is interpreted as the adjective, meaning “material” in the present edition.

Regarding the translation technique of the dative case in *astuuaiθiiāi gaēθiiāi*, it is expressed in the Hōm Yašt by the preposition *andar* “in”. The translation technique agrees with the usual Pahlavi translation of the Avestan place names in dative and genitive cases.³¹³ To study the Pahlavi translation of *astuuaitī- gaēθā-*, its occurrences in the Avesta together with its corresponding Pahlavi translations are listed in the following table:

	Avesta ³¹⁴	Pahlavi ³¹⁵
Y 9.8; Y 57.24	acc. sg. (<i>aoi yqm</i>) <i>astuuaitīm gaēθqm</i>	<i>abar ō astōmandān gēhān</i> “to the material world”
Y 9.3; Y 9.4; Y 9.6; Y 9.7; Y 9.9; Y 9.10; Y 9.12; Y 9.13	dat. sg. <i>astuuaitiiāi ... gaēθiiāi</i>	<i>andar astōmandān gēhān</i> “in the material world”
Y 65.9; P 12	dat. pl. <i>gaēθābiiō astuuaitibiiō</i>	<i>andar gēhān ī astōmand</i> “in the world which is material”
Vd 2.1, 39, 42; Vd. 2.39, 42, 43; Vd 3.1, 7, 12, 15, 16, 30, 36; Vd 4.2, 5, 11, 18, 21, 55; Vd. 5.5, 8, 9- 11, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 53, 57; Vd. 6.4, 6, 8, 10, 26, 28, 30, 42, 44, 47; Vd 7.1, 3, 5, 9, 23, 36, 45, 53, 70; Vd. 8.4, 12, 14, 23, 26, 27, 31, 41-69, 81-97, 106; Vd 9.1, 43, 47, 49, 54; Vd 10.1, 3; Vd 11.1; Vd 12.2; Vd 13.4, 12, 17, 20, 24, 29, 35, 36, 41, 50; Vd 14.1,	gen. pl. <i>gaēθanqm astuuaitinqm</i>	<i>ī gēhān ī astōmandān</i> “of the world which is material”

³¹³ See Cantera (2004: 270).

³¹⁴ For texts see Geldner (1886-1896). For the Pursišnīhā see Jamaspasa & Humbach (1971). For the Hādōxt Nask see HP F12B.

³¹⁵ For the Yasna see Dhabhar (1949). For the Vīdēvdād see Moazami (2014) and also Anklesaria (1949). For the Pursišnīhā see Jamaspasa & Humbach (1971). For the Hādōxt Nask see the HP F12B.

11-15; Vd 15.17, 23, 44, 46, 50; Vd 16.1, 5, 14; Vd 17.1; Vd. 18.8, 18.14, 61, 67; Vd 19.11, 27; Vd 20.1; H 1.1		
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As it is evident from the table, unlike the Yasna in which gen. pl. *gaēθanqm astuuaitnqm* is consistently translated by *andar gēhān ī astōmandān* “in the material world”, it is rendered by *ī gēhān ī astōmandān* “of the material world” in the Vīdēvdād and Hādōxt Nask. The reason is that *gaēθanqm astuuaitnqm* is preceded by voc. *dātarə* “O creator” which makes the translation **dādār andar gēhān ī astōmandān* “O creator in the material world” semantically meaningless. Consequently, it can be concluded that following the Pahlavi translation techniques of the Avesta, the Pahlavi translators also considered the meaning of their translations.

4) Line 6 Y 9.3bP *az ān tarsagāhīh kard* “from that respect was shown”

While YIndPs write *az ān tarsagāhīh kard* “from that respect was shown”, in YIrPs, it appears as *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* “what respect was shown to him?”.³¹⁶ However, elsewhere in Y 9, Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui* is rendered unanimously by *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* in the manuscripts. The Pahlavi translation of YIndPs in Y 9.3 should be understood in association with its following commentary:

Y 9.3P *az ān tarsagāhīh kard*
ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād

from that respect, was shown,
that goodness so that it will be mine.

As shown above, in YIndPs, *tarsagāhīh* is associated with *nēkīh*. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the reading of the base text K5 and its sister manuscript J2 is employed in the present edition.

³¹⁶ For the Pahlavi sentence and its translation see Y 9.6 commentary 2 *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*.

4.4 Y 9.4

- 1 (Y 9.4aA) *ātaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*
 2 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
 3 (Y 9.4bA) *vīuuai^vhā mąm paoiriō mašiiō*
 4 *astuuaiθiīai hunūta gaēθiīai*
 5 *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*
 6 *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*
 7 (Y 9.4cA) *yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiiata*
 8 *yō yimō xšaētō huuqθβō*
 9 (Y 9.4dA) *x^varənaη^vhastəmō zātanqm*
 10 *huuarə.darəsō mašiiianqm*
 11 (Y 9.4eA) *yaṭ kərənaoṭ aṅhe xšaθrāda*
 12 *amaršanta pasu.vīra*
 13 *aṅhaošəmnē āpa.uruuaire*
 14 (Y 9.4fA) *x^vairiiqn x^varəθəm ajiiamnəm*

- 1 (Y 9.4aA) Thereupon, answered me
 2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:
 3-4 (Y 9.4bA) ‘Vīuuai^vhant, as the first mortal, pressed me for the material creature.
 5 This reward was granted to him,
 6 this boon came to him,
 7 (Y 9.4cA) that a son was born to him
 8 who is the splendid Yima of good flocks,
 9 (Y 9.4dA) the most glorious one of those born,
 10 the one looking like the sun among the mortals,
 11 (Y 9.4eA) who made by his rule,
 12 both animal and man immortal
 13 both water and plant un-drying.
 14 (Y 9.4fA) The consumable foods were undiminishing.

- 1 (Y 9.4aP) *ō man ōy passōx guft*
 2 *hōm ī ahlaw dūrōš*
 3 (Y 9.4bP) *wīwanghān man fradom az mardōmān*
 4 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīdam*
 5 *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*
 6 *ō ōy mad ābādīh*
 7 (Y 9.4cP) *ka az ōy pus ul zād*
 8 *kē jam ī šēd ī hramag*
 9 (Y 9.4dP) *kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]*
 10 *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučašmtom]*
 11 *hād xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh*
 12 *ud ast ī pad tan ī mard*
 13 *ān ī pad tan ī jam*
 14 *hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh*
 15 *hād rōšn guft*
 16 *hād xwarrah ēd ast ī pad tan ī mard*
 17 *xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]*

18 (Y 9.4eP) *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*

19 *amarg pah ud wīr*

20 *ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar*

21 [*kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk*]

22 (Y 9.4fP) *xwarišn xwarān anabesīhišn*

23 [*kū ka ēw xward būd ēw mad būd*]

1 (Y 9.4aP) He answered me,¹

2 Hōm who is righteous (and) averts perdition:

3-4 (Y 9.4bP) Wiwanghān as the first one, among men pressed me in the material world².

5 The respect was shown to him,

6 the prosperity came to him,

7 (Y 9.4cP) when a son was born from him,³

8 who is the shining Jam of good flocks,

9 (Y 9.4dP) who was the most glorious one of those born, [the most dutiful one].

10 (He) was the most looking like the sun one among men, [the most benevolent one].⁴

11 That means: Glory is the proper action⁵

12 and which is in the body of man

13 (and) which is in the body of Jam.

14 (They) have been agreeable (to each other) which is the proper function.

15 Know that Rōšn said:⁶

16 ‘Yes (and) the glory is this which is in the body of man.

17 The glorious has the duty to make that current’],

18 (Y 9.4eP) that he made by his rule

19-20 animal immortal and man non-dying and (he made by his rule non-dying) water and plant.⁷

21 [That means: What was not desired to be dry, (was) not dry].⁸

22 (Y 9.4fP) Food, while being eaten, was undiminishing.⁹

23 [When one had been consumed another one had come].

1) Line 1 Y 9.4aP *ō man ōy passōx guft* “He answered me”

In YIrP T6, *ēdōn* “thus, so” appears at the beginning of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.4, preceding *ō man*. However, it is absent in other manuscripts. Considering the absence of the word in its related manuscripts YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14³¹⁷ of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,³¹⁸ and old YIndP J2, K5, *ēdōn* is to be associated with scribal correction.

2) Line 4 Y 9.4bP *astōmandān gēhān* “material world”³¹⁹

One of the features of YIndP K5 and its closely related M1 is the unnecessary or

³¹⁷ According to the T6 colophon and the results of the text-critical apparatus, T6 is a descendant of G14. See sections 2.2 and 3.1.

³¹⁸ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

³¹⁹ For a discussion see Y 9.3 commentary 3 *andar astōmandān gēhān* “in the material world”.

erroneous incorporation of the ezāfa *ī* into the sentences. The examples of this feature in the first fifteen stanzas of Y 9 are listed as follows:³²⁰

Stanza	YIndP K5, M1	YIrPs + YIndP J2
Y 9.1 line 2	<i>hāwan ī gāh</i>	<i>hāwan gāh</i>
Y 9.4 line 4	<i>astōmandān ī gēhān</i>	<i>astōmandān gēhān</i>
Y 9.6 line 3		
Y 9.7 line 4		
Y 9.9 line 3		
Y 9.10 line 9		
Y 9.12 line 3		
Y 9.13 line 4		
Y 9.7 line 3	<i>āspyān ī man dudigar</i>	<i>āspyān man dudigar</i>
Y 9.11	<i>ān ī āhanēn dēg ī frāz spurđ³²¹</i>	<i>ān ī āhanēn dēg frāz spurđ</i>
Y 9.14	<i>ān weh ī dāitī</i>	<i>ān weh dāitī³²²</i>

In the present edition, although the base text is K5, in agreement with J2 (K5 sister manuscript) and YIrPs, *ī* is omitted in the mentioned examples.

3) Line 7 Y9.4cP *ka az ōy pus ul zād* “when a son was born from him”

Phl. *ka* “when” renders Av. *yaṭ* “that”. In addition to Y 9.4, the mentioned formulaic structure and its corresponding Avestan original occur in Y 9.7, 10 and 13. In the manuscripts, *ka* is occasionally replaced by *kē* “who” as follows:

Y 9.4 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T6, T55b; YIndPY J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP G14, F2.

Y 9.7 *ka*: YIrP Mf4; YInd J2 vs. *kē*: YIrP Pt4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP K5, M1.

Y 9.10 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP F2.

Y 9.13 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP G14, F2, T6.

While from the semantic point of view, both readings are possible, following the base text YIndP K5, *ka* is employed in the edition of Y 9.4, 10, 13. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.7, *yaṭ* is represented by *kē* in the present edition.

³²⁰ For variant readings see text-critical apparatus.

³²¹ The ezāfa *ī* after *dēg* cannot be interpreted as the indefinite article *-ē* because *āhanēn dēg* is preceded by *ān ī* “the”.

³²² In J2, *weh* is absent. See Y 9.14 commentary 2 *weh*.

4) **Line 10 Y 9.4dP** *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučašmtom]* “(he) was the most looking like the sun one among men, [the most benevolent one]”

With the exception of G14 and T6, the Avestan original *xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm* and its Pahlavi translation and commentary occur together in a same section (Y 9.4d in the present edition). By contrast, changing the order, *xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm* is separated from its Zand *kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]* in G14 and T6. Moreover, Av. *huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm* and its Pahlavi translation are moved from the near beginning of section d (according to the present edition) to the end of the section in G14 and T6. The following table summarises the differences between G14, T6 and the other manuscripts:

YIrP Pt4, M4, F2, T6; YIrP J2, K5, M1 ³²³	YIrP G14, T6 ³²⁴
(Y 9.4cA) <i>yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiiata</i> <i>yō yimō xšaētō huuqθβō</i> -	(Y 9.4cA) <i>yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiiata</i> <i>yō yimō xšaētō huuqθβō</i> <i>xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm</i>
(Y 9.4cP) <i>ka az ōy pus ul zād</i> <i>kē jam ī šēd huramag</i> (Y 9.4dA) <i>xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm</i> <i>huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm</i>	(Y 9.4cP) <i>ka³²⁵ az ōy pus ul zād</i> <i>kē jamšēd huramag</i> - -
(Y 9.4dP) <i>kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]</i> <i>xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučašmtom]</i> <i>hād xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh</i> <i>ud ast ī pad tan ī mard</i> <i>ān ī pad tan ī jam hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh</i> <i>hād rōšn guft</i> <i>hād xwarrah ēd ast ī pad tan ī mard</i> <i>xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]</i> - - -	<i>kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]</i> - - <i>hād xwarrah ast xwēškārīh</i> <i>ud ast tan ī mard</i> <i>ud ān³²⁶ pad tan jam hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh</i> <i>rōšn guft</i> <i>hād xwarrah ēd ast pad tan ī mard</i> <i>xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]</i> (Y 9.4dA) <i>huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm</i> (Y 9.4dP) <i>ud xwaršēd³²⁷ nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučašmtom]</i>

³²³ Pt4 (fol. 55r line 12-21); Mf4 (p. 148 line 15-17; p. 149 line 1-8); F2 (fol. 52v line 10-15; fol. 53r line 1-5); T55b (fol. 70r line 3-15; fol. 70v 1-2); J2 (fol. 82r line 10-15; fol. 82v line 1-5); K5 (fol. 61r line 17; fol. 61v line 1-5). For variant readings of the Avestan original see the manuscripts available online at <http://avesta-archive.com/>. For variant readings of the Pahlavi version see text-critical apparatus.

³²⁴ G14 (fol. 53v line 7-14; fol. 54r line); T6 (fol. 44v line 11-13; fol. 45r line 1-6). For variant readings of the Avestan original see the manuscripts available online at <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

³²⁵ G14 *kē*.

³²⁶ G14 *ud ān*.

³²⁷ G14 T6 *ud xwaršēd*.

The unique order of the closely related manuscripts G14 and T6 must be associated with correction. The reason is that it is absent in the other manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.³²⁸ Moreover, as discussed in sections 2.1 and 3.1, there are other pieces of evidence showing that these two manuscripts are corrected.

Regarding the translation technique of Av. *huuarə.darəsa*- “looking like the sun”, the simple adjective is rendered in the Pahlavi version by the superlative *nigerišntom* “most looking like the sun”.

5) Line 11 Y 9.4dP *xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh* “Glory is the proper action”

According to the commentary of Y 9.4d, Glory is defined by the proper action which is in the body of man. Similarly, in the following passage from the Dēnkard book III, the proper action is related to Glory:

DkM. 343.19-21 *hād dādār dahišn ō kār dād dahišn kāregar hēnd dādār u-šān xūb rawāgīh kār pad xwarrah xwēškārīh pad xwarrah... .*

That is: the creator set the creation for action. (The creatures) are the performers of the creator and good-currency of their action is due to Glory (and) the proper function is because of Glory.³²⁹

The Zādsparam also agrees with the context of the Dēnkard and Y 9.4 where we find the following passage which implies that the proper function is connected with Glory and the body:

Zs 3.75 *čiyōn gōwīhēd pad dēn kū kadār pēš būd xwarrah ayāb tan u-š guft ōhrmazd kū-m xwarrah pēš dād pas ō ān dād estēd xwarrah tan dād kū xwēškārīh brēhēnīd u-š tan bē ō xwēškārīh dād*³³⁰

As is said in the Scripture: What was prior, the Glory or body?

Thereupon, Ohrmazd said to them

that: ‘I first produced the Glory. After the Glory has been produced for it,

I created the body which is proper action, and he (Ohrmazd) created the body for the proper action.³³¹

³²⁸ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.22.1.

³²⁹ My translation.

³³⁰ See Anklesaria (1964: 39).

³³¹ The text is after Anklesaria (1964: LXXX).

6) Line 15 Y 9.4dP *hād rōšn guft* “know that Rōšn said”

Since in the base text K5 and its closely related M1, *hād* precedes *rōšn*, it is employed in the present edition.

7) Line 19-20 Y 9.4eP *amarg pah ud wīr ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar* “animal immortal and man non-dying and (he made by his rule non-dying) water and plant”

The Pahlavi *amarg pah ud wīr ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar* is the translation of the Avestan *amaršānta pasu.vīra aṅhaošəmne āpa.uruuaire* “(who made by his rule) both animal and man immortal, both water and plant un-drying” in which *pasu.vīra* and *āpa.uruuaire* are *dvandva* and the adjectives *amaršānta* “immortal” and *aṅhaošəmne* “undrying” are dual. The spelling of the action noun *ahōšišn* “immortal, non-dying, undrying” in the manuscripts is as follows:

a) YIrP:

Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4)	Mf4 (p. 149 line 12)	G14 (fol. 54r line 3)	F2 (fol. 53r line 7)	T6 (fol. 45r line 9)	T55b (fol. 70v line 6)

b) YIndP:

J2 (fol. 82v line 8-9)	K5 (fol. 61v line 11)	M1 (fol. 159r line 12)

As regards the Iranian manuscripts, associating with NP. *xōšīdan* “to dry”, the word was interpreted as “undrying” by the scribes of T6, T55b and probably by copyists of the other Iranian copies. The reason is that the initial $x < h$ is shown by the diacritic dot above 𐭮 in T55b.³³² Furthermore, the word is translated by the inelinear NP. *u axōšišn ya 'ni nē xušk mē-šud* “and *axōšiš* means that it was not being dried” in YIrP T6.³³³

As shown above, the word is spelled similarly in YIrP Pt4, M4 and T55b in which 𐭮

³³² In my unpublished MA dissertation, I discuss the diacritic marks in T55b (Khanizadeh 2013: 47).

³³³

can translate either the Avestan negation prefix *a-* or the dual number. In T55b, the New Persian superscript 𐬀 “no”, written above 𐬀, confirms the former, or *axōšišn* “undrying”. Moreover, from the semantic point of view, 𐬀 cannot be interpreted as 2 because *dō hōšišn* “two drying” is obviously a mistranslation of Av. *aṇhaošəmne* “two undrying”. By contrast, YIrP G14 and T6 write the word with minor variations according to which 𐬀 𐬀 and 𐬀 𐬀 precede it, respectively. Furthermore, while G14 writes *hōšišn*, it appears as *ahōšišn* in T6. According to the Pahlavi palaeography, 𐬀 and 𐬀 often express the negation prefix and dual number, respectively, according to which the reading of G14 and T6 would be as follows:

G14 *a ud? dō hōšišn* “non and? two drying” vs. T6 *ud dō a ahōšišn* “and two non undrying”.

However, like T55b, is it also possible to read 𐬀 as the negation suffix. As a result, 𐬀 should be interpreted as 2, expressing the dual number. Following the latter interpretation, the reading of G14 and T6 would be *dō ud? ahōšišn* “two and? undrying” and *ud a 2 ahōšišn* “and non two undrying”. However, with the exception of *dō ud? ahōšišn*, the other possible readings are problematic because while the negation suffix cannot be separated from the negated word,³³⁴ *dō a ahōšišn* and *ud a 2 ahōšišn* are semantically meaningless. As mentioned, the only possible reading is *dō ud? ahōšišn* “(water and plant are) two and? undrying”. Nonetheless, in its parallel text attested in the Dēnkard VII, the variant *ahōšišn* appears:

DkM 595.18-20 *u-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh xwadāyīh³³⁵ amarg pah ud wīr ud ahōšišn āb urwar... .*

Moreover, in F2, the unique variant *ahōšišnōmand* takes place. But, for the editorial judgement, the manuscript is not as important as the old Indian manuscripts and its Iranian counterparts of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line. The variations in the Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line³³⁶ also suggests the possibility of scribal corrections.

³³⁴ For negation prefix see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 150, §283).

³³⁵ Phl. *xwadāyīh* is repeated.

³³⁶ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

In YIndP J2, although the Pahlavi word can be transcribed as either *ahōšišnīh* or *ahōšišniš*, the latter is obviously wrong. For the editorial judgement between *ahōšišn* and *ahōšišnīh*, it is impossible to draw a decisive conclusion but in agreement with the majority of the manuscripts including the base text K5, *ahōšišn* is chosen in the present edition.

The other variation among the manuscripts is the position of *W(ud)* “and” which appears before *ahōšišn* in YIrP:

YIrP *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*
amarg pah ud wīr
ud ahōšišn āb ud urwar

“that he made by his rule
 animal and man non-dying,
 and un-drying water and plant”.

By contrast, in YIndP, the conjunction *ud*, by separating *ahōšišn* from *āb ud urwar*, relates it to the preceding sentence:

YIndP *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*
amarg pah ud wīr
ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar

“that he made by his rule
 animal non-dying and man
ahōšišn, and water (non-dying) and plant (*ahōšišn*)”

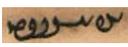
It should be noted that since *ahōšišn* is associated with *wīr* “man” in YIndPs, it was probably interpreted as “immortal, non-dying” rather than “non-drying” by their scribes. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the base text, *ahōšišn ud* is employed in the present edition and *ahōšišn* is translated as “non-dying”.

8) Line 21 Y 9.4Pe *kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk* “That means: What was not desired to be dry, (was) not dry”

Phl. *ī* in *ān ī* is replaced by *KN (ōh)* in YIrP F2 and it is omitted in YIndP J2. However, following the *ān ī* “that is, the” formula and in agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ī* is employed in the present edition.

The Pahlavi verb *abāyist* also appears differently in the manuscript. While in YIndPs, 3rd sg. past *abāyist* appears, in their Iranian counterpart 3rd sg. pres. *abāyēd* occurs. For

example:

YIrP Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4):  vs. YIndP K5 (fol. 61v line 12): .

Moreover, the reading of YIrP F2 (fol. 53r line 8)  is unclear. The following word *hušk* is also deleted in YIrPs with exception of Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4) in which it appears as the superscript pale word.³³⁷ As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk* is employed in the present edition.

9) Line 22 Y 9.4P *xwarišn xwarān anabesīhišn* “food, while being eaten, was undiminishing”

In YInd J2, *xwarišn* “food” is replaced by *xward* “(he) ate”. However, it is obvious that 3rd sg. past *xward* does not fit the context. Furthermore, *xwarišn* is attested in J2 sister manuscript, or K5, in agreement with which *xwarišn* is employed in the present edition.

4.5 Y 9.5

- 1 (Y 9.5aA) *yimahe xšaθre auruuahe*
 2 *nōiṭ aotəm āṅha nōiṭ garəməm*
 3 (Y 9.5bA) *nōiṭ zauruua āṅha nōiṭ mərəθiiuš*
 4 *nōiṭ araskō daēuuō.dātō*
 5 (Y 9.5cA) *paṅca dasa fracarōiṭhe pita*
 6 *puθrasca raodaēšuuua katarasciṭ*
 7 (Y 9.5dA) *yauuata xšaiiōiṭ huuqθβō*
 8 *yimō vīvaṅ^vhatō puθrō*

- 1 (Y 9.5aA) At the rule of swift Yima,
 2 there has been neither cold nor heat,
 3 (Y 9.5bA) there has been neither old-age nor death,
 4 nor demon-created envy.
 5 (Y 9.5cA) With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father
 6 and son, each, walked about,
 7-8 (Y 9.5dA) as long as Yima of the good flocks, son of Vivahvant used to rule.

- 1 (Y 9.5aP) *pad ān ī jam xwadāyīh ī arwand*
 2 *nē sarmāg būd nē garmāg*
 3 (Y 9.5bP) *nē zarmān būd ud nē margīh*
 4 *ud nē arešk ī dēwān dād*
 5 [*hād hamāg būd be az wināh abāz dāšt ēstād hēnd*]
 6 (Y 9.5cP) *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid*
 7 *ud pus kadār-iz-ē*
 8 [*hād burzōy pad stāyišn ī pusar guft*]
 9 *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*
 10 *pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*
 11 (Y 9.5dP) *hamē tā ka padixšā būd*
 12 *huramag jam ī [šēd] wīwanghān pus*
 13 [*ēn tis ēdōn būd*]

- 1 (Y 9.5aP) At the rule of the swift Jam,
 2 there was neither cold nor heat,
 3 (Y 9.5bP) there was neither old-age nor death
 4 and nor the demon-created envy.
 5 [That is: there was everything but they were kept from offense].
 6 (Y 9.5cP) With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father
 7 and son each other went forth¹.
 8 [That is: Burzōy said in the praise of the son²
 9 that the son was as good as the father
 10 (so), the father³ was as good as the son],
 11-12 (Y 9.5dP) all the while that [the splendid] Jam⁴ of good flock, son of Wīwanghān
 was the king
 13 [this matter was so].

1) **Line 6 Y 9.5cP** *frāz raft hēnd* “went forth”

Av. *fracarōiṭe* “walked about” is translated by the 3rd pl. past ind. *frāz raft hēnd* “went forth” in Pahlavi. Although in Avestan the ending *-ṭe* functions as 3rd du. middle, it is originally a 2nd du. mid. ending. As regards the mood, it has been taken as the ind. pres. rather than opt. pres. by scholars. For example, de Vaan (2003: 349) rejects the phonetic development **-aēṭe > -ōiṭe* in view of other instances such as *gaēṭā-*, *gaēṭiia-* and *maēṭana-* in which the mentioned development is absent. He suggests that probably *-ōi-*, derived from **-əi-*, ‘has been retained in front of 2nd du. *-ṭe-* as a characteristic of the 2nd pl./2nd du. vs. **-ai-* in the 3rd plural’.

As the ind. verb, Av. *fracarōiṭe* is preceded by the perfect *āṇha* “was” and followed by another verb in opt. mood, *xšaiiōiṭ* “(he) may rule”, describing all together an event in the past. Therefore, it has caused different interpretations. For example, Josephson (1997: 47-48) translates all verbs as the past tense; *āṇha* “was”, *fracarōiṭe* “walked about” and *xšaiiōiṭ* “exercised his power”. By contrast, Pirart (2004: 64, fn. 45, 48) mentions that *fracarōiṭe* and *xšaiiōiṭ* replace inj. **fracaraētəm* and inj. **xšaiiaṭ*, respectively. However, Pirart’s suggestion is entirely hypothetical and is not supported by any of the manuscripts readings.

As far as the occurrence of the ind. *fracarōiṭe* in the past context is concerned, it has a parallel in Y 9.10 in which 3rd du. ind. *us.zaiiōiṭe* occurs in *yaṭ hē puṭra us.zaiiōiṭe uruuāxšaiiō kərəsāspasca* “that two sons were born to him (Θrita), namely Urwāxšaiia and Kərəsāspa”. Therefore, the ind. verb is translated as the past “went about” in the present edition to agree with the context of Y 9.5. In the Pahlavi version, the Avestan dual number of *fracarōiṭe* is represented by 3rd pl. auxiliary verb *hēnd* because Pahlavi only distinguishes between the sg. and pl. numbers.

As regards *xšaiiōiṭ*, it is known that the opt. ind. in the past context functions as *optativus iterativus*.³³⁸ However, Gonda (1956: 63-65), with regard to Y 9.5, suggests that optative may also have a potentialis sense:

‘I would consider this use as follows: Here the person speaking is not able, or does not wish, to envisage the process as actual; he has no personal knowledge of Yima’s reign and wishing to be cautious and guarded in his statements he leaves some room for contingencies’.³³⁹

³³⁸ See Reichelt (1909: 638, §308); Martinez & de Vaan (2014: §37, 102).

³³⁹ Gonda (1956: 63-67).

Accepting Gonda's suggestion, Hoffmann (1976: 617) mentions that in addition to *xšaiiōiṭ*, *gərəzaēta* (Yt 17.57, 58, 59) and *fracaraēta* (Yt 13.107) have also the same sense. However, in Y 9.5, *xšaiiōiṭ* in *yauuata xšaiiōiṭ huuqβō yimō vīvaṇ* "hatō can be translated as either "(as long as Yima) used to rule" or "(as long as Yima) is supposed or believed or traditionally held or said to have ruled". Since in the past context, the pres. opt. often expresses *optativus iterativus*, *xšaiiōiṭ* is translated as "used to rule" in the present edition. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version *xšaiiōiṭ* is rendered by the simple past *pādixšā būd* "(he) was a king".

2) Line 8 Y 9.5cP *burzōy pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* "Burzōy said in the praise of the son"

Y 9.5 describes the rule of Yima as a time during which "with a growth of a fifteen-year old, father and son, each, walked about":

Y 9.5 *paṇca dasa fracarōiṭe pita*
puṭrasca raodaēšuuu katarasciṭ

The Avestan original is followed by the Zand in which *bwlc(w)k* occurs after *hād*:

pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid
ud pus kadār-iz-ē
[hād bwlc(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft
kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid
pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus]

With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father
and son each other went forth.

[That is: *bwlc(w)k* said in the praise of the son
that the son was as good as the father
(so), the father was as good as the son]

While YIrPs write *bwlck*, YIndPs attest *bwlcwk*. In addition, YIndP J2 provides a unique commentary, different from that of the other manuscripts as follows:

pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid
ud pus kadār-iz-ē
J2 fol 83r lines 8-11 *[hād ud bwlcwk ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus pad stāyišn ī pusar guft*
kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid
ud pid ī ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus]

J2 fol 83r lines 8-11 [That is, and *bwlcwk* was as good as the son. In the praise of the son, it is said

that the son was as good as the father
and, the father was as good as the son.]

In J2, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* occurs twice at the beginning and at the end of the commentary while in the other manuscripts, it is only present at the end of the commentary. However, the reading of the Pahlavi word in J2 is semantically problematic because *bwlcwk* as the proper noun must be considered as the father of the son. But, it is obvious that while the text is about the glorious period of Jam during which everybody was young, father and son only occur as two examples of young people. Furthermore, the name of the father and son, living in the reign of Jam, are not mentioned in Pahlavi. Therefore, since in the J2 sister manuscripts, K5, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* is absent after *bwlcwk*, the variant reading of J2 should be associated with scribal correction or mistake.

Nēryosangh, in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna, gives the *dvandva* composition *pūjāvinayakau* “reverence and respect” as the Sanskrit translation of *bwlc(w)k* (Unvala 1924: 12-13). In the interlinear New Persian version of F2 (fol. 53v line 4) and T6 (fol. 45v line 6), *bwlc* is translated by *zibdār* (زیبدار) “beautiful” and *lāyeq va zibdār* (الایق و زیبدار) “eligible and beautiful”, respectively. However, it is obvious that the New Persian and Sanskrit versions provide neither the proper semantic nor etymological translations of the Pahlavi word because none of the translations agree with the meaning of the word *bwlc(w)k* which is undoubtedly derived from the root OIr. **barz* “to be high”.

Associating *bwlc(w)k* with *pid ud pus*, Mills (1903c: 318) and Davar (1904: 17, 33-34) translate it as “grand” and “splendid”, respectively. It is obvious that Mills provides a free translation of the Pahlavi word. Davar (1904: 17, 33-34) suggests that it is the gloss to *ārōyišn*, translating the Avestan loc. pl. *raodaēšuuua* “in growths”. To explain his suggestion, Davar mentions that the order of the original Avestan *pañca dasa fracarōiḍe pita puḍrasca raodaēšuuua katarasciṭ* is not retained in *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid ud pus kadār-iz-ē* as *ārōyišn* should have occurred after *pus*. Although Davar is right in stating that the Pahlavi redaction disagrees with the usual translation technique, there is no evidence to show that the Pahlavi word appearing several words after *ārōyišn*, is the gloss to *ārōyišn*. Furthermore, while the meaning “grand” is usually rendered by *wc(w)lg* (*wuzurg*), it is never implied by *bwlc* (*burzag*) in the Pahlavi literature as far as I know. It is possible to interpret *burzag* as “high”. However, although OIr. **brz-aka-* occurs in Sogdian and Khotanese as *brz`k-* (*brzē*) “long” and *balysga-* “high”, respectively, in Middle and New Persian, adjectives denoting height from the root **barz* usually appear as *buland* “high, tall”, *burz*

“high” and *bālāy* “height”.³⁴⁰

By contrast, it seems that the gloss *hād bwlc(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* follows the usual commentary beginning formula according to which the commentaries are introduced by using the verb *guftan* “to say” in two ways: 1) *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd* “there is one who says”, if the commentator is anonymous; 2) the name of the commentator is followed by *guft* “said” (Cantera 2004: 207-208). As far as *hād bwlc(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* is concerned, it follows the second formula:

the name of the commentator + *guft* “said”
hād bwlc(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft pus ēdōn nēk būd ī pid ...

Interpreting *bwlc(w)k* as the name of a Pahlavi commentator, the next problem is that whether the word should be edited in agreement with YIRPs as *bwlck* “Burzag” or with their Indian counterparts as *bwlcwk* “Borzōg, Burzōy”. As far as the first reading is concerned, *burzag* (OIr. **br̥z-aka-*) as a proper name occurs in New Persian. Although such a name is uncommon, it occurs at least twice in DHR (Vol II, 153) as the name of a priest from Kerman. For example:

بشهر اندران بد بریش سپید ماونداد هوشنگ و برزك امید
 ز برزك امید دو پوس یاد دار سیاوخش مه کهترین شهریار
be šahr andarān bod be rēš-ī spēd/māvindād-ī hōšang-u burzak umēd
zi burzak umēd dō pus yād dār/syāvaxš meh kehtarīn šahryār

In the city, with the white beard/were Māvindād son of Hōšang and Burzak son of Umēd. Remember the two sons of Burzak son of Umēd/(who are) Syāvaxš as the older and Šahryār as the younger (son).

As for *bwlc(w)k*, it corresponds to *burzōy* (برزوی), *burzō* (برزو) and *burzōya* (برزویه), occurring several times in the early New Persian and Arabic sources.³⁴¹ Therefore, the spelling of *bwlc(w)k* must be historical according to which it is transcribed as *burzōy* in the present edition. Nöldeke (1888: 4-31) investigates the Iranian names ending in *-ōy* and *-ōya* in the New Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Aramaic texts. He shows that *-ōya* (ویه) is an Arabic pronunciation of the Middle Persian suffix *-ōy*, making hypocoristic names. He confirms the Middle Iranian origin of the suffix *-ōy* by giving examples of the Iranian names in the Armenian, Greek and Syriac sources which end in *ōy* (Nöldeke 1888: 8-16). In addition, the

³⁴⁰ See SgD. 111; DKhS. 272; Ln. Vol. III, 3685-3686, 3956, 4315-4319.

³⁴¹ For the names in the New Persian and Arabic sources see Justi (1895: 74). For *burzōy*, a Sasanian physician and the translator of the Sanskrit texts into Pahlavi see de Blois (1990).

name of *burzōy* (*bwrzwy*) appears in the Syriac text of the Christian martyrs as the name of a Christian master in the seventh century (Hoffmann 1880: 93). Rastorgueva and Molcanova (1981b: 195, §8) derive the suffix *-ōg* from **(a)va-ka*. Moreover, like Nöldeke, they suggest that the suffix originally had the diminutive sense (Rastorgueva and Molcanova 1981a: 70, §7). By contrast, Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 161, §309) states that the formation of the suffix *-ōg* is unclear in the Western Middle Iranian languages. As far as **brz-va-ka > burzōg > burzōy > burzō* is concerned, it, at least, agrees with the rules of the Indo-Iranian word formation according to which the suffix *-va* is attached to the zero grade of the verbs (Jackson 1892: 226, §819). In addition, the suffix *-ka* forms hypocoristic names (*AiGr.* II 2, 517, §361b). Moreover, the three stages of the suffix development of *-ōg > -ōy > -ō* are attested, for example in the Pahlavi historical spelling *bwlckw*, *burzōy* in the *Šāhnāma* (ed. Bertels, vol. VIII, 248, v 3342) and *burzō*, the name of a composer of the Persian *Rivāyat* in the 17th century (Justi 1895: 74).

In conclusion, the evidence shows that *bwlck* or *bwlckw* is the name of an Avesta exegete. In the present edition, following the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *burzōy* is chosen.

As regards *burzōy*, the most important Sasanian figure who can be identified with the Avestan commentator is *burzōy*, the physician, living during the reign of Husraw I (531-579 AC), who translated *Pañcatantra* from Sanskrit into Middle Persian which is known in Arabic and New Persian as *Kalila va Dimna*. In the introduction of the text, found in all non-mutilated Arabic and old manuscripts,³⁴² Burzōya describes his father as a military man and associates his mother with the houses of scholars of the Zoroastrian religion:

KM. 79

إن أبي كان من المقاتلة و كانت امي من عظماء بيوت الزمازمة

inna 'bi kāna min al-moqātīla wa kānat ummi min 'uzmā' boyuti az-zamāzima

My father was from the military and my mother from the houses of the greatest scholars of the Zoroastrian religion.³⁴³

Furthermore, Burzōy states in his autobiography that at the beginning 'I came to hold medicine in contempt and to long for religious studies'. However, later, he becomes suspicious to the legitimacy of all religions saying: 'In none of them (religions) I find that degree of honesty and rightmindedness which would induce rational persons to accept their words and be satisfied with them' (de Blois 1990: 26). Therefore, it is unlikely that the

³⁴² See de Blois (1990: 24-33).

³⁴³ My translation.

Avestan commentator was the same person as the physician of the court of Husraw I.

The second nominee could be the Sasanian king Bahram V who, according to the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. VII, 422, v 2071), went as a unanimous messenger from Iran to the court of the Indian king, Śengol and introduced himself as Burzōy:

گر از نام پرسیم برزوی نام چنین خواندم شاه و هم باب و مام
gar az nām p̄rsē-yam burzōy nām/čēnīn xvāndam šāh-u ham bāb-u mām

if you ask the name, (my) name is Burzōy/king, father and mother called me such.³⁴⁴

However, it is obvious that Burzōy was Bahrām's fake name in the court of Śengol. Furthermore, no king is reported to be an exegete of the Avesta.

The third possible candidate, according to the Mu'jam al-Buldān, is a Zoroastrian from the city of Buxārā whose name according to Justi (1895: 74) is recorded in the manuscripts as either Burdzbih or Burzōy:

MB. Vol I, 35

ينسب إلى بخارى خلق كثير من أئمة في فنون شتى منهم إمام أهل الحديث أبو عبد الله محمد ابن اسماعيل ابن
 إبراهيم ابن مغيرة ابن بردزبة و بردزبه مجوسي أسلم على يد يمان البخاري
*yansibo ilā buxārā xalqon kaširon min 'ima fi fonuni šattā minhom imām 'hl 'l-hadiṣ
 'bu 'abd-'llāh muḥammad ibn ismā'il ibn ibrāhīm ibn muqayrat ibn burdzbih (or burzōy)
 wa burdzbih majusi 'slama 'lā yadi yamān 'l-buxāri*

Many Imams in different fields are assigned to Buxārā; among them is the traditionalist Imam Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim Muqairat ibn Burdzbih (or Burzōy) and Burdzbih (or Burzōy) was a Zoroastrian who was converted to Islam by the hand of Yamān al-Buxari.³⁴⁵

However, it unclear whether or not Burzōy from Buxārā was a priest because *al-majus* is a general term in Arabic denoting “Zoroastrians” (Ambros 2004: 310). Moreover, converted people are infamous in the Zoroastrian literature. For example, the accursed Abālīh.³⁴⁶ Therefore, it is unlikely that the name of Burzōy from Buxārā was recorded in the Zoroastrian texts as a commentator.

Thus, the Avestan commentator, Burzōy, cannot be identified with any of the characters mentioned above. However, the evidence shows that Burzōy was a common name in Iran. For example, Justi (1895: 74) reports seven characters called Burzōy, living from the sixth to seventeenth century. Therefore, Burzōy, the Avestan commentator of Y 9.5 according to

³⁴⁴ My translation.

³⁴⁵ My translation.

³⁴⁶ See Chacha (1936).

YIndPs, is probably a new figure, unrelated to the known ones.

3) Line 10 Y 9.5cP *pid* “father”

Lines 9-10 appear as follows in the Iranian manuscripts with exception of F2:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b: *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*
*ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*³⁴⁷

By contrast, in YIrP F2; YIndP J2, K5 M1, *ud pid* appears between *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid* and *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*. For example:

YIrP K5 (fol. 62r line 7-8): *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*
ud pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus

The mentioned passage has two sentences, both of which are governed by the verb *būd*. It is also obvious that the both sentences need a subject. However, the second sentence in the Iranian manuscripts is left subjectless. Without a subject, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* “was as good as the son” is incomplete. It seems that the deletion of one *pid* is due to correction according to which it was considered as the erroneous repetition of former *pid*.³⁴⁸

4) Line 12 Y 9.5dP *jam ī [šēd]* “splendid Jam”

The manuscripts G14 and T6 write *jamšēd* (*ymšyt*) as the Pahlavi form of the Av. *yima-*, probably influenced by its corresponding unverbated form جمشید (= Phl. *jam ī šēd*) in New Persian. By contrast, the form appears as *jam ī šēd* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2, T6, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1. In the present edition, employing *jam ī šēd*, *šēd* “splendid” is interpreted as the gloss to *jam*.

³⁴⁷ For minor variations see text-critical apparatus.

³⁴⁸ For correction see section 2.1 and 3.1.

4.6 Y 9.6

- 1 (Y 9.6aA) *kasə θβqm*
 2 *bitiiō haōma mašiiō*
 3 *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*
 4 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*
 5 *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

- 1-3 (Y 9.6aA) Who, O Haōma, as the second mortal pressed you for the material creature?
 4 What reward was granted to him?
 5 What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 9.6aP) *kē tō*
 2 *dudīgar hōm az mardōmān*
 3 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*
 4 *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*
 5 [*ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād*]
 6 *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

- 1-3 (Y 9.6aP) Who, as the second one, O Hōm, among men in the material world pressed¹ you,
 4 what respect was shown to him?²
 5 [That goodness so that it will be mine],
 6 and what prosperity³ came to him?

1) Line 3 Y 9.6aP *hunīd* “pressed”

Phl. *hunīd* in the ergative construction *hunīd hē*, renders 3rd sg. inj. *hunūta* “pressed”. In YIrP Pt4 (fol. 56r line 4), the subj. pres. *hunād* (*hwn'-t*)³⁴⁹ replaces *hunīd*. However, elsewhere in Y 9.3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, *hunūta* is correctly translated in Pt4. Therefore, it seems that *hunād* in Y 9.6 is to be regarded as a scribal unintentional mistake rather than a correction.

2) Line 4 Y 9.6aP *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* “what respect was shown to him?”

The Pahlavi sentence *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* is the translation of Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*. The words *kē ... tarsagāhīh* render Av. *kā ... ašiš* and Phl. *ān* “that” translates dat. sg. *ahmāi* “to him”. As far as the verb is concerned, the Avestan passive *ərənāuui* “was granted” of the root *ar* “to grant”³⁵⁰ is translated by *kard* “did, performed” in Y 9.6 and

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350 For *ar* see Hintze (2000: 73f), Kümmel (2000: 253-255). For IE **h₂er* see LIV 269-271.

elsewhere in Y 9 where *ərənāuuī* recurs.³⁵¹ In addition, the present stem of the root *ar* and its Pahlavi translation are attested in Y 52.3 and Y 56.3-4:

Y 52.3A ... *yaθanō mazištāasca vahištāasca sraēštāasca ašaiiō ərənauuante*

(Good retributions and good rewards and better leaders) as the greatest and the best and the most beautiful rewards, will be granted to us.³⁵²

Y 52.3P ... *čiyōn amāh mahist ud pahlom ud nēktom tarsagāhīh kunēd*

(The better donation and better respect) like the greatest and the best and the most beautiful respect, are shown to us.³⁵³

Y 56.3A ... *vanhūiāscā ašōiš yasnāi yā.nə āraēcā ərənauuataēcā ...*

and (May Sraoša be here) for the worship of good Reward that has been granted to us that will be granted to us ...³⁵⁴

Y 56.3P ... *ud pad hān ī weh tarsagāhīh yazišn kē amāh kardār hēm*
[*yazišn kū-mān tuwān bawād kardan pad tarsagāhīh*]
ka ōh kunēm ā-mān ...

(May there be hearkening³⁵⁵ for the worship of the good waters, and for those and (of those) who are the good male and female beings, who are Amahraspands of good reign, the beneficent), the good and for the worship with good respect, whose performers we are.

[an act of worship which may it be possible for us to perform with respect],
when we perform it in the usual way ...³⁵⁶

As mentioned above in Y 9, the *-i* passive form *ərənāuuī* is translated by the past stem *kard*. In Y 52.3 and Y 56.3, the Avestan 3rd pl. subj. middle *ərənauuante* and 3rd sg. subj. mid. *ərənauuataēcā* are rendered by 3rd sg. pres. ind. *kunēd* and 1st pl. pres. ind. *kunēm*, respectively. Therefore, the evidence shows that the verbs from the root *ar* “to grant” are translated in Pahlavi by *kardan* “to do, to perform”.

As far as the passive *ərənūuuī* is concerned, the ending *-i* is attached to the present stem. Although such passive verbs are usually formed by the attachment of *-i* to the aorist stem,

³⁵¹ Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī* occurs in Y 9.3, 6, 9, 12 and its answer *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī* appears in Y 9.4, 7, 10, 13.

³⁵² My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: I, 186).

³⁵³ My translation. The reason for translating *kardan* governing *tarsagāhīh* as “to show” appears at the end of the present commentary, also see section 1. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 229)

³⁵⁴ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 72-73).

³⁵⁵ In the Pahlavi version of Y 56.3, *niyōxšišn* translates *sraoša-*.

³⁵⁶ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 72-73). The Avestan and Pahlavi texts are repeated in Y 56.4 with minor variations.

there are isolated verbal forms in Young Avestan whose passive *-i* forms are made of other stems, i.e. *jaini* from the present stem *jan* of the root *jan* “to kill” and *āiḍi* from the perfect stem *ād-* of the root *ad* “to say”.³⁵⁷ Since both *jaini* and *āiḍi* are found in Yt 19.92-93 and Yt 8.46, respectively, lacking the Pahlavi version, it is impossible to study their Pahlavi translation technique. By contrast, OAv. *auuācī* and *vācī* from the root *vak* “to say”, *cəuušī* of the root *ciš* “to gather” and *srāuuī* from the root *srauu* “to hear” are translated in Pahlavi as follows:³⁵⁸

Y 36.6A. ... *yāṭ huuarē auuācī* ... [= Y 27.15]

(We now declare, O Ahura Mazdā, that this light here) was called the sun.³⁵⁹

Y 36.6P ... *kū ān ī xwaršēd guft* ...

... (the light) which was called the sun³⁶⁰

In the above example, 3rd sg. passive aor. *auuācī* “was called” is rendered by the Pahlavi past tense *guft* which can be translated as either “said, called” or “was said, was called”. However, according to the agentless *kū ān ī xwaršēd guft*, it should be interpreted as the passive.

In the Pahlavi version of Y 43.13, 3rd sg. passive aor. *vācī* “was said” is rendered by the 3rd sg. ind. past *guft* “said, announced”:

Y 43.13A ... *tām mōi dātā*

darəgahiiā yaoš ...

vairiiā stōiš yā ʒβahmī xšaθrōi vācī

.... give (Ahura Mazdā) this

of the long life to me, ...

that of a chosen existence which was said (to be) under your rule.³⁶¹

Y 43.13P *ān ō man dahēd [mizd]*

pad dagr-rasišnīh ī gyān [pad tan ī pasēn]...

³⁵⁷ Kellens (1984: 45, fn. 3) points out that since the formation of *-i* passive from the perfect stem is unlikely, it is better either to emend *āiḍi* to *āide*, according to the reading of the Yašt manuscript J10, or to interpret it as the 2nd ipt. pres. of the stem *ā-i-* “to come”.

³⁵⁸ See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 228, §133.3) and Martínez & de Vaan (2014: 89, §32.1c). Moreover, *mraoī* in Y 32.14 which is conventionally regarded as the *-i* aorist form, has been challenged by Humbach (1959: II, 37) according to whom the aorist stem of the root *mrū* is supplemented by the root *vac* “to speak”. Therefore, Pahlavi translation of *mraoī* is not discussed in the present edition. For the translation technique of the aorist verbs see Cantera (2004: 289-290).

³⁵⁹ Edition and translation by Hintze (2007a: 147).

³⁶⁰ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 170).

³⁶¹ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 114) and Insler (1975: 65), also see Humbach (1991: I, 155).

pad kāmāg ēstād u-š ēd ī tō xwadāyīh guft ...

He gives it [reward] to me,
in a long arriving of life, [in the final body] ...
He stood at (your) wish and this is that he announced your lordship ...³⁶²

In contrast to Av. *vācī*, the Pahlavi verb *guft* in Y 43.13 governs an active sentence whose agent is the enclitic pronoun *-š*. In Y 51.15, *cāuuīšī* “was promised” is translated by *čāšīd* “taught”:

Y 51.15A ... *tā vā vohū manāḡhā ašāicā sauuāiš cāuuīšī*

... because of it (Zaraḡuštra’s promise), (the award) has been promised to you all with abundance by Vohu Manah and Aša.³⁶³

Y 51.15P ... *ān ī ašmā wahman pad ahlāyīh sūd čāšīd*
[*kū sūd pad frārōnīh kunēd*]

Whman taught the benefit to you through righteousness
[That means: He makes benefit by honesty].³⁶⁴

A comparison between two versions of Y 51.15 shows that while the inst. sg. *ašāicā* “and with Aša (Truth)” is rendered by *pad ahlāyīh* “through righteousness”, the inst. sg. *vohū manāḡhā* “with the Good Thought” and inst. pl. *sauuāiš* “with benefits” are given in the Pahlavi versions as *wahman* “Good Thought” and *sūd* “benefit” without a preposition, expressing the Avestan instrumental case. Therefore, it seems that *wahman* and *sūd* are to be considered as the subject and object of the verb *čāšīd* “taught”, respectively. Regarding the translation of *ašmā* as oblique, corresponding to Av. *vā* “to you”, it should be mentioned that as discussed below, the Avestan dative can also be expressed in Pahlavi by placing the words near the beginning of the verse.

As far as Av. *srāuuī* “was famed, was heard” is concerned, it occurs in Y 45.10 and Y 53.1:

Y 45.10A *tām nā yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayžō*
yā qnmānī mazdā srāuuī ahurō ...

³⁶² My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 57).

³⁶³ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 154) and Insler (1975: 107). Although *cāuuīšī* is widely regarded by scholars as 3rd sg. *-i* passive aorist, Humbach translates it as “*verspreche ich*” (= I promise). However, 1st sg. inj. aor. appears as *cōišām* in Avestan (Kellens 184: 355). Furthermore, Humbach leaves *vohū manāḡhā* untranslated. Insler also emends *tā* to *taḡ* in his edition which is absent in the manuscripts. Also see Humbach (1991: I, 189).

³⁶⁴ My translation.

I shall give presents to him for us with the worship of right-mindedness,
the Wise who was famed in soul, the Lord³⁶⁵

Y 45.10P *ān ī ōy yazišn amāh pad bowandag menišnīh hamēšag menišn
kē pad any nāmīh srūd ēstēd xwadāy ī dānāg ...*

By the worship, we (are) in right-mindedness, eternal-mindedness,
who was proclaimed with another name, Wise Lord³⁶⁶

Y 53.1A *vahištā īštiš srāuuī zaraθuštrahē ...*

The best wish of Zarθuštra Spitāma was heard³⁶⁷

Y 53.1P *pahlom xwāhišnīh sraw ī zardušt ...*

The best wish (is) the word of Zardušt³⁶⁸

According to the Pahlavi version of Y 45.10, Av 3rd sg. passive aor. *srāuuī* “was famed” is translated by *srūd* “recited, proclaimed” in combination with the auxiliary *ēstēd* in a passive context. By contrast, in Y 53.1, *srāuuī* “was heard” is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *sraw* “word”. Apart from Y 45.10 and Y 53.1, *srāuuī* also appears in Y 32.8:

Y 32.8A *aēšqm aēnaḥqm vīuuaḥ^vhušō srāuuī yimasciṭ ...*

Even Yima of Vīuuaḥ^vhaṇt was tried for these sins³⁶⁹

Y 32.8P *awēšān [dēwān] kēnīg [wināhgār] an ī wiwanghānān jam srūd ...*

Jam son of Wiwanghān was proclaimed by those [demons], malicious [offender]³⁷⁰

In the Pahlavi version of Y32.8, *srūd* “proclaimed” in *awēšān [dēwān] kēnīg [wināhgār] an ī wiwanghānān jam srūd* (word for word translation): “them-[demons]-malicious-[offender] that-of-son of-Wiwanghān-Jam-proclaimed” could be interpreted as either a passive or an active verb. But since the context is about the trial of Yima and *awēšān ... kēnīg* corresponds to gen. pl. *aēšqm aēnaḥqm*, therefore, the sentence should be agentless and consequently, the passive translation of the verb seems to be more justifiable.

Finally, in *FīO.* 215, 3rd sg. passive aor. *vərəði* “(s/he) was grown” is translated by *wālīd ēstē* “(you) were grown, (you) may be grown”.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 127) and Insler (1975: 77), also see Humbach (1991: I, 166).

³⁶⁶ My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 65).

³⁶⁷ The text is after Insler (1975: 111).

³⁶⁸ My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 90).

³⁶⁹ The text is after Insler (1975: 47).

³⁷⁰ My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 150-151).

³⁷¹ For a discussion see Cantera (2004: 282, fn. 90).

According to the above examples, the Pahlavi translations of *-i* passive forms outside the Hōm Yasht can be summarized as below:

Avesta	Pahlavi
Y 36.6 <i>auuācī</i> “was called”	<i>guft</i> “was said, was called”:
Y 43.13 <i>vācī</i> “was said”	<i>guft</i> “said”
Y 51.15 <i>cəuuīšī</i> “was promised”	<i>čāšīd</i> “taught”
Y 45.10 <i>srāuuī</i> “was famed”	<i>srūd ēstēd</i> “was proclaimed”
Y 53.1 <i>srāuuī</i> “was heard”	<i>sraw</i> “word”
Y 32.8 <i>srāuuī</i> “was tried”	<i>srūd</i> “was proclaimed”
<i>FīO vərəḍi</i> “(s/he) is grown”	<i>wālīd ēstē</i> “(you) are grown”

According to the table, in four out of six instances (Y 36.6; 45.10; 32.8; *FīO*. 215), *-i* aorist passive verbs are rendered by the Pahlavi past tense verbs in passive sentences. In two examples (Y 43.13, 51.15), the Pahlavi past tense *guft* and *cāšīd* “taught” are transitive. In Y 53.1, *srāuuī* “was heard” is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *sraw* “word” and in the last example from *FīO*. 215, 3rd sg. *vərəḍi* is given by 2nd sg. *wālīd ēstē* “(you) are grown”. In conclusion, according to the evidence, the translation of *-i* passive aorist verbs is inconsistent in Pahlavi and it seems that translators did not know the function of the ending *-i*.

Regarding the Phl. *ān*, translating dat. *ahmāi*, in *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* in Y 9.6 and other stanzas with the similar formulaic structure,³⁷² Josephson (1997: 127) states that:

‘Sometimes the dative case encoding a word is not rendered by a preposition. In these passages dative case is indicated by the positioning of the word near the beginning of the verse where it stands unmarked.’

Therefore, *ān* is translated as “to him” in the present edition. Moreover, Phl. *tarsagāh*, literally meaning “the consciousness of fear or awe”, is regularly used to render the Avestan common noun *ašī-* “reward”. It has been interpreted as “obedient”, “pious”, “respectful”, “devoted”, “reverent”, and “reverential” by scholars.³⁷³ Its abstract noun or *tarsagāhīh*,

³⁷² Y 9.3, 9 and 12.

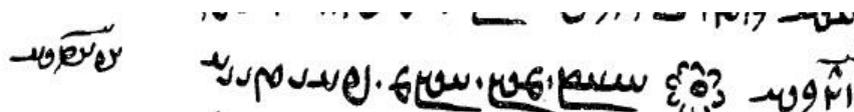
³⁷³ See Dhabhar (1949: Gloss 94); MacKenzie (1971: 82); Kreyenbroek (1985: 76).

occurring in Y 9.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, is also interpreted as “obedience”, “devotion”, “reverence”, “respect”, “veneration”, “piety”, “dutiful, submission” and “consideration”.³⁷⁴ Based on the Av. *ašī-*, Josephson (1997: 44) translates it as “reward”. In the present edition “respect” is chosen while it is also possible to replace it with other interpretations. Since *kē ... tarsagāhīh kard* can no longer be translated “what respect was made” in English, it is translated by “what respect was shown” in the present edition.

3) Line 6 Y 9.6aP *ābādīh* “prosperity”

Elsewhere in Y 9, Av. *āiiapta-* has consistently been translated in the collated manuscripts by *ābādīh* which also renders Av. *vohu-* in *vīspa- vohu-* “all good (things)”.³⁷⁵ However, in Y 9.6, *ābādīh* only occurs in J2. It is replaced by *nēkīh* in YIrP Pt4, F2, T5b and YIndP K5, M1. By contrast, in YIrP G14 and T6, *nēkīh ud ābādīh* appears. Writing *nēkīh*, Mf4 writes *ābādīh* in the margin of p. 153:

Figure 29. YIrP Mf4 (p. 151 line 3).



As regards the editorial judgement, all of the mentioned variant readings semantically fit the context, however, as mentioned above, *ābādīh* is the expected translation of Av. *āiiapta-*. Furthermore, the question *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh/nēkīh* in Y 9.6 is answered by *ud ō ōy mad ābādīh* in Y 9.7. Therefore, the reading of J2, or the sister manuscript of the base text K5, is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

³⁷⁴ See Davar (1904: 30); Mills (1903c: 319); Dhabhar (1949: gloss 94); MacKenzie (1971: 82).

³⁷⁵ For the Pahlavi translation of *vīspa- vohu-* see Cantera (2004: 180).

4.7 Y 9.7

1 (Y 9.7aA) *ātaṭ mē aēm paitiaoxta*
2 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
3 (Y 9.7bA) *āθβiiō maṃ bitiiō mašiiō*
4 *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*
5 *hā ahmāi ašiš əranāuu*
6 *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*
7 (Y 9.7cA) *yaṭ hē puθra us.zaiata*
8 *vīsō.sūraiīā θraētaonō*

1 (Y 9.7aA) Thereupon, he answered me
2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:
3-4 (Y 9.7bA) *Āθβiia*, as the second mortal, pressed me for the material creature.
5 This reward was granted to him,
6 this boon came to him,
7 (Y 9.7cA) that a son was born to him,
8 *θraētaona* of powerful clan.

1 (Y 9.7aP) *ō man ōy passōx guft*
2 *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*
3 (Y 9.7bP) *āspiyān man dudīgar az mardōmān*
4 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd ham*
5 *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*
6 *ud ō ōy mad ābādīh*
7 (Y 9.7cP) *kē az ōy pus ul zād*
8 *kē abzārwis frēdōn*
9 *[hād abzārwisīh ēd būd kū*
10 *xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd*
11 *ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift*
12 *u-š xwadāyīh ēd xwēšāwandīh paydāg nē būd ōy dāšt]*

1 (Y 9.7aP) He answered me,
2 Hōm, who is righteous (and) averts perdition:
3-4 (Y 9.7bP) *Āspiyān* as the second one among men pressed me in the material world.
5 The respect was shown to him,
6 and the prosperity came to him,¹
7 (Y 9.7cP) that a son was born from him,
8 who is Frēdōn of the powerful clan.
9 [That is: Being of powerful clan was this that²
10 there was a house (full of) many (instruments) from the inheritance of ancestors³
11 that which Dahāg had taken with violence
12 and his lordship is this: He preserved the relativeness which was not obvious].

1) Line 6 Y 9.7bP *ō ōy mad ābādīh* “the prosperity came to him”

In YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and T55b, *ōy* is followed by *ān*, making the sentence *ō ōy ān mad ābādīh*. It seems that as a gloss, *ān* “that” should be associated with *ābādīh*: “to him that prosperity came”. However, apart from Y 9.7, in the mentioned manuscripts, *ān* is absent in their texts of Y 9.3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13 in which the same formulaic structure *ō ōy mad ābādīh* occurs. In the present edition, in agreement with YIndP J2, K5, M1 and YIrP G14 F2 T6, *ōy* is only employed.

2) Line 9 Y 9.7cP *hād abzārwišh ēd būd kū* “That is: Being of powerful clan was this that”

In Y 9.7, Frēdōn carries the epithet *abzārwiš* which is the translation of the Avestan word *vīsō.sūraiiā*. According to the commentary, he was given this epithet because of his victory over Dahāg and returning the inheritance which Dahāg had taken with force. In addition to *abzārwiš*, Frēdōn bears the epithets *purr.pērōzgar* “very victorious”, *tagīg* “valiant” and *zōrīg* “powerful” in the Pahlavi literature because of his triumph over Dahāg (Tafazzoli 1999: 531).

Regarding the reading *ēd* (*HN*) “this”, it is replaced by *’w* in YIrP Pt4, T55b.³⁷⁶ Moreover, in YIrP Mf4, both variants are attested as *’w HN*. As discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the larger degree of variation in the YIrP manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line³⁷⁷ is one of the features suggesting scribal correction. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the evidence favours *ēd* because it is attested in both old YIrP J2, K5 and YIrP Mf4, G14, T6 of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line. Furthermore, the reading of YIndPs and YIrP manuscripts G14, F2, T6 agrees with *ēd kū* formula which is often used to introduce short explanatory commentaries.³⁷⁸ Moreover, *abzārwišh ēd* forms the *ēd ... ēd* repetition style with the following *xwadāyīh ēd*:

hād abzārwišh ēd būd kū
xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd
ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift
u-š xwadāyīh ēd xwēšāwandīh paydāg nē būd ōy dāšt

³⁷⁶ Preceding the verb *būd* “was”, the likeliest reading of the spelling *’w* is *ōh* “in the usual way”.

³⁷⁷ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

³⁷⁸ For *ēd kū* formula see Cantera (2015a).

For *kū*, it appears as *kū-š* in YIrP F2, YIndP J2. However, as far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the reading of the base text, the variant *kū* is employed in the present edition.

3) Line 10 Y 9.7cP *xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd* “there was a house (full of) many (instruments) from the inheritance of ancestors”

With the exception of YIrP F2 and YIndP J2, Phl. *xānag* is followed by 𐬀 according to whose position in the sentence, it can only be interpreted as the indefinite article *ē*. Moreover, Phl. *was* is omitted in YIrP G14 and T6.³⁷⁹ By contrast, it is attested in its related Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line³⁸⁰ and the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the majority of manuscripts, *was* is employed in the present edition. As far as the noun of *was* adj. is concerned, the adjective occurs in *hād abzārwisīh ēd būd kū xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift*. The Pahlavi sentences after *ēd* explain why Frēdōn is called *abzārwis*. It seems that *xānag* is the gloss to *wis*, the first element of *abzārwisīh*. As regards *abzār*, in Pahlavi, it can mean either “power, skill, powerful” or “instrument, means”.³⁸¹ According to the context of the passage, the Pahlavi commentator probably considered the second meaning of *abzār* and associated it with *was* “many”. Therefore, the commentary explains that there were many instruments (*abzār*) in the *wis* i. e. *xānag* “house” but they were usurped by Dahāg. Later, Frēdōn took them after his victory over Dahāg.

³⁷⁹ According to the Gujarati colophon of T6, it was copied from G14. See section 2.2.

³⁸⁰ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

³⁸¹ See MacKenzie (1971: 4).

4.8 Y 9.8

1 (Y 9.8aA) *yō janaṭ aẓīm dahākəm*
 2 *ḡri.zafanəm ḡri.kāmərəḍəm*
 3 *xšuuāš.ašīm hazanṛā.yaoxštīm*
 4 (Y 9.8bA) *aš.aojaṇhəm daēuuīm drujəm*
 5 *aḡəm gaēḡāuuuiō druuaṇtəm*
 6 (Y 9.8cA) *yəm aš.aojastəməm drujəm*
 7 *fracā kərəntaṭ aṇrō maḡiiuš*
 8 *aoi yəm astuuaitīm gaēḡəm*
 9 *mahrkāi ašahe gaēḡanəm*

1 (Y 9.8aA) Who slew the dragon Dahāka,
 2 the three-muzzled, three headed,
 3 six-eyed, having a thousand skills,
 4 (Y 9.8bA) the very powerful, the Demoness Deceit,
 5 wicked for the living creatures, deceitful,
 6 (Y 9.8cA) whom as the most powerful Deceit
 7 the Evil Spirit mis-created
 8 against the material world
 9 for the destruction of the creature of the Truth.

1 (Y 9.8aP) *kē-š zad az ī dahāg*
 2 *ī sē zafar ī sē kamāl*
 3 *ī šaš aš ī hazārwiḡōstār [ī adādag pad gōhrag]*
 4 (Y 9.8bP) *was ōz dēw druz*
 5 *ī wattar ō gēhān [zyān kār] ī druwand*
 6 (Y 9.8cP) *kē-š was ōztom druz*
 7 *frāz kirrēnīd gannāg mēnōy*
 8 *abar ō astōmandān gēhān*
 9 *pad margīh ī ān ahlāyīh ī gēhān*
 10 *[kū-š az druz ī gēṭīy ēk ān stahmagtar dād*
 11 *kō ḡḡəm yim ahurəm mazdaqm*
 12 *ān ēd amār kū*
 13 *har ān zyān ī-š pad dāmān ī ōhrmazd tuwān būd*
 14 *ā-š be kard*
 15 *ud im būd tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan*
 16 *u-š nē kard]*

1 (Y 9.8aP) Who slew¹ the dragon Dahāg²,
 2 the three-muzzled, three-headed,
 3 six-eyed, (having the skills of) a thousand investigators³ [who is unjust by essence],
 4 (Y 9.8bP) of many powers⁴ Demon(ess) Deceit,⁵
 5 worse for the material world⁶ [doer of harm], deceitful
 6 (Y 9.8cP) whom as the most powerful Deceit,
 7 the Evil Spirit mis-created⁷
 8 against the material world,
 9 for the destruction of the righteousness of the world

10 [which he, among the deceit of the world, created that one the more oppressive
11 *Who (grieves) you, who are Ahura Mazdā?*
12 that the reckoning of this⁸ is that
13 each harm which could be done by her against the creatures of Ohrmazd
14 then, she did⁹
15 and this meant the thing that she could do,¹⁰
16 he did not do].

1) Line 1 Y 9.8aP *kē-š zad* “Who slew”

In the Pahlavi version of YIrP Pt4 (superscript, fol. 56v line 1), G14 (fol. 55r line 8) and T6 (fol. 46v line 2-3), the commentary *kū band kard* “that means: He fettered” is inserted between *kē-š zad* “who slew” and *az ī dahāg* “the dragon Dahāg”. It is omitted in the present edition because as discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line³⁸² have the features of Jāmāsp’s post arrival corrected manuscripts. One of these features, is the presence of commentaries which are absent in the older copies. The suggested correction is corroborated by the fact that the commentary is absent in Mf4 and T55b. The former contains the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš and T55b is closely related to Pt4. Furthermore, in Pt4, the New Persian object postposition *rāy* follows *dahāg* in *kē-š zad kū band kard az ī dahāg rāy*. It shows that under the influence of New Persian, the scribe of Pt4 corrected the construction of the text from the ergative to its accusative counterpart.

The inserted commentary in Pt4, G14 and T6 shows the influence of a story which is absent in the Avesta. According to the Pahlavi literature, Ohrmazd warned Frēdōn not to kill the dragon Dahāg lest creatures be born from his dead body:

Dk. Book VI. ...*frēdōn az ī dahāg ōzadan kāmīst ohrmazd guft kū-š nūn ma ōzan cē purr ī*³⁸³ *ēn zamīg xrafstar bawēd.*

Frēdōn wanted to kill Az ī Dahāg. Ohrmazd said that do not kill him now, because this earth may become full of noxious animals.³⁸⁴

Therefore, Frēdōn fettered Dahāg who will be slain by Kirsāsp in the final battle at the end of the world:

³⁸² Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

³⁸³ As pointed out by Shaked (1979: 284), the syntax of *purr ī ēn zamīg xrafstar bawēd* is unusual which could be explained by suggesting that the text is based on a lost Avestan original. The expected syntax would be *purr ī xrafstar ēn zamīg bawēd*.

³⁸⁴ Edition and translation by Shaked (1979: 134-135).

IrBd 33.33-35 *pas nazd ō hazārag sar ī ušēdarmāh dahāg az band harzag bawēd
bēwarasp was dām ud dahišn pad dēw kāmagīh wināhēd
ud andar ān hangām sōšyāns ī zardušt ō paydāgīh rasēd
ud sīh rōz ud šab xwaršēd pad bālist ī āsmān be ēstēd
nazdist az gētīyān rist ī sāmān kirsāsp ul hangēzēnd
ī bēwarasp pad gad zanēd ud ōzanēd ...*

Then, near into the end of Ušēdarmāh's millennium, Dahāg will be free from fetters,
Bēwarasp will injure many creatures and creation with the dēwic desire,
and at that time Sōšyāns, son of Zardušt, will appear,
and for thirty days and nights, the sun will stand at the zenith of the sky.
Of earthly beings, they will first raise the dead body of Kirsāsp, son of Sām,
who will smite and kill Bēwarasp with the mace...³⁸⁵

By contrast, in the Avesta, Ɖraētaona is never described as a hero captor. For example,
according to Vd. 1.17, Ɖraētaona was born in Varəna to slay the dragon Dahāka:

Vd. 1. 17 *caθru.dasəm asanḥamca šōiθranamca vahištəm fraθβarəsəm
azəm yō ahurō mazdā
varənəm yim caθru.gaošəm
yahmāi zaiiata Ɖraētaonō
janta ažōiš dahākāi ...*

and the fourteenth of the best places and lands that I, who am Ahura Mazdā, created
(was) the four-cornered Vara
for which, Ɖraētaona was born
as the killer of the dragon Dahāka...³⁸⁶

Therefore, two contradictory conclusions can be drawn: 1) Similar to the account of
Alexander, two stories about Ɖraētaona existed in parallel from the beginning namely the
dragon captor vs. dragon slayer hero;³⁸⁷ 2) The story of the fettered dragon is a late
introduction to the Zoroastrian system of belief.³⁸⁸

As far as the story of Ɖraētaona in the Avesta is concerned, its cognate, or Traitana,
only occurs once in the Rig-veda:

RV 1.158.5. *nā mā garan nadīo māṛṭtamā dāsā yád īm súsamubdham avādhuḥ
śīro yád asya traitanó vitákṣat svayám dāsá úro áṃsāv ápi gdha*³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 280-283).

³⁸⁶ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 6).

³⁸⁷ For Alexander see Nöldeke (1890).

³⁸⁸ Boyce (1975a: Vol. I, 283) suggests that the myth of the fettered *az ī dahāg* 'evolved a pattern whereby all representatives of the powers of evil will be gathered again for their final defeat at the end of the world.'

³⁸⁹ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 94).

(A man who is bound and tossed into rivers by Dāsas says) ‘The rivers, best of mothers, will not swallow me!’, (he cried) when the Dāsas sank him, tightly bound, when Traitana hewed away the head, the Dāsa himself ate his own chest and shoulders.³⁹⁰

It is evident that in contrast to the Avesta, the Vedic Traitana is described as a demonic creature, or Dāsa. However, in the Vedic mythology, there is another hero called Trita whose name is also another cognate of Ǫraētaona derived from IE **trito-* “third” (Lincoln 1981: 104). By comparing the similarities between the Vedic myth of Trita and that of Ǫraētaona, Spiegel (1887: 262-267) and Benveniste (1934: 195-196) mention that Trita is the hero counterpart of Ǫraētaona. Moreover, as pointed out by Watkins (1995: 321-322), the Avestan and Vedic stories of Ǫraētaona and Trita follow the following mythological IE formula:

Hero slays (**g^{wh}wen-*) serpent.

As far as the the dragon captor heroes in IE mythology are concerned, Zeus brings down Mount Etna on the body of Typhon (Penglase 1994: 195). Furthermore, in the Norse mythology, the wolf monster Fenrir is bound by the gods. At the end of the world, Fenrir slays the god Odin, but the son of Odin namely Vídar smashes the wolf and thus prevents him from destroying the cosmos (Lindow 2002: 111-113, 312-314). There are also parallels in the Mesopotamian mythology. For example, in the Akkadian myth of creation (Enuma-Elish) the god Sirsir ‘heaped up a mountain over Ti’āmat and who with his weapon dragged off the body of Ti’āmat’ (Heidel 1951: 57).

It can be concluded that even if the captor hero is an IE-Mesopotamian concept, it is absent in the early Ir. accounts of Ved. Trita and Av. Ǫraētaona. By contrast, as far as the dragon captor hero in the Avesta is concerned, Taxma Urupi Azinauuant is a hero who rules over the demons and subdued the Evil Spirit:

Yt 19. 29. *yaṭ bauuaṭ aiβi.vaniiā*
vīspe daēuua mašiiāca
vīspe yātauuō pairikāśca
yaṭ barata aṅrəm mainīium
framitəm aspahē kəhrpa
ǧrisatəm aiβi.gāmanqm

³⁹⁰ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 337).

uua pairi zəmō karana

So that he (Taxma Urupi Azinauuant) overcame
all demons and mortals
all wizards and witches.
(It accompanied him) when he rode the Evil Spirit,
transformed into the shape of a horse,
for thirty steps,
around both edges of the earth.³⁹¹

Moreover, in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 36-38, vv 1-46), the New Persian variant of Taxma Urupi, or Tahmuras, carries the epithet *dēv band* (دیو بند) “demon fetterer” as he binds Ahriman and other demons.³⁹²

Therefore, as far as the original story of Av. *Ɔraētaona-* is concerned, the evidence suggests that he was a dragon slayer by whom Dahāka was smashed. However, as stated above, although according to the Avestan literature, *Ɔraētaona* is a dragon slayer, in the Pahlavi literature, Kirsāsp takes over his role by killing Dahāg at the end of the world. It should be noted that the two slayers of the dragon Dahāg in Pahlavi and Avesta could originally have been a single figure because Av. *Ɔraētaona-* is the son of Av. *āθβiia-* and Av. *kərəsāspa-* is the son of Av. *Ɔrita-*. Both *Ɔrita* and *Āθβiia* were probably one figure, or Ir.**trita- ātpja-*, corresponding to Ved. *trita- āptya-* “third Āptya”.³⁹³ However, the Avestan and Pahlavi traditions also show an important discrepancy according to which Av. *dahāka-* was slain before Zaraθuštra’s birth (see Y 9.3-14) whereas according to the Pahlavi literature, he will be killed at the end of the cosmic battle. The reason for the Pahlavi innovation may lie in the fact that his status was changed from the immortal into mortal by Ahriman:

MX. 8. 27-28. *čē paydāg kū ohrmazd jam ud frēdōn ud kāwōs ahōš dād hēnd
ud ahriman ēdōn wardēnīd čiyōn āšnāg*³⁹⁴

It is clear that Ohrmazd created Jam, Frēdōn and Kāwōs immortal and Ahriman altered (their status) as it is known.³⁹⁵

Therefore, Frēdōn could be considered no longer as the dragon slayer of the dragon

³⁹¹ Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 20).

³⁹² For Taxma Urupi in the Mazdean and Islamic sources see Christensen (1917: 137ff.).

³⁹³ See Geiger (1916: 59); Boyce (1975: Vol I, 98); Sarkarati (1999 (1378): 244-245).

³⁹⁴ For the Pahlavi text see <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/mpers/mx/mx.htm>; Data entry by MacKenzie (1993); corrections by Jügel (2007-2008); TITUS version by Gippert (1998-2008).

³⁹⁵ My translation.

Dahāg in the final battle.

2) Line 1 Y 9.8aP *az ī dahāg* “the dragon Dahāg”

In the Iranian manuscripts G14 (fol. 55r line 8) and T6 (fol. 46v line 3), *az ī dahāg* appears as the unverbated *azdahāg*, corresponding to New Persian Aždahā. However, in the Avestan original, Av. *aži-* and Av. *dahāka-* are treated as two separate words. In the other collated manuscripts, they are correctly rendered as Phl. *az ī dahāg* in which the *ezāfa ī* relates *az* and *dahāg*.

3) Line 3 Y 9.8aP *hazārwižōstār* “(having the skills of) a thousand investigators”

The Pahlavi agent noun *hazārwižōstār* renders the Avestan adjective *hazaṇrā.yaoxšti-* which is a compound consisted of *hazaṇra-* “thousand” and the abstract noun *yaoxšti-* whose etymology and meaning have been the subject of extensive debates among scholars. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1797) translated Av. *hazaṇrā.yaoxšti-* as “having one thousand skills”. He interpreted Av. *yaoxšti-* as the *ti-* abstract noun derived from the *s-*aorist stem of the root *yaoğ* “to yoke” (*AirWb.* 1229-1230). It should also be noted that although the verbal roots in *ti-* abstract are usually in zero grade, they also occur in full grade, for example, the well-known epithet of Miθra, or *vouru.gaoiiaoiti-*, “providing wide cattle pastures” in which *oiaoiti-* is of the root *yauu* “to move” (Bailey 1954: 138).³⁹⁶ Bartholomae’s view was accepted in the last etymological studies of the word by Narten (1986: 198) and Hintze (1994a: 100) with whom it is translated as “having a thousand skills” in the present edition.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ For the *ti-*abstract words with verbal roots in full graded see (*AiGr*, II 2, 630-631, §467b).

³⁹⁷ Deriving the root from Av. *yaoz* “to be in commotion”, Geldner (1882: 61) argues that the etymological study of the root is insufficient for a conclusive semantic interpretation of the word *yaoxšti-* and it should be analysed in its context. Therefore, he interprets *yaoxšti-* in Yt 10.35 as “sense, perception” (Geldner 1882: 61-64). With Geldner, Darmesteter (1898: II, 139-140, 147) translates *hazaṇrā.yaoxšti-* as “thousand senses”.³⁹⁷ Hübschmann (1897: 199) compares the Armenian verbal root *yuiž* “to search” with Av. *yaoz* “to be in commotion”. Considering the Armenian verbal root, Gershevitch (1967: 187) mentions that there should be a second root beside *yaoz* “to be in commotion” according to which the abstract *yaoxšti-* meant originally as “faculty of investigation” which from the semantic point of view, can be compared with Ved. *dīṣṭi-* “eyesight”. Therefore, Gershevitch (1967: 187) translates *yaoxšti-* in Yt 10 as “perception”. By contrast, Narten (1986: 198, fn 21) casts doubt on Gershevitch’s comparison with Vd. *dīṣṭi-* as the two different verbal roots are not comparable. Hintze (1994: 99) also states that relating Av. *yaoxšti-* to the root *yaoz* is unconvincing for semantic grounds. Bailey (1936: 99) associates Av. *yaoxšti-* with the Sogdian verb *ywc* “to teach”. To explain *y*, he suggests an IE **iēuk* beside **euk* “to accustom”. However, as pointed out by Hintze (1994: 100), it is also possible to derive the Sogdian verb from either IE **ui-aiçja-* or IE **nij-aiçaja-* both of which from the well-attested IE **euk*. Additionally, she states that the corresponding Avestan root *yauk* “to teach” is absent in the Avesta.

The Pahlavi corresponding word *hazār wizōstār* is translated by Davar (1904: 305) as “with thousand observer powers, or senses”. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 49) translates it as “with a thousand skills”.³⁹⁸ It seems that in their editions, the Pahlavi word is treated similar to its Avestan counterpart. However, the meaning of the agent noun *hazār wizōstār* should be different from its Avestan abstract counterpart. From the etymological point of view, the Pahlavi *wizōstār* is derived from the Ilr. root **caud* “to impel” to which the preverb *wi-* is attached (Cheung 2007: 57). In Pahlavi, the verb *wizōstan* denotes “to search, to investigate”:

MHD. A13,13-15 *tan kē dārišn ī pad zēndān paydāg
dādwar pad wizōyišn mad ēstēd be wizōst wināhkārīh-ē nē paydāg pad kardag
az zēndān be nē hilēnd*

A body (or man) who is clear to be held in prison
(and) for the investigation, a judge has come (and) searched. An offence is not obvious
for the deed (to the judge), he is not released from the prison because of a (certain)
section (of the judicial law).³⁹⁹

Moreover, in a Judeo-Persian text, the corresponding word occurs as *bzwb-št* meaning “investigation” which develops to NP. *pažuhiš* (MacKenzie 1968: 252).

As far as the suffix of the agent noun *wizōstār* is concerned, it has been interpreted as either *-tār* or *-ār*. Salemann (*GlrPh.* 282), Rastorgueva (1966: 34) and Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 179-180, §357) take the suffix as *-tār*. Moreover, as stated by Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 179-180, §357), the suffix *-tār* appears together with its variants *-dār* and *-īdār* in Pahlavi. However, to accept such an interpretation, it is needed to assume either irregular stems or suffixes. For example, the form *brēhēnīdār* “creator” is to be derived from the present stem *brēhēn-* + *ī* + *-dār* in which *ī* is left unexplained, or regarding the word *burdār* “career”, the present stem would be from the irregular zero grade **br̥* “to carry” while its present stem *bar-* is well attested in Pahlavi.

By contrast, Rastorgueva and Molcanova (1981a: 71-72) consider the suffix *-ār* < *-tar* attached to the past stem. Moreover, deriving *-ār* from *-tar*, Abolghassemi (1375 (1996): 316) rejects the suffix *-tār* due to the necessity of considering non-existing stems as mentioned above. Therefore, the evidence shows that the Pahlavi agent noun consists of the past stem *wizōst* + *-ār* and it is translated in the present edition as “(having the skills of) a

³⁹⁸ Mills (1903c: 319 and 319, fn. 6) translates *hazār wizōstār* by conjecture as “thousand jointed” which is obviously a wrong translation of the Pahlavi word.

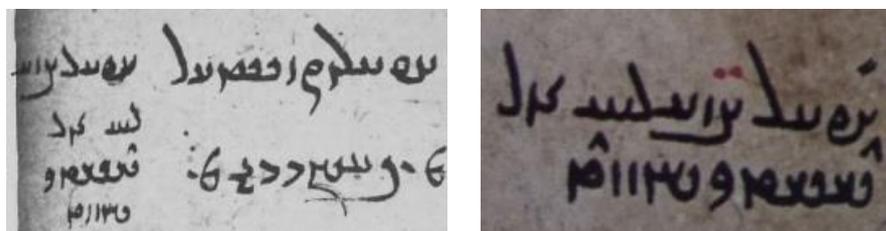
³⁹⁹ My translation builds on Perikhanian (1980: A13. 13-15) and Macuch (1981: 142).

thousand investigators”.

In addition, the Pahlavi commentary *ī adādag pad gōhrag* “who is unjust by essence” follows *hazār wizōstār*. In the Avesta, the two opposing beings namely the dragon Dahāka and Miθra bear the epithet *hazaṅrā.yaoxšti*.⁴⁰⁰ Therefore, the Pahlavi commentary could be inserted to distinguish between the unjust essence of Dahāka and the essence of Miθra which is just.

Finally, in YIrP Pt4 and its closely related T55b, *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* “he had the power of thousand men” appears in their margins. According to its meaning, the Pahlavi sentence should be a gloss to *hazār wizōstār*.

Figure 30. Left: YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v); right: YIrP T55b (fol. 72r).



The interlinear New Persian version of the Pahlavi gloss *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* also appears in YIrP F2 and YIrP T6:

F2 fol 54r line 13: هزار مردم برابر کوشش و قوت دارنده بود

hazār mardōm barābar kōšiš-u quvvat dāranda būd

as many as thousand people, he (the dragon Dahāg) had strife and power.⁴⁰¹

T6 fol 46v line 2: برابر هزار مرد زور و توان میداشت

barābar-ī hazār mard zōr-u tuvān mē-dāšt

as many as thousand men, he (the dragon Dahāg) had strength and power.⁴⁰²

As regards the editorial judgement, the Pahlavi gloss in Pt4, T55b is omitted in the present edition because it is absent in other Iranian manuscripts, especially those of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.⁴⁰³ Furthermore, as discussed in section 3.1, the gloss in Pt4, T55b

⁴⁰⁰ See Y 9.8, Yt 10.35, 82, 107 and Yt 19.35.

⁴⁰¹ My translation.

⁴⁰² My translation.

⁴⁰³ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

has a feature of the corrected Jāmāsp’s post-arrival manuscripts in which are added commentaries which are absent in the older copies.

4) Line 4 Y 9.8bP *was* *ōz* “of many powers”

The Pahlavi translation of Av. *aš.aojaṇhəm* varies among manuscripts. While Av. *aš°* is consistently rendered by *was* “many”, the second element is translated in YIndPs⁴⁰⁴ and YIrP Mf4, F2 and T6 as *ōz* (*'wc'*)⁴⁰⁵ in contrast to YIrP Pt4 and G14 writing *ōzōmand* (*'wc' 'wmnd'*).⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, in YIrP T55b (fol. 72v line 3), it appears as *ōzman?* which is probably the misspelling of the form *ōzōmand*.⁴⁰⁷ It should be noted that in YIrP T6, *čiyōn az* (*cygwn MN*) “as from” is also added after *ōz*. Therefore, to draw an editorial judgement, it is necessary to examine how the Pahlavi translators rendered Av. *aš.aojah-* and its cognates elsewhere in the Avesta. In Y57.15, the Avestan gen. sg. *aš.aojaṇhō* occurs in the following context:

Y 57.15 *sraošəm ašīm huraodəm vərəθrājanəm*
fradaṭ.gāēθəm ... yazamaide
yō vananō kaiiadahe
yō vananō kāiḍiēhe
yō janta daēuuaiiā drujō
aš.aojaṇhō ahūm mərəcō
yō harəta aiβiiāxštaca
vīspaiiā frauuōiš gāēθaiiā

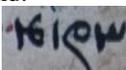
We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious,
 furthering the world ... ,
 the vanquisher of the *kaiiada*-offender,
 the vanquisher of the follower of the *kaiiada*-offender,
 the smiter of the very strong demoness Deceit,
 who is the destroyer of existence,
 (Sraoša), the guardian and supervisor
 of the promotion of all worldly creatures.⁴⁰⁸

The Pahlavi translation is as follows:

⁴⁰⁴ J2 (fol. 84r line 12), K5 (fol. 62v line 17), M1 (162r line 13).

⁴⁰⁵ In YIrP T6, F2, *ōz* is spelled without the final stroke. For the spellings of YIrPs see Pt4 (fol. 56v line 5), Mf4 (p. 152 line 6), G14 (fol. 44r line 11), F2 (fol. 54v line 2), T6 (fol. 46v line 5).

⁴⁰⁶ In YIrP Pt4, *'wmnd* is written above the line. In YIrP G14, *d* is written above the line, probably by a second hand.

⁴⁰⁷ 

⁴⁰⁸ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44-45).

Y 57.15P *srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar*
kē wānīdār ī kastārān mardān
kē wānīdār ī kastārān zanān
kē zanēd dēw druz
ī was ōz ī axwān murjēnīdār
kē sālār ud abar nigāh dāštār
ī harwispīn frāz ō gētīyān

We (worship) the righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victorious, ...
 the vanquisher of iniquitous men,
 the vanquisher of iniquitous women,
 who smites the demon Deceit
 of great strength, the destroyer of existence,
 (Srōš) who is the leader and supervisor
 of all the creatures of the material world.⁴⁰⁹

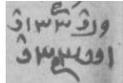
Like Y 9.8, in the Pahlavi version of Y 57.15, the translation of *aš.aojah-* varies among the manuscripts as shown in Table 1:

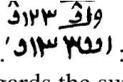
Table 1. The Pahlavi translation of *aš.aojah-* (Y 57.15) in the Pahlavi manuscripts.

Manuscript	Pahlavi transliteration
YIrP Pt4 (fol. 220r line 19)	<i>ws'wc'wd</i> ⁴¹⁰ (<i>KBD'wc'wnd</i> : above the line)
YIrP Mf4 (p. 551, line 16)	<i>ws'w'wnd</i> (<i>KBD'wzwnd</i> : above the line) ⁴¹¹
YIrP G14	Y 57 is absent from G14.
YIrP F2	Y 57 is absent from F2.
YIrP T6 (fol. 241v line 3)	<i>KBD'w'wc</i>
YIrP T55b	Y 57 is absent from T55b.
YIndP J2 (fol. 311r line 5)	<i>ws'w'c'</i>
YIndP K5 (fol. 259r line 7)	<i>ws'wc'</i>
YIndP M1 (fol. 613r line 3)	<i>ws'wc'</i>

According to the table, while in YIndPs and YIrP T6, *aš.aojah-* is rendered by *was ōz* “of many powers”, in YIrP Pt4 and Mf4, it is translated by *was ōzāwand* “very powerful”. By contrast, the superlative form of *aš.aojah-*, or Av. *aš.aojastāma-*, is translated in the Avesta by *was* (*wēš?* “more”: F2) *ōz* to which the superlative suffix *tom* is attached (Table

⁴⁰⁹ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44-45).

⁴¹⁰  : The Pahlavi letter *n* is missing after *ws'wc'w* and before *d*.

⁴¹¹  : In *ws'w'wnd* (*was ōzāwand*), the Pahlavi letter *c* is missing after *ws'w* and before *'wnd*. As regards the superscript word, the reading *z* is hypothetical and the long *ā* is missing.

2).⁴¹² Likewise, the comparative Av. *aš.aojastara-* is rendered by Phl. *was ōz* to which the Pahlavi comparative suffix *tar* is attached (Table 3).

As regards Av. *aojah-* adj. “powerful”, it occurs in Y 34.8 and Y 57.10. In all of the collated manuscripts, it is translated by Phl. *ōzōmand* (lit). “possessing power”, “powerful” (Table 4). The adjective OAv. *aojōṇhuuaṇt-/YAv. aojaṇ^vhaṇt-* “possessing power, powerful” is formed with the suffix *-uuaṇt-*, attached to *aojah-* in Y 28.6, Y 31.4, Y 34.4, Y 43.8, Y 43.16, Y 57.11 and Vd 20.8. It is translated as Phl. *ōzōmand* with the exception of Vd 20.8 in which the Avestan adjective is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *ōz* “power, strength” (Table 5). Furthermore, in Y 9.15, Y 29.3, Y 57.13, Vd 3.20 and Vd 17.1 occurs the superlative *aojišta-* adj. “the most powerful” which is rendered by *ōzōmand*, the comparative *ōzōmandtar* and the superlative *ōzōmandtom/ōzōmandīhātom* in Pahlavi (Table 6).⁴¹³ As a comparative adjective, Av. *aojiia-* “stronger” is attested in Y 34.8 which is translated as *ōzōmand* in Pahlavi (Table 7).⁴¹⁴ By contrast, the neuter noun Av. *aojah-* is consistently translated by *ōz* (Table 8).⁴¹⁵

In conclusion, the Avestan adj. *aojah-* and its comparative, superlative and possessive counterparts, with one exception in Vd 20.8, are rendered in the manuscripts by Phl. *ōzōmand*, to which the comparative or superlative suffixes can attach. By contrast, the neuter noun *aojah-* is always translated in Pahlavi by *ōz*. It shows that Pahlavi translators distinguished between Av. *aojah-* adj. and its neuter counterpart.

Regarding *aš.aojah-* adj., its superlative and comparative adjectives are consistently translated by *was ōzom* and *was ōzotar* in the manuscripts. By contrast, YIrPs show confusion by giving different translations of *aš.aojah-* as mentioned above. Considering the fact that these different translations appear in the Iranian manuscripts, written down after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India, they can be associated with corrections introduced by their scribes.⁴¹⁶ It is corroborated by the fact that while T6 writes *was ōz*, the copyists of Pt4 and Mf4 emphasised on the correctness of their Pahlavi translation of *aš.aojah-*, or *was ōzāwand*, in Y 57.15 by re-writing it above the line with different spellings (see Table 1).⁴¹⁷ Moreover, as shown above, in Y 9.8, *'wmnd* in *ws 'wc' 'wmnd* is written above the line in

⁴¹² In addition to *aš.aojastama-*, Av. *aš.aojišta-* is present in FrW 8.2 which has no Pahlavi translation.

⁴¹³ Av. *aojišta-* adj. also occurs in Yt 8.55; 10.98, 141; 13.75; 19.38 which have no Pahlavi translation.

⁴¹⁴ Av. *aojiia-* adj. also occurs in Yt 13.17, 64 which have no Pahlavi translation.

⁴¹⁵ Av. *aojah-* ntr. also occurs in Yt 2.12, 14; 10.23, 62; 8.24; 13.1, 134; 19.68 which have no Pahlavi translation. It also takes place in Yt 1.22 whose Pahlavi manuscript is not at my disposal.

⁴¹⁶ See section 3.1.

⁴¹⁷ In T6, the repetition of *ō* in *was ōōz* (KBD *'w'wc*) is probably a scribal unintentional mistake. Y 57.15 is absent from G14 and F2.

YIrP Pt4. Mf4, F2 and T6 also attest *was ōz* like the old YIndP J2 and K5 in which *aš.aojah-* is consistently translated by *was ōz* in Y 9.8 and Y 57.15. The originality of the reading *was ōz* is also corroborated by the similar form, associated with Dahāg, occurring in the Dēnkard:

DkM. 803.3-6. *ka dahāg az band harzag bawēd ud pad murnjēnīdan ī gēhān abar dwārēd ... ōy hangēzīhēd ud pad wānīdan ī ōy ān ī was ōz druz gēhān frayādīdan*

When Dahāg is released from the fetters and runs to destroy the world...he (Kirsāsp) is awakened and (his awakening is) for destroying him (Dahāg), the demon with many powers (and) for helping the creation of the world.⁴¹⁸

Likewise, in PRDd 48.7, the form *was ōz* is attested:

PRDd 48.7 *pas hušēdar gōwēd kū pad ān ī tēztom ud pahntom tēx ud druz ī was ōz čārag xwāhēd ud pas mardōmān ān druz pad aštar ud kārd ud warz ud šafšēr ud nēzag ud tigr ud abārīg snēhīhā ān druz bē ōzanēnd*⁴¹⁹

Then, Hushēdar will say: ‘With the sharpest and broadest blades find a means (to destroy) that demon of great strength’. And then men will slay that demon, with whip and dagger and mace and sword and lance and arrow and other weapons.⁴²⁰

In conclusion, according to the evidence, *was ōz* is employed in the present edition. Phl. *was ōz* also shows that Av. *aš.aojah-* adj. was interpreted as a noun in Pahlavi.⁴²¹ Therefore, in contrast to Mills (1903c: 319), Davar (1904: 18, 36) and Josephson (1997: 19) translating *was ōz* as “very powerful”, it is translated as “of many powers” in the present edition.⁴²²

Table 2. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan superlative adj. *aš.aojastāma-*.

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript /Pahlavi transliteration
Y 9.8 acc. sg. <i>aš.aojastāmam</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 56v line 9): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIrP Mf4 (page 152 line 10): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIrP G14 (fol. 55r-55v line 114): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIrP F2 (fol. 54v line 5): <i>wš</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIrP T6 (fol. 46v line 9): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIrP T55b (fol. 72v line 9): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i> YIndP J2 (fol. 84v line 2): <i>KBD</i> <i>’wctwm</i>

⁴¹⁸ My translation.

⁴¹⁹ Edition by Williams (1990: Vol I, 175).

⁴²⁰ Translation by Williams (1990: Vol II, 80).

⁴²¹ For *ōz* see MacKenzie (1971: 62) and Nyberg (1974: 147).

⁴²² All scholars read the Pahlavi word as *was ōz*. Putting “ful” in the brackets, Davar (1904: 36) translates *ōz* as the adjective “power(ful)” cautiously.

	YIndP K5 (fol. 63r line 4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIndP M1 (fol. 84v line 2): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm
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Table 3. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan comparative adj. *aojastara-*.

Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript /Pahlavi transliteration
Vd 9.48 nom. sg. <i>aš.aojastara</i>	VdP L4 (fol. 174r line 3): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP K1 (fol. 124v line 15): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP MI3 (fol. 204r line 3-4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl Vd 9 is absent from VdP G25. VdP F10 (fol. 188v line 4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP G28 (fol. 170v line 14): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP T44 (fol. 212r line 6): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP G34 (fol. 190r line 6): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP B1 (fol. 273v line 11): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl Vd 9 is absent from VdP Bh11. VdP E10 (fol. 100v line 18): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP M3 (fol. 190v line 18): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl

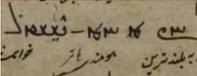
Table 4. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan adj. *aojah-*.

Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 34.8: nom. sg. <i>aojā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 156v line 6): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 402 line 2): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP G14 does not have Y 34. YIrP F2 (fol. 149v line 11): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP T6 (fol. 153v line 8): 'wc 'wmnnd Y 34.8 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. 216r is damaged. YIndP K5 (fol. 172v line 13): 'wc 'wmnnd YIndP M1 (fol. 420r line 10): 'wc 'wmnnd
Y 57.10: nom. sg. <i>aojā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219r line 14): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 549 line 8): 'wc 'wmnnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP G14. Y 57 is absent from YIrP F2. YIrP T6 (fol. 240r line 8): 'wcmnnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2 (fol. 309r line 14): 'wc 'wmnnd YIndP K5 (fol. 257r line 14): 'wc 'wmnnd YIndP M1 (fol. 609r line 13): 'wc 'wmnnd

Table 5. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the adj. OAv. *aojōṇhūuaṇt-/YAv. *aojaṇ'hant-*.*

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 28.6 acc. sg. <i>aojōṇhūuaṇt</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 131r line 10): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 340 line 1): 'wc 'wmnnd

	<p>Y 28 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 (fol. 120r line 10): 'wcmnd YIrP T6 (fol. 117r line 8): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP T55b does not have Y 28. YIndP J2 (fol. 175r line 15): 'wc 'wmnd YIndP K5 (fol. 173r line 5): 'wc 'wmnd YIndP M1 (fol. 342v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 31.4 acc. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 140v line 20): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 363 line 9) 'wc 'wmnd Y 31 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 (fol. 132r line 3): 'wcmnd YIrP T6 (fol. 137v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd Y 31 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged. YIndP K5 (fol. 150v line 3): 'wc 'wmnd YIndP M1 (fol. 371v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 34.4 acc. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāṅtām</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 155r line 17): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 398 line 14): 'wc 'wmnd Y 34 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 abbreviates the stanza. YIrP T6 (fol. 151v line 10): 'wc 'wmnd Y 34 is absent from YIrP T55b. YInd J2 (fol. 214r line 1): 'wc 'wmnd YInd K5 (fol. 171r line 2) 'wc 'wmnd YInd M1 (fol. 416r line 10): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 43.8 nom. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 170v line 16): 'wc 'wmnd YIrP Mf4 (page 436 line 10) 'wc 'wmnnd Y 43 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 (fol. 165v line 6): 'wc 'wmnd YIrP T6 (fol. 173r line 7): 'w' 'wcmnd Y 43 is absent from YIrP T55b. YInd J2 (fol. 238r line 6): 'wc 'wmnd YInd K5 (fol. 193r line 5): 'wc 'wmnd YInd M1 (fol. 463v line 13): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 43.16 nom. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 173r line 15): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl YIrP Mf4 (page 442 line 13): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl Y 43.16 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 (fol. 168v line 4): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl YIrP T6: (fol. 176v line 11) 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl⁴²³ Y 43 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2 (fol. 241v line 14): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl YIndP K5 (fol. 196r line 15): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl YIndP M1 (fol. 471v line 8): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl</p>
Y 57.11 acc. sg. <i>aojaṅ'hāṅtām</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd YIrP Mf4 (page 549 line 14): 'wc 'wmnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP G14.</p>

⁴²³⁴²³ 𐭪 is written between 'wc and 'wmndyh 'tl. However, while 'wc and 'wmndyh 'tl are translated in the interlinear New Persian version, 𐭪 is left untranslated: 

	<p>Y 57 is absent from YIrP F2. YIrP T6 (fol. 240r line 12): 'wc'wmnnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2 (fol. 309v line 8): 'wc'wmnd YIndP K5 (fol. 257v line 9): 'wlc'wmnd YIndP M1 (fol. 610r line 4): 'wlc'wmnd</p>
Vd 20.8 acc. sg. <i>aojaŋ^vhat</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 284r line 15): 'wc VdP K1 (fol. 236v line 14): 'wc VdP MI3 (fol. 314r line 3): 'wc VdP G25 (fol. 132r line 9): 'wc VdP F10 (fol. 297v line 8-9): 'wc VdP G28 (fol. 267v line 11): 'wc VdP T44 (fol. 324v line 9): 'wc VdP G34 (fol. 290v line 5): 'wc VdP B1 (fol. 415v line 13): 'wc VdP Bh11 (fol. 264r line 4): 'wc VdP E10 (fol. 161r line 11): 'wc VdP M3 (fol. 281r line 10): 'wc</p>

Table 6. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan superlative adj. *aojišta-*.

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 9.15 nom. sg. <i>aojištō</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 59r line 7): 'wc'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 158 line 12): 'wc'wmnnd YIrP G14 (fol. 58r line 9): 'wc'wmnnd YIrP F2 (fol. 57v line 5): 'wc'wmnd YIrP T6 (fol. 50r line 2): 'wc'wmnnd YIrP T55b (fol. 77r line 3): 'wc'wmnnd YIndP J2 (fol. 88r line 3): 'wc'wmnd YIndP K5 (fol. 65v line 6): 'wc'wmnnd⁴²⁴ YIndP M1 (fol. 169r line 12): 'wc'wmnd</p>
Y 29.3 nom. sg. <i>aojištō</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 133v line 20): 'wc'wmnndtl YIrP Mf4 (page 346 line 15): 'wc'wmnndtl YIrP G14 does not have Y 29. YIrP F2 (fol. 123v line 7): 'wcmndtl YIrP T6 (fol. 121r line 2): 'wc'wmnndt'l YIrP T55b does not have Y 29. YIndP J2 (fol. 179v line 11): 'wc'wmndtl YIndP K5 (fol. 141r line 1): 'wc'wmndtl YIndP M1 (fol. 350v line 13): 'wc'wmndt</p>
Y 57.13 acc. sg. <i>aojištəm</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219v line 15): 'wc'wmndtwm YIrP Mf4 (page 550 line 9): 'wc'wmndtwm YIrP G14 does not have Y 57. YIrP F2 does not have Y 57. YIrP T6 (fol. 240v line 9): 'wc'wmndt⁴²⁵ YIrP T55b does not have Y 57.</p>

⁴²⁴ The second 'w is written above the line.

⁴²⁵ The final stroke can also be read as *r*, forming with the preceding *t*, the comparative suffix *tar*. However, the suffix, *tar* is usually spelled as *tl* in manuscripts.

	<p>YIndP J2 does not have Y 31. YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged. YIndP K5 (fol. 258r line 8): 'wc 'wmndtwm YIndP M1 (fol. 611r line 5): 'wc 'wmndtwm YIndP F10 (fol. 39r line 15): 'wcmndtwm</p>
Vd 3.20 acc. sg. <i>aojištəmca</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 37r line 10): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP K1 does not have Y 3. VdP MI3 (fol. 39r line 17): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP G25 does not have Vd 3. VdP F10 (fol. 39r line 15): 'wcmndtwm VdP G28 (fol. 32v line 3): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP T44 (fol. 42r line 3): 'wc 'wmntwm VdP G34 (fol. 42r line 6): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP B1 (fol. 50v line 9): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP Bh11 (fol. 62v line 2-3): 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP E10 (fol. 19v line 3): 'wc 'wc 'wmndtwm VdP M3 (fol. 42v line 1): 'wc 'wmndtwm</p>
Vd 17.1 inst. sg. <i>aojišta</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 237v line 12): 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP K1 (fol. 190r line 16): 'wcmndyh 'twwm VdP MI3 (fol. 269v line 11): 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP G25 (fol. 74v line 12): 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP F10 (fol. 249r line 6): 'wcmndyh 'twm⁴²⁶ VdP G28 (fol. 230r line 6-7): 'wc 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP T44 (fol. 277r line 1): 'wc 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP G34 (fol. 250r line 9): 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP B1 (fol. 352r line 7-8): 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP Bh11 does not have Vd 17. VdP E10 (fol. 130v line 17): 'wc 'wcmndyh 'twm VdP M3 (fol. 244r line 20): 'wcmndyh 'twm</p>

Table 7. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan comparative adj. *aojiiah-*.

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 34.8 nom. sg. <i>aojiia</i> ^o	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 156v line 6): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP Mf4 (page 402 line 2): 'wc 'wmnd Y 34 is absent from YIrP G14. YIrP F2 (fol. 149v line 11): 'wc 'wmnnd YIrP T6 (fol. 153v line 8): 'wc 'wmnd YIrP T55b does not have Y 34. YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged. YInd K5 (fol. 172v line 13): 'wc 'wmnd YInd M1 (fol. 420r line 10): 'wc 'wmnd</p>

⁴²⁶ Another 'w is written above the line with pale letters after c.

Table 8. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan *aojah-* ntr.

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 9.17 acc. sg. <i>aojō</i>	YIrP Pt4: (fol. 59v line 15): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 160 line 6): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 59r line 2): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 58r line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 50v line 13): 'wc' YIrP (fol. 78r line 7): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 89r line 1): 'wc' YIrP K5 (fol. 66r line 12): 'wc' YIrP M1 (fol. 171r line 7): 'wc'
Y 9. 22 acc. pl. <i>aojāsca</i>	YIrP G14 'wc' (fol. 61r line 7): 'wc' (w and c separated from each other) YIrP Mf4 (page 163 line 13): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 60v line 3): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 59v line 15): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 52v line 11): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 80v line 4): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 91r line 3): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 67v line 11): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 175v line 1): 'wc'
Y 9.25 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇha</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 61v line 18): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 165 line 10): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 61v line 1): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 60v line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 53v line 12): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 82r line 1): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 92r line 9): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 68v line 6): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 177v) omits the word
Y 10.2 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇha</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 64v line 21): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 173 line 1): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 10) YIrP F2 (fol. 64r line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 58r line 7): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 87r line 15): 'w'c' YIndP J2 (fol. 96v line 5): 'wc' YIndP K5: illegible because fol. is damaged. YIndP M1: (fol. 186v line 1): 'wc'
Y 50.3 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇhā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 198v line 18): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 501 line 9): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 50. YIrP F2 (fol. 197r line 8): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 211r line 3): 'wc' YIrP T55b does not have Y 50. YIndP J2 (fol. 280r line 10): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 230v line 9): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 550v line 9): 'wc'
Y 60.3 nom. sg. <i>aojō</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 236c line 1): 'wc'

	YIrP Mf4 (page 589 11): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 60. YIrP F2 (fol. 225r): Abbreviating Y 60.3, <i>aojō</i> is not attested. YIrP T6 (fol. 254v line 10): 'wc' YIrP T55b does not have Y 60. YIndP J2 (fol. 328r line 9): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 275v line 2): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 646r line 9): 'wc'
Y 71.8 acc. sg. <i>aojasca</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 275v line 18): 'w'c YIrP Mf4 (page 697 line 17): 'w'c YIrP G14 does not have Y 71. YIrP F2 (fol. 256v line 2): 'wc YIrP T6 (fol. 288r line 10): 'wc YIrP T55b does not have Y 71. YIndP J2 (fol. 371v line 15): 'wc' YIrP K5 (fol. 316r line 6): 'wc' YIrP M1 (fol. 739r line 7): 'wc'
Y 72.6 acc. sg. <i>aojasca</i>	Y 726.6 is omitted in the YP.

5) Line 4 Y 9.8bP *dēw druz* “Demon(ess) Deceit”

In Y 9.8, Av. *ažīm dahākəm* is followed by a series of adjectives modifying the dragon:

θri.zafanəm θri.kamərəðəm
xšuuāš.ašīm hazanrā.yaoxštīm
aš.aojanhəm daēuuīm drujəm
aγəm ... druuaṇtəm

the three-muzzled, three-headed,
six-eyed, having a thousand skills,
the very powerful, the Demoness Deceit,
wicked ... deceitful

However, the occurrence of the feminine *daēuuīm drujəm* between the adjectives in the accusative case, describing the features of the male dragon *Dahāka*, is problematic. It is also debated whether *daēuuī-* should be interpreted as a noun or an adjective. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 670) suggests that *daēuuī-* is the feminine counterpart of the adj. *daēuua-* “demonic”. However, Hoffmann (1975: 201), refutes Bartholomae’s suggestion of the existence of the masculine and feminine adjectival forms, arguing that *daēuuī-* is the feminine counterpart of the masculine noun *daēuua-* “demon”.

In scholarly translations, *daēuuīm drujəm* is usually translated literally as for example “devilish Falsehood” (Hintze 1994: 22) and “evil Lie” (Josephson 1997: 49). Kellens (1999: 459, fn. 4) deals with the difficulties mentioned above by leaving the problematic expression

untranslated. To make the stanza comprehensible, Pirart (2004: 66-67) adds “*Ḡrāitana qui frappa*”⁴²⁷ in brackets, before *daēuuīm drujəm* and *aγəm ... druuan̄təm*.

As regards the Pahlavi version, the Avestan commentary *kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm* is incorporated to explain the demon(ess)⁴²⁸ Deceit:

ī was ōz dēw druz
ī wattar ō gēhān [zyān kār] ī druwand
kē-š was ōztom druz
frāz kīrrēnīd gannāg mēnōy
abar ō astōmandān gēhān
pad margīh ī ān ahlāyīh ī gēhān
[kū-š az druz ī gētīy ēk ān stahmagtar dād
kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm ...

(Who slew the dragon Dahāg) of many powers Demon(ess) Deceit,
 worse for the material world [doer of harm], deceitful
 whom as the most powerful Deceit,
 the Evil Spirit mis-created
 against the material world,
 for the destruction of the righteousness of the world
 [which he, among the deceit of the world, created that one the more oppressive
Who (grieves) you, who are Ahura Mazdā? ...

The corrupt commentary which lacks the verb is borrowed from Vd 18.61:

Vd 18.61 *kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm mazištaiiantī inaoiti*
 Who grieves you, Ahurā Mazdā, with the biggest insult?⁴²⁹

The answer to the question of Vd 18.61 appears in Vd 18.62 according to which Jahī grieves Ahura Mazdā:

Vd. 18.62 *āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā*
jahi bā ašāum zaraḡuštra
yō xšudrā hqm.raēḡβiieiti
dahmanqm adahmanqmca
daēuuaiiasnanqm adaēuuaiiasnanqmca
tanupərəḡanqm atanupərəḡanqmca

Thereupon, answered Ahura Mazdā:
 Jahī indeed O righteous Zaraḡuštra,

⁴²⁷ “Ḡraētaona who slew”. Pirart in his French translation of the Hōm Yašt gives the reconstructed proto-Iranian forms of the corresponding Avestan proper nouns.

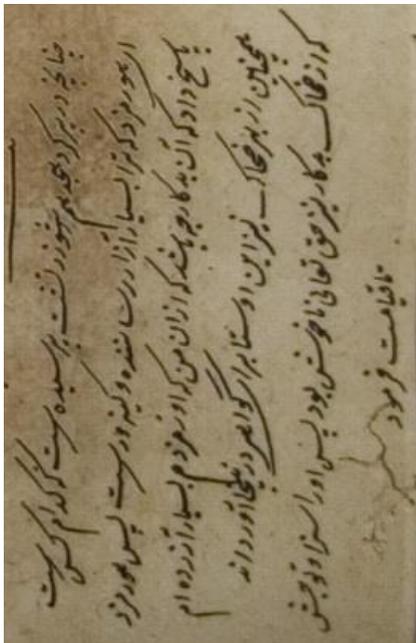
⁴²⁸ Since the Pahlavi language does not distinguish the feminine, masculine and neuter genders, *dēw*, rendering Av. *daēuuī-* “demoness” is translated as “demon” in the present edition.

⁴²⁹ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

who mixes, the seeds
of the faithful and unfaithful,
(the seeds) of the demon-worshippers and non demon-worshippers,
(the seeds) of Tanuṣərəθa offenders and non-Tanuṣərəθa offenders.⁴³⁰

It should be noted that in the Avesta, *Jahī* is used to denote woman as a neutral term or woman in pejorative sense. In the Pahlavi literature, its corresponding *Jeh* can also mean woman. However, in some Pahlavi texts such as the *Bundahišn*, *Jeh* is the name of a demoness. In *Vd.* 18.61-63, *Jahī* means “adulterous woman”.⁴³¹ However, it seems that in the Pahlavi version of *Y* 9.8, *Jahī* refers to the female demon. The reason is that *Av. aš.aojanhəm daēuuīm drujəm* is rendered by *Phl. was ōz dēw druz* rather than the expected *was ōzōmand/ōzāwand dēw druz*.⁴³² In contrast to the adjective *ōzōmand* meaning “powerful”, the Pahlavi noun *ōz* means “power”. Therefore, it suggests that *ōz* and its following *dēw druz* have been interpreted as nouns rather than adjectives describing the dragon *Dahāg*. Furthermore, in the margin of *YIrP T6* (fol. 46v), there is a New Persian commentary according to which *Jeh* is described as an evil being alongside *Zahhāk* (= *Phl. Az Dahāg*):

Figure 31. *YIrP T6* (fol. 46v).



T6 fol. 64v line 1) *činānča dar pargard-ī hijdahom ašō zartušt pursīda ast ka kadām*

⁴³⁰ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

⁴³¹ For *Jeh* see de Jong (2008: 618-619).

⁴³² For *dēw druz* see *Y* 9.8 commentary 4 *dēw druz*.

kas ast

2) *ay hormazd ka tō-rā bisyār āzār rasānanda-u kēnavar ast pas hormazd*

3) *pāsōx dād ka ān bad kār jeh bāšad ka az ān man kē hormazd-am bisyār āzurda-‘am*

4) *hamčīnīn az bahr-ī zahhāk ...*

1) As in chapter eighteen, the righteous Zartušt has asked that who is he,

2) O Hormazd (= Phl. Ohrmazd), who grieves you so much and is malevolent. Then, Hormazd

3-4) answered that, she is the evil-doer Jeh that from her, I, who am Hormazd, have suffered so much, likewise from Zahhāk ...⁴³³

Therefore, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.8, three evil beings can be identified, namely Az ī Dahāg “the dragon Dahāg, the female demon(ess) Deceit who is identified with Jeh and Gannāg Mēnōy, a term which is the designation of Ahriman. In what follows, based on the dualistic nature of Zoroastrianism, their features are compared with those of Auramazdā,⁴³⁴ Mitra and Anāhitā,⁴³⁵ attested in the three Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (404-358 BC). For example:

ASd. AM⁴³⁶ *anahita utā mitra mām pātuv hacā gastā utamaiy kartam*

May Auramazdā, Anāhitā and Mitra protect me from all evil, and my Building.⁴³⁷

As far as the opposition between Ahura Mazdā and Aŋra Mañiiu is concerned, according to the Old Avestan text of Y 45.2, while Ahura Mazdā does not have an evil counterpart, Aŋra Mañiiu “Evil Spirit” stands against the Spaniih Mañiiu “More Life-giving Spirit”, as their deeds, minds, words and choices oppose each other.⁴³⁸ These two entities are also regarded as twins, or Av. *yōma-*, in Y 30.3.⁴³⁹ This idea is retained in the Young Avestan texts according to which, the two spirits stand against each other, for example:

Y 57.17 *yō nōiṭ pascaēta hušx’afa*

yaṭ mañiiū dāmṇ daiḍitəm

yasca spəntō mañiiuš yasca aŋrō

hišārō ašahe gaēθā

yō vīspāiš aiiṇca xšafnasca yūidiieiti māzaniiaēibiiō haḍa daēuuaēibiiō

⁴³³ My translation.

⁴³⁴ Av. *ahura- mazdā-* appears as the unverbated *auramazdā-* in Old Persian.

⁴³⁵ Av. *arəduuī- sūrā- anāhitā-* appears as *anāhitā-* in Old Persian. For declensions see Kent (1953: 167).

⁴³⁶ AM stands for Auramazdā when written in Old Persian with an ideogram. For Old Persian characters and ideograms see Kent (1953: 11-12).

⁴³⁷ Kent (1953: 154-155).

⁴³⁸ For English translations of Y 45.2 see Insler (1975: 74-75); Humbach (1991: I, 164).

⁴³⁹ For English translations of Y 30.3 see Insler (1975: 32-33); Humbach (1991: I, 123).

Who has not slept, then,
 (since) the two spirits created the creations,
 Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.
 Watching over the creature of the Truth
 who, days and nights, battles with all monstrous demons.⁴⁴⁰

However, in the Young Avesta, there are examples according to which Anra Mañiiu stands against Ahura Mazdā:

Yt. 1.0. *xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōiditi anrahe mañiiūš*

With the (hope) of gratification for Ahura Mazdā, with the (wish) of overcoming Anra Mañiiu.⁴⁴¹

In the first chapter of the Vīdēvdād, the first sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazdā are also inflicted by the counter creation of Anra Mañiiu (Moazami 2014: 9-10). Furthermore, according to Aristotle's testimony, appearing in Diogenes Laertius, 1.2.6, Oromazdes stands against Ariemaios (Duchesne-Guillemin: 1984: 672). Finally, in the Pahlavi literature, the antagonism between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is well attested. For example

IrBd 5.0-1 *abar hamēstārīh ī dōwān mēnōyān kū čē ēwēn mad hēnd pad
 hamēstārīh kamālīgān dēwān ō mēnōyān yazdān čiyōn ahriman ō
 ohrmazd ...*

On the opposition of the two spirits, that is in what manner, the chief Dēws came for antagonism against the spiritual Yazds. Just as: Ahriman against Ohrmazd ...⁴⁴²

Therefore, Zoroastrian literature, especially the Pahlavi and some Young Avestan texts, shows a dualism according to which Ahura Mazdā (Phl. Ohrmazd) is the antagonist of Anra Mañiiu (Phl. Ahriman).

The antagonism of the Av. Miθra (= Phl. Mihr) and the dragon Dahāka becomes clear on the one hand by examining the relationship between Ōraētaona (= Phl. Frēdōn) and Miθra and on the other hand by considering Ōraētaona as the slayer of the dragon Dahāka. It has been shown by Spiegel (1887: 262-267) and Benveniste (1934: 195-196) that Trita is Ōraētaona's counterpart in the Vedic literature, the oldest collection of the Sanskrit texts. Similar to the story of Ōraētaona-dragon Dahāka, in the Rig-veda, the three-headed, seven-

⁴⁴⁰ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44, 45).

⁴⁴¹ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 60).

⁴⁴² The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 54-55).

bridled Viśvarūpa is submitted to Trita by Indra to be slain:

RV 2. 11. 19. *sánema yé ta ūtibhis tāranto viśvā spr̥dha áryeṇa dásyūn
asmábhyaṃ tát tvāṣṭráṃ viśvarūpam árandhayaḥ sākhiyásya tritáya*⁴⁴³

We would win! We who by your help are overcoming all rivals, the Dasyus along with the Arya.

That was for us that you made Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭar, submit to Trita, one of your cycle companions.⁴⁴⁴

RV 10. 8. 8. *sá pítiryāṇy áyudhāni vidván índreṣita āptiyó abhy àyudhat
triśīrṣāṇaṃ saptáraśmiṃ jaghanván tvāṣṭrásya cin níḥ sasṛje tritó gāḥ*⁴⁴⁵

That one, Aptya, knowing his ancestral weapons, urged on by Indra, attacked. Having smashed the three headed, seven reined (monster), Trita let loose the cows, even those of Tvaṣṭar's son.⁴⁴⁶

Although Indra is demonised in the Avesta, some of his warrior characteristics are similar to those of Miθra in the Iranian tradition (Malandra 2006a: 104). As mentioned, Indra accompanies Trita, therefore, it is plausible to suggest that Ōraētaona is also associated with Miθra in the Avesta. It emerges from the Yt 19.34-37 where Miθra and Ōraētaona successively seize the Glory each time it left Yima.⁴⁴⁷ A further feature which both Ōraētaona (= Phl. Frēdōn) and Miθra (= Phl. Mihr) share is their close association with cattle. Thus, according to the Pahlavi texts, cattle was the totem of Frēdōn's clan (IrBd 35.8) or in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 57, vv 112), Frēdōn is nourished by the milk of the cow Barmāya. Moreover, according to the Arabic text of Āṣār al-Bāqiya 'n al-Qorun al-Xāliya, Frēdōn decided to punish the dragon *ḡahḡāk* (the Arabic form of Az ī Dahāg) for an ox, kept in his father's house:

AB 209, line 11-17. "On the 21st or Rām Rōz, is the Great Mihrajān⁴⁴⁸ in commemoration of Frēdōn's subduing and binding *ḡahḡāk*. People say that when he was brought before Frēdōn he spoke: 'Do not kill me in retaliation for thy ancestor'. Upon which Frēdōn answered, refusing his entreaty, 'Do you want to be considered as equal as to Jam son of Wijahān⁴⁴⁹ in the way of retaliation? By no means. I shall punish you for an ox that was in the house of my ancestor'.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴³ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 119).

⁴⁴⁴ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 415).

⁴⁴⁵ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 481).

⁴⁴⁶ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1379).

⁴⁴⁷ For the Avestan text and its English translation see Hintze (1994b: 21-22).

⁴⁴⁸ The Arabicised Mihrajān (= NP. Mihragān) is the name of a celebration to honour Miθra.

⁴⁴⁹ It corresponds to Pahlavi Wiwangan.

⁴⁵⁰ Translation by Sachau (1879: 209).

In the Mihr Yašt, Miθra carries the epithet *vouru.gaoiiaoiti*- “having, or providing, wide cattle-pastures”.⁴⁵¹ He is also described as a protector of cattle. For example, he destroys the houses of those who abuse them:

Yt 10.38 *xrūmā šaitaiō fraziṇte*
anašitā maēθaniiā
yāhuua miθrō.drujō šiiete
haiθīm.ašauua.janasca druuantō
xrūmīm gāuš yā caṇraṇhāxš
varaiθīm pantqṃ azaiṭe
yā darənāhu miθrō.drujṃ mašiiānqṃ
frazaršta aēšqṃ raiθiia
asrū azānō hištəṇte
anu.zafanō takahe

He (Miθra) sweeps away the crumbling dwellings,
the no longer inhabitable abodes
in which (used to) live the owners of Falsehood who are false to the treaty
and strike at what virtually owns Truth:
The cow, accustomed to pastures,
is driven along the dusty road of captivity,
dragged forward in the clutches of treaty infringing men
as their draught animal,
choking with tears they (cows) stand
slobbering at the mouth (lit. a flow (being) along the mouth).⁴⁵²

Furthermore, according to Yt 10.84, pleads with Miθra a cow who desires to be milked.⁴⁵³ Like Miθra, Indra is a protector of cattle by releasing them from the cave Vala:

RV 2.12.3 *yó hatváhim áriṇāt saptá síndhūn yó gá udájad apadhá valásya*
*yó ásmanor antár agníṃ jajána samvṛk samátsu sá janāsa indrah*⁴⁵⁴

Who, having smashed the serpent, let flow the seven rivers who drove away
the cattle by uncovering Vala.
Who produced the fire between two stones, gathering the winnings in contests,
he, O peoples, is Indra.⁴⁵⁵

Furthermore, the direct relationship between Mihr and Frēdōn appears in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 79, vv 9-10) according to which the Mihragān celebration and the

⁴⁵¹ For *vouru.gaoiiaoiti*- see Bailey (1954: 138); Gershevitch (1967: 151).

⁴⁵² The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 92-93).

⁴⁵³ For the Avestan text and its English translation see Gershevitch (1967: 133).

⁴⁵⁴ Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 120).

⁴⁵⁵ Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 416).

establishment of the month Mihr⁴⁵⁶ are ascribed to Frēdōn:

پرستیدن مهرگان دین اوست تن‌آسانی و خوردن آیین اوست
اگر یادگارست از او ماه مهر بکوش و برنج ایچ منمای چهر

parastīdan-ī mihragān dēn-ī ō-st/tan āsanī-yu xvardan ā īm-ī ō-st
agar yādagar ast az ō māh-ī mihr/be kōš-u be ranj ēč manmāy čīhr

Worshipping Mihragān is his religion/relaxing body and eating are his cult.
If the month Mihr is a memento from him/strive and do not face any suffering.⁴⁵⁷

Likewise, as mentioned above, Biruni in the *Āṣār al-Bāqīya* 'n al-Qorun al-Xāliya relates the Mihragān celebration to the victory of Frēdōn over Ẓahhāk. As far as the opposition between Miθra and the dragon Dahāka is concerned, in Mithraism, the corresponding deity Mithras seems to be a dragon-slayer since a Mithraic ritualistic performance of a simulated dragon slaying is reported in a passage attributed to Lampridius (Widengren 1965: 44-45).⁴⁵⁸ As discussed in Y 9.8 commentary 3 *hazār-wizōstār*, in the Avesta, the dragon Dahāka and Miθra also bear the epithet *hazanrā.yaoxšti-*. However, *adādag pad gōhrag* “unjust by essence” appears as the gloss to *hazār-wizōstār*, the epithet of Evil Spirit in Y 9.8 and the Pahlavi translation of Av. *hazanrā.yaoxštīm*. Therefore, the evidence shows that Evil Spirit’s unjust *hazār-wizōstār* is also the antagonist of Mihr’s just epithet.

Av. *jahī-* (= Phl. *jeh*) opposes the Zoroastrian goddesses Av. *arəduuī- sūrā- anāhitā-* and *ārmaiti-* “Right Mindness (the pious daughter of Ahura Mazdā)” in the Zoroastrian literature (Rose 2015: 276). However, the features of Jahī as described in the Vd 18.61-63 contrast with those of Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā according to Yt 5.2.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ The name of the seventh month of the Zoroastrian calendar.

⁴⁵⁷ My translation.

⁴⁵⁸ Hinnells (1975: 205) states that the dragon slaying ritual must be absent in Mithraism since the snake is ‘a symbol of a beneficial life-giving force’. However, it should be noted that although there is no text written by the followers of the cult of Mithras, according to the personification of the dragons in the Zoroastrian literature, their appearances are different from those of snakes, for example, the three-muzzled, three-headed six-eyed dragon Dahāka. In addition, in IrBd 4.15, snakes and dragons are listed as two different noxious creatures. Moreover, while dragons are killed by heroes, snakes are recommended not to be killed although they are noxious creatures: IrBd 22.18 *gōwēd kū xrafstar hamāg jādūg ud mār jādūgtar bē ū-š zadan nē gōwēd* “One says that noxious creatures are all sorcerers and serpent is the most sorcerous but it is said (that snakes) not to be killed.” It should be noted that Anklesaria (1956: 186) reads the second verb in the above passage as *nē mīrēd* “does not die” and interprets *bē ū-š zadan nē gōwēd* as *bē agar-iz zanēnd nē mīrēd* “and does not die unless they kill it”. However, in the text of the manuscript TD2, the second verb is obviously written as *YMRRN(N)-yt’ (gōwēd)*. Furthermore *agar-iz* is absent in TD2 (Anklesaria 1908: 145, line 2). The text of IrBd 22.18 agrees with the position of the snake in the still living Zoroastrian traditions according to which snakes should not be killed. For the position of snakes in Zoroastrianism see Mazdapour (2008 (1387): 204-220).

⁴⁵⁹ For a commentary to Yt 5 see Reichelt (1911: 100-109).

Yt 5.2	Vd 18.62
<p><i>yā vīspanq̄m aršnaq̄m xšudrā̄ yaoždadāiti</i> “(Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā) who purifies the seeds of all men.”⁴⁶⁰</p>	<p><i>yō xšudrā̄ hqm.raēθβiieiti dahmanq̄m adahmanq̄mca daēuuaiiasnanq̄m adaēuuaiiasnanq̄mca</i> “(Jahī) who mixes, the seeds of the faithful and unfaithful, (the seeds) of the demon-worshippers and non-demon-worshippers.”⁴⁶¹</p>

According to Yt 5.2 Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā *vīspanq̄m aršnaq̄m xšudrā̄ yaoždadāiti* “purifies the seed of men”. By contrast, Jahī mixes the seeds of the righteous and non-righteous ones. Moreover, while Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā is apparently the goddess of waters, the gaze of the demoness Jahī stops the flowing waters:

Vd 18.63 *θrišum apq̄m θraotōstāinq̄m txmanq̄m
pairištaiieiti paiti.dīti zaraθuštra
θrišum uruuaranq̄m uzuxšiiēntinq̄m
srīranq̄m zairi.gaonanq̄m vaxšā̄
apaiiasaite paiti.dīti zaraθuštra*

She holds one third of the powerful flowing waters
by (her) gaze O Zaraθuštra!
She withers one third of the plants (which are) growing up,
beautiful, yellow-coloured, growing,
by (her) gaze O Zaraθuštra!⁴⁶²

Finally, in Y 9.8, *daēuuīm drujəm* is described as Av. *aš.aojaṅhəm* “the very powerful”, rendered by *was ōz* “of many powers” in Pahlavi. Likewise, the goddess is described in Yt 5.64 as Av. *aš.amā-* “very powerful”:

Yt 5.64. *upatacaṭ arəduui sūra anāhita
kainīnō kəhrpa srīraiiā̄
aš.amaiiā̄ huraodaiiā̄ ...*

Arđvī Sūrā Anāhita hurried towards (him)
in the shape of a beautiful lady
(in the shape) of the very powerful (lady), (in the shape) of a good-looking (lady) ...⁴⁶³

In conclusion, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.8, the triad of two male evil beings and a

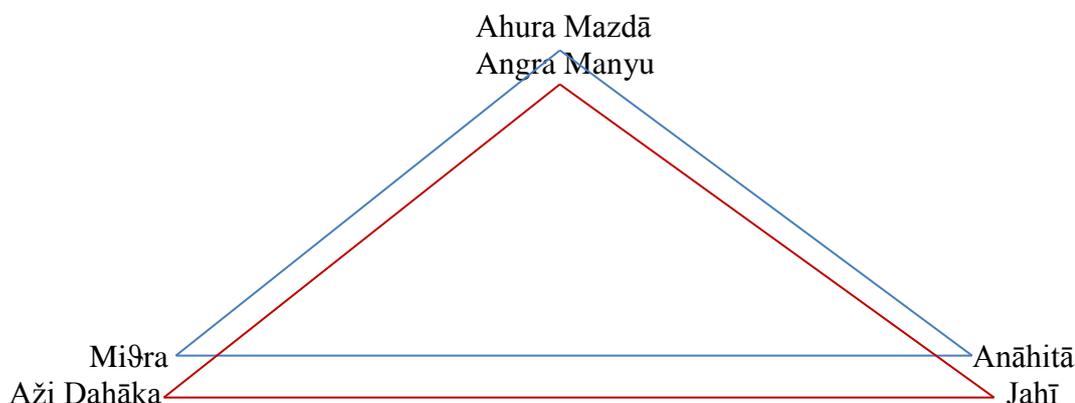
⁴⁶⁰ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 82).

⁴⁶¹ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

⁴⁶² My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

⁴⁶³ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 91).

demoness can be distinguished. The evidence suggests that their attributes contrast with those of Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and the goddess Anāhitā. In what follows, the dichotomy of the two Ahuric and Daevic triads is drawn:



6) Line 5 Y 9.8bP *wattar ō gēhān* “worse for the material world”

Av. dat. pl. *gaēθāuuiiō* is translated by *ō gēhānān* in YInP J2, K5 and M1. By contrast, in the Iranian manuscripts the dative expressing *ō* is deleted. As discussed in section 3.1, one of the features of the corrected manuscripts, written down in the eighteenth century, is the deletion of prepositions and andverbs. Therefore, in agreement with YIndPs, *ō* is employed in the present edition. Omitting *ō*, the Iranian manuscripts also write the pl. *wattarān* probably by analogy with *gēhān*.

As stated above, *gaēθāuuiiō* appears as the double plural *gēhānān* in the Indian manuscript in contrast to pl. *gēhān* in YIrP. The erroneous form *gēhānān* is probably by analogy with NP. *ērānyān* (ایرانیان) which is the double plural of *ērān* (ایران) “Iranians”. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the Iranian manuscripts, the correct form *gēhān* is employed in the present edition

7) Line 7 Y 9.8cP *frāz kīrrēnīd* “mis-created”

The Pahlavi verb *frāz kīrrēnīd* translates Av. *fracā kārəntaṭ* lit. “to cut forth”. The verb describes the demonic creation in contrast to *dādan* “to create” which is used for the creation of the beneficent camp. Therefore, it is translated as “mis-created” in the present edition.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ For a discussion on *kīrrēnīdan* see Lincoln (1997: 681-685).

8) Line 12 Y 9.8cP *ēd* “this”

While in YIndP J2, K5, M1 together with YIrP F2, *ēd* in *ān ēd āmār kū* “that the reckoning of this is that” appears, it is replaced by *ān* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b. Regarding the editorial judgement, although both variants are correct, in agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ēd* is employed in the present edition.

9) Line 14 Y 9.8cP *ā-š be kard* “then, she did”

In YIrP G14, *ā-š* “then she” is replaced by *u-š* “and she”. However, it appears as *ā-š* in the other manuscripts in agreement with which, *ā-š* is employed in the present edition.

10) Line 15 Y 9.8cP *ud im būd tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan* “and this meant the thing that she could do”

In YIrP F2, *tis* (*MND* ‘*M*) is replaced by *abar* (*QDM*) “up, on, over” in the following context:

ud im būd čiš/abar (F2) *ī-š tuwān būd kardan*
u-š nē kard

and this meant the thing/over (F2) that she could do,
he did not do.

It is obvious that the reading of F2 is semantically meaningless. The same problem also exists with considering *QDM* as the corrupt heterogram of *abar* (*’p̄l*) “higher, superior”. It seems that 𐭥𐭥 in F2 is a misspelling of 𐭥𐭥𐭥.

As regards *kardan*, with the exception of F2, writing *kard*, in the other Iranian manuscripts *kardan* “to do” in *tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan* “the thing that she could do” is omitted. However, it is obvious that without the infinitive *kardan* “to do”, the sentence is incomplete. As far as the reading of F2 is concerned, *kard* can also be interpreted as the short infinitive. Nonetheless, with the base text, *kardan* is selected in the present edition. Moreover, in YIrP Pt4 *abāyēd ā-š kard* is added in the following context:

tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan
u-š nē kard Pt4 *abāyēd ā-š kard*]

the thing that she could do,
he did not do, Pt4 It is necessary, then, (s)he did].

As regards the editorial judgement, it is absent in the other manuscripts especially the copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line⁴⁶⁵ and T55b, closely related to Pt4. As discussed in section 3.1, one of the features of the Pahlavi corrected texts is the insertion of commentaries which are absent in the older copies. Therefore, *abāyēd ā-š kard* is not employed in the present edition.

⁴⁶⁵ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

4.9 Y 9.9

- 1 (Y 9.9aA) *kasə ʒβqm*
 2 *ʒritiiō haōma mašiiō*
 3 *astuuaiʒiiāi hunūta gaēʒiiāi*
 4 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*
 5 *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

- 1-3 (Y 9.9aA) Who, O Haōma, was the third mortal to press you for the material creature?
 4 What reward was granted to him?
 5 What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 9.9aP) *kē tō*
 2 *sidīgar hōm az mardōmān*
 3 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*
 4 *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*
 5 *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

- 1-3 (Y 9.9aP) Who, O Hōm, as the third one among men in the material world pressed you?
 4 what respect was shown to him?
 5 and what prosperity came to him?¹

1) **Line 5 Y 9.9aP** *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh* “and what prosperity came to him?”

In YIrP G14 and T6, the dative preposition *ō*, expressing the dative case in *ahāmi*, is replaced by *ān* “that”. However, *ō* correctly expresses the dative case in the other collated manuscripts in agreement with which it is employed in the present edition.

4.10 Y 9.10

1 (Y 9.10aA) *āaṭ mē aēm paitiaoxta*
2 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
3 (Y 9.10bA) *θritō sāmanqm səuuištō*
4 *θritiiō mqm mašiiō*
5 *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*
6 *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*
7 *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*
8 (Y 9.10cA) *yaṭ hē puθra us.zaiiōiθe*
9 *uruuāxšaiiō kərəsāspasca*
10 (Y 9.10dA) *ṭkaēšō aṅiiō dātō.rāzō*
11 (Y 9.10dA) *āaṭ aṅiiō uparō.kairiiō*
12 *yauua gaēsusḡ gadauuarō*

1 (Y 9.10aA) Thereupon answered me,
2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:
3 (Y 9.10bA) θrita, the strongest of the Sāmas
4 as the third mortal
5 pressed me for the material creature.
6 This reward was granted to him,
7 this boon came to him,
8 (Y 9.10cA) that two sons were born to him,
9 Uruuāxšaiia and Kərəsāspa,
10 (Y 9.10dA) the one as a judge, a law giver,
11 (Y 9.10dA) then, the other(one) a supreme worker,
12 curly haired youth carrying a mace.

1 (Y 9.10aP) *ēg-iš ō man ōy passōx guft*
2 *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*
3 (Y 9.10bP) *srīd ī sāmān ī sūdxwāstār*
4 *[hād srīdīh ēd būd*
5 *kū pus ī sidīgar būd*
6 *u-š sūdxwāstārīh ēd būd*
7 *kū-š sūd ī dāmān nēk dānist xwāst]*
8 *man sidīgar az mardōmān*
9 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīdam*
10 *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*
11 *ō ōy mad ābādīh*
12 (Y 9.10cP) *ka az ōy dō pus ul zād hēnd*
13 *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*
14 (Y 9.10dP) *dādwar any [būd urwāxš kū wizīr ud dādwarīh kard] ud dādārāstār*
15 *[kū-š dād ī frārōn be nihād]*
16 (Y 9.10eP) *ud ān ī any abarkār*
17 *ud juwān gēsuar ud gadwar*
18 *[kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard*
19 *māhwindād guft*
20 *hād dād ī tāzīg būd u-š az gēsuar be guft*

21 *māhgušnasp guft*

22 *hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turk-iz dārēd]*

1 (Y 9.10aP) Then, he¹ answered me,

2 Hōm who is righteous (and) averts perdition:

3 (Y 9.10bP) Srīd son of the Sāms who is the seeker of benefit

4 [That is: being Srīd was this

5 that he was the third son

6 and being benefit seeker was this²

7 that he knew well (and) sought the benefit of the creatures],

8 as the third one among men,

9 pressed me in the material world.

10 The respect was shown to him,

11 the prosperity came to him,³

12 (Y 9.10cP) when two sons were born from him,⁴

13 Urwāxš and Kirsāsp.⁵

14 (Y 9.10dP) The one as a judge [was Urwāxš who (made) decision and made judgement] and, (he was also) an adorer of law⁶

15 [who established the righteous law].⁷

16 (Y 9.10eP) And the other one superior worker⁸

17 and young⁹ with curly hair and carrier of a mace

18 [Kirsāsp who did many works with the mace¹¹.

19 Māhwindād said:

20 ‘Yes,¹¹ it was an Arabian rule and he said about the curly haired one.’¹²

21 Māhgushnasp said:

22 ‘Yes, this is not strange since he also has the curly Turkic hair.’]¹³

1) Line 1 Y 9.10aP *ēg-iš* “Then, he”

YIrP T6 opens the Pahlavi version with *ēdōn* “thus, so”. By contrast, in YIndP K5 and M1, *ēg-iš* occurs. While Phl. *ēdōn* and *ēg-iš* correspond to *āaṭ* in Av. *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*, *āaṭ* is left untranslated in the other manuscripts. In agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ēg-iš* is employed in the present edition.

2) Line 6 Y 9.10bP *u-š sūdxwāstārīh ēd būd* “and being benefit seeker was this”

In YIndP J2, the verb *būd* is absent, however, in agreement with its sister manuscript K5 and other collated copies, *būd* is employed in the present edition. As regards *sūdxwāstārīh*, Av. *səuuišta-* “the strongest” is always rendered by *sūdxwāstār*. Probably, the Pahlavi translators derived *səuuišta-* from the root *sū* “to benefit” added to *iš* “to desire” (Josephson 1997: 51).

3) Line 11 Y 9.10bP *ō ōy mad ābādīh* “the prosperity came to him”

YIndP K5 and M1 write *ān* after *ōy*. However, it has no counterpart in the Avestan original. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the base text sister manuscript, or J2, *ān* is omitted in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

4) Line 12 Y 9.10cP *ka az ōy dō pus ul zād hēnd*⁴⁶⁶ “when two sons were born from him”

In Y 9.10, Phl. *az* is attested in YInd K5 and M1. In addition to Y 9.10, the formulaic structure occurs in Y 9.4, 7, 13 in all of which *az* occurs in all of the collated manuscripts. Therefore, *az* is employed in the edition of Y 9.10.

5) Line 13 Y 9.10cP *urwāxš ud kirsāsp* “Urwāxš and Kirsāsp”

According to Y 9.10, two sons were born to Ōrita namely Urwāxš and Kirsāsp. The account agrees with IrBd 35.32 according to which Urwāxš and Kirsāsp were brothers. However, nothing much is found about Av. *uruuāxšaiia-*/ Phl. *urwāxš* other than Yt 15.28 and Yt 19.41. According to the former passage, Av. *kərəsāspa-* begs Av. *vaiiu-* “Wind” to enable him to avenge his brother’s murder by killing his enemy, Hitāspa:

Yt 15.28 *aom jaiδiiat*
auuat āiiaptəm dazdi mē
vaiiuš yō uparō.kairiiō
yaṭ kaēna ni.jasāni
azəm barāṅrō uruuāxšaiia
yaṭ janāni hitāspəm
raiḡe paiti vazaiδiiāi
uiti ašti.gafiiō āhūiriš
uiti aēuuō.gafiiō paitiš
uiti gaṅdarəβō upāpō

He prays to him.
 give me that boon,
 Wind, who are the supreme worker,
 that I may come down as the avenger
 of my brother, Uruuāxšaiia,
 that I may slay Hitāspa

⁴⁶⁶ Phl. *zād hēnd* translates 3rd du. ind *us.zaiiḡiḡe*. For a discussion on the ending see Y 9.5 commentary 1 *frāz raft hēnd*.

to drive him on my chariot,
likewise (may be) the Ahuric Ašti.gafīia,
likewise (may be) the lord Aēuuō.gafīia,
likewise (may be) the aquatic Gaṇdarəβa.⁴⁶⁷

According to Yt 19, Kərəsāspa succeeded in taking revenge against Hitāspa:

Yt 19.41 *yō janaṭ*
gaṇdarəβəm yim zairi.pāšnəm
yō apataṭ vīzafārō
mərəxšānō gaēḡā astuuaitīš ašahe
yō janaṭ
hunauuō yaṭ paθanaīia nauua
hunauuasca niuuikahe
hunauuasca dāštaiānōiš
yō janaṭ
zaraīiō.pusəm hitāspəm
varəšaomca dānaiianəm
pitaonəmca aš.pairikəm

Who slew
Gaṇdarəβa, who had yellow heel, who
rushed about with wide-open mouth
to destroy the world of Truth;
who slew
the nine sons of Paθana,
the sons of Niuuika,
the sons of Dāštaiāni;
who slew
Hitāspa of golden diadem
and Varəšauua, the son of Dāna,
and Pitaona accompanied by powerful witches.⁴⁶⁸

As regards Av. *kərəsāspa*-,⁴⁶⁹ its corresponding variant *kərəšāspa*- also occurs in manuscripts. The spellings of the Avestan word together with the transliterations of its corresponding Pahlavi word in Y 9.10 as attested in the Pahlavi manuscripts are listed in the

⁴⁶⁷ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 223). Av. *ašti.gafīia*- is read as *asti.gafīia*- by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 223) with the manuscript J10 and MI2 in which the spelling *s* is attested. Darmesteter (1898: II, 225-226), translating *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*- as “is in the deep” and “only of the deep”, respectively, considers them as the epithets of Av. *gaṇdarəβa*-. For *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*- as proper nouns see Mayrhofer (1979: I/26 and I/2), respectively. Interestingly, *kərəsāspa*- prays to be the avenger of an Ahuric being and a lord namely *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*-, respectively. It may reflect the unique position of the hero Kərəsāspa who in spite of being a very powerful hero, has committed several offences such as insulting fire (DkM 803.6-12; PRDd 18; SdBd 20), idol worshipping (Pahlavi version of Vd 9.1) and walking without the sacred girdle, or Kusti (IrBd 31.17-18).

⁴⁶⁸ Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 23-24).

⁴⁶⁹ Av. *kərəsāspa*- “having slim (meagre) horses” is composed of two elements; *kərəsa*- which is derived from IE **k^herk* “to become thin” and *aspa*- meaning “horse”. See *IEW*. 581; Myerhofer (1977: I. 60I); *LIV*. 355.

gayōmard, or *garšāh* “the king of mountains”. However, the evidence casts doubt on Skjærvø’s suggestion because while the replacement of *s* by *š* also occurs in Avestan, as shown above, the interchange between *k* and *g* is absent. Moreover, the Early New Persian *karšās̄b* does not support the analogy theory. In addition, the interchange between the initial voiced *g* and unvoiced *k* has parallels in Middle Persian and New Persian. For example, Phl. *gēhān* becomes *kēhān* in New Persian, or Manichaean Middle Persian *gawīr* “desert” is attested as *kavīr* “desert” in New Persian.⁴⁷⁴ The interchange in the opposite direction is also seen in the name of the hero *kašvād* in New Persian which becomes *gašvād*.⁴⁷⁵ Another example is the name of the Turanian hero *karsivaz* in Early New Persian which becomes *garsivaz* (Khaleghi Motlagh 1987 (1366): XXVIII). Therefore, it can be concluded that the changes of the initial *k* > *g* and *s* > *š* are explainable without relating them to the analogy by *garšāh*.

In the present edition, the Pahlavi word is transcribed with *k* and *s*. The reason is that the development *k* > *g* is late and the phoneme /s/ etymologically agrees with the expected spelling of the word.

As far as the transcription of the vocalic Ir. **ɣ*, Av. *ərə*, is concerned, it becomes *ur* after the labials and *ir* in other occurrences (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 138-139, § 250). However, since Ir. **ɣ* can also develop to *ar* in Pahlavi and New Persian, for example **kṛta* > *kard*, MacKenzie (1967: 24, fn. 25) suggests the minimal triplets *i* ~ *e* ~ *a*. MacKenzie’s theory, however, is quite hypothetical because the existence of these types of triplets is uncertain (Skjærvø 2009: 200). Therefore, between the two vowels *a* and *i*, the latter is selected in the present edition, because the reading *i* is confirmed by the spelling, <kly>, <kyl> and <gyl> as shown above. The variant spellings, placing *y* before and after *l* could also suggest that the Pahlavi word used to be pronounced close to its Avestan original as *kirisāsp*.

6) Line 14 Y 9.10dP *dādwar any [būd urwaxš kū wizīr ud dādwarīh kard] ud dādārāstār*
 “The one as a judge [was Urwāxš who (made) decision and made judgement] and, (he was also) an adorer of law”

The Pahlavi phrase *dādwar any* is the translation of the Avestan *tkaēšō aṇiiō*. While in

⁴⁷⁴ See Mazdapour (2011 (1390): 414-415).

⁴⁷⁵ It is recorded in Arabic as *jašvād* and *kašvād* by the Muslim historians Ṭabari (b. 839 CE-d. 923 CE) and Ṣa‘ālibi (b. 961 CE-d.1038 CE), respectively (Khaleghi Motlagh 2001 (1380): Notes I/1, 387). Therefore, it seems that the development of *k* > *g* had started in the tenth century of CE. Khaleghi Motlagh (1987 (1366): XXVIII) chooses the more archaic variant *karsivaz* in his edition of the Šāhnāma.

YIndPs, Av. *āniiō* is rendered correctly by the Phl. *any*, the Avestan word is translated by *ān ēd* “that is this or that means” in the late YIrPs. In agreement with the base text K5, *any* is employed in the present edition. It should be noted that in YIndP J2, K5 and M1, *any* is spelled by the heterogram *ZK-ȳ* which sometimes replaces *’HRN-ȳ* in the manuscripts.⁴⁷⁶

7) Line 15 Y 9.10dP *kū-š dād ī frārōn be nihād* “who established the righteous law”

In YIndP K5, M1, the verb *dānist* (*YD ’YTWN-st*) “knew” replaces *nihād* (*HNHTWN-t*)⁴⁷⁷ “established”. It is unclear whether the different readings in the sister manuscripts J2 and K5 are because of scribal correction or misspelling of the Pahlavi verb (J2: ⁴⁷⁸ vs. K5 ⁴⁷⁹) in one of the manuscripts. However, semantically, the reading of J2 is preferable. Therefore, unlike the reading of the base text K5, *nihād* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

8) Line 16 Y 9.10eP *ān ī any abarkār* “the other one superior worker”

Like the commentary 6, *any* in *ān any abarkār* is spelled by *ZK’-ȳ* in all of the collated manuscripts.

9) Line 17 Y 9.10eP *juwān* “young”

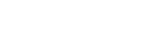
Av. *yauuan-* m. is rendered by Phl. *juwān* in Y 9.10. However, *juwān* is absent in G14 and T6. It is employed in the present edition because *juwān* is present in the the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP Pt4 and Mf4 which like G14 and T6 belong to the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.⁴⁸⁰

10) Line 18 Y 9.10eP *kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard* “Kirsāsp who did many works with the mace”

The Avesta and Pahlavi texts state that *kirsāsp* carries a mace. In other Pahlavi texts, his

⁴⁷⁶ For the different spellings of *any* see Salemann (*GlrPh* I/1, 294); MacKenzie (1971: 10); Nyberg (1974: 16).

⁴⁷⁷ For minor variant readings see text-critical apparatus.

⁴⁷⁸ J2 (fol. 85v line 2): 

⁴⁷⁹ K5 (fol. 63v line 13): 

⁴⁸⁰ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

club *gad* is called as *arm-zadār* “arm-smashing” (Dēnkard 9.23.6),⁴⁸¹ *gāw-sar* “ox headed” (Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.84)⁴⁸² and *gad ī pērōzgar* “the victorious mace” (Zand ī Wahman Yasn 9.22).⁴⁸³

11) Line 19-20 Y 9.10eP *māhwindād guft hād* “Māhwindād said: Yes”

Māhwindād’s commentary begins with *kū* “that” in YIrPs, *ay* in YIndP J2 and *hād* in YIndP K5 and M1. While all of the variant readings are correct semantically, in agreement with the base text K5, *hād* is employed in the present edition.

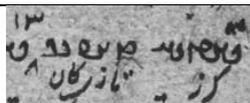
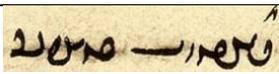
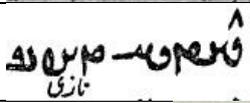
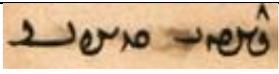
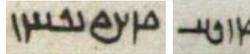
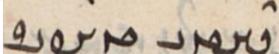
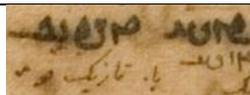
12) Line 20 Y 9.10e *gēswar* “curly haired one”

In YIrPs, the Pahlavi word appears as the abstract *gēswarīh* “having curly hair”. By contrast, YIndP K5, M1 write *gēswar* “curly haired one”.⁴⁸⁴ While both readings are semantically meaningful, following the base text K5, *gēswar* is employed in the present edition.

13) Line 20, 22 Y 9.10eP *dād ī tāzīg būd ... hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turk-iz dārēd* “it was an Arabian rule ... Yes, this is not strange since he also has the curly Turkic hair].”

In what follows, the manuscript readings of Phl. *dād ī tāzīg* are listed:

Figure 32. The variant readings of *dād ī tāzīg*.

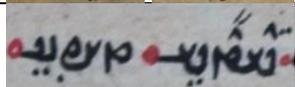
YIrP		YIndP	
Pt4 (fol. 57v line 1)		J2 (fol. 85v line 6)	
Mf4 (p. 154 line 9)		K5 (fol. 63v line 16)	
G14 (fol. 56v line 11-12)		M1 (fol. 164v line 13)	
F2 (fol. 55v line 4)		-	-

⁴⁸¹ For *arm-zadār* and an edition and a translation of Dēnkard 9.23 see Vevaina (2015: 178-180).

⁴⁸² For *gāw-sar* and an edition and a translation of Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.84 see Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998: 140-141).

⁴⁸³ For *gad ī pērōzgar* and an edition and a translation of Zand ī Wahman Yasn 9.22 see Cereti (1995: 146-147, 168). For Kirsāsp see Skjærvø (2011a).

⁴⁸⁴ The reading in YIndP J2 is illegible.

T6 (fol. 47v line 9-10)		-	-
T55b (fol. 74r line 7)		-	-

According to the table, while YIndPs spell *d't Y*, *d* is interpreted as *g* in YIrPs by placing two diacritic marks above [ۛ] in Pt4, G14, F2 and T6. The manuscript T55b places both [^], showing *d*, and two dots above [ۛ].⁴⁸⁵ However, in its left margin, the corrected form appears as *gtyh*.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, the interlinear New Persian version of T6 reads the word as *gādiš*. The Pahlavi word is also translated as NP. *gurz* “mace” (Pt4), NP. *jang* “war” (F2) and NP. *ā kāvyānī* “Kavian *ā*?” (T6). In addition, the marginal *selāh gurz* “weapon, mace” translates *gtyh* in T55b.

It is obvious that the New Persian reading of the Pahlavi word as *gādiš* in T6 is semantically meaningless and wrong. In addition, *d't* or *g't* is not the correct spelling of *gt* (*gad*) “mace” which all manuscripts spell correctly in the preceding *ud juwān gēswar ud gadwar kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard*. It seems that the scribes of the Iranian manuscripts associated the word with the preceding *kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard* and accordingly interpreted the Pahlavi word. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of YIndPs, *dād ī* is employed in the present edition.

As far as the adjective *tāzīg* is concerned, it is derived from the Arab tribal name *ṭayy* to which the ethnic suffix *črk > zīg* is attached.⁴⁸⁷ The tribe played an important role in the history of Arabs and its name was generalised to Arabs in Aramaic probably from the fourth century onwards in the form of *Ṭayyāye* (Segal 1984: 100-103). The corresponding Pahlavi term *tāzīg* was used by Iranians to denote Arabs perhaps after 602 CE when the victorious Husraw (r. 598-628 CE), unexpectedly deposed his ally No‘mān III of the Arab Lakhmanid after whom Iyas of the Ṭayy tribe ruled over al-Ḥira (Bosworth 2000: 62-63).⁴⁸⁸

As shown above, Phl. *tāzīg* appears as the plural *tāzīgān* in YIrP Pt4 (*-ān* superscript), G14 and T6. By contrast, in YIrP Mf4, F2, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1, the singular form *tāzīg* occurs. As regards *turk-iz*, it is written as the plural *turk'n-iz* in YIrP G14 and T6. In

⁴⁸⁵ The diacritical marks in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b and IndPY J2, K5, M5 are studied in my unpublished MA dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 39-55).

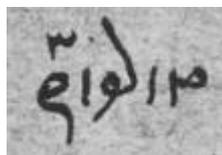
⁴⁸⁶ 

⁴⁸⁷ Quatremère (1845: 154-155) first put forward that *tāzīg* “Arab” goes back to *ṭayy*. For etymological studies of the word see Schaefer (1941: 27); Sundermann (1993: 166).

⁴⁸⁸ For a discussion on the relations between Iranians and Arabs during the pre-Islamic period see Bosworth (1983: 593-612).

Pt4 (fol. 57v line 3) and F2 (fol. 55v line 6) *twlk-c* is attested on the line whereas *'n* is written with small (and pale: F2) letters above the line:

Figure 33. Left YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57r line 3); right YirP F2 (fol. 55v line 6).



The variant readings *tāzīgān* and *turkān* in YIrPs, especially those of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,⁴⁸⁹ show that they are the result of scribal correction. The reason is that YIrP Mf4 and T55b, closely related to Pt4, write *tāzīg* and *turk* with the old YIndP J2 and K5. Furthermore, in Pt4 and F2, *-ān* is not part of the main text. Therefore, in the present edition *tāzīg* and *turk* are employed.

Regarding the dating of the commentary of Y 9.10, the term *tāzīg* was used by Iranians from the seventh century onwards to denote Arabs as mentioned above. Moreover, the curly hair of Kərəsāspa is compared with the hair of Turks in the commentary. The earliest attestation of the word Turk in any Iranian language occurs in the Bugut inscription, discovered in Karabalgasun (North Mongolia), in which the form *tr'wkt* describes the kings of the of the Turkish Ashinas tribe:

B-1, line 1-3. *rty (m)[wn']k nwm (sn)k' 'wst't δ'r-'nt tr-'wkt '(')šy-n's kwtr'tt 'xšy-wn'k 'Y-(K)' .m...m(wx)'n x'γ'n y'rwk' 'HY nw''r x'γ'n 'wr-kwp-'r cr-'cw my'' t't[t](p)['r] (x'γ'n)...*

Kings of Turkish Ashinas tribe have established [this] stone of law when ? Muqan Qaghan's Yaruka brother (named?) Nivar Qaghan for the sake of Urkupar Cracu Magha Tatpar Qaghan ...⁴⁹⁰

Although the inscription is in Sogdian, it is set up by Turks in 580 CE.⁴⁹¹ Chronologically, the second occurrence of the word is also in another Eastern Middle Iranian language, or Bactrian, in which *topko* “Turk” is attested in the document S, written in 693 CE:⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

⁴⁹⁰ Edition and translation by Yoshida & Moriyasu (1999: 123-124).

⁴⁹¹ See SgD, xxvi; Yoshida & Moriyasu (1999: 123-124).

⁴⁹² According to de Blois (2008: 991-997) the Bactrian era begins in 223 CE.

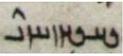
S line 1-4. ι αχρνο υ ό μαυο βοχσιγο ρ[ωs]ο ριϕt[o] [k]λδο ναβιχt[o] μ[o]-
 δδραγο χοησιαιοοβωστιγο μαλαβο γαζο αβο οανινδανο αβο λιζο α-
 λβαρ πιδο τορκο γαζο ταδονο οδαζδδηβιδο σιτο γαζο νο-
 μαρογαρο

(It was) the year 470, the month Bukhshig, the day Risht, when (this) sealed document, (this) contract of undertaking, was written here in Gaz, at Wanindan, the court of Fortress, in the presence of Ser the Turk, the *tudan* of Gaz and with the cognizance.⁴⁹³

In the Chinese sources, the term Turk occurs for the first time in 552 CE to describe people who called themselves Kōk-Türk. These Turkic peoples established an empire, ruled by Qaghans, spreading from the borders of China to Bactria. Their kingdom lasted until the middle of the eighth century CE (von Gabain 1983: 616). Moreover, the earliest texts, written in Old Turkic, date from the eighth century onwards (von Gabain 1983: 621). Therefore, the evidence shows that the commentary, containing the words *turk* and *tāzīg* cannot go beyond the seventh century CE.

In addition to *tāzīgān* and *turkān*, 3rd sg. ind. pres. *dārēd* is replaced by 3rd pl. subj. *dārānd* (*YHSNN-’nd*)⁴⁹⁴ in YIrP G14 and T6 according to which *turkān* is interpreted as the subject of the verb in *hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turkān-iz dārānd* “Yes, this is not strange since Turks should also have the curly hair”. However, the subjunctive verb is absent in their related Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and old YIndP J2, K5 in agreement with which *dārēd* is employed in the present edition.

⁴⁹³ Translation by Sims-Williams (2007: 4.36; 5.19).

⁴⁹⁴ G14 (fol. 56r line 13):  ; T6 (fol. 47v line 11): 

4.11 Y 9.11

- 1 (Y 9.11aA)** *yō janaṭ aṣīm sruuarəṃ*
2 *yim aspō.garəṃ narə.garəṃ*
3 *yim višauuantəṃ zairitəṃ*
4 (Y 9.11bA) *yim upairi viš araodaṭ*
5 *ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ*
6 (Y 9.11cA) *yim upairi kərəsāspō*
7 *aiiaṅha pitūṃ pacata*
8 (Y 9.11dA) *ā rapīḡḡinəṃ zruuānəṃ*
9 *tafsaṭca hō mairiiō x^vīsaṭca*
10 (Y 9.11eA) *fraš aiiaṅhō frasparaṭ*
11 *yaēšiiantim āpəṃ parāḡḡhāt*
12 (Y 9.11fA) *paraš tarštō apatacaṭ*
13 *naire.manā kərəsāspō*

- 1 (Y 9.11aA)** Who slew the horned dragon,
2 the horse-devouring, man-devouring,
3 poisonous, yellow one,
4-5 (Y 9.11bA) upon whom, the yellow one, (poisonous) sting grew as high as a lance.
6 (Y 9.11cA) Upon whom, Kərəsāspa
7 cooked food in an iron cauldron.
8 (Y 9.11dA) At noon time,
9 the scoundrel became hot and began to sweat.
10 (Y 9.11eA) He knocked the iron cauldron forward.
11 He intended to throw aside the boiling water.
12 (Y 9.11fA) Terrified, ran aside,
13 the manly-minded Kərəsāspa.

- 1 (Y 9.11aP)** *kē-š zad az ī srūwar*
2 *ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār*
3 *ī wišōmand ī zard*
4 (Y 9.11bP) *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād*
5 *asb-bālāy ān ī zard*
6 *[hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*
7 *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*
8 *ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*
9 *kū kē ēdōn gōwēd*
10 *hād har dō ēk*
11 *ud any and bālāy ul šud*
12 *ud any and drahnāy be ōbast*
13 *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*
14 *hād kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād]*
15 (Y 9.11cP) *kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp*
16 *ā-š pad ān āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt*
17 (Y 9.11dP) *ān tā ō rapihwin zamān*
18 *taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwist*
19 *[kū dō pā būd]*

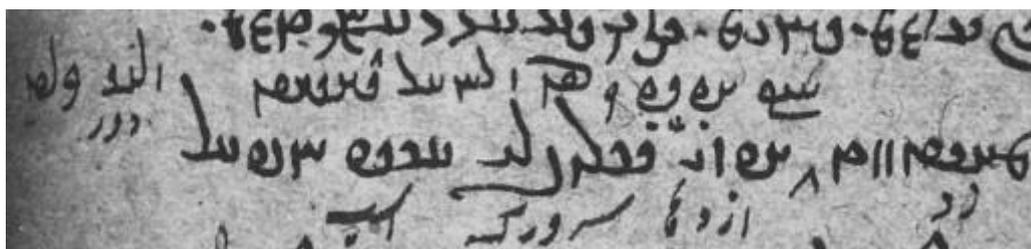
20 (Y 9.11eP) *u-š frāz ān ī āhanēn [dēg] frāz spurd*
21 *ān ī ayārdēnīdag āb be raft*
22 (Y 9.11fP) *parrōn pad tars be tazīd*
23 *mard menišn kirsāsp*
24 *[hād mard menišnīh ēd būd kū-š*
25 *dil pad gāh dāšt būd]*

1 (Y 9.11aP) Who slew¹ the horned dragon,
2 the horse-devouring, man-devouring²
3 poisonous, yellow one,
4 (Y 9.11bP) upon whom, his³ poison⁴ was thrown
5 as high as a horse⁵, the yellow (one)⁶.
6 [Know this: That one which went up to its head,
7 *over the tail, nose (and) top,*⁷
8 that means: The other one fell down through the mouth.⁸
9 There is one who says thus,
10 ‘Yes, both are the same
11 and as high as the one went up
12 and to the same length, the other one fell.’
13 There is one who says thus,
14 ‘Yes and also, anything made of the earthen pot remained dry over the back]⁹.’
15 (Y 9.11cP) Upon whom, Kirsāsp
16 cooked food in an iron [cauldron].¹⁰
17 (Y 9.11dP) At the noon watch,
18 the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], sweated,
19 [that he was on two feet].¹¹
20 (Y 9.11eP) and he trampled on the iron [cauldron],¹²
21 the boiling water flowed away.
22 (Y 9.11fP) In fear, ran away¹³
23 the manly-minded Kirsāsp.
24 [That is: manly-mindedness was this that his¹⁴
25 heart had been held in place].

1) Line 1 Y9.11aP *zad* “slew”

In YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 6), appears the superscript and marginal *kū kard ud abāz dāšt ud dūr kard* “that (he) made and withheld and banished” whose place is marked by the sign “Λ” between *zad* and *az* in the main text. Between the superscript *kū* and *kard*, is also written  which is omitted by three deletion dots:

Figure 34. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 5-6).



As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, it only appears in one manuscript in which it is not even part of the main text. Therefore, in the present edition, it is not considered as an original commentary to *kē-š zad*.

2) Line 2 Y 9.11aP *asb-ōbār mard-ōbār* “horse-devouring, man-devouring”

The Avestan version of Y 9.11 describes the horned dragon as *aspō.garəm narə.garəm* “horse-devouring, man-devouring”. The verb *gar* “to devour” which constitutes the second element of these compounds, characterises certain demonic creatures and deceitful persons as “swallowing up” the good things of life also elsewhere in Avestan (Hintze 2007b: 124-127). By contrast, in Pahlavi, *ōbar* in *asb-ōbār mard-ōbār* corresponding to ^o*gar* is formed from a different root.⁴⁹⁵ However, the evidence shows that like the Av. *gar-*, the Pahlavi word *ōbār* refers to the action of eating carried out by Daēvic beings or deceitful people:

AWZ 39.2-3 *u-m dīd ruwān ī awēšān druwandān kē-šān be ōbārd ud did-iz ōbārd ud rīd ud did-iz ōbārd ud rīd...*

And I saw the souls of those wicked ones who swallowed (what they had) defecated and again swallowed and defecated...⁴⁹⁶

MX. 2. 117. *pad anāgīh-kāmagīh ī xešm ī xurdruš ud astwihād, kē hāmōyēn dām ōbārēd ud sagrīh nē dānēd*

(On the fourth day after death, the soul goes to the bridge of Divider, accompanied by the Yazds and) by the malevolence of the bloody-clubbed Wrath and Astwihād (Dismemberer demon), who swallows all creation and knows no satiety.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ Different suggestions have been put forward regarding the etymology of *ōbār*. Nyberg (1974: Vol. II. 145) derives it from OIr. **ava-pāraya-* for which he does not provide any translation. But he associates **ava-pāraya-* with the root *par* “to cross”, attested in the Avestan causative *pāraia-* (Bartholomae’s ⁴*par*, *AirWb.* 851) meaning “to make pass down”. Henning (1933: 193), by contrast, considers the verb *ōbār* from ²*par* “to fill” which in the causative formation means “to make down fill”. Recently, Cheung (2007: 12) associated *ōbar* with Ir. **baru* “to chew, to swallow”.

⁴⁹⁶ Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 153, 210).

⁴⁹⁷ My translation. For the Pahlavi text see <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/mpers/mx/mx.htm>: Data entry by MacKenzie (1993); corrections by Jügel (2007-2008); TITUS version by Gippert (1998-2008).

IrBd 22.19. *ud mār ān-iz...hast kē az dūr gyāg ud gōspand ud asp ud mard abāz ō xwēš āhanjēd ud ōbārēd*

And of serpents....there is that too, which from a distant place drags onto itself and devours ox, sheep, horse and man.⁴⁹⁸

The epithets *asb-ōbār* and *mard-ōbār* are also attested elsewhere in the Pahlavi literature to describe the horned dragon. Examples include:

DkM 597.14-15. *...u-š pad-iš zad⁺ az⁴⁹⁹ ī srūwar ī asb-ōbār mard-ōbār...*

...and he (Kirsāsp) killed by that (the glory of Jam), the horned dragon, the horse-devouring, man-devouring,...⁵⁰⁰

PRDd. 18f5. *...u-m garōdmān be dah az ī srūwar be ōzad ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār...*⁵⁰¹

...and grant me Garōdmān. (I) slew the horned dragon, the horse-eater, man-eater,⁵⁰²

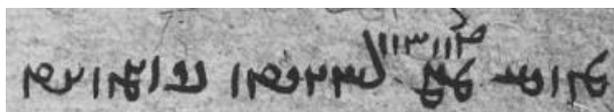
3) Line 4 Y 9.11bP *kē-š* “whom, his”

YIndPs write Phl. *kē-š* in *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād* “upon whom, his poison was thrown”. By contrast, deleting *-š* and *wiš* after *abar*, *wiš* follows *kē* in YIrP G14 and T6:

YIrP G14 (fol. 56v line 3-4) T6 (fol. 48r line 2-3) *kē wiš abar rānēnīd ēstād*
upon whom, the poison was thrown

Writing *kē-š* like YIndPs, *wiš* is omitted in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2 and T55b. Moreover, in Pt4, Mf4 and T55b, Phl. *tan ōh*, *tan* and *ō* appear after *abar* above the line, in the margin and on the line, respectively:

Figure 35. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 9).



YIrP Pt4 *kē-š abar tan ōh?*⁵⁰³ *rānēnīd ēstād*

⁴⁹⁸ The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 186-187).

⁴⁹⁹ My correction. In the Madan edition, *az* is written as *gz*.

⁵⁰⁰ My translation.

⁵⁰¹ Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 105).

⁵⁰² Translation by Williams (1990: Vol. II, 40).

⁵⁰³ The spelling *’w’* can be read as either the preposition *ō* “to” or the pronoun *ōy* “he, she” or the particle *ōh* “in the usual way”. However, as it occurs before the verb, it is read as *ōh* in the present edition.

who, upon his body it was thrown in the usual way.

Figure 36. YIrP Mf4 (p. 154 line 17).

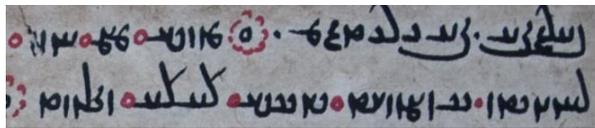


In Mf4 the place of the marginal *abar tan* is marked between *abar* and *rānēnīd*:

YIrP Mf4 *kē-š abar* (marg. *abar tan*) *rānēnīd ēstād*

who, upon his (body) it was thrown.

Figure 37. YIrP T55b (fol. 74v line 1-2).

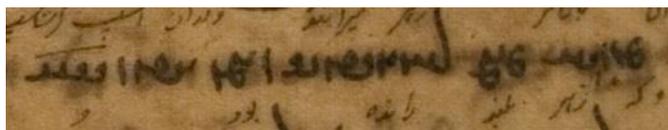


YIrP T55b line 1 *kē-š abar ōh?* Line 2 *rānēnīd ēstād*

who, upon him, it was thrown in the usual way.

In F2, while *wiš* occurs after *ēstād*, *tan* is absent. However, it seems that crossing out *yš* in *wyš* (*wiš*) by a horizontal line, the scribe edits the first letter as *W* “and”. It is corroborated by its corresponding New Persian interlinear translation و “and”:

Figure 38. YIrP F2 (fol. 55v line 11).



YIrP F2 *kē-š abar rānēnīd ēstād w(iš)*

upon whom, it was thrown and

As discussed above, YIrP F2 and the copies of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line⁵⁰⁴ show different variant readings. From the superscript and marginal words, it can be assumed that the scribe(s) of Pt4 and Mf4 was uncertain whether or not these words should be incorporated into the text. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the scribes of the Iranian manuscripts

⁵⁰⁴ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

corrected the Pahlavi translation of *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* according to their understanding. By contrast, Av. *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* is rendered in YIndPs by the correct word-for-word Pahlavi translation *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād* which is employed in the present edition.

4) Line 4 Y 9.11bP *wiš* “poison”

The Pahlavi word *wiš* translates the Avestan root noun *viš-* in the sentence *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* “upon whom (i.e. the horned dragon) *viš* grew”.⁵⁰⁵ Likewise, the Sanskrit thematic noun *viṣa-* “poison” (Unvala 1924: 20) and New Persian *zahr* (زهر)⁵⁰⁶ “poison” render Av. *viš-/Phl. wiš* in the passage. Following Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1472), most scholars have also translated *viš-* as “poison”⁵⁰⁷. However, the translation of Av *viš-* as “poison” was challenged by Hintze (1994a: 215-216) and Sommer (2014: 384-396) as they argue that the meaning of the root noun should be different from that of the thematic stem, well attested in the IE languages.

Hintze discusses Av *viš-* in the commentary to Yt 19.40 whose text is parallel to that of Y 9.11 with minor discrepancies:⁵⁰⁸

Yt 19.40 *yō janaṭ ažīm sruuarə̄m*
yim aspō.garə̄m narə.garə̄m
yim višauuantəm zairitəm
yim upairi viš araodaṭ
xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna
yim upairi viš araodaṭ
ārštiiō.barəza zairitəm ...

Who slew the horned dragon,
the horse-devouring, man-devouring,
poisonous, yellow one.
On whom the poisonous plant grew,
at the tail as high as a tree.
On whom the poisonous plant grew
as high as a spear, on the yellow one...⁵⁰⁹

According to Yt 19.40, *vanaiia.barəšna* “as high as a tree” and *ārštiiō.barəšna* “as high as a lance” describe *viš*. Hintze (1994a: 216-217) argues that they are two factors suggesting another meaning for *viš* rather than the conventional “poison” because the meaning “poison”

⁵⁰⁵ For *arodaṭ* “grew” see Hintze (1994a: 215-216).

⁵⁰⁶ For the New Persian translation see F2 (fol. 55v) and T6 (fol. 48r).

⁵⁰⁷ See Kellens (1974: 366); Josephson (1997: 52); Pirart (2004: 69).

⁵⁰⁸ For a comparison between Y 9.11 and Yt 19.40 see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia barəšna*.

⁵⁰⁹ Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 23).

does not agree with something that appears “as high as a tree” and “as high as a lance” on the dragon’s back (*xšuuāēpaiia*). According to her, the meaning of the root noun Av. *viš-*⁵¹⁰ should be slightly different from that of the thematic stem which is well attested in other IE languages. Therefore, she interprets *viš-* in the context of Y 19.40, as “poisonous plant” which corresponds to the New Persian *bīs*⁵¹¹ “a poisonous and lethal plant, similar to ginger, which grows in India”⁵¹² and Balochi *gīs*⁵¹³ “oleander”.⁵¹⁴ According to Hintze (1994a: 217), it could also illustrate why Kərəsāspa mistakes the dragon’s back for a piece of land upon which he decides to cook food.

By contrast, based on Rau’s (1994: 37) suggestion, Sommer (2014: 384-396), translating *viš-* as “horn”, maintains that the Sanskrit thematic stem *viṣa-* originally meant poisonous plant *Acointum* and that such meaning was later generalised to denote poison. Likewise, he concludes that the Avestan thematic stem is expected to mean poison rather than its root noun counterpart. However, Kellens (1974: 366-368) had questioned the occurrence of the thematic *viṣa-* in the Avesta. According to him, the presence of the root noun *viš-* alone or as the final member of the compound in *kasuuiš-* “one who has a little bit poison, pustule (name of a disease)”⁵¹⁵ is certain. By contrast, when functioning as the first term of a compound, it is not clear whether *višō-* represents the thematic stem or the root noun in which *-ō* is by analogy with the compositional vowel *-ō*. For example, in the compound *višō.vaēpa-* “poison spraying”.⁵¹⁶ The thematic stem, however, is present in the hapax legomenon *višauuant-* “poisonous” corresponding to Skt. *viṣavant-*,⁵¹⁷ and in the mountain name *višauuā-*⁵¹⁸ “belonging to the poison”. Furthermore, Sommer (2014: 386) considers it unlikely that a plant grows on a dragon. Nonetheless, in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 203, vv 1027-1030), the appearance of the tongue of Aždahā is compared with a black tree

⁵¹⁰ Pirart (2004: 69) edits *vīšəm* (nom. sg. ntr. of *viṣa-* ntr. “poison”), but his edition is entirely speculative as the form *vīšəm* is absent in the manuscripts. For the root noun *viš-* and thematic *viṣa-* see Y 9.11 commentary 6 *zard* “yellow”.

⁵¹¹ بيش.

⁵¹² “گیاهی است سمی و مهلك و شبیه به گیاهان نجیب که در هندوستان می روید” (*Ln.* Vol. III. 4531).

⁵¹³ گیش.

⁵¹⁴ In addition to Balochi, in New Persian *gīs* means “oleander (خرزهره)” (*Ln.* Vol. XII. 17186-17187).

⁵¹⁵ For *kasuuiš-* see Kellens (1974: 367-368).

⁵¹⁶ The other compounds are *višāpa-*, *viš.gaiṇtaiia-*, *viš.ciṅra-* (Kellens 1974: 366). Sommer, does not discuss *višō.vaēna* and *višāpa-*. Furthermore, he proposes a different etymology for *viš.gaiṇtaiia-* (Sommer 2014: 388). The stem *viš.ciṅra-* is discussed in this commentary.

⁵¹⁷ Kellens (1974: 366) considers *višauuant-* as the only exception whose first element is derived from thematic stem *viṣa-*.

⁵¹⁸ The etymology of *višauuā-* has not been studied so far, but Sommer (2014: 386) derives it from *viṣa-* to which the suffix *-uuā-* is attached.

in the account of Zāl and Rudāba where Sām, Zāl's father, writes a letter to the king Manučīhr:

مرا کرد پدرود هر کوشنید
از سر تا به دمش چو کوه بلند
که بر ازدها گرز خواهم کشید
کشان موی بر زمین چون کمند
زبانش بسان درختی سیاه
زفر باز کرده فتاده براه

*ma rā kard padrōd har kū šanīd/ka bar aždahā gurz xvāham kašīd
az sar tā be dummaš čō kōh-ī buland/kašān mōy bar zamīn čōn kamand
zabānaš basān-ī draxt-ī siyāh/zafar bāz karda fikanda be rāh*

Bade farewell to me whoever heard/that I would unsheathe the club against the dragon. (The height) of the head up to his tail (was) like (that of) a high mountain./(He) was drawing his hair on the earth like a lasso (swirling in the air). His tongue (was) like a black tree/having opened his mouth, hangs (the tongue) down onto the road.⁵¹⁹

Likewise, the tongue of the dragon is compared with a tree in the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 60, v 4) in the account of Garšāsbnāma and the dragon:

یکایک پراکنده بر دشت و غار
زبان چون درخت و دهان چون دهار
yakāyak parākanda bar dašt-u yār/zabān čōn draxt-u dahān čōn dahār

(because of the dragon's poison) everybody was dispersed in the plain and cave./(His) tongue (was) like a tree and mouth (was) like a cave.⁵²⁰

Moreover, in the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 53, v 63), hair of the head of the dragon is compared with a thicket (*bīša*):

سرش بیشه از موی و چون کوه تن
چو دودش دم و همچو دوزخ دهن
saraš bīša az mōy-u čōn kōh tan/čō dūdaš dam-u ham-čō duzax dahan

his head (was like) a thicket of hair and his body (was) like a mountain/his breath (was) like smoke and his mouth (was) like hell.⁵²¹

The evidence of the Šāhnāma and Garšāsbnāma casts doubt on Sommer's criticism of Hintze's suggestion as body parts of the dragon can be compared with trees or thickets.

As mentioned above, Sommer (2014: 387) translates Av *viš-* as "horn" which is based on the description of the horned dragon in the Pahlavi Rivāyat:

⁵¹⁹ My translation.

⁵²⁰ My translation.

⁵²¹ My translation.

PRDd. 18f5. ... *az ī srūwar be ōzad ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār*
u-š dandān and čand bāzūg ī man būd
u-š gōš and čand čahārdah namad būd
u-š aš and čand wardyūn-ē būd
*u-š srū and čand šāk pad bālāy būd ...*⁵²²

... (I) slew the horned dragon, the horse-eater, the man-eater.
 And its tooth was as large as my arms
 and its ear was as great as fourteen felts,
 and its eye was as great as a chariot,
 and its horn was as great as a branch in height...⁵²³

Sommer (2014: 387) compares *čand šāk pad bālāy*, describing the height of *srū*, with the height of *viš-*, described by *ārštiiō.barəza* “as high as a spear” in *yim upairi viš araodaṭ ārštiiō.barəza*. However, it can only be concluded that the Avestan and Pahlavi sentences follow the same formulaic structure and there is no evidence that *srū...šāk pad bālāy* corresponds to *viš...ārštiiō.barəza* in Y 9.11 and Y 19.40 especially by considering the fact that the Pahlavi passage *u-š srū and čand šāk pad bālāy* explains *srūwar* (= Av. *sruuara-*), rather than Av. *viš*. Moreover, different from *čand šāk pad bālāy*, the height of Av. *viš* is described by *ārštiiō.barəza*, *asb-bālāy* and *muštyaṅgušṭhatuṅgaṃ* in the Avestan, Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, respectively, according to which none of them is related to horn or branch.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, according to Y 19.40, *viš* grows at the tail (*xšuuāēpaiia*) of the horned dragon, but Sommer, translating *viš* as “horn”, does not give any evidence of a dragon whose horn grows at its tail. In addition, in the New Persian book of Sad-dar Nasr, a similar passage to that of the Pahlavi Rivāyat exists, in which *haštād arš* “eighty ells” replaces *šāk pad bālāy* in Pahlavi Rivāyat:

پس روان گرشاسب ایزد تعالی را نماز برد و گفت
 ای دادار وه افزونی مرا بهشت ارزانی کن
 که اندر جهان ازدهای را بکشتم
 که هر مردی و چهارپایی که دیدی فرو بردی
 و بدم خویشتن میکشیدی
 و هر دندان که در دهان وی بود چو بازوی من بود
 هر چشمی چندان بود که گردونی
 و هر سروی چندان بود که هشتاد ارش بود...

pas ruvān-ī garšāsb īzad ta ‘ālā rā namāz burd-u guft
ay dādār-ī weh-ī afzunī ma-rā bihišt arzānī kun
ka andar jahān aždahāy rā be kuštam
kē har mard-ē va čahār-pāy-ē ka dīdē frō burdē

⁵²² Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I. 105).

⁵²³ The translation is after Williams (1990: Vol. II. 40).

⁵²⁴ See Y 9.11 commentary 5 *asb-bālāy*.

u be dum-ī xvēštan mē-kešīdē
u har dandān ka dar dahān-ī vay būd čōn bāzūy-ī man būd
har čašm-ē čandān būd ka gardun-ē
u har srūy čandān būd ka haštād arš būd...

Then, the soul of Garshāsb paid homage to the almighty Venerable and said:
 “O the bountiful good creator! Bestow heaven upon me
 because in the world, I slew the dragon
 who used to devour each man and quadruped whom he saw
 and pulled by its tail.
 And each tooth which was in his mouth was like my arm,
 (and) each eye was as like as a chariot,
 and each horn was like the height of eighty ells” ...⁵²⁵

The comparison between Phl. *šāk pad bālāy* and NP. *haštād arš* shows that they are only used as units of measurement rather than words qualifying the substance of *srū*.

Assuming “horn” as the meaning of Av. *viš-*, Sommer (2014: 388-389) suggests that the Av. *viš-* derives from the IE root **ueis-* “to sprout, to grow”. Sommer also considers Av. *viš.ciθra-*, attested in Vd. 20.3, as a medicine made of horn in contrast to Bartholomae’s translation (*AirWb.* 1473) as “medicine (of toxic origin)”:

Vd. 20.3 *viš.ciθrām dim aiiasta*
āiiapta xšaθra vairiia
paitištātāe yaskahe
paitištātāe mahrkahe...

He asked him the remedy (Sommer: a medicine made from horn),
 the boons through Xšaθra-Vairiia,
 to withstand illness
 to withstand death...⁵²⁶

To corroborate his interpretation, Sommer compares Av. *viš.ciθra-* with Ved. *viṣāṇā-* “horn” attested in the Atharvaveda:

AVŚ 3.7.1 *hariṇásya raghuṣyádó `dhi śīrśāni bheṣajám*
*sá kṣetriyám viṣāṇayā viṣúcīnam anīnaśat*⁵²⁷

On the head of the swift-running gazelle is a remedy;
 he by his horn hath made the Kṣetriya (disease) disappear, dispersing.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1909: 86.6).

⁵²⁶ My translation from German. See Hintze (2000: 332).

⁵²⁷ Edition by Roth & Whitney (1855: 33).

⁵²⁸ Translation by Whitney (1905: III, 94).

In the commentary to the Vedic verse, Whitney (1905: III, 94) suggests that *viṣānā-* consists of the verb *sā* “to fasten” which in composition with the prefix *vi-* means “to unfasten”. Whitney’s analysis is in agreement with the *padapāṭha*’s segmentation of the word as *vi-sānā-*. Sommer (2014: 392-393) accepts Whitney’s etymology only with regard to the neuter stem *viṣāṇa-* attested in the *Rigveda*. By contrast, he mentions that the verb *vi-sā* “unfasten” is unsuitable to describe the horn of *hariṇa-* “gazelle or antelope” in AVŚ 3.7.1. The reason is that these animals do not shed their horns. As mentioned above, he derives Av. *viš-* and Ved. *viṣānā-* “horn” from the IE root **^lueis-*. Regarding the latter, he suggests that it is extended by the individualising suffix **-en/-on-*, forming the stem **uis-on* “horn”, from which both the thematic stem and collective noun **uis-on-eh₂* “horned” developed (Sommer 2014: 393). However, Sommer (2014: 393, fn. 43) also notes that in both forms the *o-* ablaut grade of the suffix is unexpected. Although as a solution, he suggests that the *o-* grade ablaut is by analogy, he does not adduce parallels that might have provided a model for such an analogy. Moreover, according to the Indo-Iranian word formation rules, relating Av. *viš-* to a verbal root is unlikely because such root nouns are mainly used as *nomen agentis* (*AiGr.* II 2 4, §3) or denote the abstract meaning (*AiGr.* II 2 11, §6). By contrast, root nouns without verbal basis are used as the names of the body parts/organs or animals (*AiGr.* II 2 58, §16b).

As far as the translation of Av. *viš-* is concerned, the evidence gives weight to Hintze’s interpretation. However, no dragon is described with a plant above its tail whereas the tongue and hair of *Aždahā* are compared with plants and thickets as discussed above. Therefore, it seems that linguistic analysis of the word on its own is inadequate for a decisive conclusion. As stated above, according to Yt 19.40, *viš* grows at the tail (*xšuaaēpaiia*) of the horned dragon (Hintze 1994a: 23). While the horned dragon has no counterpart in Indian mythology (Skjærvø 1989a: 193),⁵²⁹ in Akkadian art, *Ti’āmat*, the creator of Akkadian monsters, also appears as a composite horned dragon with a scale-covered body like a serpent and a wriggling tale ending in the scorpion-like sting (Heidel 1951: 87). Furthermore, the following similarities increase the possibility of the Mesopotamian influence on the stories of *Kərəsāspa/Kirsāsp*.⁵³⁰ According to the text of the Pahlavi

⁵²⁹ For a study on the similarities between the Iranian myths and their Mesopotamian counterparts see Bahar 1996 (1375).

⁵³⁰ *Kərəsāspa*’s corresponding name (Skt. *ṛṣāśva-*) is of no importance in the Indian mythology compared to its Iranian counterpart. For example, it occurs with his family members in ŚB 6.6.20 *ṛṣāśvo `rciṣi bhāryāyām dhūmaketuṃ ajījanat* (Prabhupāda 1975: 12) “*Ṛṣāśva* in (his) wife, namely *Arciṣi* gave birth to *Dhūmaketu*” (my translation). Moreover, Skt. *ṛṣāśva-*, appears in *Mahābhārata* 2.328, according to which he presides among heroes in the world of *Yama* after death. In another example, according to *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.21-27, *Rāma*

Rivāyat, Kirsāsp, before killing the sea dragon Gandarw, was dragged into the sea by the monster.⁵³¹ In the Akkadian account of creation (Enuma-Elish), Ti'āmat, the primeval-water ocean, is slain by Marduk. Moreover, according to the Pahlavi Rivāyat, Kirsāsp subdues Wind who was deceived by Dēws:

PRDd. 18f20. *kirsāsp guft kū
ohrmazd wahišt-im ud garōdmān be dah
ka-m wād rēšīd u-m stō kard
dēwān wād be frēft
u-šān be ō wād guft
kū az harw dām-dahišn tō pādyāwandtar...*⁵³²

Kirsāsp said:

“O Ohrmazd, grant me Paradise and Garōdmān,
for I exhausted and wounded the wind.

The demons deceived the wind,
and they said to the wind:

Of all creation, you are the most powerful” ...⁵³³

In the Akkadian story of creation (Enuma-Elish)⁵³⁴, Ti'āmāt creates the storm demon to fight the gods:

Enuma-Elish Tablet 1.

140 She set up the viper, the dragon and the *lahmānu*,

141 the great lion, the man dog and the scorpion man,

142 driving storm demons, the dragonfly and the bis[on].⁵³⁵

In Achaemenian art, a horned griffin with a scorpion tail also fights a hero.⁵³⁶ Therefore, in the both Mesopotamian and Achaemenian belief, the main monsters have a scorpion-like tail ending in a sting. The Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.11 also confirms that the poison excretes from the tail of the horned dragon as the direction of the poison flow is from dragon's tail to his head:

hād ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud

is equipped with the armaments of *kršāšva*- (Molé 1960: 142-145).

⁵³¹ See Williams (1990: Vol II. 40).

⁵³² Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 107). Slightly differently, Williams edits *kersāsp* rather than *kirsāsp*. For a discussion on the existence of the phoneme /e/ in Pahlavi see Y 9.10 commentary 5 *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*.

⁵³³ Translation by Williams (1990: Vol. II. 41).

⁵³⁴ Enuma-Elish “when above” is the opening words of the account of creation (Heidel 1951: 1).

⁵³⁵ Translation by Heidel (1951: 23-24).

⁵³⁶ For the figure see Hinnells (1985: 105).

*xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia barāšna*⁵³⁷
ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast ...

Know this: That one which went up to its head,
 over the tail, nose (and) top,
 that means: The other one fell down through the mouth.

Moreover, according to the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 58, v 33) the tail of the dragon is bent and segmented which is similar to that of the scorpion and griffin's tail at Persepolis:

گره در گره خم دم تا به پشت همه سرش چون خار موی درشت
grih dar grih xam dum tā be pušt/hama sar-š čōn xār mōy-ī durušt

His tail was curve (and) segmented until the back./All his head was like a thick thorn (like) hair.⁵³⁸

In addition, the verse is preceded by another one in which دم can be read either as *dam* “breath” or *dum* “tail”:

ز تف دهانش دل خاره موم ز زهر دمش باد گیتی سموم
zi taff-ī dahānaš dil-ī xāra mum/zi zahr-ī dam (dum)-aš bād-ī gētīy somum

Because of the heat of his mouth, the heart of granite (became soft) like a wax/because of the poison of his mouth (tail) the air of the world was poisoned.⁵³⁹

As far as the reading of دم is concerned, the picture of the illustrated manuscript S147,⁵⁴⁰ describing the fight of Garšāsb and Aždahā supports the reading *dum* “tail” as Aždahā's tail ends in the sting:

⁵³⁷ For the meaning see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia barāšna*.

⁵³⁸ My translation.

⁵³⁹ My translation.

⁵⁴⁰ The Šāhnāma manuscript is kept at the First Dastur Meherjirana Library. The folios are numerated in Gujarati numerals and the picture appears in fol 29r. It renders an arrangement of stories according to which the stories of Garšāsb (Garšāsb-nāma), Sām (Sām-nāma) and Farāmarz (Farāmarz-nāma) are included in the Šāhnāma beside the account of the Šāhnāma's most venerated hero, Rustam. A similar manuscript, Or. 2926, is also kept at the British Library which can show a tradition of the transmission of the Šāhnāma according to which together with the story of Rustam, the accounts of other heroes, whose names and actions are shadowed by Rustam, are incorporated in the Šāhnāma. For a list of the Šāhnāma manuscripts and other epics see van Zutphen (2014: Appendix I).

Figure 39. The Šāhnāma manuscript S147 (fol. 29r).



It should be noted that Aždahā is painted carefully to reflect the description of its appearance in details as attested in the text. For example, according to the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai 58, v 29-30), dragon's mouth was open like a cave. In his mouth and breath, there were fire and smoke. In addition, according to the picture, the dragon twines his tail around the foot of Garšāsb probably to bite him. However, it is known from the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 58, v 25) that his bite was ineffective because Garšāsb had consumed opium:

ز تریاک لختی ز بیم گزند بخورد و گره کرد بر زین کمند
*zi taryāk laxt-ē zi bīm-ī gazand/be xward-u grih kard bar zēn kamand*⁵⁴¹

Due to the fear of injury, (Garshāsb) a piece of opium/ate and tied (his) lasso on the saddle

In conclusion, according to the evidence, the meaning “poisonous sting” is suggested for *viš-* which grows at the tail of the dragon. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version, it is possible to accommodate the meaning of *wiš* as “poison” where the Avestan verb *araodaṭ* is rendered by *rānēnīd ēstād* “had been ejected” in *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād asb-bālāy ān ī zard* “upon whom, the yellow one, poison had been ejected as high as a horse.” As mentioned above, the translation is followed by the commentary *ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud ... ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast* according to which *wiš* is considered as a liquid substance

⁵⁴¹ For the transcription of the New Persian words see “Notes on the present edition”.

which is ejected and flows upon the body of the horned dragon and later, falls down from the head.

5) Line 5 Y 9.11bP *asb-bālāy* “as high as a horse”

The Pahlavi compound *asb-bālāy* “as high as a horse” renders the Avestan hapax legomenon *ārštiiō.barəzan-* “as high as a lance”. While *bālāy* is a cognate of Av. *barəzan-* the first element of the compound is an entirely different word. Davar (1904: 38-39, fn. 35¹) positing that *asb* is the corrupt form of **arišnīg* “arm, arm’s length”, mentions:

‘But being badly written in the original manuscript and part of the word being moth-eaten, a not very intelligent copyist deciphered it to the common word *asp*.’

However, his entirely speculative suggestion is unlikely because it is very difficult to justify the misreading of *arišnīg* (اسرشم) as *asp* (اس or اسس). Translating *ārštiiā-* as “thumb”, Justi (1864: 53) takes it as the *-ya* derivative of *aršti-* “lance”. As mentioned by Bartholomae (1886: 274), Justi’s translation is based on *muṣṭyaṅguṣṭhatuṅgam*, the Sanskrit translation of the word. By contrast, although *-ya* derivative with the initial vowel *Vṛddhi* strengthening usually makes adjectives, Bartholomae (1886: 274) associates *ārštiiō°* with the neuter stem *ārštiiā-* “lance (as a unit of measurement)”. For the Pahlavi translation, he mentions that *asb-bālāy* has an Indian parallel in which cow is used as a unit of measurement. He adds that people in his time used sticks of any length for measurement and in Old Iranian times, people probably used spears of any size. Therefore, he concludes that there is no difference between the units of measurement attested in the Avestan, Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions. However, the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, at least, show that the translators had no problem with translating *ad sensum* here which is in contrast to the usual Pahlavi *ad verbum* translation technique of the Avesta. For example, Av. *ārštiiō.barəza* could have been translated by its Pahlavi semantic equivalent *nēzag-bālāy* which is attested in Pahlavi:

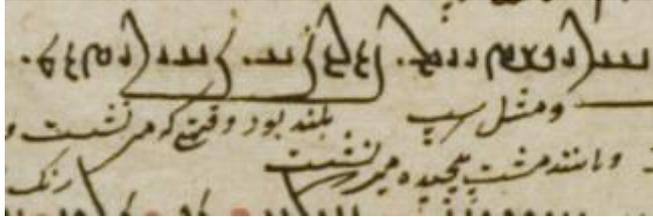
ŠNŠ. 2.10. *ka āb nēzag-bālāy andar ēstēd pas-īz bē nihēd be awarēd*

...even if water stands as high as a lance, then (the corpse bearer) should also put (the corpse in the *daxmag*) and come (back).⁵⁴²

⁵⁴² My translation from New Persian. See Mazdapour 1990 (1369): 10-11).

As regards the New Persian translation, *ārštīiō* and *brəza* are translated by the interlinear *asp ī kiršāsp* (اسب کرشاسپ) “Kiršāsp’s horse” and *buland* (بلند) “high”, respectively, in YIrP F2 (fol. 55v line 10). By contrast, in YIrP T6 (fol. 48r line 2), the following interlinear New Persian gloss to *ārštīiō.barəza* appears:

Figure 40. YIrP T6 (fol. 48r line 2).

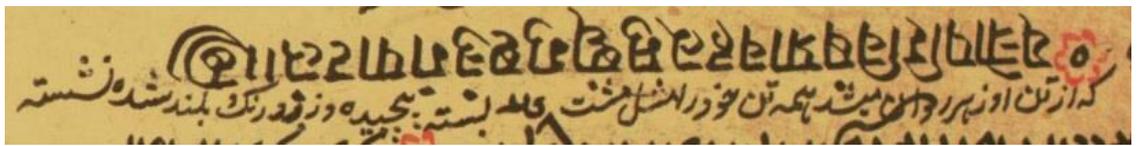


u mesl ī asp buland bud-u vaqti ka mē-nišast-u mānand ī mušt ī pēčīda mē-nišast

“and (The poison) was like a horse high and when (the horned dragon) used to sit, he was sitting like a clenched fist”.⁵⁴³

The New Persian version of T6 shows that the scribe combined the Pahlavi and Sanskrit interpretations in his gloss to *ārštīiō.barəza*. For Phl. *asb-bālāy*, it is rendered in F2 (fol. 55v line 11) by the interlinear NP *asp-buland* (اسب بلند) “as high as a horse”. By contrast, T6 (fol. 48r line 3) writes (مانند اسب بلند بود) *mānand ī asp buland būd* “it was like a horse high”. As regards the Sanskrit version, *yatropari viṣaṃ purāvahat muṣṭyaṅguṣṭhatuṅgam pāṭlam* “on whom the pale-red poison flowed as high as a clenched thumb”⁵⁴⁴ in YSkt KM7 (fol. 53v line 8) is explained by the following interlinear New Persian gloss:

Figure 41. YSkt KM7 (fol. 53v line 8).



...hama-yī tan ī xvad rā mesl ī mušt pēčīda-u zard rang buland šuda nišasta

(The horned dragon) having clenched all his body like a yellow fist, stood (and) sat”.⁵⁴⁵

Regarding the declension of Av. *ārštīiō.barəza*, it is debated among scholars. Pirart (2004: 267) postulates that the compound represents nom. sg. **ārāštīiō.barəzō* of ntr.

⁵⁴³ My translation.

⁵⁴⁴ Edition and translation by Unvala (1924: 20 and 20 fn. 35°).

⁵⁴⁵ My translation.

ārštiiō.barəzah-. However, his interpretation is not supported by the reading of any manuscript. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 338) interprets *°barəza* as the nom. sg. of *barəzan-* ntr. but he also considers the possibility that it can be the instr. sg. of the root noun *barəz-* (*AirWb.* 338 fn. 1). Kellens (1974: 352-354) opts for the instr. sg. interpretation as does Hintze (1994a: 217) who adds that the inst. case is confirmed by the syntactic parallelism with the following instr. *vanaiia.barəšna*.⁵⁴⁶

6) Line 5 Y 9.11bP *zard* “yellow”

In the first five lines of Y 9.11, the Avestan adj. *zairita-* “yellow” and its Pahlavi translation *zard* occur twice as follows:

Y 9.11Av *yō janaṭ aṣīm sruuarəṃ*
yim aspō.garəṃ narə.garəṃ
yim višuuuəntəm zairitəm
yim upairi viš araodaṭ
ārštiiō.barəza zairitəm

Y 9.11Phl *kē-š zad az ī srūwar*
ī asb-ōbār mard-ōbār
ī wiš-ōmand zard
kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād
asb-bālāy ān ī zard

The first Av. *zairitəm* obviously refers back to Av. *aṣīm sruuarəṃ* as it is the last in a series of adjectives describing “the horned dragon”. By contrast, the second *zairitəm* is ambiguous in so far as it could be interpreted either as the acc. sg. m., referring to the relative pronoun *yim* which in turn refers back to *aṣīm sruuarəṃ* or as the nom. sg. ntr., describing the colour of the Av. *viš*. The latter interpretation is that of Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1472) and Kellens (1974: 366). It entails that the gender of the root noun *viš-* is neuter. However, Hintze (1994a: 215) argues that the gender of the archaic root noun *viš-*⁵⁴⁷, which is not found outside Avestan, is more likely to be m. rather than neuter. Hintze’s suggestion agrees with the Indo-Iranian historical grammar rule according to which the gender of nonverbal root nouns⁵⁴⁸ from which *a-* stems develop is usually masculine (*AiGr.* II 2, 59, §16d). Therefore, the second *zairitəm* is associated with *aṣīm sruuarəṃ* in the present edition.

⁵⁴⁶ For *vanaiia.barəšna* see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*.

⁵⁴⁷ For the archaism of Av. *viš-* see Kellens (1974: 366). Except Av. *viš-*, in other IE languages the thematic equivalents occur (Kellens 1974: 366); (Hintze 1994a: 215).

⁵⁴⁸ *Wurzelnomina ohne verbale Grundlage* “root nouns without verbal basis” are root nouns in which the existence of a verbal root is unproven (*AiGr.* II. 2, 57, §16), like *viš-* (*AiGr.* II. 2, 59, §16d).

As far as the Pahlavi version is concerned, it remains ambiguous whether *zard* describes the colour of the “poison” or “the horned dragon” as, in Pahlavi, nouns are neither inflected nor do they have the grammatical gender. However, in agreement with the Avestan original, an association of *zard* in the Pahlavi version with *az ī srūwar* seems preferable.

7) Line 7 Y 9.11bP *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna* “over the tail, nose (and) top”

The Avestan text of Y 9.11 is parallel to that of Yt. 19.40 with minor variations as illustrated in the following table:

Yt 19.40	Y 9.11
<i>yō janaṭ ažiṃ sruuarəṃ yim aspō.garəṃ nərə.garəṃ yim višauuaṇtəṃ zairitəṃ</i>	(Y 9.11aA) <i>yō janaṭ ažiṃ sruuarəṃ yim aspō.garəṃ nərə.garəṃ yim višauuaṇtəṃ zairitəṃ</i>
<i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna (or xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna)</i>	∅
<i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ</i>	(Y 9.11bA) <i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ</i> (Y 9.11bP) <i>kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād asb-bālāy ān ī zard [hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna (or xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna) ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast kū kē ēdōn gōwēd hād har dō ēk ud any and bālāy ul šud ud any and drahnāy be ōbast ī ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād]</i>
<i>yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiaṇha pitum pacata ā rapiṭβinəṃ zruuānəṃ</i>	(Y 9.11cA) <i>yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiaṇha pitum pacata</i> (Y 9.11dA) <i>ā rapiṭβinəṃ zruuānəṃ</i>

According to the table, Yt. 19.40 has three cola commencing with *yim upairi* while Y 9.11 has two. In the Avestan text of the Hōm Yašt, the second and the third cola only occur. However, the second line of the first colon of Yt 19.40 is quoted in the Pahlavi version whereas its first line *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* is absent.

Av. *xšuuāēpaiia* is considered as loc. sg. of *xšuuāēpā*- “tail” (*AirWb.* 560). By contrast, as far as the interpretation of *vainaii/vaēnaiia* and *barəšna* is concerned, their meaning and

case are debated. In the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts F1, E1, Pt1, L18 and H3, the word appears as *vanaiia* in contrast to *vainti*, *vanaiti*, and *vaniiati* in J18, J10 and D, respectively (Hintze 1994a: 213).⁵⁴⁹ Regarding the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts, in YIrP Pt4 and T55b, *vanaiiata* is written whereas in YIrP Mf4, *vanaiia* is attested. By contrast, in YIrP G14-T6 and F2, *vainiti* and *vainaiti* occur, respectively. As regards YIndPs, while *vaina* is only legible in J2, *vaēnaiia* appears in K5 and M1. Regarding *barəšna*, Yt manuscripts and YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b write *barəšna*. Slightly differently, *barəšna* is attested in K5 and M1. By contrast, F2 and J2 write *barəšnu* and *barənuš*, respectively.

Editing *xšuuāēpaiia* (inst.sg.) *vanaiti* (3rd sg. pres ind.) *barəšnuš* (nom. sg.), Burnouf (1854: 272-273) translates it as “the angry hits (him) with a strike”. However, although *vanaiti* and *barəšnuš* are found in the manuscripts, no copy attests the sequence *xšuuāēpaiia vanaiti barəšnuš*. Furthermore, his translation does not agree with the readings of the majority of copies preserving a better text i.e. Yt F1, YIrP Mf4 writing *vanaiia* and Yt F1, YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14 providing *barəšna*.⁵⁵⁰ Geldner (1886-1896: II, 248) edits *vaēnaiia* which is accepted by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1325). Interpreting *vaēnaiia* as the loc. sg. of *vaēnā-* “nose”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1325) considers *barəšna* as the adverbial instrumental of the stem *barəzan-* meaning “on top”. As a result, *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna* was translated as “over the back, nose, top” by him (*AirWb.* 560). Similarly, Mills (1900: 525), Davar (1904: 19), Unvala (1924: 20), Bailey (1933: 83-84) and Dhabhar (1949: 61) read *vaēnaiia*. Differently, Hintze (1994: 217), takes it as the first element of the compound *vanaiia.barəšna*. Reading *vanaiia*°, Hintze (1994a: 217) interprets it as the *jo-* derivative of *vanā-* f. “tree”. Following Bartholomae’s suggestion (*AirWb.* 950), she considers the second element *barəšna* as the inst. sg. of *barəzan-*. As a result, suggesting *vanaiia.barəšna*, she translates it as “so hoch wie ein Baum”.⁵⁵¹

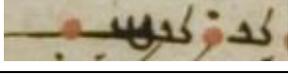
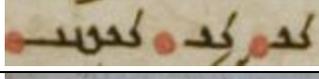
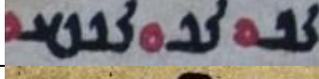
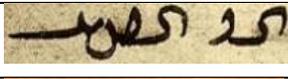
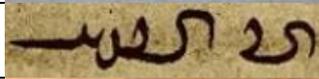
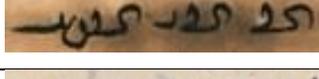
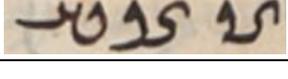
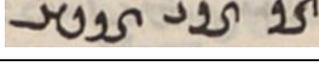
As regards the Pahlavi version, the Avestan phrase is preceded and followed by sentences governed by the verbs *ul šud* “went up” and *be ōbast* “fell down” in the following context:

hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud
xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna

⁵⁴⁹ For the readings of the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts see Hintze (1994a: 213). For a description of the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts see Hintze (1994a: 54-56).

⁵⁵⁰ Unlike the corrected Pahlavi version of the Iranian manuscripts, the quality of their original Avestan surpasses that of their Indian counterparts. The base text YIndP K5 writes *vaēnaiia* and *barəšna*.

⁵⁵¹ “as high as a tree.”

F2 (fol. 55v line 12)		F2 (fol. 55v line 13)	
T6 (fol. 48r line 3)		T6 (fol. 48r line 5)	
T55b (fol. 74v line 1)	-	T55b (fol. 74r line 4)	
J2 (fol. 85v line 15)		J2 (fol. 86r line 2)	
K5 (fol. 64r line 7)		K5 (fol. 64r line 8)	
M1 (fol. 165v line 1)		M1 (fol. 165v line 4)	

Dhabhar (1949: 61) edits in agreement with J2. Mills (1900: 525) and Davar (1904: 19) also read it as *ān ī-š ... ān ī-š*. By contrast, Bailey (1933: 83-84) edits *any ... any* according to the well attested formula in Pahlavi corresponding to Av. *aniiō ... aniiō* or OP. *anyā ... anyā*:

hād ēn any pad kamāl ul šūd
xšuaaēpaiia vaēnaiia barāšna
ān any pad zafar be ōbast

that is, this one ascended at the head
over tail and snout and neck
the other fell down at the jaw⁵⁵³

However, unlike Bailey's reading, the sequence of **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** as a combination denoting *any*, does not occur in manuscripts according to the list of *any* variant readings provided by Salemann (*GlrPh* I/1, 294).⁵⁵⁴ While the expected orthographies for *any* are **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (ZK-*ṽ*) and **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (ZK-*ṽ*), the most possible reading for the Pahlavi **𐭥𐭥** is *š* according to which **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** would be *ZY-š* (*ī-š*). The preceding **𐭥𐭥** must also be *ān*. Furthermore, with the exception of J2, two ZKs (**𐭥𐭥**) are juxtaposed in *ZK ZK ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*. In K5 and M1, the second ZK is also followed by **𐭥** which in combination with ZK forms *ZK-ṽ* (*any*). Therefore, three different readings are attested in the manuscripts as follows:

YIrPs *ān ān ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*
YIndP J2 *ān ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*
YIndP K5, M1 *ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*

⁵⁵³ The text is after Bailey (1933: 83-84).

⁵⁵⁴ Salemann transliterates the variant readings in the Hebrew script. By contrast, the different spellings of *any* were provided in the original Pahlavi script by Bogdanov (1930: 74-75) in his English translation of Salemann's *Mittelpersisch*.

The sentence also shares the same formulaic structure with *hād ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*. Therefore, it seems that *ān* introducing a new commentary, corresponds to *hād ēd* as shown in the following table:

Opening word		Verb
<i>hād ēd</i>	<i>ān ī-š pad kamāl</i>	<i>ul šud</i>
<i>ān ān</i> (YIrPs) vs. <i>ān</i> (YIndPs)	<i>any</i> (K5) <i>ī-š pad zafar</i>	<i>be ōbast</i>

As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the base text K5, *ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast* is employed in the present edition. Moreover, the following text occurs after the Pahlavi *hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud ... ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*:

kū kē ēdōn gōwēd
hād har dō ēk
ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and bālāy ul šud
ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and drahnāy bē ōbast

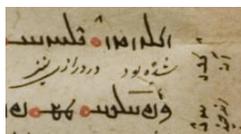
As regards *ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and bālāy ul šud*, while YIrPs write *ZK*, it appears as *ZK-ȳ* in their Indian counterparts. By contrast, the distribution of *ZK/ZK-ȳ* in *ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and drahnāy be ōbast* is as follows:

<i>ZK</i>	<i>ZK-ȳ</i>
YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T55b; YIndP J2	YIrP T6 (deest. <i>ZK-ȳ</i> in marg.) ⁵⁵⁵ ; YIndP K5, M1

Although both readings *ān* and *any* are semantically possible, in agreement with the base text K5, *any ... any* is employed in the present edition. As a result, the Pahlavi text is translated as follows:

there is one who says thus,
 ‘Yes, both are the same
 and as high as the one went up
 and to the same length, the other one fell.’

⁵⁵⁵ T6 (fol. 48r):



9) Line 14 Y 9.11bP *kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād* “anything made of the earthen pot remained dry over the back”

The Pahlavi translators compared the hotness of dragon’s *wiš* “poison” with the dried *kabārīh*. In the Sanskrit version, the translation of *kabārīh* is missing (Unvala 1924: 20). Reading *kp’lyh* as *kifr*, Mills (1903c: 322 and 322 fn. 2) relates it to *kaf* “froth”. However, it is evident that his interpretation is erroneous because *kaf* is spelled as *kp* in Pahlavi.⁵⁵⁶ Davar (1904: 40 and 40, fn. 35¹¹) translates *kabārīh* “sweat, exudation” which is based on his interpretation of the corresponding Persian word *kavār* “a thick mist” and *kavārūn* “scab on the skin”. However, according to the *Ln*. Vol. XI. 15982, *kabāra* (کیاره) and *kavār* (کوار), the corresponding forms of the Pahlavi word in New Persian, mean “fruit basket (سبد میوه), earthen pot (کاسه سفالین)”.

Editing *kabārag*, Bailey (1933: 83) translates the word as “earthen pot”. The Pahlavi word *kabārag* is also found in Vd 9.11 which is translated as “earthen pot” by Bailey (1933: 82):

Vd 9.11 *kadār-iz-ē ān ī saxt zamīg kabārag-ē ud tis-ē*
or anything of hard earth, an earthen pot or like.

However, while the form *kabārīh* appears in all of the collated manuscripts with the exception of T55b writing *kp’l’* (*kabāra*?), Bailey’s corrected form is absent in the manuscripts. Considering the form *kabārīh*, it can be interpreted as an abstract form of the word *kabār* corresponding to the New Persian *kavār* (کوار). The abstract forms denote several meanings one of which is the collective sense (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 177, §348). Therefore, interpreting *kabārīh* as a collective noun, it can mean “anything made of clay” which also suits the context.

10) Line 16 Y 9.11Pc *āhanēn [dēg]* “iron cauldron”

Av. *aiiah-* is translated by *āhanēn [dēg]* in the Pahlavi version which adds *dēg* “cauldron” to *āhanēn*. The reason is that the Avestan word *aiiah-* can mean both “metal”

⁵⁵⁶ For the spelling see MacKenzie (1971: 48).

and “cauldron” (*AirWb.* 159) while in the Pahlavi language, *āhanēn* as an adjective, only means “iron, of iron”.⁵⁵⁷

11) Line 17-19 Y 9.11dP *ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwīst [kū dō pā būd]* “at the noon watch, the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], sweated, [that he was on two feet]

Av. *yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiāḡha pitūm pacata* (Section c of Y 9.11 in the present edition) merges with *ā rāpīḡβīnəm zruuānəm tafasaṭca hō mairiīō xʷīsaṭca* (section d) in the manuscripts G14 and T6 whilst in the other collated manuscripts, they are separated by the Pahlavi translation of *yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiāḡha pitūm pacata*:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1	YIrP G14, T6
<p>(Y 9.11cAv) <i>yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiāḡha pitūm pacata</i> - -</p> <p>(Y 9.11cPhl) <i>kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp ā-š pad ān āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt</i> (Y 9.11dAv) <i>ā rāpīḡβīnəm zruuānəm tafasaṭca hō mairiīō xʷīsaṭca</i> (Y 9.11dPhl) <i>ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwīst [kū dō pā būd]</i></p>	<p>(Y 9.11cAv) <i>yim upairi kərəsāspō aiiāḡha pitūm pacata</i> <i>ā rāpīḡβīnəm zruuānəm tafasaṭca hō mairiīō xʷīsaṭca</i> (Y 9.11cPhl) <i>kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp ā-š pad ān ī āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt-ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwāst [kū dō pā būd]</i>⁵⁵⁸</p>

The unique order in G14 and its descendant T6 should be associated with scribal correction. The reason is that the order of their related copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line⁵⁵⁹ agrees with that of the old YIndP J2, K5. In addition, in the manuscripts Pt4 and T55b appears the marginal *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* “he fled from that place” which is associated with *kū dō pā būd* by the sign +:

⁵⁵⁷ See MacKenize (1971: 6); Nyberg (1974: 32).

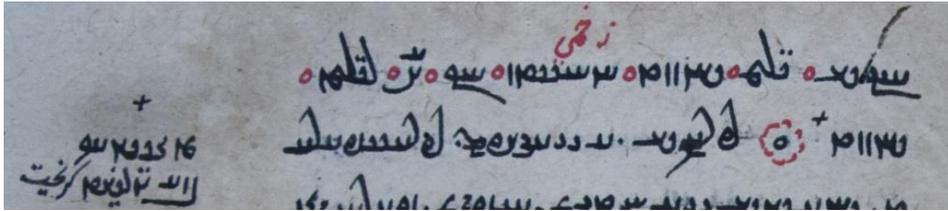
⁵⁵⁸ The Avestan text is based on Geldner’s edition. For the minor variant readings in G14 and T6 see the text-critical apparatus and G14 (fol. 56v line 9-11) and T6 (fol. 48r line 8-10).

⁵⁵⁹ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

Figure 43. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 58r line 1).



Figure 44. YIrP T55b (fol. 75r line 1-2).

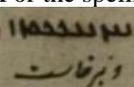


As for the editorial judgement, the sentence *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* disagrees with the context of Y 9.11 according to which the scoundrel did not flee but he knocked the iron pad forward. Moreover, the commentary is very late because the verb *gurēxt*, corresponding to the Pahlavi *wirēxt*, is a New Persian loanword. Therefore, it is not employed in the present edition.

The verb *xwist* in *ān tā ō rapihwin zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwist* is attested as *xwāst* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b.⁵⁶⁰ The New Persian interlinear translation *bar xāst* “(he) stood up” in T6 (fol. 48r line 12)⁵⁶¹ also confirms that by analogy with the New Persian verb, it was interpreted as *xāstan* (*h'stn*) “to rise, to stand up” in the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and T55b, closely related to T55b. It should be noted that while the verb *xwāstan* is spelled by either the heterogram *B'YHWN-stan* or eteogram *hw'stn*, the original meaning of *hw'stn* (*xwāstan*) is “to seek, to want, to desire”. It is obvious that it does not fit the context from the semantic point of view because the passage would mean “until the noon watch, the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], (he) wanted”. Furthermore, *x(w)āst* does not correspond to the original Avestan *x^vīsaṭca* “and he sweat”. It seems that based on the following gloss *kū dō pā būd*, the scribes of YIrPs corrected *xwist* to *xwāst* “(he) stood up?”. As a result, in the present edition, *xwist* is employed.

As far as the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan *tafasaṭ* and *x^vīsaṭ* in *tafasaṭca hō mairiō xvīsaṭca* is concerned, they are inchoative verbs which are translated by 3rd sg.

⁵⁶⁰ For the spellings see text-critical apparatus.

⁵⁶¹ 

past *taft* and *xwist*, respectively in Pahlavi. It should be noted that although some inchoative verbs are found in Pahlavi like the present stem *xwafs*- “sleep”, the formation of *s*-inchoative verbs is not productive in the language (Abolghassemi 1996 (1375):165-166). It explains why the Avestan verbs are not translated by their inchoative counterparts in Pahlavi.

12) Line 20 Y 9.11eP *u-š frāz ān ī āhanēn [dēg] frāz spurđ* “and he trampled on the iron [cauldron]”

While YIrPs and YIndP J2 spell *spwlt*, in YIndP K5 and its closely related copy M1, it appears as the causative *spwl'nnt*⁵⁶² (*spurānd*) “to make someone trample something” which from the semantic point of view, does not fit the context. Therefore, in agreement with K5 sister manuscript, J2, and YIrPs *spurđ* is employed in the present edition.

13) Line 22 Y 9.11fP *tazīd* “ran away”

Phl. *tazīd* renders Av. *apatacaṭ* “ran”. In YIndP K5 and M1, the 3rd sg. past *tazīd* “ran away” is deleted in *parrōn pad tars be tazīd*. However, it is clear that *parrōn pad tars be* needs a verb. It should be noted that in J2, the sister manuscript of K5, *tazīd* is attested. Therefore, although the base text in the present edition is K5, the deletion of *tazīd* is an obvious mistake. As a result, *tazīd* is employed in the present edition.

14) Line 24 Y 9.11fP *kū-š* “that his”

In YIrP Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b, the enclitic pronoun *-š* is deleted in *hād mard menišnīh ēd būd kū-š dil pad gāh dāšt būd* “That is: manly-mindedness was this that his heart had been held in place”. With the reading of the old YIndP J2 and K5, *-š* is given in the present edition.

⁵⁶² ۱۲۳۵ ۱۲۳۵.

4.12 Y 9.12

- 1 (Y 12aA) *kasə ʒwqm*
 2 *tūiriiō haōma mašiiō*
 3 *astuuaiʒiiāi hunūta gaēʒiiāi*
 4 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*
 5 *ciṭ ahmāi jasat āiiaptəm*

1-3 (Y 12aA) Who, O Haōma, as the fourth mortal pressed you for the material creature?

- 4 What reward was granted to him?
 5 What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 12aP) *kē tō*
 2 *tasom hōm az mardōmān*
 3 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*
 4 *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*
 5 *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

1-3 (Y 12aP) Who, as the fourth one, O Hōm,¹ among men in the material world pressed you,

- 4 what respect was shown to him,
 5 and what prosperity came to him?

1) Line 2 Y 9.12aP *hōm* “O Hōm”

In YIrP Pt4 and T55b, *hād* “that is, yes and, yes but” is written instead of *hōm*. However, it is apparent that Phl. *hōm* is the correct translation of Av. *haōmō*. As a result, the reading of YInd J2, K5, M1 and YIr Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b is preferred over that of Pt4 and T55b in the present edition.

4.13 Y 9.13

1 (Y 9.13aA) *ātaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*
2 *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*
3 (Y 9.13bA) *pourušaspō maṃ tūiriio mašiiō*
4 *astuuaiḡiiāi hunūta gaēḡiiāi*
5 *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuu*
6 *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*
7 (Y 9.13cA) *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianḡha*
8 *tūm ərəzuuō zaraḡuštra*
9 *nmānahe pourušaspāhe*
10 *vīdaēuuō ahura.ṭkaēšō*

1 (Y 9.13aA) Thereupon, answered me
2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:
3-4 (Y 9.13bA) Pourušaspa, as the fourth mortal, pressed me for the material creature.
5 This reward was granted to him,
6 this boon came to him,
7 (Y 9.13cA) that you were born to him,
8 You upright, O Zaraḡuštra,
9 (who belong) to the house of Pourušaspa,
10 who rejects demons, accepts the Ahuric teaching.

1 (Y 9.13aP) *u-š ō man ōy passōx guft*
2 *hōm ī ahlaw dūrōš*
3 (Y 9.13bP) *porušasp ī man tasom az mardōmān*
4 *andar astōmandān ḡēhān hunīd-am*
5 *ōy ān ī tarsagāhīh kard*
6 *ud ān ō ōy mad ābādīh*
7 (Y 9.13cP) *ka az ōy tō ul zād hē*
8 *tō abēzag zardušt*
9 *andar mān ī porušasp*
10 *ī jud-dēw ohrmazd-dādestān*
11 *[ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz ā-mān ḡōwēd]*

1 (Y 9.13aP) and he¹ answered me,
2 the righteous, perdition-averting Hōm:
3-4 (Y 9.13bP) Porušasp² as the fourth (man) among men pressed me in the material world.
5 The respect was shown to him,
6 and that prosperity came to him,
7 (Y 9.13cP) when you were born from him³
8 you, O holy Zardušt,
9 in the house of Porušasp,⁴
10 who rejects demons, who accepts the law of Ohrmazd
11 [there is one who says then, rejecting demons away from us]⁵

1) Line 1 Y 9.13aP *ōy* “he”

Phl. *ōy* renders nom. sg. *aēm* “this”. In the stanza 9.13, *ōy* only appears in YIndP K5 and M1 in agreement with which, it is employed in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.13 of the present edition.

2) Line 3 Y 9.13bP *porušasp* “Porušasp”

Phl. *porušasp* corresponds to Av. *pourušaspa-*. Analysing the Avestan word as a compound of *pouruša-* “grey” and *aspa-* “horse”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903) rightly points out the problem that the expected form would then be **pourušāspa-*. To explain the short *-a-*, Bartholomae (1883: 28) regards it as a spelling mistake. Since the short *-a-* is found in all manuscripts, he suggests that the mistake goes back to a single copy from which all extant manuscripts are supposed to derive.⁵⁶³ The nom. sg., acc. sg. and gen. sg. of *pourušaspa-* occurs in manuscripts. The variant readings in 66 manuscripts of the Yasna (Sāde, Pahlavi, Sanskri), Visperad (Sāde), Vīdēvdād (Pahlavi, Sāde) and Yt 5 are listed in the following table:⁵⁶⁴

Table 10. Variant readings of Av. *pourušaspa-*.

Declension	Variant readings of <i>pourušaspa-</i>
nom. sg.	<i>pourušaspō, pōurušaspō, pouru.šaspō, pōuru.šaspō, purō.šaspō, paourušaspō, paōurušaspō, paōuru.šaspō, paōuruš.aspō, paourušaspō, paourasaspō, pōurušaspa, pōurušašpā, pōuru.šaspam</i>
acc. sg.	<i>paorušaspəm</i>
gen. sg.	<i>pourušaspahe, pōurušaspahe, pouru.šaspahe, pōuru.šaspahe, pōurusaspahe, pōuru.saspahe, pourušaspahe, pōurušaspahe, pōuruōššaspahe, pōuruššaspahe, pōuru.ššaspahe, pourušaštahe, pōrušaspu, paourušaspahe, paouru.šaspahe, paouruššaspahe, paourušaspahe, paōurušaspahe, paōurusaspahe, paoušaspahe, paourōššaspahe, paouru.ššaspahe, paourušaspahe, paōru.šaspahpe?, pōuru.šaspa?</i>

The great variety of different readings point to the influence of the oral tradition on its written counterpart.⁵⁶⁵ It makes it difficult to reconcile with the theory of a single variant *pourušaspa-* resulting from the corruption of a postulated **pourušāspa-*. Later, Bartholomae

⁵⁶³ Bartholomae’s suggestion agrees with the the *Stammhandschriften* theory, developed by Hoffmann in 1970s, according to which the extant Yasna, Visperad and Vīdēvdād manuscripts go back to one Yasna, Visperad and Vīdēvdād copy, respectively, existed around ninth to tenth century CE. However, it has been recently proved to be false by Cantera (2012a: 279-315) and Tremblay (2012: 98-135).

⁵⁶⁴ For manuscripts readings see Table 11.

⁵⁶⁵ For the tradition of transmission of the Avesta see section 3.1.

(1885: 312) suggests that the form *pouruśaspa-* < **pouruśāspa-* “having grey horses” is a wrong etymological analysis derived from *pouruś* “many” + *aspa-* “horse”. The analysis of the first element of the word in the Avesta as *pouru-* “many” is corroborated by the readings of manuscripts which as shown in Table 10, place the separating dot between *pouru-* and *śaspa-*. Moreover, YIndS G26b,⁵⁶⁶ writes *paōuruś.aspō* in which *ś* can be considered as the nom. sg. inflection of *pouru* ° in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Furthermore, the interpretation of *pouruś* ° as “many” is present in the following Avestan text of the Vištāsp Yašt:

Vyt 1.2 ... *pourō aspō yaθa pouruśaspahe* ...

(you, Vištāspa may have) many horses like (those) of Pouruśaspa.⁵⁶⁷

It should be noted that Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903) also considers the Vištāsp Yašt interpretation of *pouruśaspa-* as a failed attempt at etymologizing the name.⁵⁶⁸

Bartholomae’s explanation of **pouruśaspa-* as “having grey horses” has been widely accepted by scholars according to the stated graphic theory or the phonetic suggestion, as discussed below. For example, Justi (1895: 254-255) mentions two different interpretations, or that of Vištāsp Yašt and Bartholomae’s suggestion, while taking side neither for nor against any of them. Mayrhofer (1979: I/72) also accepts Bartholomae’s interpretation and Skjærvø (2011b: 27, 131) even goes so far as to transcribe the name as *Pouruśāspa*.

To accept Bartholomae’s interpretation, as mentioned above, one should assume that the exegetes of the Avestan texts, misunderstood the meaning of the word *pouruśa-* “grey” as *pouru-* “many” and they considered *ś* as the nominal ending of the first element of the word and simultaneously, they edited the long *ā* in **pouruśāspa* to *a*. The assumption is put into question by the evidence from the Avesta in which the simplex *pouruśa-* “grey” occurs in Vd 7.57, translated as *pīr* “old” in the corresponding Pahlavi version. It shows that although in the Pahlavi version, *pouruśa-* is mistakenly interpreted as *pīr* “old”, the Avestan interpreters could at least differentiate between *pouru-* “many” and *pouruśa-* “grey, old (according to Pahlavi interpretation)”.⁵⁶⁹ Therefore, it is unlikely that **pouruśāspa-* was wrongly analysed by them in the same Vīdēvdād text; Vd. 19. 4, 19, 46.

⁵⁶⁶ See Table 11.

⁵⁶⁷ My translation. Edition by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903).

⁵⁶⁸ Darmesteter (1892: 663) suggests that Vištāsp Yašt is a late collection of the Vīdēvdād. However, this idea has been challenged by Molé (1963: 350) mentioning that the text of the Vištāsp Yašt is not as incoherent as Darmesteter suggested. Furthermore, Cantera (2013: 95) states that there are texts in the Vištāsp Yašt which are absent in the Vīdēvdād.

⁵⁶⁹ For an edition of the Pahlavi Vīdēvdād see Moazami (2014) and also Anklesaria (1949). While in Geldner’s

Kellens (2006: 269) also accepts Bartholomae's analysis of the name as consisting of *pouruša-* "grey" and *aspa-* but unlike Bartholomae, he explains the alleged shortening of $\bar{a} > a$ as being due to syllabification of the word. According to him, there was a vowel reduction of the hexasyllabic **pourušāspahe* (*pouruša'aspahe*) to the pentasyllabic *pourušaspahe*, occurring in Y 9.13, to maintain the octosyllabic metre of *nmānahe pourušaspahe* "in the house of Pourušaspa". He compares the vowel reduction with dat. sg. **gaēθaiiāi > gaēθiiāi* in *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi* through whose vowel deletion the octosyllabic metre of the phrase is preserved. However, apart from the dat. case, in other cases, \check{a} is present in *gaēθā-*.⁵⁷⁰ Moreover, it is unclear whether the form *gaēθiiāi* is to maintain the metre or according to Reichelt (1909: 197, fn. 1), it is developed by analogy with *astuuaiθiiāi*. Furthermore, it should be noted that the fluctuation of *-aiia-* and *-iia-* is quite common in the Avesta. As far as other texts giving *pourušaspa-* are concerned, it is difficult to conclude according to the prose text of the *Vīdēvdād* because although **pourušāspa-* is absent in it, the phrases in which *pourušaspa-* occur, correspond to that in the metric texts of Y 9.13 and Yt 5.18. However, against Kellen's phonetic explanation, the phrase Y 9.13 *pourušaspō maṃ tūiriio mašiiō* in which nom. sg. *pourušaspō* appears, has nine rather than eight syllables. Furthermore, without vowel shortening, the long \bar{a} in *pourušāspa-* can be considered both as a hiatus and a contraction like *kərəsāspa-* in Y 9.11 *naire.manā kərəsāspō* (hiatus) and Yt 19.39 *yā upaṅhacat kərəsāspəm* (contraction).⁵⁷¹ Therefore, like the graphic theory, the phonetic suggestion of the shortening of $\bar{a} > a$ is unconvincing.

As far as other possible explanations for the short vowel *a* in the suggested *pouruša-* "grey" + *aspa-* "horse" are concerned, Kellens (1974: 202) states that **ā* becomes *a* in the antepenultimate syllables of compounds with *mazdā-* as the first member like *mazdaoxta-*, *mazdaḍāta-* and *mazdaiiasna-*. However, Kellens counts the antepenultimate syllables in the unattested stems rather than the actual inflected forms which occur in the text. For instance, unlike Kellens's suggestion, $\bar{a} > a$ in the gen. sg. *mazdaiiasnahe* in Yt 13.121 should have taken place in the second syllable of the pentasyllabic word rather than its antepenultimate syllable. Kellens's suggestion is also questioned by de Vaan (2003: 182), stating that $\bar{a} > a$ in the mentioned examples of *mazdā-* is comparable to that in the feminine

edition (1886-1896: III, 55), *pouruša-* occurs in Vd 7.57, in Moazami's (2014: 212) edition, its corresponding Pahlavi translation *pīr* appears in Vd 7.56.

⁵⁷⁰ See *AirWb.* 477-479; Reichelt (1909: 197).

⁵⁷¹ See Geldner (1877: 13); Hintze (1994a: 209); Kellens (2006: 269).

ā- stems occurring as the first member of the compound. It should be noted that with Kellens's suggestion, it is still impossible to explain the form *pourušaspa*- because *ǎ* in the stem and the attested nom. sg. *pourušaspō* and acc. sg. *pourušaspəm* occurs in the penultimate syllable. Moreover, *ā* in *mazdā*- takes place in an open syllable, by contrast, as discussed above, according to the octosyllabic metre of Y 9.13, *ā* in the pentasyllabic gen. sg. **purušāspahe* occurs in the closed syllable *-šās-* whose shortening, according to de Vaan (2003: 610) is unexpected.

The shortening of the vowel *ā* > *a* is studied in detail by de Vaan (2003: 108-160) according to whom the shortening of **purušāspa*- > *purušaspa*- in the both penultimate and antepenultimate syllables is unjustifiable. It was probably the reason that de Vaan leaves **purušāspa*- > *purušaspa*- undiscussed in his study of the Avestan vowels. The shortening in the penultimate syllable only occurs in a small number of words whose original length is often perceived in some manuscripts (de Vaan 2003: 128). Such shortenings usually take place either by analogy, for example Y 13.1 *bipaitiṣtanəm* with gen. pl. ending *-anəm* or in instances in which the original length of *ǎ* is unknown because of the uncertain etymology, for example *uštǎna*- (de Vaan 2003: 128-132). Furthermore, the antepenultimate shortening of **ā* > *a* in gen. sg. *purušaspahe* is unlikely because such shortenings occur either in the antepenultimate open syllables of *ar*-/*n*- stems or in the sequence of nom. **-āras/* acc. **-āram*, or in front of *-na-* or in a few other examples to all of which the enclitic *-ca/-ciṭ* is usually attached (de Vaan 2003: 109-122, 127-128).

Av. **purušāspa*- could also be compared with *spitāma*-, because *spitāma*- < *spita*- + *ama*- in voc. singular, voc. pl. and dat. pl. cases appears as *spitama*, *spitamāṅhō* and *spitamāi*, respectively. However, in contrast to **purušāspa*- which is absent in the entire Avesta, *spitāma*- is attested with *ā* in other cases and the shortening of the vowel in the mentioned examples is associated with the retraction of accent in the vocative case and the dissimilation of *ā* in the dative case because of the following *ā* in the next syllable.⁵⁷² Finally, the shortening of the vowel *ā* could be explained by analogy (de Vaan 2003: 108) which is also unsupported by evidence because the closest contrasting compound to **purušāspa*-, or Yt 10.102 *aurušāspa*- “having white horses”, derived from *auruša*- “white” and *aspa*- “horse” (*AirWb.* 191), appears with the long vowel *ā* in the Avesta. Furthermore, other similar proper names such as *(dā)jāmāspa*-, *(dā)jāma*- + *aspa*- (data not

⁵⁷² Hoffmann (1975: 266); deVaán (2003: 134).

shown), *kərəsāspa-*, *kərəsa-* + *aspa-* (data not shown) and *vištāspa-*, *višta-* + *aspa-*,⁵⁷³ consistently occur with the long vowels.

Pakhalina (1987: 157), by contrast, derives *pourušaspa-* from OIr. **paru-šašva-* “muchseer, foreteller, prophet” whose second element is derived from the suggested IE **ksekʷos* of the root **sekʷ-* “to see, to feel, to notice, to speak”. First, it should be noted that the reconstruction of Pakhalina is problematic because *śv* is absent in Indo-iranian. Therefore, it should have been reconstructed as **paru-šacwa-* according to which its second element *šacwa-* develops to Av. *šaspa-*.⁵⁷⁴ As mentioned by Pakhalina (1987: 157), the etymological cognate of the root occurs in Gr. *θέσπιος* “who says the divine (words), prophet”. However, the root is absent in Iir. languages. Furthermore, the derivative **ksekʷos* has no counterpart neither in Greek nor in any IE language and in the case of *θέσπιος*, while the expected IE **ks* > Gr. *ξ* is absent in the word, *θέσπις* is the contracted forms of **θεσ-σπέ-τιος* in which the first element of the word is from *θέσ-* “divine”.⁵⁷⁵

By analogy with *pouruš.xʷāθra-* “who has many pleasure” and the proper name *pourušti-* it is possible to associate *pouruš°* with the stem *pouru-* “many” to which *-š* is attached. With this interpretation, *-š* represents the nom. sg. inflection of *pouru-* as the first member of the compound.⁵⁷⁶ As stated above, the interpretation also agrees with the Avestan understanding of the word. Apart from Avestan, in Bactrian, two forms of a proper name appear as *πορ[...]/πο* and its corresponding hypocristic form *ποροκο*. The former is hypothetically reconstructed as **πορασπο* deriving from Ir. **paru-aspa-* “having many horses”, cf. Av. *pouru.aspa-*. (Sims-Williams 2010: 117-118).

In conclusion, while the evidence casts doubt on the graphic and phonetic suggestions of the development **pourušāspa-* > *pourušaspa-*, it seems that on the one hand, the development *pouru°* “many” > *pouruš°*, at least, has analogical models in the Avesta and on the other hand, the proper name meaning “having many horses” occurs in another Iranian language.

Regarding the transcription of *pourušaspa-*, Pirart (2004: 71) corrects the word to *paourušaspa-*. Although, as shown in the table, *paourušaspa-* with *u* epenthesis, occurs in the collated manuscripts, Pirart’s correction seems to be unnecessary. Therefore, in the

⁵⁷³ The manuscript readings of *vištāspa-* are not collated. However, in all editions, it has consistently been given by the long *ā*. The corresponding word in Old Persian, spelled as *v-š-t-a-s-p*, also appears with long vowel (Mayrhofer 1979: II/29).

⁵⁷⁴ See Windfuhr (2009: 19).

⁵⁷⁵ For IE *k*, Av. *š*, Gr. *ξ* see Kent (1953: 36, §102). For **sekʷ-* see *IEW*. 896-897; *LIV*. 526-527. For **θεσ-σπέ-τιος* see *IEW*. 268-269, 896-897.

⁵⁷⁶ For *-š* in compositions see Kellens (1974: 39-40).

present edition with *paru*° > *pouru*° showing the regular labialisation of *a* because of *u*, *pourušaspa-* is employed.⁵⁷⁷

In the Pahlavi version, *pwlšsp* appears in YIndPs whereas in YIrPs, *pwlwš'sp* is attested. Beside *pwlwš'sp*, in the second occurrence of the word in *andar mān ī porušasp*, it is spelled as *pwlwšsp* in T6. Likewise, *porušasp* has been transcribed differently by scholars, for example *purušāsp* (Davar 1904: 20), *pōrūšasp* (Justi 1895: 254), *pourušāsp* (Nyberg 1974: 162) and *porušasp* (Josephson 1997: 53). Considering the Pahlavi script, it is impossible to evaluate the value of ' and *w*. The reason is that although the *matres lectionis* ', *w* and *y* often represent long vowels in Pahlavi, they can also stand for short vowels, for example Phl. *zltwšt* vs. Av. *zaraθuštra-* and Phl. *slyt* vs. Av. *θrita-*. Regarding the first *w* after *p* in *pwl(w)š(')sp*, the corresponding word in Avestan is *pouruš*° with the short vowel *o*. However, as listed in the table, some manuscripts spell *pouruš*° as *pōuruš*° or *paōuruš*° which could indicate the dialectal lengthening of the vowel *o* > *ō*. The evidence from the Arabic sources shows that the corresponding word occurs as both *bršsf* and *bwrš'sf* (Justi 1895: 254-255). The reading *br* in *bršsf* (transcr. *buršasf*) agrees with the expected phonemic and possibly phonetic short *o*. In conclusion, at least from the phonemic point of view, the value of the first *w* in *pwl(w)š(')sp* is short and therefore, it is transcribed with *o* in the present edition. It is evident that the second letter *w* appearing in Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b, corresponding to *u* in Av. *pourušaspa-*, is also short. As far as the last vowel is concerned, it is represented by *alif*, or ', in Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b. In the New Persian version of YIrP F2 (fol. 56v line 4, 7, 10, 13) and YIrP T6 (fol. 49r line 6, 8), *Porušasp* is given as *pwrwšsp* (پوروشسپ). Likewise, in the New Persian version of the trilingual Vīdēvdād Pahlavi manuscripts (data not shown) and Zoroastrian New Persian text *Zarātušnāma*, *Porušasp* is written with the short *a*.⁵⁷⁸ Therefore, it seems that *alif*, or ', in Phl. *pwlwš'sp* represents the stylistic writing feature of the manuscripts rather than the dialectal lengthening as the long *ā* is absent in their corresponding Avestan and New Persian (F2, T6) versions. As a loanword from Avestan, the short vowel *a* also agrees with the phonetic value of its corresponding vowel in Av. *pourušaspa-* as discussed above.

⁵⁷⁷ See de Vaan (2003: 415-416).

⁵⁷⁸ For the Vīdēvdād Pahlavi manuscripts see <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

For the reading of *pwrwšsp* (پوروشسپ) in *Zarātušt-Nāma* see (Dabir-Siyaghi 1959 (1338): 5, 12, 14, 23, 25).

Table 11. Manuscripts readings of Av. *pouruśaspa-*.

Variants of <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in nom. sg. declension	
Reading	Manuscripts
<i>pouruśaspō</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 6; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 24v line 20; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 9; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 7-8; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 10; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29r line 17; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 3.
<i>pōuruśaspō</i>	VdIrS RR1 fol. 25v line 14; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 1-2; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 3-4; VdIndS B2 fol. 15r line 13; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 8; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 11; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 1; VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 5; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 2; YSkt KM7 fol. 54v line 11.
<i>pouru.śaspō</i>	VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 14-15; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 21v line 11; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 12.
<i>pōuru.śaspō</i>	VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 3-4; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 2.
<i>pōurō.śaspō</i>	VdIndS B4 fol. 22r line 19-20.
<i>purō.śaspō</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 7.
<i>paouruśaspō</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 10; YIrS ML15285 fol. 25v line 8; YIndS K11A fol. 48v line 7-8; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 7-8; YIrP G14 fol. 57r line 11; YIrP T6 fol. 48v line 13; YIndP K5 fol. 64v line 13; YIndP M1 fol. 167r line 6.
<i>paōuruśaspō</i>	YIrS MZK4 fol. 33r line 13-14; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 9; YIrP Mf4 fol. 78v line 11; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 5-6; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 3; VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 3.
<i>paōuru.śaspō</i>	VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 5-6.
<i>paōuruś.aspō</i>	YIndS G26b fol. 46r line 3-4.
<i>paouruśaspō</i>	YIrP Pt4 fol. 58r line 17; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 4; YIrP T55b fol. 75v line 6-7; YIndP J2 fol. 86v line 13.
<i>paourasaspō</i>	YIndS L17 fol. 49r line 12-13.
<i>pōuruśaspa?</i>	VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 4
<i>pōuruśasṣpā?</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 7-8.
<i>pōuru.śaspaṃ</i>	VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 8
Variant of <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in acc. sg. declension	
<i>paoruśaspam</i>	YtS B9 fol. 15v line 6-7.
Variants <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in gen. sg. declension	
<i>pouruśaspahe</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 11, fol. 243v line 11, fol. 244r line 1-2, fol. 250v line 5-6; VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 18, fol. 244v line 3, fol. 251r line 14; VdIrS 991 fol. 21v line 14, fol. 223v line 11-12, fol. 230r line 19-20; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 16, fol. 243v line 10, 20; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 250r line 8; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 227v line 18, fol. 228r line 8-9, fol. 234r line 21; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 14-15, fol. 236r line 18-19, fol. 236v line 9; fol. 242v line 13-14; VdIndS B2 fol. 301r line 15; VdIndS T46 fol. 362r line 3-4; VdP E10 fol. 159r line 13; YIrS ML15285 fol. 25v line 13-14; YIrP Mf4 fol. 79r line 2; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 12; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 14; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 8-9.

<i>pōurušaspāhe</i>	VdIrS 977/978 fol. 244r line 12; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 223r line 21; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 10, VdIrS RR1 fol. 234v line 20, fol. 235r line 10; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 8, line fol. 207r line 3-4; VdIndS B2 fol. 15v line 3, fol. 301v line 10-11, fol. 310v line 12-13; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 12-13, fol. 362v line 1, fol. 372r line 8-9; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 15; VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 8-9; VdIndS B4 fol. 22r-22v line 24-1; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 5, fol. 246v line 4, line 14-15; VdIndS K10 fol. 247v line 9-10, fol. 248r line 1-2, fol. 255r line 18-19; VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 8; fol. 254r, line 16-17, fol. 254v line 10-11; fol. 262v line 2; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 251r line 5, line 15-16, fol. 259r line 11-12; VdP K1 fol. 233r line 7; VdP G25 fol. 128v line 1-2; VdP G28 fol. 264v line 10-11; VdP B1 fol. 388v line 2-3; 410v line 3; VdP M3 fol. 265r line 12, fol. 278r line 13-14; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 14; YIrP G14 fol. 57v line 3; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 11; YSkt KM7 fol. 55r line 3; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 9.
<i>pouru.šaspāhe</i>	VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 250r line 16; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 256r line 12-13; VdIndS M2 fol. 236v line 8; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 5; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 12-13.
<i>pōuru.šaspāhe</i>	VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 10-11; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 7.
<i>pōurusaspāhe</i>	YIndS K11A fol. 48v-49r line 13-1
<i>pōuru.saspāhe</i>	VdIndS B4 fol. 202v line 3-4, line 14, fol. 208r line 4; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 14-15.
<i>pourušaspāhe</i>	VdP L4 fol. 264r line 10-11, fol. 265r line 12; VdP G28 fol. 251r-252v, line 15-1, fol. 252r line 9-10; VdP T44 303v line 13, fol. 304v line 13; VdP Bh11 259v line 2.
<i>pōurušaspāhe</i>	VdP L4 fol. 280v line 9-10; VdP T44 fol. 321r line 4; YIndS B3 fol. 34r line 11; YIndS L17 fol. 49v line 3-4; YIndP K5 fol. 65r line 2; YIndP M1 fol. 167v line 5-6.
<i>pōuruōšspāhe</i>	VdP F10 fol. 294r line 11.
<i>Pōurušspāhe</i>	VdP G25 fol. 111r line 6; VdP F10 fol. 278r line 12.
<i>pōuru.šspāhe</i>	VdP G34 fol. 274r, line 3-4.
<i>pourušaštahe</i>	VdIndS L1 fol. 206v line 13.
<i>Pōrušaspu</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 16.
<i>paourušaspāhe</i>	VdIndS L1 fol. 213r line 7; VdIndS M2 fol. 227v line 15-16; VdIndS G112 fol. 254r line 13-14; VdP K1 fol. 218r line 1; VdP F10 fol. 279r line 9-10; VdP B1 fol. 389v line 11-12; VdP E10 fol. 151v line 4; VdP M3 fol. 266r line 2; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 10-11; YIrP T6 fol. 49r line 6; YIrP T55b fol. 75v-76r line 15-1; VytP F12A fol. 5r; VytS G120 fol. 9r line 13.
<i>paouru.šaspāhe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 205v line 15; VdP G25 fol. 109v-110r line 13-1.
<i>paouruššpāhe</i>	YIndP J2 fol. 87r line 6.
<i>paourušaspāhe</i>	VdP Bh11 fol. 237v line 7-8, fol. 239r line 3.
<i>paōurušaspāhe</i>	VdIrS ML16226 fol. 249v line 18; VdIndS M2 fol. 228r line 11; VdIndS G106 fol. 206r line 5-6; YIrS MZK4 fol. 33v line 1; YIndS G26b fol. 46r line 10-11; YIrP Pt4 fol. 58v line 3; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 10-11.
<i>paōurusaspāhe</i>	VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 8; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 25r line 4.
<i>paoušaspāhe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 212r line 9.

<i>paourōšaspāhe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 11.
<i>paouru.šspāhe</i>	VdP G34 fol. 274v line 12.
<i>paourušaspāhe</i>	VdP E10 151r line 4.
<i>paōru.šaspāhe</i> ?	VytS G18a fol. 13v line 11 (corrupt).
<i>pōuru.šaspa?</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 13-14; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 12.

3) Line 7 Y 9.13cP *ka az ōy tō ul zād hē* “when were you born from him”

The Pahlavi verb *ul zād* “was born” translates the Avestan verb *us.zaiianḡha* which could be either interpreted as inj. of the passive stem *zaiia-* of the root *zan* “to bear” or through a small emendation, could be read *us.zaiianḡ^vha* ipt. of the same root and stem. However, the inj. verb fits the context of the stanza, describing an event in the past. Likewise, with the inj. interpretation, Josephson (1997: 54) and Pirart (2004 :274) translate the Avestan original *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianḡha* as “that you were born to him” and “*que tu lui naquīs*”, respectively.

In the Pahlavi version, *us.zaiianḡha* is rendered by the ergative construction *ul zād hē* in which Phl. *ul* stands for Av. *us* and Av. *zaiianḡha* corresponds to Phl. *zād hē*. Moreover, 3rd sg. dat. pronoun *hē* appears in Pahlavi by the ablative expressing preposition *az* “from” + *ōy* “he”.

4) Line 9 Y 9.13cP *andar mān ī porušasp* “in the house of Porušasp”

The Phl. *andar mān ī porušasp* “in the house of Pourušaspa” translates Av. *nmānahe pourušaspahe*. In Pahlavi, the Avestan gen. sg. *nmānahe* is expressed by *andar* “in”. As far as the reading of manuscripts is concerned, they show the following variants of *nmānahe*, occurring in Y 9.13, Vd. 19.4, 46:⁵⁷⁹

Variants of <i>nmāna-</i> ntr. in loc. sg. declension
<i>nmānahe, nāmānahe, namānahe, nāmānhi, namānahu, nmāna, namāne</i>

According to Table 12, in all manuscripts, *nmāna-* appears in the genitive case with the exception of VdP G25 in which *nmāna-* is expressed by the loc. sg. *nmāne*. However, it is a late manuscript which belongs to the Nawsari school, written down under the correction movement started after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati in India sometime in the 1720s. It should also be noted that other manuscripts of this class, best represented by E10, T44

⁵⁷⁹ For manuscripts readings see Table 12.

and Bh11, show the genitive case.⁵⁸⁰ Therefore, while the loc. sg. *nmāne* is to be regarded as a correction introduced to an insignificant manuscript, the gen. sg. *nmānahe* is the original form of the Avestan word. In editions, it is also given unanimously as gen. sg. *nmānahe* by scholars.⁵⁸¹

The gen. sg. *nmānahe* in Y 9.13 *nmānahe pourušaspahe* can be compared with the Indo-European languages in which two formulaic structures exist regarding asking one's (paternal) ancestors. They are reconstructed as 1) **k^wis h₁essi* "who are you?" and 2) *k^wosjo h₁essi* "of whom you are?". Likewise, in the Avesta, two corresponding identifying formulas are used: 1) *ciš ahī* (Y 43.7) / *kō narə ahī* "who are you" (Y 9.1) and *kahiiā ahī* "of whom are you" (Y 43.7). Av. *kō narə ahī* occurs in the following context: Y 9.1 *ā dim pərəsaṭ zaraθuštrō kō narə ahī* "Zaraθuštra asked him, who are you?". It is answered in Y 9.2 by *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra haōmō ašauua dūraošō* "I am, O zaraθuštra, Haōma whose destruction is difficult". Moreover, *ciš ahī* and *kahiiā ahī* take place in the following text:

Y 43.7 *spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā mənghī ahurā*
hiiṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manənhā
pərəsaṭ cā mā ciš ahī kahiiā ahī
kaθā aiiarə daxšārā fərasaiiāi dīšā
aibī θβāhū gaēθāhū tanušicā

I realised that you are life giving, O Ahura Mazdā,
 when he, through Good Thought, attended me
 and asked me: who are you? Of whom are you?
 How would you, O zealous one, set a date for questioning
 about your creatures and yourself?⁵⁸²

The question *ciš ahī* is answered in Y 43.8:

Y 43.8 *aṭ aojī zaraθuštrō paouruuīm*
haiθiiō.duuāēšā hiiṭ isōiiā drəguuāitē
aṭ ašāunē rafənō xiiēm aojōnhuuṭ
hiiṭ ā būštīš vasasə.xšaθrahiā diiā
yauuṭ ā θβā mazdā stāumī ufiiācā

Then, I said: "Zaraθuštra, as the first (one)
 (would be) a real enemy to the deceitful one. If I were able,
 I would be a strong support to the righteous one,
 if I acquired the faculties of one who rules at wish

⁵⁸⁰ See Pirart (2002: 24, fn. 11³⁻³); Cantera (2015b).

⁵⁸¹ See Geldner (1886-1896: I, 42; III, 123, 132); Darmesteter (1960: 89); Josephson (1997: 53); Pirart (2004: 71).

⁵⁸² My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 112) and Insler (1975: 63), also see Humbach (1991: I, 63).

while I praise and eulogise you, O Wise one”.⁵⁸³

As shown in the above examples (Y 9.1 and Y 43.7), the nom. sg. interrogative pronoun *kō* and *ciṣ*, are answered with the nom. sg. *haōmō dūraoṣō* and *zaraḡuṣṭrō*, respectively. However, although the answer to the question *kahiiā ahī* “of whom are you” is absent in Y 43.8, in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, the corresponding question and answer in genitive appears as follows.⁵⁸⁴

Q. MB 1.122.19 *ko 'si kasyāsi ...*⁵⁸⁵

who are you, of whom are you?

A. MB 1.122.28 ... *ahaṃ priyatamaḥ putraḥ piturdroṇa mahātmanaḥ*

I am the most beloved son of my father who has the great spirit, O Droṇa!

Q. MB 1.142.2 ... *kasya tvam...kā cāsi.*

of whom are you ... and who are you?

A. MB 1.142.6 *tasya mām rāksasendrasya bhaginīm ...*

me, sister of that lord Rāksasa ...

Q. MB 1.160.34 *kāsi kasyāsi ...*

who are you, of whom are you?

A. MB. 161.20 *ahaṃ hi tapatī nāma sāvitryavarajā sutā
asya lokapratipasya savituh kṣatryaṣrama*

I, namely Tapatī, the younger sister of Sāvitrī, the daughter of the torch of the world Savitar O king of the flock.

Q. MB 3.123.3 *kasya tvam asi ...*

of whom are you?

A. MB 3.123.4 ... *śaryātityāṃ vittaṃ bhāryāṃ ca cyavanasya mama*

known as the daughter of Śaryāti and the wife of my Cyavana

⁵⁸³ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 112) and Insler (1975: 63), also see Humbach (1991: I, 153).

⁵⁸⁴ Translations are mine. For MB 1.22.19, 28; 1.142.2, 6; 1.160.34; 1.161.20 see MBP I. 544, 545, 611, 612, 675, 678, respectively.

For MB III 123.3; 123.4 see MBP III. 406-407.

⁵⁸⁵ As noted by Schmitt (1967: 137), *kasyāsi* “of whom are you” is only given in the text-critical apparatus of the Poona edition in whose main edited version the phrase appears as *ko 'si kaṃ tvāmijānīmo vyaṃ kiṃ karavāmahe* “who are you? How should we know you? What can we do?” (See MBP. I, 544).

In addition, the Old Persian phrase *mana AM⁵⁸⁶ AM-ha adam* “Auramazdā is mine, I belong to Auramazdā”, engraved in the Susa inscription of Darius I (ruled 522-482 BCE), is also related to the IE formulaic structure:

DSk. *adam dārayavauš XŠ⁵⁸⁷ vazarka^h XŠ XŠ-yānām*
XŠ DH-nām⁵⁸⁸ vištāspahyā puça^h haxāmanišya^h
ḡātiy dārayavauš XŠ
manā AM AM-ha adam
AM-m ayadaiy
AM-maiy upastām baratuv

I am Darius, the great King, King of the Kings.
king of the lands, the son of Višāspa, the Achaemenid.
Darius the king says:
Auramazdā is mine, I belong to Auramazdā.
I worshipped Auramazdā.
Auramazdā may bring help to me.⁵⁸⁹

Therefore, it seems that from the semantic point of view, the genitive *nmānahe pourušaspahe* is to be understood as a formula, identifying the ancestry of Zaratuštra, corresponding to the question *kahiiā ahī*, or YAv **kahe ahi* and the genitive case in the context of Y 9.13 has the sense of consanguineous belonging to the house of Zaratuštra’s father.

Apart from Y 9.13, *nmānahe pourušaspahe* also takes place in the Vīdēvdād. As given below, while with Y 9.13, *nmānahe pourušaspahe* in Vd. 19.46 should also be translated as “who belongs to the house of Pourušaspa”, according to the context of Vd 19.4, the phrase is to be treated like a simple genitive case associated with the preceding *drājiiā paiti zbarahi* “on (the bank of) the high Drājā (river)”:

Vd 19.4 *usəhištaṭ zaratuštrō frašusaṭ zaratuštrō*
asarətō aka manaḡha xrūždiia ṭbaēšō.parštaṇqm
ašānō zasta dražimnō katō.masaḡhō həṇti
ašauua zaratuštrō viṇdəmnō daḡušō ahurāi mazdāi
kuua hē dražahe
aiḡhā zəmō yaṭ
paḡanaiiā skarənaiiā dūraēpāraiiā
drājiiā paiti zbarahi

⁵⁸⁶ AM stands for *auramazdā*- (= Av. *ahura- mazdā*-) when written in Old Persian with an ideogram. For Old Persian characters and ideograms see Kent (1953: 11-12).

⁵⁸⁷ XŠ stands for *xšāyaθiya*- when written in Old Persian with an ideogram.

⁵⁸⁸ DH stands for *dahyu*- when written in Old Persian with an ideogram.

⁵⁸⁹ The text is after Kent (1953: 145), also see Schmitt (1967: 137).

nmānahe pouruśaspahe

Zaraθuštra woke up, Zaraθuštra began to go forth,
unharmd by Evil Spirit, by the hardness of the injuring questions.
The running stones of the length of a house size are in (his) hand,
the righteous Zaraθuštra, finding for the sake of the creator Ahura Mazdā.
Where do you direct (the stones) to him (the Evil Spirit),
on this earth which
is wide, round, whose borders lie afar?
On (the bank of) the high Drəjā (river)
of the house of Pouruśaspa.⁵⁹⁰

Vd. 19.46. *zātō bē yō aśauua zaraθuštrō*
nmānahe pouruśaspahe
kuua hē aošō viṇdāma
hā daēuuanəm snaθō
hā daēuuanəm paitiiārō
hā druxš vi.druxš
niiāninō daēuuiiazō
nasuš daēuuō.dātō draogō miθaoxtō

The born one is indeed the righteous Zaraθuštra,
who belongs to the house of Pouruśaspa.
How shall we find his destruction?
He is the weapon against demons.
He is the antagonist of demons.
He is the counter-deceit of the deceit.
Vanished are the Daēuua (demon)-worshippers,
the demon-created decay, the false speaking deceit.⁵⁹¹

From the semantic point of view, Av. *nmāna-* has been referred to both “house as a physical construction” and “family, household” (Benveniste 1969: 240). Therefore, Y 9.13 could be translated as follows:

(Y 9.13cA) *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianḥa*
tūm ərəzūuō zaraθuštra
nmānahe pouruśaspahe
vīdaēuuō ahura.ṭkaēšō

(Y 9.13cA) that you were born to him,
You upright, O Zaraθuštra,
(you who belong) to the house(hold)? of Pouruśaspa,
who rejects demons, accepts the Ahuric teaching.

⁵⁹⁰ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 123).

⁵⁹¹ The text is after Hintze (2013: 34).

It should be noted that YAv. *nmāna-* develops from OAv. *dāmāna-*, from the root *dam* “to build”.⁵⁹² As far as the meaning of OAv. *dāmāna-* is concerned, it seems that although in some stanzas, it can be associated with both “house” and “household”, according to the context of some other examples, it is to be interpreted as “house”, for example:

Y 49.11 *aṭ dušxšaθrēṅ duš.šiiəθanēṅ dužuuacaṅhō*
duždaēnēṅ dužmanaṅhō drəguuatō
akāiš xvarəθāiš paitī uruuqno [pait]jieṅti
drūjō dāmānē haiθiiā aṅhən astaiiō

Then, the bad-rules, bad-deeds, bad-words,
 bad-visions (and) bad-thoughts of the deceitful persons,
 (their) souls face evil-food.
 They shall be the real guests of the house of deceit.⁵⁹³

Y 50.4 *aṭ vā yazāi stauuas mazdā ahurā*
hadā ašā vahištācā manaṅhā
xšaθrācā yā išō stāṅhaṭ ā paiθī
ākā arədrēṅ dāmānē garō səraošāne

Then, praising, I may worship you all, O Ahura Mazdā,
 with Truth and Best Thought
 and Rule through which I shall stand on the path of power.
 I shall hear the truly sincere beings in the house of song.⁵⁹⁴

Y 51.14. *nōiṭ uruuāθā dātōibiiascā karapanō vāstrāt arəm*
gauuōi arōiš ā.səndā x^vāiš šiaoθanāišcā sēṅhāišcā
yā iṣ sēṅhō apəməm drujō dāmānē ādāt

The Karpans are not allies, being far from the laws and pasture,
 through their action and preaching, there is a joy from injury to the cow,
 the preach which place them in the house of deceit in the end.⁵⁹⁵

Likewise, in Young Avestan, *nmāna-* is to be associated with house rather than household according to some stanzas, for example:

Y 57.21 *sraošəm ašīm huraodəm vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ gaēθəm ... yazamaide*
yeṅhe nmānəm vārəθrayni
hazaṅrō.stūnəm vīdātəm
barəzište paiti barəzahi
haraiθiiō paiti barəzaiiā
x^vāraošnəm aṅtara.naēmāt

⁵⁹² For *dm* > *nm* see de Vaan (2003: 394-395). For the root see *IEW*. 198-199; *LIV*. 114-115.

⁵⁹³ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 145) and Insler (1975: 97), also see Humbach (1991: I, 182).

⁵⁹⁴ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 147) and Insler (1975: 99), also see Humbach (1991: I, 184).

⁵⁹⁵ My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 154) and Insler (1975: 107), also see Humbach (1991: I, 188).

stahrpaēsəm ništara.naēmāṭ

We ... worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, beautiful, victorious, furthering the world, whose victorious house set separately with a thousand pillars on the highest height on the high Harā (mountain), endowed with its own light from the inner half, adorned with stars, from the outer half.⁵⁹⁶

Vd. 7.15 *āaṭ yezi aṅhaṭ ubdaēniš*
xšuuas̄ frasnāḍaiiēn maēsmana gēuš
xšuuas̄ zəmə haṅkanaiiēn
xšuuas̄ āpō frasnāḍaiiēn
xšuuas̄ māṅhō upa.baodaiiqn
raocanəm paiti nmānahe

If (the garment) is woven,
 six times, they should make (it) clean with the urine of the cow.
 six times, they should make (it) clean (through the rub) of the earth,
 six times, they should cause the waters to wash (it).
 six months, they should air (it)
 at the window of the house.⁵⁹⁷

Yt10.28 *miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitim ...*
yō stunā vīḍāraiiēiti
bərazimitahe nmānahe
staβrā qiθiiā kərənaoiti
āaṭ ahmāi nmānāi dadāiti
gēušca vaθβa vīranəmca
yahuua xšnūtō bauuaiti
upa aniiā scindaiiēiti
yāhuua tbištō bauuaiti

(We worship) Miθra having the wide pastures,
 who arranges the columns
 of the high-pillared house,
 (who) makes strong the gatepost.
 Then, he bestows on the house,
 the herds of cow and (groups) of men
 in which he is propitiated.
 He smashes the other (houses),
 in which he is provoked.⁵⁹⁸

Moreover, it should be noted that *dam-*,⁵⁹⁹ the root noun cognate of *nmāna-*, is also attested in both Avesta and Sanskrit. Considering Greek and Latin, it has been tried to

⁵⁹⁶ The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 48, 49).

⁵⁹⁷ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 49).

⁵⁹⁸ The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 86-87).

⁵⁹⁹ As far as the translation of the Avestan root noun *dam-* is concerned, the Pahlavi interpreters were unaware

differentiate between the meaning of the athematic **domh₂-* and thematic *o-* grade, or **dómh₂os*. However, the results are contradictory and unconvincing.⁶⁰⁰ The reason is that the two meanings are easily interchangeable in the texts. Likewise, it is very difficult to argue whether or not the meanings of gen. sg. OAv. *dāng* in *dāng pati-* “master of the house(hold)?” and loc. sg. OAv./YAv. *dəm/dəmi* “in the house(hold)?”, all of which derived from the root noun *dam-*, are different from the corresponding genitive Tatpuruṣa compound *nmānō.paiti-* m./*nmānō.paθnī-* f. “master/lady of the house” and loc. sg. YAv. *nmāne* “in the house”, respectively.

Therefore, with some stanzas confirming the meaning of *nmāna-* as “house”, the Avestan *nmānahe pouruśaspae* is translated as “(you who) belong to the house of Pouruśaspa” in the Avestan original of the present edition.

As far as the relation between the corresponding phrases in the Avestan original and the Pahlavi version is concerned, the Pahlavi translators understood correctly the meaning of *kahiiā ahī*, indentifying ancestry, in Y 43.7, although the gen. sg. *kahiiā* is rendered by pl. *kēān* “whom(s)” following *az* “from”:

Y 43.7P *abzōnīg-im ēdōn tō menīd hē ohrmazd*
ka ō man wahman bē mad
pursīd-iz-iš az man kū kē hē ud az kēān hē
čiyōn ān ī rōz daxšag [rōz] ī frāzhampursagīh nimūd estēd
[kū daxšag čiyōn kunam]
ī abar tō gēhān tan rāy [nimūd estēd]

Thus, I thought you are bountiful to me, O Ohrmazd,
 when Good Thought came to me.

He also asked me that who are you, and from whom(s) are you?

How that day, Daxšag [day], of consulting is shown?

[that means how should I make the Daxšag?],

which is about your world and body [(as) it appears].⁶⁰¹

From the semantic point of view, the genitive Y 9.13 (=Vd 19.46) *nmānahe pouruśaspae* is also correctly translated by *andar mān ī poruśasp* rather than **ī/az mān ī*

of its original meaning because the loc. sg. *dəm* is translated wrongly by Phl. *dahēd* “sets, creates” in Y 45.10 (Dhabhar 1949: 198; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 67) and Phl. *dām* “creation” in Y 48.7 (Dhabhar 1949: 211; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 77). The Avestan gen. sg. *dāng patōiš* is also misinterpreted as Phl. *dastwar* “authority, priest” which is glossed by *xwadāy* “lord” in Y 45.11 (Dhabhar 1949: 198; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 67).

⁶⁰⁰ See Benveniste (1969: 239-251); Mallory & Adams (1977: 192-193).

⁶⁰¹ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 181).

porušasp “of/from the house of Porušasp” because the latter interpretations are meaningless.⁶⁰²

Y 9.13cP *kē az ōy tō ul zād hē*
tō abēzag zardušt
ī man ī porušasp
 *ī/az *mān ī porušasp*

which from him, you were born
 you, O holy Zarathushtra,
 of/from the house(hold?) of Pourušasp.

Regarding the meaning of Phl. *mān* “house(hold)?”, it translates Av. *nmāna-* with the exception of the Pahlavi version of Old Avestan texts Y 31.16, 18; Y 32.13 in which OAv. *dāmāna-* is rendered by Phl. *daman*. In the Hērbedestān, Av. *nmānahe*, is also rendered by *mēhan* “home” in the Pahlavi version:

HN 1.1 Av. *kō nmānahe aḡaurunəm pāraiiāt*
 Phl. *kē ō mēhan ī pad āsrōgīh bē rawēd [kū az mēhan ī wehān ō hērbedestān kardan kē šawēd*

Av. Who of the house should go forth (to pursue) religious studies?
 Phl. Who (is there belonging) to the house who shall go for the priestly work? [That means: Who should go from the house of good ones to the residence of priests].⁶⁰³

Furthermore, Phl. *mān* is also glossed by *xānag* “house” and *mēhan* “home” in the Pahlavi version of the Vīdēvdād and Hērbedestān, respectively, for example:

Vd. 3.2 *dādār ī gēhān ī astōmand ī ahlaw*
kū dudīgar ēn zamīg āsāntom
[kū mēnōy ī ēn zamīg āsānīh az čē wēš]
u-š guft ohrmazd
pad ān abar mard ī ahlaw mān ul dād
[kū xānag be kard]
asrōmand gōspandōmand
nārīgōmand pusōmand ud huramagōmand

O the righteous creator of the material world,
 what is the second most comfortable land,
 [where does the spirit of this earth have more comfort?],

⁶⁰² In the Pahlavi version of both Vd 19.4 and 19.46, *andar mān ī porušasp* translates *nmānahe pourušaspae*. See Anklesaria (1949: 372, 389) and also Moazami (2014: 430, 448). However, as discussed above, it seems that in Vd 19.4, *nmānahe pourušaspae* is in the genitive relationship with the preceding word.

⁶⁰³ The text is after Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. 1, 26-27).

and Ohrmazd said:

On that (land) above which the righteous man sets house forth,
[that means: (He) made house],
Having fire, having beneficent animal,
Having wife, having son and having good flock.⁶⁰⁴

Vd 5.10 *u-š guft ohrmazd kū mān mān wis wis [xānag xānag dastgird dastgird] sē kadag ul ē dahēnd ōy rist*

and Ohrmazd said to him that (in) every house, (in) every village [(in) every house, (in) every building] they should set up three houses for the dead.⁶⁰⁵

HN 8.3 *ēw yujast az mān-ē [mēhan] ēdōn wis-ē ēw hāsar az zand ēdōn deh*

One Yujast from a house [home], likewise from a village, one Hāsar from the district, likewise, from the country.⁶⁰⁶

Therefore, the evidence confirms the meaning of Phl. *mān* as “house as a physical construction” whereas texts are silent about its possible second meaning or “house as a social entity”. As far as the meaning of *nmāna-* in compounds is concerned, the Pahlavi translators also interpreted it as “house as a physical construction”. The reason is that the feminine Av. *nmānō.paθnī-* is equated with *kadag bānūg* “the lady of the house” in the *FīŌ* 77 (Klingenschmitt 1968). Furthermore, while *nmānō.paiti-* is translated by Phl. *mānbed* “master of house(hold)?” in the Yasna,⁶⁰⁷ *Vīdēvdād*⁶⁰⁸, *Visperad*,⁶⁰⁹ and *Hērbedestān*⁶¹⁰, it is glossed by *kadag wxadāy* “the lord of the house” in the *Hērbedestān*:

HN 5.1 *kadār pad āsrōgīh mānbed [ī kadag wxadāy]*

Which one (should go to pursue) religious studies, the master of the house [who is the lord of the house]?⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁴ The text is after Moazami (2014: 69, 70).

⁶⁰⁵ The text is after Moazami (2014: 132-133).

⁶⁰⁶ See Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. I, 50-51). The corrected Phl. *mēhan*, is spelled in the manuscripts as *mdy'n*, (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1992: Vol. I, 50 and 50 fn. 241, 51).

⁶⁰⁷ See the Pahlavi version of Y 9.27, 13.1, 17.11, 52.2 (Dhabhar 1949: 67, 85, 94, 229).

⁶⁰⁸ See the Pahlavi version of Vd 7.41-42, 9.37-38, 10.5, 12.7, 13.20, 18.18-19 (Anklesaria 1949: 168, 249, 258, 353, 354, 271 and also Moazami (2014: 200, 286, 296, 312, 328, 406). The Av. *nmānō.paiti-* is glossed by *mānbedān mānbed* in Vd 13.20.

⁶⁰⁹ See the Pahlavi version of VrP 3.2 (Dhabhar 1949: 300).

⁶¹⁰ See the Pahlavi version of HN 5.1, 3, 4 (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1992: 36, 38).

⁶¹¹ See Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. I, 38-39). In their editions, Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. 1, 39), correct the sentence to *kadār pad āsrōgīh [*be rawēd narīg ayāb] mānbed [ī kadag wxadāy]* probably to correspond to the Avestan original. However, interestingly, in the Pahlavi version, Av. *nairika ... vā* in *nairika vā nmānō.paitiš vā* “woman or the master of the house” is left untranslated. It may show the change of the tradition according to which women could not pursue religious studies anymore.

In conclusion, according to the evidence, *andar mān ī porušasp* is translated as “in the house of Porušasp” rather than “in the household of Pourušaspa” in the Pahlavi version of the present edition.

Table 12. Manuscripts readings of *nmāna*-.⁶¹²

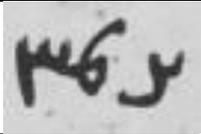
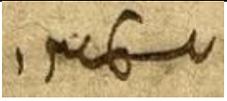
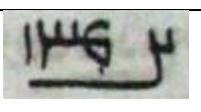
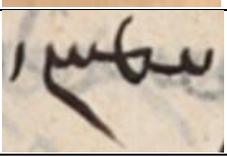
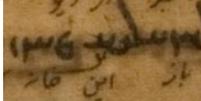
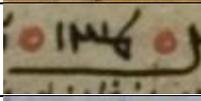
Variants <i>nmāna</i>- ntr. in loc. sg. Case	
<i>nmānahe</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 11, fol. 243v line 10, fol. 250v line 5; VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 18, fol. 244r line 11-12, fol. 251r line 14; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 21v line 14, fol. 223r line 21, fol. 230r line 19; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 16, fol. 243v line 10, fol. 250r line 16; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 10, fol. 249v line 18, fol. 256r line 12; VdIrS RR1 fol. 234v line 20; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 25r line 4, fol. 227v line 18, fol. 234r line 21; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 14, fol. 236r line 18, fol. 242v line 13; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 7-8, fol. 206v line 13, fol. 213r line 7; VdIndS B2 fol. 15v line 3, fol. 301r line 15; VdIndS M2 fol. 227v line 15, fol. 236v line 8; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 12, fol. 362r line 3; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 15; VdIndS G112 fol. 254r line 13, fol. 246v line 4; VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 10, fol. 247v line 9, fol. 255r line 18; VdP Bh11 259v line 2; VdP E10 fol. 159r line 13; YIrS MZK4 fol. 33v line 1; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 5, fol. 25v line 13; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 13; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 12; YIndS K11A fol. 48v line 13; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 14; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 12; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 13-14; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 8; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 8; YIrP Pt4 fol. 58v line 3; YIrP Mf4 fol. 79r line 2; YIrP G14 fol. 57v line; YIrP T55b fol. 75v line 15; YIndP J2 fol. 87r line 6.
<i>nāmānahe</i>	VdIndS B2 fol. 310v fol. 310v line 12; VdIndS T46 fol. 372r line 8-9; VdP L4 fol. 264r line 10; fol. 280v line 9; VdP K1 fol. 233r line 6; VdP F10 fol. 278r line 12, fol. 294r line 11; VdP G28 fol. 251r line 15, fol. 264v line 10; VdP T44 fol. 303v line 13, fol. 321r line 4; VdP G34 fol. 274r, line 3; VdP B1 fol. 388v line 2, fol. 410v line 3; VdP Bh11 fol. 237v line 7; VdP M3 fol. 265r line 12, fol. 278r line 13; YIndS B3 fol. 34r line 11; YIndS L17 fol. 49v line 3; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 10; VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 7-8; YIndP K5 fol. 65r line 2-3; YIndP M1 fol. 167v line 5.
<i>namānahe</i>	VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 8; VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 11, fol. 212r line 8-9; VdIndS B4 fol. 22r line 24, fol. 202v line 3, fol. 208r line 3-4; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 5; VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 8; fol. 254r, line 16, fol. 262v line 2; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 12, fol. 251r line 4-5, fol. 259r line 11, fol. 280v line 9; VdP E10 151r line 4; YIndS G26 fol. 46r line 10; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 10; YIrP T6 fol. 49r line 5-6; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 10-11; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 7 YSkt KM7 fol. 55r line 2-3.
<i>nāmānhi</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 205v line 14-15.
<i>namānahu</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 15-16.
<i>nmāna</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 13.
<i>namāne</i>	VdP G25 fol. 109v line 13, fol. 128v line 1.

⁶¹² Source: <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

5) **Line 11 Y 9.13cP** *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz ā-mān gowēd* “there is one who says then, rejecting demons away from us”

Phl. *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz ā mān gowēd* is a commentary occurring at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.13, which has no counterpart in the Sanskrit Yasna.⁶¹³ Mills (1903c: 323) translates it as “some (texts) tell us ‘the demon free’ again for him (that is ‘they repeat the word,)”. While he obviously offers a free translation, his interpretation of *mān* as “him” is erroneous. By contrast, Davar (1904: 42) translates it as “There is (someone) who says, ‘being opposed to the demons’ (means keeping them) away from us”. Davar’s reading is based on the Indian manuscripts because *ā-* appears as *𐬀* in their YIrP counterparts:

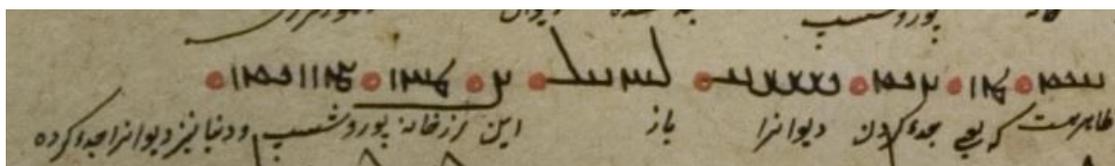
Figure 45. The variant readings of (𐬀) *mān* in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts.

YIrP		YInd P	
Pt4 (fol. 58v line 6)		J2 (fol. 87r line 10)	
Mf4 (p. 157 line 6)		K5 (65r line 5)	
G14 (fol. 57v line 6)		M1 (fol. 167v line 12)	
F2 (fol. 56v line 14)		-	-
T6 (fol. 49r line 9)		-	-
T55b (fol. 76r line 5)		-	-

The interlinear New Persian version in F2 shows that *𐬀-mān* was interpreted as *ēn xāna* (خانه این) “this house” by its scribe. In T6, the corresponding New Persian interlinear sentence describes *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz 𐬀-mān gowēd* as:

⁶¹³ For the Sanskrit version see Unvala (1924: 23).

Figure 46. YIrP T6 (fol. 49r line 9).



NP. *zāher hast ka ya 'ni juda kardan-ī dēwān-rā bāz ēn az xāna-yī porušasp u dunyā niz dēwān-rā judā karda*

It seems that it means separating demons again. This one has also separated demons from the house of Porušasp and the world.

Like F2, NP. *ēn* appears beneath 𐬨, however, *xāna-yī porušasp u dunyā* “the house of Porušasp and the world” suggests that 𐬨 was also interpreted as two. Moreover, the translation of *mān* as NP. *xāna* shows that the scribes of F2 and T6 (and possibly the copyists of other YIRPs) associated *mān* with the preceding *mān ī porušasp* “house of Porušasp”:

*andar mān ī porušasp
ī jud-dēw ohrmazd-dādestān
[ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz 𐬨-mān gōwēd]*

(When you were born Zardušt) in the house of Porušasp
who rejects demons, who accepts the law of Ohrmazd
[there is one who says rejecting demons (from) this (these two) house(s)]

However, the interpretation of YIRPs is problematic because while 𐬨 cannot be read as *ēn*, its second interpretation as two does not agree with the context of Y 9.13 which is only about the house of Porušasp in which Zardušt was born. By contrast, interpreting 𐬨 as the conjunction *ā-*, the following (l)𐬨𐬀 would be the enclitic pronoun *-mān* “us”. The reading *mān* also fits the context of *ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz ā-mān gōwēd* which is translated as “there is one who says then, rejecting demons away of us” in the present edition.

4.14 Y 9.14

- 1 (Y 9.14aA) *srūtō airiēne vaējahe*
 2 *tūm paoiriō zaraθuštra*
 3 *ahunəm vairīm frasrāuuaiō*
 4 *vībərəθβantəm āxtūirīm*
 5 (Y 9.14bA) *aparəm xraoždiiēhiia frasrūiti*

- 1 (Y 9.14aA) Famous in Airiiana Vaējah,
 2 you as the first, O Zaraθuštra!,
 3 recited Ahuna Vairia
 4 separating (it) by four pauses
 5 (Y 9.14bA) the following (verse) with louder chant

- 1 (Y 9.14aP) *andar ān ī nāmīg ērānwēz*
 2 [*kū weh dāitī*]
 3 *ud tō fradom zardušt*
 4 *ahunawar frāz srūd*
 5 [*kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard*]
 6 *be barišnīh [pad be gōwišnīh] čahār*
 7 [*tā ō ān ī pas*]
 8 (Y 9.14bP) *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh [tuxšāgīhā]*

- 1 (Y 9.14aP) In the famous Ērānwēz¹,
 2 [by the good² Dāitī]
 3 and you as the first, O Zardušt!,
 4 recited the Ahunawar³,
 5 [That means: You performed the Nāwar ceremony]⁴,
 6 carrying out (the pauses) [in the recitation] four times
 7 [until the following (verse)]⁵
 8 (Y 9.14bP) (carrying out) the recitation for all words⁶ [energetically]

1) Line 1 Y 9.14aP *andar ān nāmīg ērānwēz* “in the famous Ērānwēz”

The Phl. *nāmīg* provides the standing translation of the Av. *srūta-*. The Avestan original gives nom. sg. *srūtō* from the stem *srūta-* adj., followed by the loc. case *airiēne vaējahe*. By contrast, the Pahlavi translation places the preposition *andar*, expressing location, before *ān ī nāmīg ērānwēz*. As stated by Josephson (1997: 55), the Pahlavi translation also changes the meaning according to which the adj. *nāmīg* describes *ērānwēz* instead of *tō* corresponding to Av. *tūm* in the Avestan original.

2) Line 2 Y 9.14aP *weh* “good”

In YIndP J2, *weh* is omitted. However, it is attested in J2 sister manuscript, or K5, and the other collated copies. Therefore, in agreement with the base text, *weh* is employed in the present edition.

3) Line 3-4 Y 9.14aP *ud tō fradom zardušt frāz srūd* “and you as the first, O Zardušt!, recited the Ahunawar”

In YIrPs Pt4, G14 and T55b, under the influence of New Persian, the construction of the sentence *ud tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* was changed from the ergative to accusative by the addition of *hē* after *srūd*: *ud tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd hē*.

In Vd. 19.2, *zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* is glossed by *ān ī dō yatāhōwairyō kē hušiti ō pēš kē ēstēd* “the two *yaθā ahū vairiiō* which precedes *hušiti* (= Y 68.14)”. It agrees with the contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual as described by Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 123):

‘The *zōt* continues the sliding gesture of the cup on the mortar’s rim during this recitation which is followed by *y.a.v.*⁶¹⁴ 2, said by both priests in a normal voice. While saying actions (*šyaoθanām*) in each *y.a.v.*, the *zōt* pours some of the mixture over the date-palm cord into the mortar, and then continues the sliding gesture. Y 68.14-18 are recited by the *zōt* alone, the *rāspī* joining him in sts.⁶¹⁵ 19-24 (Y 68.16-19 = Y 8.5-8).’

Therefore, alongside Y 9.1,⁶¹⁶ in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.14 and Vd 19.2, Zardušt is described as a *Zōt*, reciting the Yasna. Furthermore, the agreement between the Pahlavi text and the description of the contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual show the continuity and antiquity of the ritual.

⁶¹⁴ *Y.a.v.* stands for *yaθā ahū vairiiō*.

⁶¹⁵ Sts. stands for stanzas.

⁶¹⁶ See Y 9.1 commentary 2 *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan gāhān srāyišnīh* and commentary 3 *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē gufi kē frawarānē ō pēš*.

4) **Line 5 Y 9.14aP** *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard* “That means: You performed the Nāwar ceremony”

The ergative construction is corrected to its accusative counterpart *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard hē* under the influence of New Persian in Pt4, G14, T6 and T55b. It is another piece of evidence showing that the Iranian manuscripts are corrected.⁶¹⁷

As regards Nāwar, in the Zoroastrian tradition, it is the initiation ceremony into the priesthood, lasting four days for which the collective noun *nōg nāwar* “new Nāwar” is used. Prior to the Nāwar ceremony, two priests perform the Yasna ceremony called Gewrā for six consecutive days followed by a four day Nāwar ceremony during which the candidate performs the Yasna as Zōt, while the initiating priest acts as Rāspīg. During the first three days of the Nāwar, the Yasna together with the Bāj and Afringān ceremonies are performed. The first Yasna is dedicated to *minu nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar”. The ceremonies of the second and third days are in honour of Sraoša and Sīrōza, respectively. On the fourth day, the Yasna is replaced by the Visperad ceremony.⁶¹⁸

As far as the orthography of *nāwar* in Pahlavi is concerned, it is written differently in texts. For example: 𐭥𐭮𐭥 in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b; 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥 in the YIndP J2, K5, M1⁶¹⁹ and VrS K7b.⁶²⁰ In the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, manuscript TD, it appears as 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥⁶²¹ whereas in the Hērbadestān and Nērangestān, both forms 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥 and 𐭥𐭮𐭥 are attested.⁶²² The word is usually transcribed as *nāwar*, *nābar* or *naēwar*. In addition, Unvala (1932: Vol. II, 649) gives the reading *nawar*, beside *nābar* and *nāwar* in the Index of his translation of the Persian Rivayat. West (1882: 234) also writes *nābar* in the main text of his translation of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg but he suggests the alternative readings *naēbar* and *nāgbar* in the footnote. While the correct spelling of the Pahlavi word is unclear, in the Zoroastrian New Persian and Sanskrit texts *nāwar* and *nābar* are attested:

Bharuca p. 55. *prathamam ijisnī kṣṇumanī nonāvarāyāh
karaṇam [karanīyā]nonāvarāyā
gvājagrahaṇam ca saptatāyaiḥ*

⁶¹⁷ For correction see section 3.1.

⁶¹⁸ For the Nāwar ceremony see Modi (1922: 201-207); Kotwal (1988: 299-307); Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 139-140).

⁶¹⁹ In addition to Y 9.14, *nāwar* occurs in Y 19.6. The distribution of different readings of *nāwar* in Y 19.6 is similar to that in Y 9.14 among the YIrP and YIndP manuscripts, with the exception of YIndP M1 (fol. 268r line 13), which writes 𐭥𐭮𐭥.

⁶²⁰ The text on *nāwar* appears after VrIndS (fol. 101v line 14-fol. 104r line15).

⁶²¹ For 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥 see Modi (1922: 199 fn. 2).

⁶²² Sanjana (1894: 106, 137).

*gāhapamcakam āpi paṭhanīyam
kṣnumanaśca nonāvarāyāḥ
ātravakṣena “rvuaritanaro vācyam āphraṃgānaśca*

First, in the dedication ceremony to the new Nāwar, performance [through performing] of the new Nāwar taking the Bāj and with (the Barsom of) seven twigs, in the watches (of the day) and also the recitation.

It is the dedication to Nōnāvar.

The word xvarata.naro (is to be said) by the Atravakhsh (priest) and the Afringān ...⁶²³

DHR II. 26

کسی نابر داشته باشد و بنادانسته درون نایسته چیزی بخورد او را دیگر بار یشت باید کرد که نابر درست است
*kas-ē nābar dāšta bāšad-u be-nā-dānista drōn-ē nā-yašta čiz-ē be-xward ō rā
digar bār yašt bāyad kard ka nābar drust ast*

Whoever has kept the Nābar and unknowingly eats unscared bread, another Yašt ceremony should be performed for him to be the Nābar correct.⁶²⁴

Furthermore, in the oral tradition of Iranian Zoroastrians, the corresponding word occurs as *nābar*. For example, in the following folkloric poem, composed in the Zoroastrian Dari dialect:⁶²⁵

*nuzād-e mā nunābar-on
yašt-o yezišn-oš az bar-on
dunāy-e amr-e dāvaron
az hovz-e kowsar rahbar-on
guyid yā numoxodā*

Our new priest is a new Nāwar,
He has memorised the Yašt and Yazišn.
He is aware of the command of judges.
He is a leader from the Kowsar pool.⁶²⁶
Say: O in the name of God [i.e. God may protect him].⁶²⁷

To analyse the word, Modi (1922: 199-200), reading *nāwar*, derives it from *nava* “new” attached to the root *bar* “to carry” having the sense of “a new carrier of presents and offerings”. However, the problem with Modi’s suggestion is that the development of **naya* > *nā* is unusual because the expected form would be **nawbar* > **nōbar*.⁶²⁸ Likewise, it is

⁶²³ My translation.

⁶²⁴ My translation.

⁶²⁵ For the poem see Mazdapour ŠNŠ (1990 (1369): 195).

⁶²⁶ According to the Islamic Hadith, Kowsar is the name of a pool in the heaven (*Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. VIII, p. 286).

⁶²⁷ My translation.

⁶²⁸ Modi’s etymology may agree with NP. *nawbar* > *nobar* “first-fruits, young”. However, an etymological

impossible to explain the other suggested readings of the Pahlavi word, or *naēwar* and *nāgwar*, with Modi's suggestion. Furthermore, as stated above, Phl. *nōg* "new", NP/Skt *no* "new", occurs with *nāwar*, making the collective term *nōg nāwar*, describing the four day ceremony. It makes it less likely to expect that two concurrent cognates, or *nā/naē/nāg* "new?" < **naua* "new" vs. *nōg* "new" < **naua-ka* "new", in a term show different developments. Modi (1922: 200) also compares *nāwar* with *nawjōt* "the initiation of a child into the Zoroastrian religion". However, in contrast to *nāwar*, both *nawjōt* and its New Persian variant *nozud*, show the regular word development; **naua-* > *naw* > *nō* > *no*. As another possibility, *nāwar* and its other variant readings can be compared with *ahunawar* which is also called the *yaθā ahū vairiō* prayer in the Zoroastrian tradition.⁶²⁹ In Y 9.14, *yašt ī nāwar* "Nāwar ceremony" is the gloss to *ahunawar*. The relationship between *nāwar* and *ahunawar* is also corroborated by the Pahlavi version of Y 19.6 whose YAv original is a commentary to the Ahunawar prayer composed in Old Avestan:

Y 19.6 *kē andar ān ī man axw ī astōmand spītāmān zardušt*
baxtārīh ī ahunawar ošmārēd
 [kū ōh sparānēd]
frāz ān ī ošmurēd dranjēnēd
 [kū ōy be kunēd]
ud frāz ān dranjēnēd srāyēd
 [kū nērang be dānēd]
ud frāz ān srōd yazēd
 [kū yašt be kunēd] *sē bār*
tarist čēhwidarag ān ī ōy ruwān
ō ān ī pahlom axwān frāz widāram man kē ohrmazd-am
 [3 andar ān rōz kē yašt nāwar kunēd
 ā-š 3 bār ruwān be ō anōh nayam
 ud nekīh pad-iš kunam]

Whoever in my material word, O Spitāmān Zardušt,
 reckons the apportioning parts of the Ahunawar
 [That means: He breaks (its apportioning four parts) in the usual way]
 He enumerates it, recites it loud
 [That means: He performs it]
 and recites it loud forth, sings it,
 [That means: He knows the incantation]

study on the New Persian words is wanting. Asatrian has published his book entitled *Etymological Dictionary of Persian* very recently which is unavailable in the UK at the moment.

⁶²⁹ Av. *yaθā ahū vairiō* are the opening words of the Ahunawar prayer whose Avestan text is: *yaθā ahū vairiō aθā ratuš ašāciṭ hacā vaṇhəuš dazdā manajhō śīiaoθananəm aṇhəuš mazdāi xšaθrəmcā ahurāi ā yim drəgubiiō dadaṭ vāstārəm*. The precise meaning of the hymn is debated. A translation can be: "as temporal lord (is) chosen, so (is) a spiritual lord, according to Truth, (as) an establisher of the works of Good Mind in the world, and the sovereignty is the Ahura Mazdā's, whom they have bestowed on the humble as a shepherd" (Brunner 1985: 683).

and worships that hymn forth.

[That means: He performs the Yasna] three times.

Across the Činwad Bridge, I, who am Ohrmazd, pass his soul forth to the best existences.

[Whoever performs the Nāwar ceremony three times on that day, then, I lead (his) soul three times to there, and I do goodness to him].⁶³⁰

Considering the close relationship between the Ahunawar prayer and the Nāwar ceremony, it could be suggested that *nāwar/naēwar/nāgwar* is derived from *ahunawar*. The development *ahunawar* > *nāwar/naēwar/nāgwar* is also explainable by the historical grammar of the Iranian languages. The first change is the well attested omission of the initial *a*. For example in: Phl. *amurdād* > NP. *murdād* “immortality”; MP. *anōšagruwān* “having the imperishable soul” > NP. *nōšīrawān* “having the imperishable soul”; Phl. *abāg* > NP. *bā* “with”. The second development, although less frequent than the former one, is the deletion of the initial *h*, having parallels in MP. *hān* “that” > MP./NP. *ān* “that”; Ir. **hacā* “from” > MP./NP. *az* “from”; MP. *hambōyīdan* “to smell” > NP. *anbōyīdan* “to smell”; MP. *hambār* “store” > NP. *anbār* “store”. The final development is the omission of *u* which is attested in MP. *uskārdan* “to consult” > NP. *sigālīdan* “to consult”; MP. *uspurrīgistan* “to complete” vs. MP. *spurrīgīstan* “to complete”. Finally, the different suggested vowels *ā*, *a*, *aē*, agree with the different Pahlavi spellings of the word which suggest that while the exact history and meaning of the word are unknown to the Zoroastrian community, the pronunciations are the result of either the local dialects or misreading of the Pahlavi word. Moreover, the reading *nāgwar* can be ruled out because it is only one of West’s suggestions in the footnote based on the obscure Pahlavi orthography and it has no parallel in the primary written non-Pahlavi and oral Zoroastrian literature. In conclusion, the development of *ahunawar* to *nāwar* can be abbreviated as follows:

ahunawar > **hunawar* > **unawar* > *nāwar/naēwar*

With the above developments, the form *nāwar* should be dated very late, being under the influence of New Persian. However, apart from the Yasna, it appears in the classic Pahlavi texts Dādestān ī Dēnīg, Hērbadestān and Nērangestān. Therefore, the second

⁶³⁰ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 97). For *kē* in *3 andar ān rōz kē yašt nāwar kunēd* see Dhabhar (1949: 97, fn. 17).

possibility is to take *nāwar* as the abbreviated form of *ahunawar*, or Av. *ahuna- vairiia-*.⁶³¹ It should be noted that abbreviating words/phrases have parallels in the Zoroastrian literature, for example in the Avesta manuscripts Phl. *3 guftan* “to say three” often stands for *3 bār guftan* “to say three times”. Moreover, Phl. *sar* (or *wars*) *ud tan šustan* “to wash head (hair) and body”, corresponding to Av. *frasnaiiānte varāsāscā tanūmca* “they shall wash hair and body” in Vd 8.11, is often given in the abbreviated form *sar šustan* “to wash head” in the Pahlavi texts.⁶³² The term *pādyāb* “the prelude to the sacred cord (Kusti) ritual” also possibly goes back to **pad pādyāb kustī kardan* “doing the sacred cord rite with barrier (purity)” (Boyce 1991: 281).

In conclusion, because of the consensus of the Zoroastrian oral and non-Pahlavi written literature on the reading *nāwar/nābar*, the Pahlavi word is transcribed as *nāwar* in the present edition. However, it should be noted that while the evidence shows that Phl. *nāwar* is closely related to Phl. *ahunawar*, the abbreviation theory, suggested in the present edition, is hypothetical.

As stated before, *Nāwar* ceremony is the initiation into the priesthood which seems to lie in the fact that the *Ahunawar*, or *Yathā Ahū Vairiio* prayer, is associated with different aspects of the priesthood in the Pahlavi translations of the *Ahunawar* prayer:

PRDd 60.1 *zand ī yatāhōwairyō*
čiyōn axw kāmag [čiyōn ohrmazd kāmag]
ēdōn radīhā [ud ēdōn dastwarīhā]
az ahlāyīh čegām-iz-ē
[kār ud kirbag kardan ēdōn dastwarīhā kardan
čiyōn ohrmazd abāyēd abzāyēd]
ān-iz wahman dāšn andar kušīšn ī ohrmazd
[kū ān mizd ud pādāšn ī ō wahman dahēnd
ō ōy-iz ōh dahēnd
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
ēw xwad-iš wahman dahēd]
xwadāyīh ō ohrmazd dād bawēd
[u-š ohrmazd abar tan ī xwēš xwadāy ud pādīšāy kard bawēd]
kē ō driyōšān dahēd wehīgān
[ud parwarišn kū-šān ayārōmandīh ud jādāg-gōwīh kunēnd
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
kū xwadāyīh az ohrmazd kū-š ān pādīšāyīh az ohrmazd

⁶³¹ The development of Av. *ahuna- vairiia-* > Phl. *ahunawar* is irregular because it is expected that Av. *vairiia-* develops to Phl. *wēr* rather than *war/bar*. Therefore, *ahunawar* is to be considered as an Avestan loan word in Pahlavi. Moreover, the Pahlavi form *ahunawar* shows that Av. *ahuna- vairiia-* becomes fused into **ahunavariia-*; cf. Av. *ahura- mazdā-* vs. OP. *auramazdā-* and Phl. *ohrmazd*; Av. *aṅra- mainiū-* vs. Phl. *ahriman*. However, it should be noted that the etymology of the word is unknown.

⁶³² For *sar ud tan šustan* see Boyce (1992: 695).

ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
*kū xwadāyīh ī ohrmazd rawāg kard bawēd]*⁶³³

The Interpretation of the Yaθā Ahū Vairiō prayer:
 As the will of the lord [as the will of Ohrmazd]
 is so masterly [and is so priestly]
 from whatever righteousness
 [good deeds are to be done, so in priestly fashion to be done,
 as Ohrmazd (wills), one should increase (them)],
 which is also the gift of Good Thought within the action of Ohrmazd.
 [That means: That payment and reward which they give to Good Thought,
 they give to him in the usual way.
 There is one who says:
 Good Thought gives it to himself].
 Lordship is given to Ohrmazd,
 [and Ohrmazd is made lord and king over his body]
 who gives goodnesses to the poor ones
 [and the nourishment. That means: They perform assistance and intercession.
 There is one who says:
 That means: The lordship is from Ohrmazd and his kingship is from Ohrmazd.
 There is one who says:
 That means: The lordship of Ohrmazd is made current].⁶³⁴

Likewise, in the Pahlavi commentaries to the Ahunawar prayer, it is connected with
 priesthood:

Y 19.12 *čiyōn frāz anōh guft*
[kū xwadāy ud dastwar dārišn čiyōn ēn tis
ēdōn guft čiyōn ēn dādestān ēdōn]
ka-z ō ōy axw ud rad dahēd
[kū tan bē ō ērbadestān dahēd]
ēdōn-iš ō ōy čāšīd bawēd
ohrmazd menišn menīdārīh ī fradōm dām
[kū-š gāhānīk rawāg kard bawēd]
kē ēn [tan ō ōy ī šāhān šāh]
ī az harwisp [mardōm] mahist čāšēd
[kū tan pad šāhan šāh dārēd]
ēdōn ō ōy dahm čāšt bawēd
[kū-š gāhānīgīh rawāg kard bawēd]

Čiyōn “as”⁶³⁵ he (Zardušt) said (Ahunawar) forth there
 [That means: Having the lord and priest is like this thing.
 He said Ēdōn “so”,⁶³⁶ “as” this law (is) “so”],
 when he also sets him (Zardušt) as a lord and spiritual judge.

⁶³³ Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 219-220).

⁶³⁴ The translation is after Williams (1990: Vol. II, 105). For the Pahlavi translations of the Ahunawar prayer see Cantera (2006: 37-46).

⁶³⁵ The Pahlavi translation of Av. *yaθā* “as” in the Ahunawar, or Yaθā Ahū Vairiō prayer.

⁶³⁶ The Pahlavi translation of Av. *aθā* “so” in the Ahunawar, or Yaθā Ahū Vairiō prayer.

[That means: he gives (his) body to the priestly school].
 So it is taught to him
 that Ohrmazd's thought is thinking of the first creature,
 [That means: he will make current the Gāθic (hymns)]
 which this (prayer) [the body to the king of kings]
 teaches that he is the greatest of all [mortals].
 [It means that he gives his body to the king of kings]
 (The Ahunawar) is taught to him, the pious one, so.
 That means that the Gāhānīg Avesta is made current by him].⁶³⁷

DkM 822.9-823.2 *dudīgar fragard yatāhōwairyō*
abar arzānīg ī pad gētāyīg ud mēnōyīg
nēkīh pad xwadāy
ud +dastwarīh dād pad sālārīh ud dastwarīh awēšān šāyēd
kē abāg astīh ī-š abārīg hunar
kē xwadāyīh ud dastwarīh pad-iš xwēšīhēd
xwad-iz xwadāy ud dastwar dārēd
dōš man zardušt tō pad axwīh ud radīh
čiyōn hē zardušt axwōmand radōmand
kū tō-iz pad dastwarīh dārēnd
čiyōn tō ēg frāz rasišnīh
hād kū be bōxtē
ka-t abāg dēwān hamrasišnīh kū-t abāg ahlamōgān paykār
hād ud xwadāy ud dastwar nē dārīh
ay nē dārīh xem dād ī dēwān būd
ud dāstan ī ohrmazd amahraspandān pad xwadāy ud dastwar
ud ohrmazd xwadāy abāg dādārīh hambūd
ēn-iz kū pad ahlāyīh rad pad kāmag
ud xwadāy dānāg ud dādār ud prawardār ud āsnīdār ī driyōšān
ud drōdmānīgīh ī hamāg awēšān
kē dēn kē az zardušt padirēd
ahlāyīh ābādīh ast pahlom

The second chapter is Yaθā Ahū Vairiō
 (It is) about the worth which is in the spiritual and material (worlds).
 (It is about) goodness to the lord,
 and (the lord) created priesthood for authority and priesthood is suitable to them
 who are with the existence of his other virtues,
 who, by them, lordship and authority are owned.
 (who) also has a lord and priest himself.
 My dear Zardušt! You are in the lordship and spiritual judgement (position),
 because you, Zardušt, are provided with authority, are provided with spiritual
 judgement.
 That means: they also have you for the authority
 when, you, then, arriving forth.
 That means you would save (them),
 when you arrive against demons and fight heretics.
 That means: (those) having no lord and priest.
 That is: non-having was the law and character of the demons,

⁶³⁷ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 99-100).

and having Ohrmazd and Amahraspandāns as the lord and priest, and Ohrmazd is the lord together with creatorship (as his feature). This is also that he is the spiritual judge righteously (and) willingly and (he is) the lord, wise and creator and nourisher and purifier of the needy people, and (the reason for) the maintenance of the health of all of them, who accept the religion from the Zardušt. Righteousness is the best prosperity.⁶³⁸

To sum up, according to the Pahlavi literature, the Ahunawar prayer is about priesthood whose related ceremony is called *yašt ī nāwar* “Nāwar ceremony”. It describes why the Nāwar ceremony is the name of the initiation ceremony in Zoroastrianism.

The close relationship between Nāwar and the Ahunawar prayer can also cast light on the concept of the obscure Minu Nāwar which is described as a spirit being called Nāwar. In the Pahlavi literature, the Ahunawar is the spirit of the Yaθā Ahū Vairiō:

*IrBd 1.50 ohrmazd az stī rōšnīh rāst gōwišnīg
ud az rāst gōwišnīh abzōnīgīh ī dādār paydāg būd
dām dahišnīh
čē-š asar kirb az asar rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd
dām ī hamāg andar asar kirb be dād
asar kirb zaman sazišnīg jud būd
az asar kirb ahunawar frāz būd mēnōy ī yatāhōwairyō*

Ohrmazd (created) from the existence of light the true-speech, and from the true speech the bountifulness of the creator was revealed which is the creation of creature, because he set forth the endless body (form) from the endless light. He created all creatures in the endless body (form). The endless body was separated from the passing time. From the endless body arose the Ahunawar which is the Spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.⁶³⁹

Moreover, in the Avesta, The power of the Ahunawar prayer, recited by Zaraθuštra, is compared with house-sized stones:

*Yt 17.20 jaiṇti mąm ahuna vairiia auuauuata snaiθiša
yaθa asma katō.masā
tāpaiieiti mąm aša vahišta
mąnaien ahe yaθa aiaoxšustəm
raēkō mē haca aįhā zəmō vaijhō kərənaoiti
yō mąm aēuuō jāmaiieiti
yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō*

He smashes me (the Evil Spirit) with Ahuna Vairiia as the weapon

⁶³⁸ My translation.

⁶³⁹ The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 16-17).

as the stone of a length of a house.
 He makes me hot with Best Truth
 like the molten brass.
 He made it better for me to withdraw from the world,
 who causes me to retreat,
 who is Zardaštra Spitāma.⁶⁴⁰

These stones are also regarded as the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō in the Pahlavi literature:

Vd 19.4P *ul ēstād zardušt frāz raft zardušt*
az afsarišnīh ī akōman
[ka-š akōman pad tan afsard estēd]
pad ān ī xrōšd bēš pursišn
[pad ān pursišn ōwōn saxt ī ōy rāy kard estēd
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
ay u-š afsard ka ān ī xrōšd bēš pursīd]
u-š sag pad dāšt ī kadag masāy būd ahlaw zardušt
[sag ī sagēn ast kē mēnōy yatāhōwairyō gōwēd]
kē-š windīd az dādār ohrmazd
kū ān dāšt pad ēn zamīg ī pahn ud gird ī dūrwidarag
pad dārāja zibāl andar mān ī porušasp
[ast kē ēdōn gōwēd
ōy dāšt pad ēn zamīg and pahn ī gird ī dūrwidarag
u-š ān ī gyāg dāšt pad dārāja zibāl andar mān ī porušasp]

Up stood Zardušt, Zardušt approached
 because of the frigidness of Akōman
 [when Akōman is frozen in body]
 because of the hard, hostile questions
 [because of the so hard question which he asked him,
 there is one who says:

Note: He froze Akōman when he asked the hard, hostile (questions)],
 and he, the righteous Zardušt, had a stone in hand which was the size of a stone.
 [The stony stone. There is one (who says), it was the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō],
 which he acquired from the creator Ohrmazd,
 that he had it on the wide, round earth whose borders lie apart
 on (the bank of) the swift Drājā (river), in the house of Porušasp.
 [There is one who says:
 He held (stone) on the wide, round earth whose borders lie apart,
 and he had a place on (the bank of) the swift Drājā (river), in the house of
 Porušasp.]⁶⁴¹

DkM 632.15-633.8 *zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd*
druz ō ōy stard
abāz dwārīd hēnd but dēw ud sēz ī nihān rawišnīh ī frēftār
ud druz ō (ōy)⁶⁴² dawist⁶⁴³ hēnd

⁶⁴⁰ My translation.

⁶⁴¹ My translation builds on Anklesaria (1949: 372) and Moazami (2014: 431).

⁶⁴² ōy is absent in Madan's edition.

⁶⁴³ Both of the verbs *dwārīd* and *dawist*, spelt as *dwb 'lyt'* (DkM 632.16) and *dwst'* (DkM 632.17), respectively,

kū tarnigerišn hē gannāg mēnōy
kū tis pad čim bē nē nigerē
ud ān framāyīn kardan nē šāyēd
nē mān ān ī ōy oš abar dīd kē spitāmān zardušt
az purr xwarrahīh ahlaw zardušt pad menišn abar dīd
kū dēw ī druwand dušdānāg pad ān ī man oš hampursēnd
ud ul awistād zardušt frāz raft zardušt
anōh paydāgīhist wuzurg abdīh ō wasān
pad ān ī gōwēd kū
u-š sang frāz dād
dast dāšt ī kadag masāy būd ahlaw zardušt
kē-š windīd ēstād az dādār ohrmazd mēnōy yatāhōwairyo
ud ēw ēd ī nē ēwāz andar ērān šahr ō ērān be andar wisp būm
ud ō har srāyag paydāgīhist
škastanī dēwān kālbod
frāz abesrāyīšnīh ī zardušt ahunawar

Zardušt chanted the Ahunawar prayer,
The deceit was stunned because of it,
the deceiver demons But and Sēz, who proceed in concealment, ran back,
and the deceits ran to him.

That means: You are observing with arrogance O Evil Spirit!

That means: You do not look at the affair(s) with reason.

It is not worth doing what you order.

We did not see the death of him who is Zardušt.

Because of full-Glory, the righteous Zardušt saw in (his) thought
that the deceitful, foolish evil demon consulted about my death
and Zardušt stood upward, Zardušt approached.

There, a miracle was revealed to many
about which it is said that
and he was given forth a stone.

The righteous Zardušt had (the stone) in hand which was house-sized,
he acquired from the creator Ohrmazd, the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.

And one (other miracle) is that the break of the form of demons because of the recitation
of Ahunawar by Zardušt was revealed not only in the land of Iran, to Iranians but
also in all lands.⁶⁴⁴

Therefore, it seems that Minu Nāwar should be identified with the *mēnōy ahunawar* “the spirit Ahunawar” and the Yasna in honour of the Minu Nāwar is actually a dedication to the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.

As far as the time of the performance of the Nāwar ceremony by Zardušt is concerned, as mentioned above, according to the Dēnkard VII, the stories of the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zardušt and the stone-like Yaθā Ahū Vairiō-s, thrown against the demons by him, took place consecutively. According to the tradition, these two events

mean “ran”. See MacKenzie (1971: 25, 29).

⁶⁴⁴ My translation.

occurred during the ten years when Zardušt, between the age of 30-40 years old, consulted seven times with Ohrmazd.⁶⁴⁵

In the Avesta, Zaraθuštra (Y 19.12; Y 27.13; Yt 13.91-92, 152; Vd 2.43; Vr. 2.4) and Ahura Mazdā (Y 27.1; Vr 2.4; 11.21) are regarded as Av. *ahu-* “lord” and Av. *ratu-* “(spiritual) judge”, corresponding to the same words in the Ahunawar prayer; *yaθā ahū vairiū aθā ratuš ašāciṭ hacā ...*. While Zaraθuštra is the lord and judge of the material world according to Yt 13.91, 152 and Vd 2.43, Ahura Mazdā is described as the greatest, lord and judge in Y 27.1 and Vr 11.21. However, in Vr 2.4, Zaraθuštra and Ahura Mazdā are compared together as the lord and judge of the material and spiritual world, respectively:

Vr 2.4 *ahmiia zahoθre barəsmanaēca*
θβqm ratūm āiiese yešti yim ahurəm mazdaqm
mainiiaom mainiiaiauanqm dāmanqm mainiiaoiā stōiš
ahūmca ratūmca
ahmiia zaoθre barəsmanaēca
θβqm ratūm āiiese yešti yim zaraθuštrəm spitāməm
gaēθīm gaēθiianqm dāmanqm gaēθiiaiiā stōiš
ahūmca ratūmca

At this libation and by the sacrificial straws,
 I wish to come in this worship to you, the lord Ahura Mazdā,
 the lord and the spiritual judge of the spiritual creatures of the spiritual existence.
 At this libation and by the sacrificial straws,
 I wish to come in this worship to you, Zaraθuštra Spitāma,
 the material lord and the spiritual judge of the material creatures of the material existence.⁶⁴⁶

Therefore, in Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazdā as the greatest lord and judge is also the lord and judge of the spiritual creation. By contrast, Zaraθuštra is the lord and judge of the material creation.

5) Line 7 Y 9.14aP *tā ō ān ī pas* [until the following (verse)]

In YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2 and T55b, is attested *tā ān* which like *tā* means “until”.⁶⁴⁷ By contrast, *ān* is absent in the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP G14, T6 of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.⁶⁴⁸ In the present edition in agreement with the old YIndP J2 and K5, *tā* is employed.

⁶⁴⁵ For the mythical life of Zaraθuštra see Amouzgar & Tafazzoli (1991 (1371): 47-49).

⁶⁴⁶ My translation. Edition by Geldner (1889: II, 6).

⁶⁴⁷ For *tā* see Nyberg (1974: 189-190).

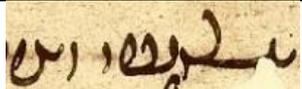
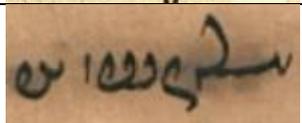
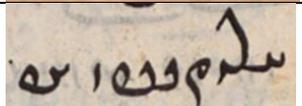
⁶⁴⁸ Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

As regards *ō*, it is omitted in YIrP G14 and T6 but it is present in the other YIrPs and YIndPs in agreement with which *ō* is employed in the present edition.

6) Line 8 Y 9.14b *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh* “(carrying out) the recitation for all words”

The Pahlavi translation of Av. *aparəm xraoždīehiia frasrūiti* “(you recited) the following (verse) with louder chant” is edited as *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh* in the present edition. Mills (1900: 527) edits *pavan*⁶⁴⁹ *khrozdyeek? frāz srāyišnīh*. He also translates it as “with a firm intonation” (Mills: 1903c: 323). Reading *pavan khrujdis? frāz srāyišnīh*, Davar (1904: 20) translates it as “with a deep chant”. Josephson (1994: 54-55) edits *frāz xrōzd srāyišnīh* “chanted with loudness”. As for the readings of the collated manuscripts, while *harwisp wāz* is replaced by *xrōšd frāz (hlwšd pl’c)* in YIrPs, YIndPs show the following variations:

Figure 47. The variant readings of *harwisp wāz* in YIndPs.

J2 (fol. 87v line 3)	
K5 (fol. 65r line 11)	
M1 (fol. 168r line 13)	

In J2, Mihrābān Kayhusraw apparently reads the first word as *harwisp*. By contrast, it seems that he corrected *harwisp* in K5 by adding *c* after *hlw* to correspond to Av. *xraoždīehiia*. The second word should be *wāz* “word” although in K5, probably due to scribal correction, *w* is either omitted or interpreted as the final stroke in *hlwpc’*. The erroneous correction in K5 suggests that Mihrābān Kayhusraw understood that *xraoždīehiia* is left untranslated and as a result, he tried to edit *harwisp* to correspond to the original Avestan word. Regarding the Iranian manuscripts, *harwisp* is replaced by *xrōšd*. Although in Vd 19.4 *xrōšd*, translating *xrūždīia*- “difficulty, trouble” means “difficult, hard”,⁶⁵⁰ it seems that in the Iranian Pahlavi manuscripts it is interpreted as “loud” to correspond to *xraoždīehiia*. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the spellings of

⁶⁴⁹ It corresponds to *pad* in MacKenzie’s system of transcription.

⁶⁵⁰ See Moazami (2014: 430, fn2 and 553).

YIndP K5, M1 are obviously wrong. Between the readings of J2 and YIrPs, the performance of the Yasna ritual, as described by Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 123), agrees with the reading of J2 because as mentioned in the commentary 3 on *ud tō fradom zardušt frāz srūd*, Zardušt is described in Vd 19.2, corresponding to Y 9.1, 14, 15,⁶⁵¹ as a Zōt, reciting the Ahunawar prayer which precedes *hušiti* (= Y 68.14). During this recitation in the Yasna ritual, Zōt and Rāspī should chant the Ahunawar prayer in normal voice. Therefore, editing *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh*, the sentence is translated as “(carrying out) the recitation for all words” in the present edition.

⁶⁵¹ Vd 19.2P *zarduxšt ahunawar frāz srūd [ān ī dō yatāhōwairyō kē hušiti ō pēš kē ēstēd] u-š āb ī weh frāz yazīd kē weh dāiti u-š dēn ī mazdēsnañ franāft [kū-š frauarāne kard] druz az ōy stard abāz dwārīd hēnd būt dēw ud sēj ī nihān-rawišn ī frēftār* “Zardušt recited Ahunawar [the two *yaθā ahū vairiio* which precedes *hušiti*]; he sacrificed to the good waters of the good Dāiti and he professed the Mazdayasnian religion [That means: He recited *Frauarānē*]. Stunned Deceit, ran away from him, the demon Būiti and Sēj, moving stealthily, (and) deceitful.” (The text is after Moazami 2014: 428-429).

4.15 Y 9.15

1 (Y 9.15aA) *tūm zəmərgūzō ākərənauuō*
2 *vīspe daēuua zaraθuštra*
3 *yōi para ahmāṭ vīrō.raoda*
4 *apataiian paiti āiia zəmā*
5 (Y 9.15bA) *yō aojištō yō tañcištō*
6 *yō θβaxšišō yō āsištō*
7 *yō as vərəθrajaštəmō*
8 *abauuaṭ mañiiuuā dāmān*

1-2 (Y 9.15aA) You, O Zaraθuštra, made all the demons hide in the earth,
3 who previously, in human shape,
4 appeared on this earth.
5 (Y 9.15bA) (Zaraθuštra) who was the strongest, the mightiest,
6 the most vigorous, the swiftest,
7 the most victorious
8 of the creation of the two spirits.

1 (Y 9.15aP) *tō andar zamīg nigān kard hēnd*
2 *harwisp dēw zardušt*
3 *kē pēš az ān wīr-ārōyišn*
4 *padīd hēnd abar pad ēn zamīg*
5 [*pad dēw kirbīh*
6 *hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan*
7 *ā-š kālbod be škast*
8 *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan*
9 *xwad be škast*
10 *kālbod be škast ēd kū*
11 *az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan*
12 *tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd]*
13 (Y 9.15bP) *kē ōzōmand hē kē tagīg hē*
14 *kē tuxšāg hē kē tēz hē*
15 *ast kū pērōzgartar*
16 *dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām*
17 [*az dām ī mēnōyān xwēš]*

1-2 (Y 9.15aP) You made all the demons buried in the earth, O Zardušt!
3 who previously, having the shape of humans,
4 appeared on this earth,
5 [in the form of demons,¹
6 that is: Every spiritual one who was able to assume a body,
7 then, he (Zardušt) broke his shape.
8 That one who was not able to do this [i.e. demons who were incapable of assuming a
spiritual body]
9 he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. demon] itself.²
10 Breaking the shape means this that³
11 thenceforth, it was not possible (for them) to perform offence in the form of demons,

12 so that in the form of cattle and in the form of human, even now, someone could perform (evil) in the usual way.]

13 (Y 9.15bP) You (O Zardušt) who are strong, who are brave,

14 who are diligent, who are swift.

15-16 It is that⁴ you have been created as the more victorious among the creation of the spirits⁵

17 [among his creations⁶ of the spirits.]

1) Line 5 Y9.15aP *pad dēw kirbīh* “in the form of demons”

Regarding the word formation of *kirbīh*, it is an abstract noun from *kirb* “form” whose abstract form seems to denote the collective sense, or all forms (of demons).⁶⁵² In Y 9.14, Zardušt is described as the first mortal who recited the Ahunawar prayer and according to Y 9.15, he made all the demons hide in the earth. Yt 19.81 which corresponds to Y 9.14-15, mentions that Zardušt’s feat of driving the demons underground was achieved through the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer:

Yt 19.81 *āaṭ tē aēuuō ahunō vairiō*
yim aṣauua zarduštrō frasarūuiaiṭ
vī.bərəθbəntəm āxtūirīm
aparəm xraoždīehiia frarūiti
zəmagūzō auuazaṭ vīspe daēuua
aiiesniia auuahmiia

But a single Ahuna Vairiia (Prayer)
 which truthful Zarathushtra recited
 divided four times into sections,
 the last (section) with louder recitation,
 drove all demons, which are
 unworthy of veneration, unworthy of praise, under the earth.⁶⁵³

In the Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.15, Zardušt is said to break the form of demons. Other sections of the Pahlavi literature confirm that breaking the form of demons was achieved through the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer. For example:

DkM 633. 7-8 *škastan ī dēwān kālbod*
frāz abesrāyīšnīh ī zardušt ahunawar

The break of the form of demons
 because of the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt (was revealed not only in the land

⁶⁵² For the usage of the *-īh* abstract suffix in forming nouns with the collective sense see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 177, §348).

⁶⁵³ Edition by Hintze (1994b: 36).

of Iran, to Iranians but also in all lands).⁶⁵⁴

The commentary of Y 9.15 distinguishes two types of demons:

- 1) Demons who could transform their material body into the spiritual form: Y 9.15aP6 *har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan* “every spiritual one who was able to assume a body”;
- 2) Demons who were incapable of changing their material form into the spiritual shape: Y 9.15aP8 *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan* “That one who was not able to do this”.

The difference between the two types of demons, attested in Y 9.15, is that those of the first group could not commit offence in their demonic bodies after the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zardušt: *az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan* “thenceforth, it was not possible (for them) to perform offence in the form of demons”. However, they are still able to do evil in the body of humans and animals: *tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd* “so that in the form of cattle and in the form of human, even now, someone could perform (evil) in the usual way”. By contrast, the demons of the second group were destroyed through the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt: *xwad bē škast* “(Zardušt) broke the self (of the demons)”. These two types of demonic bodies and their respective fate are shown in the below table:

Types of demonic bodies	Fate after the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zarduštra
1) Transformable from the material form into the spiritual shape.	Continued their offences through hiding in the body of animals and humans.
2) Non-transformable from the material form into the spiritual shape.	Destroyed.

A similar, but a shorter text, takes place in Sad dar Nasr Bundahišn as follows:

SdBd 3.5-6

و چون زرتشت اسفندمان دین بجهان آورد و آشکاره کرد قالب دیوان بیکیاره بشکست و در زیر زمین شدند اکنون که گناهی خواهند کرد برکردار و مانند آدمیان نتوانند شدن مگر بر صورت خر و گاو و مانند این

5) *va čōn zartušt isfantamān dēn ba jahān āvard-u āškāra kard qālib-ī dēvān ba yakbāra be šikast-u dar zir-ī zamīn šūdand*

6) *aknūn ka gunāh-ē xvāhand kard bar kardār-u mānand-ī ādamiyān natuvānand šudan magar bar surat-ī xar-u gāv-u mānand-ī ēn*

5) and since Zartušt Spitāman brought the Religion to the world and revealed it,

⁶⁵⁴ My translation.

suddenly the shape of the demons was broken and they went beneath the earth.

6) If they want to commit an offence now they cannot act as humans and become like them but (they can commit an offence) in the shape of donkey and cow and suchlike.⁶⁵⁵

The text of SdBd 3.5-6 slightly differs with the corresponding Pahlavi commentary in Y 9.15 as in SdBd 3.5-6 it is stated that the demons can only do evil in the body of animals while in Y 9.8 it is attested that the demons can penetrate the bodies of both humans and animals.

While the passages just quoted indicate that demons exist in material form, other Zoroastrian texts are more ambiguous about this question. According to IrBd 1.46, Ohrmazd created the material world from his Material Light, or *gētīy rōšnīh*. Furthermore, according to the Pahlavi literature the beneficent material creation is described as compounded, visible and tangible, developed from the uncompounded, invisible and intangible spiritual creation. By contrast, as far as Ahriman is concerned, some Pahlavi texts clearly state that he has no material creation. This is so because of the cold and dry power of his spiritual creation, incapable of becoming compound which is the prerequisite of the material world.⁶⁵⁶ However, elsewhere the mis-creation of the material antagonist of the material creation of Ohrmazd is attributed to Ahriman. For example, in opposition to *gētīy rōšnīh*, Ahriman created his creatures from the Material Darkness, or *gētīy tārkih*:

IrBd 1.47. *gannāg mēnōy az gētīy tārīkīh ān ī xwēštan dām frāz kīrrēnīd
pad wazag kirb ī siyāh ī adurestarēn ī tom arzānīg ī druwand
čiyōn bazag axwtar xrafstar*

The Evil Spirit mis-created from the Material Darkness his own creation in the form of a frog, black, ashy, worthy of darkness, (and) evil like the most offence-natured noxious animal.⁶⁵⁷

In addition, there is an opposition between the material Deceit and the material Yazds (IrBd 5.3).⁶⁵⁸ The problem of the existence of a material creation of Ahriman becomes even clearer when one considers the fact that the Avesta, too, mentions material negative antagonists of the good material creations. Examples include the corn-bearing ants that were produced by Anra Mainiiu as the evil counter-creation to the fourth land created by Ahura

⁶⁵⁵ My translation.

⁶⁵⁶ For the non-existence of the evil material creation see Shaked (1967: 227-234); Gnoli (1995: 216-218).

⁶⁵⁷ The text is after Cereti & Mackenzie (2003: 39).

⁶⁵⁸ See Anklesaria (1956: 56-57).

Mazdā, or Bactria (Av. *bāxδī-*) (Vd 3.19).⁶⁵⁹ Other evil material creations include the man devouring, horse devouring horned dragon (Y 9.8, Yt 19.40),⁶⁶⁰ the mis-creation of the dragon Gaṇḍarəβa against the world of Truth (Yt 19.41),⁶⁶¹ that of the dragon Dahāka against the Fire (Yt 19.46-50)⁶⁶². However, according to Shaked (1967: 233) the evil material creation is ‘a purely negative concept, lacking substance, and thus not evidence of material creation, unlike light’.

The accounts of creation in the Pahlavi literature provides further insights into the nature of the body of demons. A feature of Ahriman’s evil creation that it is secondary to Ohrmazd’s beneficent creation. Thus, in IrBd 1.33, the creation is viewed as:

IrBd 1.33 *dām dahišnīh mēnōyīhā gōwam ud pas gētīyīhā*

I shall speak of the creation spiritually and then materially.⁶⁶³

The above passage shows that the creation is divided into two categories; spiritual and material. A short description of the spiritual and material creations is given in IrBd 1.53:

IrBd 1.53 ... *u-š dām ī mēnōy mēnōyīhā dārēd*

u-š dām ī gētīy mēnōyīhā dād

u-š did bē ō gētīg dād ...

... and he (Ohrmazd) maintains the spiritual creation, spiritually.

And the material creation, he (Ohrmazd) created spiritually,

and then again he (Ohrmazd) produced it for the material world ...⁶⁶⁴

The text of Bd 1.53 states that the spiritual creation was created in the spiritual stage while the material creation was produced in two distinct stages; first, the spiritual stage and second, the material state.⁶⁶⁵ It seems that the creation of *amahraspandān* ‘Life-giving Immortals’ demarcates the spiritual creation and the spiritual stage of the material creations:

IrBd 1.53 ... *az dām ī gētīy*

ī pad mēnōy dād

nazdist šaš

ān ī haftom xwad būd čē ohrmazd ...

⁶⁵⁹ See Hintze (2014b: 234).

⁶⁶⁰ See Pirart (2007: 172).

⁶⁶¹ The opposition is my interpretation according to the context of Yt 19.41.

⁶⁶² See Pirart (2007: 32, fn 21).

⁶⁶³ The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 36).

⁶⁶⁴ The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40).

⁶⁶⁵ See Molé (1959: 443); Shaked (1971: 66); Hintze (2009a: 59).

... from the creations of the material world,
 he (Ohrmazd) created in the spirit,
 next, the six (Amahraspands),
 the seventh was himself ...⁶⁶⁶

These Amahraspands are Wahman, Ardawahišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordād and Amurdād (IrBd 1.53a). Moreover, Ohrmazd is regarded as the seventh Amahraspand (IrBd 1.53, 53a). They oppose *kamālīgān dēwān* “Chief Demons” whose names are listed in IrBd 1.55 as Akōman, Indar, Sawar, Nānghēϑ (or Tarōmad), Tarwiz, Zērīz and Ahriman as the seventh.⁶⁶⁷ Likewise, in the Zoroastrian New Persian literature, Amahraspandān and Kamālīgān Dēwān are categorised as the opposing beings of the material creation:

SdBd 1.1

... و هفت دیو اندر گیتی بداد ...
 و هر يك ضد و همستاری امشاسفندان است

... *u haft dēw andar gētīy be dād ...*
u har yak zidd-u hamēstārī-yī amšāsfandān ast

and he (the Evil Spirit) created seven demons in the material world ...
 and each one is for the antagonism and opposition against the Life-giving Immortals.⁶⁶⁸

In the first chapter of the Bundahišn, the spiritual creations of Ohrmazd and Ahriman are not symmetrically opposed to one another at the time before Ohrmazd’s creation of *gētīy rōšnīh* “Material Light (IrBd 1.44)⁶⁶⁹ and Ahriman’s *gētīy tārīkīh* “Material Darknes” (IrBd 1.47). Before *gētīy rōšnīh*, Ohrmazd fashioned forth *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” (IrBd. 1.35), *zamān* “Time” (IrBd 1.36), *zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy* “Time of long dominion” (IrBd 1.39),⁶⁷⁰ *asazišnīh* “Imperishability” (IrBd 1.39), *axwārīh rawišnīh* “unblissfulness (of demons)” (IrBd 1.39) and *mēnōy ī abewardišnīh* “Spirit of Immutability” (IrBd 1.39).⁶⁷¹ By contrast, the texts are not only silent about Ahriman’s counter-creation before *gētīy tārīkīh* but also display further asymmetry between the opposing beneficent *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” and evil *duš rawišnīh* “Evilness” in so far as Ohrmazd’s creation of *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” (IrBd. 1.35) occurs before the creation of *gētīy rōšnīh* (IrBd. 1.44):

⁶⁶⁶ The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40). For similar examples see Shaked (1971: 65-66, 77, 82).

⁶⁶⁷ See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40-41).

⁶⁶⁸ My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1909: 70).

⁶⁶⁹ See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 38).

⁶⁷⁰ For discussion on time in Middle Persian and its two different kinds; *akarānag* “infinite” (Time), or *dagrand-xwadāy* “(Time of) long dominion” and *karānag* “finite (Time)” see Rezanian (2010: 105-148).

⁶⁷¹ See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 37).

IrBd. 1.35 *u-š nazdist yazdān xwadīh dād nēk rawišnīh
ān ī mēnōy ī-š tan ī xwēš pad-iš weh be kard ...*

and next he created the essence of Yazds, Goodness,
that spirit by which he made himself better ...⁶⁷²

By contrast, in the opposing camp, the creation of the antagonistic *duš rawišnīh* “Evilness” (IrBd 1.49) takes place after the creation of *gētīy tārīkīh* “Material Darkness” (IrBd 1.47):

IrBd 1.49. *u-š nazdist dēwān xwadīh dād duš rawišnīh
ān mēnōy ī-š gannāgīh ī dām ī ohrmazd az-iš būd ...*

and next he created the essence of the demons, Evilness,
that spirit from which the corruption came to the creations of Ohrmazd ...⁶⁷³

The following table illustrates the different chronology of the creations of the opposing forces:

Order of creation	Ohrmazd's camp	Ahriman's camp
1	<i>nēk rawišnīh</i>	-
2	<i>gētīy rōšnīh</i>	<i>gētīy tārīkīh</i>
3	-	<i>duš rawišnīh</i>

Therefore, it can be suggested that the creation of Ahriman starts from *gētīy tārīkīh*. Regarding the creation after *gētīy rōšnīh* and *gētīy tārīkīh*, each of Ohrmazd's creation has an antagonist in Ahriman's camp until the creation of Ahunawar. The counter-creations of the two forces appear in formulaic constructions in the Bundahishn as follows:⁶⁷⁴

1) *gētīy rōšnīh* vs. *gētīy tārīkīh*:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.44 *ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš ī xwadīh az gētīy rōšnīh
kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš frāz brēhēnīd
pad ātaxš kirb ī rōšn ...*⁶⁷⁵

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.47 *gannāg mēnōy az gētīy tārīkīh
ān ī xwēš tan dām frāz kīrrēnīd*

⁶⁷² The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 37).

⁶⁷³ The text and translation is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 39).

⁶⁷⁴ To highlight the formulaic structures, the translations which are after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 38-39), appear in the footnote.

⁶⁷⁵ Ohrmazd fashioned forth from his own essence, from Material Light / the form of his own creation / in the form of fire ...

*pad wazag kirb ī siyā ...*⁶⁷⁶

2) *wāy* vs. *waran*:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.45 *ā-š kirb ī wāy ī weh frāz brēhēnīd
čiyōn wāy abāyist*⁶⁷⁷

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.48 *u-š az gētīy xwad-dōšagīh waran pāygirb frāz kīrrēnīd
čiyōn waran abāyist*⁶⁷⁸

3) *rāst gōwišnīh* "Truthful Speech" vs. *drō gōwišnīh* "Lying Speech":

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *az rāst gōwišnīh abzōnīgīh ī dādār paydāg būd*⁶⁷⁹

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.49 *az drō gōwišnīh anāgīh ī ōy gannāg mēnōy paydāg
būd*⁶⁸⁰

4) *aθrō kerpa*⁶⁸¹ "Form of Fire" vs. *kirb* "Form":

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *čē-š aθrō kerpa az asar rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd
ud dām-iz hamāg andar aθrō kerpa be dād*⁶⁸²

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.49 *čē-š az asar tārikīh ān kirb frāz kīrrēnīd
u-š xwēš dām andar ān kirb be dād*⁶⁸³

5) *ahunawar* vs. —:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd. 1.50: *ud az aθrō kerpa ahunawar frāz būd*⁶⁸⁴

Ahriman's Creation: -

6) *mēnōy ī sāl* "Spirit of Year" vs. —

⁶⁷⁶ For the translation see above.

⁶⁷⁷ He then fashioned forth the form of the good Wāy / for Wāy was needed.

⁶⁷⁸ And from the material self-will, he mis-created the form of Waran "Lust" / for he needed Waran.

⁶⁷⁹ From Truthful Speech the bounteousness of the creator became manifest.

⁶⁸⁰ From Lying Speech the Evilness of the Evil Spirit was manifested.

⁶⁸¹ Contrasted to Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 39), Anklesaria (1956: 17) translates it as "āθrō astral form". Zaehner (1955: 281, 316) reads it as *asar kirb* "Endless Form". For *aθrō kerpa* "Form of Fire" see Duchesne-Guillemin (1964: 14-17).

⁶⁸² For he fashioned forth the Form of Fire from Endless light / and all creation also was created in the Form of Fire.

⁶⁸³ For from Endless Darkness he mis-created that form / and he created his own creatures in that form.

⁶⁸⁴ And from the Form of Fire the Ahunawar came forth.

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *az ahunawar mēnōy ī sāl frāz būd*⁶⁸⁵

Ahriman's Creation: -

The beneficent and evil antagonists are listed in the following table:

Ohrmazd's camp	Ahriman's camp
1) <i>gētīy rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.44)	1) <i>gētīy tārikīh</i> (IrBd 1.47)
2) <i>kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš (ātaxš kirb) rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.44)	2) <i>xwēštan dām (wazag kirb)</i> (IrBd 1.47)
3) <i>wāy</i> (IrBd 1.45)	3) <i>waran</i> (IrBd 1.48)
4) -: The contrasting <i>yazdān xwadīh (nēk rawišnīh)</i> was created before <i>gētīy rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.35)	4) <i>dēwān xwadīh (duš rawišnīh)</i> (IrBd 1.49)
5) <i>rāst gōwišnīh</i> (IrBd 1.50)	5) <i>drō gōwišnīh</i> (IrBd 1.49)
6) <i>aθrō kerpa</i> (created from the Endless Light" (IrBd 1.50)	6) <i>kirb</i> (created from the Endless Darkness) (IrBd 1.49)
7) <i>ahunawar</i> (created from <i>aθrō kerpa</i>) (IrBd. 1.50)	7) -
8) <i>mēnōy ī sāl</i> (IrBd 1.50)	8) -

The comparison between the Bundahišn, and Y 9.15 seems to provide an answer to the dilemma of Ahriman's material creation. As mentioned above, the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt breaks the form of demons. Therefore, on the one hand, it is conceivable to suggest an opposition between Ahunawar and *kirb* "form". On the other hand, no evil force can withstand Ahunawar. The victory of Ahunawar over the demonic *kirb* "form" can explain why in the Bundahišn, the material form, or body, of demons does not stand against *ahunawar* as opposing forces. However, Ahriman created the spiritual prototype of the material form but because of the Ahunawar prayer, it cannot develop further from its spiritual stage, opposing *aθrō kerpa*. The opposition between the *kirb* "form" of demons and *aθrō kerpa* "Form of Fire" agrees with the Zoroastrian cosmogony according to which Ohrmazd's creatures and men are created from the Form of Fire. (Duchesne-Guillemin: 1964: 14-17). The passages discussed here can also cast light on the meaning of the expression *tan mēnōy kardan* "making (the demon) bodies spiritual" in Y 9.15, indicating transforming the evil body, contrasting Ahunawar, to Kirb (form), opposing Āθro Kerpa.

⁶⁸⁵ From the Ahunawar, the Spirit of the Year came forth.

The spiritual nature of the demonic bodies is corroborated by the other sections of the Pahlavi literature according to which the evil material bodies in the world of mixture are found in Ohrmazd's good creation:

IrBd 22. 3 *ud kirb az ēn cahār zahagān ī hast āb ud zamīg ud wād ud ātaxš ...*

and the body (of noxious creatures) is from these four elements which are water and earth and wind and fire.⁶⁸⁶

Regarding the demons whose body was not transformable into the spiritual shape, the texts do not mention their names or features directly. However, in the Avesta, while the Venerables (Av. *yazata-*) are characterised as either *mainiiuuua-* “spiritual” or *gaēθiia-* “material”, demons (Av. *daēuuua-*) are only described as spiritual (Gnoli 1995: 221-224). In IrBd. 5.3, the material Yazds are also opposed to the material Druz, corresponding to Av. *druj* “deceit”, rather than the expected *Dēw* (= Av. *daēuuua-*). By contrast, *druj-* and *daēuuua-* usually stand against *aša-* and *yazata-*, respectively in Zoroastrianism (Pirart 2007: 72, 138). Furthermore, the stories on the struggles between the Iranian heroes and the material dragons and demons (Y 9.1-15, Šāhnāma) occur before the story of Zardušt. Therefore, *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan xwad bē škast* “That one who was not able to do this (i.e. demons who were incapable of assuming a spiritual body), he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. the demon] itself” probably refers to the **gētīy dēwān* “material demons”.

2) Line 9 Y 9.15aP *xwad be škast* “he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. demon] itself.”

In YIrP F2, *ān kē nē tuwān būd* is repeated after *xwad be škast*:

hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan
ā-š kāl bod be škast
ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan
xwad be škast
 (F2 fol. 57r line 14) *ān kē nē tuwān būd*

The repetition of the the sentence was either a scribal mistake or correction. In the present edition, with the base text and other collated copies the repeated sentence is not employed.

⁶⁸⁶ The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 182-183).

3) Line 10 Y9.15aP *kālbod be škast ēd kū* “Breaking the shape means this that”

In F2, *kālbod* is preceded by *tan* “body” according to which *tan ud kālbod* means “body and shape”. Moreover, in YIndP K5, M1, *kālbod be škastan ēd kū* “Breaking the shape means this that” is replaced by *kālbod be škast ēd čē* in which *škast* can be interpreted as either the short infinitive or past participle. However, since in J2, the sister manuscript of K5, *škastan* is attested, *škast* in K5 is interpreted as the short infinitive in the present edition. Moreover, the phrase introduces a new short commentary to the preceding *kālbod be škast*:

hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan
ā-š kālbod be škast
ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan
xwad bē škast
***kālbod be škastan ēd kū* (K5, M1 *kālbod be škast ēd čē*)**
az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan
tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd]

As far as the selection between *ēd kū* and *ēd čē* is concerned, the former usually introduces new short commentaries, meaning “(the fact) is that”.⁶⁸⁷ Therefore, in the present edition, *ēd kū*, the reading of YIrPs and YIndP J2, is preferred to that of YIndP K5, M1.

4) Line 15 Y 9.15b *ast kū* “it is that”

With the exception of K5, M1, *ast* is preceded by *kē* in the manuscripts. However, with the base text K5, *kē* is not employed in the present edition.

5) Line 16 Y9.15bP *mēnōyān dām* “the creation of the spirits”

The Phl. *mēnōy* in *kē ast kū pērōzgar dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām* can be translated as either the adjective “spiritual” or its corresponding substantivized form “spirit”.⁶⁸⁸ However, since it translates the Avestan dual *mañiiuuā* “of two spirits”, therefore, it is translated as the substantive “spirit” in the present edition in which *-ān* is regarded as the plural sign, expressing the Avestan dual number.

⁶⁸⁷ See Cantera (2015a).

⁶⁸⁸ For *mēnōy* see Nyberg (1974: 120); Gnoli (1995: 223-224).

6) Line 17 Y9.15bP *dāmān* “creations”

In YIrP Pt4 and YIndP K5, M1, *dāmān* “creations” is written, while in YIrP Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, the singular form *dām* “creation” is attested in the context *az dām(ān) ī mēnōyān xwēš* “among his creation(s) of the spirits”. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the commentary explains the preceding *ast kū pērōzgar az ān ī mēnōyān dām* as follows:

ast kū pērōzgar
dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām
 [*az dām(ān) ī mēnōyān xwēš*]

It is that you have been created as the victorious among the creation of the spirits
 [among his creation(s) of the spirits.]

It is unclear whether the gloss is intended to describe a different view which interpreted *dām* as *dāmān* or to emphasise on *xwēš*. Therefore, while both readings are possible, with the base text K5, pl. *dāmān* “creations”, is edited in the present edition.

5 Appendix: (Transliteration and Text- critical Apparatus)

5.1 Y 9.1

- 1 (a) PWN h'wn' ltyh
 2 [PWN h'wn g's]
 3 hwm QDM SGYNTWN-t 'w' zltwšt'
 4 (b) PWN 'thš [g's] pyl'mwn ywšd'slyšnyh
 5 ['MT-š 'thš g's k'myst' šwstn']
 6 g's'n' sl'dšnyh
 7 ['MT-š ZK 'šmwhwk 3 gwpt MNW plwl'nyy 'w' L'YN']
 8 (c) 'P-š MN 'w' pwrst' zltwšt'
 9 'YK MNW GBR' HWH-yȳ
 10 [HWH-t' L' PWN yšt' Y pltwm +YHWWN-yt +MN L'YN' pyt'k
 11 'P-š YD'YTWN-st' 'YK hwm 'w' YHMTWN-yt
 12 'MT mt' YHWWN-t '-š pwrst' p'dst
 13 mtlwk 'wp 'yt zltwšt'
 14 ZK pyt'k 'YK-š šn'ht
 15 HN' l'd MH ZK zm'n' LWTH yzd'n' wyš YHWWN-t YK'YMWN-'t'
 16 'P-š yzdt'+'šn'ktl YHWWN-t
 17 HWH-+t' 'P-š ZNH plgt' wlm YHWWN-t
 18 'P-š +'p'dst' l'd LWTH hwm L'L' YMRNN-t
 19 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLWN-yt HWH-t 'whrmzd gwpt YK'YMWN-'t'
 20 'YK KR' 2 KN YHMTWN-d
 21 'MT hwm mt' YHWWN-t 'š mtr šn's-yt']
 22 (d) MNW L MN hlwsp' 'hw'
 23 Y 'st'wmnd hm nywktl HZYNTWN-t HWH-yȳ
 24 MH-t ZK Y NPŠH y'n' nywk krt YK'YMWN-yt' 'mlg
 25 [HWH-t y'n' tn' PWN pl'lwnyh 'mlg krt YK'YMWN-yt'
 26 L' 'ytwn' cygwn 'LH-š'n MNW BSLY' Y ym ywt'
 27 'P-š'n BYN tn' 'mlg krt YK'YMWN-'t'
 28 'D BRMN tn' KR'YŠ 1 'mlg
 29 aməɾəza gaiehe stūna

1 h'wn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 h'wn W F2
 h'wn T6
 2 h'wn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b
 h'wn T6; J2
 h'wn Y K5 M1
 3 L'YN' Pt4
 QDM Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 3 lpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 lpt F2 T55b
 SGYNTWN-t' J2
 SGYNTWN-t K5 M1
 3 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4; J2 K5 M1
 zltwšt' G14 T6
 zltwšt F2
 zltwšt T55b
 4 g's Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1

g's MN G14 (MN above the
 line) F2 T6
 deest J2
 4 pyl'mwn' W Pt4
 pyl'mwn' W Mf4 T55b
 pyl'mwn' G14
 pyl'mwn F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
 5 deest Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'
 HLLWN-tn' G14
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'
 HLLWN-stn' F2
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'
 HLLWN-stn' J2
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst' šwstn'
 K5
 'thš g's k'mst W šwstn' g's'n'
 M1
 6 deest Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b

W g's'n' sl'dšnyh G14
 g's'n' sl'dšnyh F2; J2 K5 M1
 7 'MT-š Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 'MT J2
 7 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 ZK Y T6
 7 'šmwhwk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 'šmwhwk Y G14 T6
 'šmwhwk F2
 'šmwhwk' Y J2
 'šmwhwk K5 M1
 7 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 gwpt F2; J2 K5 M1
 7 MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 deest J2

- 8 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
'w' K5 M1
8 pwrst Pt4 F2 T55b
pwrst' Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
8 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
zltwšt' G14 T6
zltwšt F2
9 HWH'-ȳ Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; M1
HWH'-t G14
HWH'-ȳ F2; J2 K5
10HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2
HWH-d F2
HWH-t' K5 M1
10yšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5
yšt G14 T6; J2 M1
yyšt F2
10YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; M1
YHWWN-yt' G14 T6; J2
K5 illegible
10MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 M1
MNW F2
K5 illegible
11YD'YTWN-st' ZNH
YD'YTWN-st' Pt4 G14 T6; J2 K5
d'n'st Mf4
YD'YTWN-st F2 T55b
YD'YTWN-yt' M1
11KN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
'w' J2 K5 M1
11YHMTWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
YHMTWN-yt' G14 T6; J2
12MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
'MT J2 K5 M1
12mt Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
mt' Mf4; J2 K5 M1
12YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
YHWWN-t' J2
12'-š Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'P-š F2
12pwrstyn' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
pwrstn G14 T6; J2
pwrst K5 M1
12'p' dst' Pt4 T55b
'p' st' G14 F2 T6
'p' st' Mf4; J2
'p' dst K5 M1
- 13mtlw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b.
Pt4 separates mt and lwk' by a vertical line.
mt lwk' F2 T6
mtlw J2 K5 M1
13'wp Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1
13'yt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
'yt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
13zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
zltwšt' G14 T6
zltwšt F2
14ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest F2
14 šn'ht' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
šnht G14 T6
šn'ht K5 M1
15HN' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
HNĀ F2
15l'd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
l'd MH F2; J2 K5 M1
14 zm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
zm'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
zm'n F2
15yzd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
yzd'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
15YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1
YHWWN-yt F2
YH[...] J2
15YK'YMWN'-t Pt4 T55b
YK'YMWN-'t Mf4 F2; M1
YK'YMWN-'t' G14 T6; K5
[...MWN-'t' J2
16'P-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'-š G14 T6
16'sn'ktl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b
'sn'klt T6
'sn'tl J2 K5 M1
16YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b
YHWWN-yt' G14
YHWWN-t F2; K5 M1
bwt J2
17HWH-t'] HWH'-d Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
HWH-td G14
HWH-t T6
HWH-d J2 K5 M1
17plgt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
plgt F2
17' LH Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
wlm Mf4; J2 K5 M1
- 17 YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b
YHWWN-yt' T6
YHWWN-t J2 K5 M1
18'p' dst' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2
'p' st' Mf4
'p' dst G14
'p' st F2
'p' dt' K5 M1
18L'L' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
LĀL' T55b
18gwpt' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2
gwpt Mf4 G14 F2
YMRRN-t K5 M1
19'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5
'YT F2; M1
19'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'ytwn F2
19YMRRN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
YMRRN-yt' G14 T6
YMRRWN-yt J2
YMLLWN-yt K5 M1
19HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1
HWH-t' J2
HWH-d F2
19whrmzd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
T55b inserts *d'* with red ink preceding whrmzd.
19gwpt' Pt4 T6 T55b
gwpt Mf4 G14 F2; J2 K5 M1
19YK'YMWN-'t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
YK'YMWN-'t' G14 T6; J2
20KN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
'w' J2
20YHMTWN'-d Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 M1
YHMTWN-d' G14 T6
YHMTWN-yt K5
21W 'MT Pt4 G14 T55b
'MT Mf4; J2 K5 M1
MNW F2 T6
21 mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
mt G14 F2 T6; J2
21YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
YHWWN-yt' G14 T6
YHWWN-t J2 K5 M1
21mtr' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
mt W G14 T6
mt F2
mtr J2 K5 M1

- 21 šn'syt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
K5 M1
šn'ht' G14 T6
šn'ht F2
Pt4 writes zltwšt in marg. after
šn'sy-t'. It is not clear to
which section it belongs.
22hlwsp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2
hlwsp F2
hlwsp" K5 M1
22'hw' Pt4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'hw'n' Mf4
'hw G14 T6
23'st' wmnnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b
'st' wmnnd G14 F2 T6; J2
'st' wmnnd K5 ('wmnnd is
written above the line) M1
23H̄ZYTWN-t Pt4 F2 T6
T55b; K5 M1
H̄ZYTW-t Mf4
H̄ZYTWN-t' G14; J2
23H̄WH'-ȳy Pt4 Mf4 T55b
H̄WH-ȳy G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1
24Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
deest G14 T6; J2
24H̄Y' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b
y'n' J2 K5 M1
24nywk' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b
nywk F2; K5 M1
J2 illegible
24krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2
krt F2; K5 M1
24YK'YMWN-yt Pt4 Mf4
T55b
YK'YMWN-yt' G14 T6; K5
M1
YK'YMN-'t' F2
[...]YMWN-yt' J2
24W 'mlg Pt4 T55b
'mlg Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5 (In
K5, although L' 'ywtwn'
cygqn 'LH-š'n' MNW
- BLSL* ' Y ym ywt occurs
before 'mlg, they are
omitted by the deletion
dots) M1
HWH-t 'mlg J2
25HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.)
G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
HWH F2
25H̄Y' Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.)
G14 F2 T6 T55b
y'n' J2 K5 M1
25deest Pt4 (writes *tn'* with
pale script in marg.) Mf4
G14 T6 T55b
tn' F2 K5 M1
tn' W J2
25PWN Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.)
G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest F2
25 pl'lwnyh Pt4 Mf4 (in
marg.) G14 T6 T55b; K5
M1
deest F2
𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 J2
25 ' 'mlg Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.)
G14 T6 T55b
'mlg J2 K5 M1
deest F2
25 krt' Pt4 Mf4 (in
marg.) T55b; J2
krt G14 T6; K5 M1
deest F2
25YK'YMN-yt Pt4 F2 T55b
Mf4 (in marg.)
YK'YMN-yt' G14 T6; J2 K5
M1
26L' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
K5 M1
LĀ Mf4
26ytw'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
'ytw'n F2
26'LH-š'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5
M1
'LH-š'n' G14 F2 T6; J2
26BSL' Pt4 T55b
- BSLY' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1
26ywt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
ywt' W Mf4
ywt' G14
ywt' YK'YMN-yt' T6
ywt F2
27'P-š'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
M1
'P-š'n' G14 T6
'P-š y'n' F2
27B̄ȲN̄ Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b; J2
K5 M1
deest F2 T6
28krt' Pt4 T55b
krt Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
27YK'YMWN-t' Pt4 F2 T55b;
K5
YK'YMWN-yt Mf4
YK'YMWN-t' G14 T6; J2 M1
28MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b; M1
MNW J2
K5 illegible
29gaiiehe Pt4 G14 T6; J2 K5
M1
gaiiahe Mf4 F2
gaiie T55b

mi9rō Pt4 (in marg.) G14 T6 at
the end of the Pahlavi
version of Y 9.1c
deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
F2 at the end of the Avestan
section of Y9.1.c.
ziiāṭ Pt4 (in marg.) F2 at the
end of the Avestan section
of Y9.1.c)
deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
zaiiāṭ G14 T6
zara9uštrəm Pt4 (in marg.)
G14 T6 at the end of the
Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c
deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
F2 at the end of the Avestan
section of Y9.1.c.

5.2 Y 9.2

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' YMLLWN-t
 2 hwm Y¹ 'hlwb' Y² dwl'wš
 3 [HWH-t 'dwl'wšyh HN' 'YK 'wš MN lwb'n Y mltwm'n' dwl YHŠNN-yt
 4 lwšn' gwpt
 5 HWH-t ''wšyh PWN hwm YHWWN-yt]
 6 (b) '+'NH HWH-m zltwšt'
 7 hwm Y 'hlwb' Y dwl'wš
 8 (c) ZK +Y ZK Y L hwn 'L hwlšn' [+hwlšn' l'd BRH hwn]
 9 (d) QDM L PWN st'dšn' st'd [BYN ycšn']
 10 cygwn L 'HL-c
 11 swt'wmnd st'dynd ['š ZK Y LK LK l'd]

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>1 G14 and T6 insert 'mlg krt'
HY' NPŠH l'd PWN st'dšn
Y whrmzd before 'w'.
F2 inserts 'mlg k[...] HY'
NP[...] l'd PWN st'dšn
whrmzd in marg.
1 L 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b; J2
L deest K5 M1
1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
pshw F2
1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
gwpt F2
YMLLWN J2
YMLLWN-t K5 M1
2-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1 T55
' F2
2-2 deest Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
Y Mf4; J2 K5 M1
3 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
HWH-d F2
3 dwl'wšyh Pt4 T55b; K5
M1
dwl'wšyh Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2
3 'YK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
'YK-š Mf4
3 lwb'n Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
K5 M1
lwb'n' F2 T6; J2
3 mltwm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
mltwm'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
'NŠWT'-n' J2
3 YHŠNN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2
T55b; K5 M1
YHŠNN-yt' G14 T6; J2</p> | <p>4 lwšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
lwšn F2
4 gwpt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
gwpt Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1
5 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
K5 M1
HWH-d F2
HWM-t T6
س J2
5 YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2
T55b; K5 M1
YHWWN-yt' G14 T6; J2
6 'NH Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
'NH' Mf4
hwm J2 K5 M1
6 Pt4 and T55b write W after
'NH
6 HWH'-m Pt4 Mf4 T55b
HWH-m G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1
6 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
M1
zltwhšt' G14 T6
zltwhšt F2
7 G14 F2 T6 do not write Y
after 'hlwb'
8 ZK Y ZK Y L Pt4 Mf4 G14
F2 T55b; J2
ZK ZK Y L T6
ZK W ZK Y K5 M1
8 'w' Pt4 (crossed out) Mf4
T55b
'w' KN F2
deest J2 K5 M1
8 hwn, hun (hun in the
Avestan letters above the
line) Pt4 Mf4
hwn', hun (hun in the Avestan
letters above the line) G14</p> | <p>hun 'w' (hun in the Avestan
letters), 'w' F2
hwn' hun (hun in the Avestan
letters inmar.) T6
hn, hun (hun in the Avestan
letters above the line) T55b
hwn KN J2
hwn 'L K5 M1
8 [MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt']
'y spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd]
deest Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
Mf4 writes above the line and
in marg.: B'YHNyt
spytm'n' 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 Mf4 (in
marg.)
G14 writes in marg.: MNW
MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt 'y
spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd G14
(in marg.)
T6 writes in marg.: MNW
MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt 'y
spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd
MNW MND'M-1
B'YHWNyt 'y spyt'm'n' W
pr'c L l' [...] F2 (in marg.)
8 hwlšn' hwlšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14
F2 T6 T55b; J2
hwlšn' K5 M1
8-2 hwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6;
T55b
[...]wn J2
hwn K5 M1
8 Pt4 (with small letters) and
T55b write hw'šn' hwlt
after hwn'.
9 st'dšn Pt4 T55b
st'dšn' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1
9 st'd Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; K5
M1</p> |
|---|--|---|

<p>W st'd Mf4 stād F2 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 J2 9 'ycšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b ycšn' F2; J2 K5 M1 10 'HL-c Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1</p>	<p>'HL-c Y J2 11 swt'wmnnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b swt'wmnt G14 swt'wmnd F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 11 st'dynd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 st'dynyt F2 st'dynd J2</p>	<p>11ZK Y LK LK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; K5 ZK LK LK F2; M1 ZK Y LK W LK LKWM T55b ZK Y LK W LK J2 11 Pt4 writes below the line, after <i>ZK Y LK LK</i>: LKWM swt Y YHBWNm</p>
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5.3 Y 9.3

- 1 (a) 'P-š gwpt zltwšt'
 2 'YK nm'c 'w' hwm
 3 (b) MNW +LK
 4 pltwm hwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n'
 5 BYN 'st'wmnd'n' gyh'n' hwn'yt' HWH-yȳ
 6 MN ZK +tlsk'syh krt'
 7 [ZK nywkyh 'YK 'D-m YHWWN-'t]
 8 MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p'tyh

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 T6 T55b gwpt F2; K5 M1 1 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' G14 T6 zltwhšt F2 2 nm'c' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 nm'c' G14 F2; K5 M1 2 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b 'w' F2; J2 K5 M1 3 LK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 t55b; J2 LK hwm K5 M1 4 hwm Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 hw'm T55b 4 'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 'NŠWT'-'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 5 st'wmnd'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; K5 M1	'st'wmnd'n' Y J2 5 gyh'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; M1 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 gyyh'n' F2 5 hwn'yt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 hwn'yt' G14 T6 hwnyt F2 5 HWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T55b HWH-yȳ G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 6 W MNW Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b MNW F2 MN J2 K5 M1 6 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ZK Y T6 6 tlsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; K5 tls[...]syh F2 وہ مہکتس سوب T6 (k' above the line) tlskāsy J2	tlskāsy K5 M1 (مہکتس سوب in marg.) M1 6 krt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 M1 krt' F2 krt' 'YK J2 7 YHWWN-'t Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 YHWWN-'t' G14 (YHMTWN-'t above the line with pale script) YHWWN-'t (YHMTWN-'t in marg. with pale script) F2 YHMT-'t' WN-d (WN-d above the line) T6 8 MH Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 MH' F2 8 mt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 M1 mt F2; J2
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5.4 Y 9.4

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' dwl' wš
 3 (b) +wywngħ' n' L pltwm MN +NŠWT' -' n'
 4 BŸN +st' wmd' n' +gyh' n' hwn' ytm
 5 'LH +ZK +tlsk' syh krt'
 6 'w' 'LH mt' p̄' tyh
 7 (c) 'MT MN 'LH pws L' L' ŸLYDWN-t
 8 MNW +ym Y šyt' Y hwlmk
 9 (d) MNW GDH' wmd' twm MN ŸLYDWN-t' n' YHWWN-t [hwyšk' ltwm]
 10 +hwlšyt' nkylšntwm MN 'NŠWT' -' n' YHWWN-t [hwcšmtwm
 11 HWH-t GDH 'YT Y hwyšk' lyh
 12 W 'YT' Y PWN tn' Y GBR'
 13 ZK Y¹ PWN tn' Y² ym
 14 hm-DYN' YHWWN-t HWH-d 'YK' +hwyšk' lyh
 15 HWH-t lwšn' gwpt'
 16 HWH-t GDH HN' 'YT' Y¹ PWN tn' Y² GBR'
 17 GDH' wmd' YHSNN-yt' hwyšk' lyh ZK lwb' k 'BYDWN-yt]
 18 (e) MNW-š krt' PWN ZK Y 'LH' hwt' yh
 19 'mlg p' h W wyl
 20 'hw'ššn' W MY' W 'wlwl
 21 ['YK ZK Y L' 'p' d-st' hwšk¹ L' hwšk²]
 22 (f) hwlšn' +ŠTHN-' n' +n' p̄sysisšn'
 23 ['YK 'MT 'ywk¹ 'ŠTHN-t YHWWN-t 'ywk² mt YHWWN-t]

1 T6 inserts 'ytwn at the beginning of the section (a)
 1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 pshw G14 F2
 1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; M1 gwpt G14 F2; K5
 YMLLWN J2
 2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 deest F2; J2
 2 'hlwb' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 'hlwb' Y Mf4
 'hlwb' Y J2
 3 wywngħ' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
 wywngħ' n' G14 T6
 wywgh' n' J2
 wywgh' n' K5 M1
 3 pltwm Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

[...]ltwm J2
 3 mltwm' n' Pt4 T55b
 'NŠWT' -' n' Mf4 F2
 mltwm' n' G14 T6
 'NŠWT' -' n' J2 M1
 'NŠT' -' n' K5
 4 'st' wmd' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
 'st' wmd' n' G14 T6
 'st' wmd' n' Y K5 M1
 4 gyh' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; M1
 gyh' n' G14 T6; J2
 sty gyh' n' K5
 4 hwn'yt-m Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 hwn'yt-m G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
 hwnyt-m F2
 5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2
 ZK Y K5 M1
 5 tlsk' syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
 tlsk' syh' Mf4

tlsg' syh F2
 tlskās̄y J2 K5 M1
 6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 W 'w' G14 T6
 6 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 LH F2
 6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 mt F2 T6; K5 M1
 7 'MT Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 MNW G14 F2
 7 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 'w' J2
 7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
 pws K5 M1
 7 ŸLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 ŸLYDWN-t' G14; J2

- 8 ym Y šyt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
ymšyt' G14 F2 T6
ymšyt K5 M1
8 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5
M1
deest G14 T6
8 hwlmk' Pt4 G14 Mf4 Mf4
T6 T55b
hwlmk F2; J2 K5 M1
9 'wmnndtwm Pt4 Mf4 T55b
'wmndtwm G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1
9 ȲLYDWN-t' n Pt4 Mf4
T55b; K5 M1
ȲLYDWN-t G14 T6
ȲLYDWN-mnd' n' F2
ȲLYDWN-t' n' J2
10W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
deest G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
10hwlšyt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
deest G14 T6
hwlšyt F2; M1
hwlhšyt K5
10nkylšntwm Pt4 Mf4 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
deest G14 T6
ngylšntwm F2
10MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6;
K5 M1 T55
[...]N J2
10'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 F2 T55b;
J2
deest G14 T6
'NŠWT'-'n' Mf4; K5 M1
10 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2
T55b; K5 M1 T55
deest G14 T6
YHWWN-t' J2
10hwcšmtwm Pt4 Mf4 F2
T55b; K5 M1
deest G14 T6
hwcšm[...] J2
10 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
HWH-d F2
11 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2
'YT G14 F2; K5 M1
11 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6; J2
12 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
deest F2
12 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
'YT F2
12 Y Pt4 Mf T55b4; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6
12PWN Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
K5 M1
deest G14 T6
- 13 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2
T55
deest F2 T6; K5 M1
13-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55 ; K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6; J2
13-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
K5 M1
deest G14 T6
14hmd' t' n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
hmd' t' n' G14 T6
hmd' t' n' F2
hm-DYN' J2 K5 M1
14YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
YHWWN-t' T6
14HWH-d Pt4 Mf4
HWH-d G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
K5 M1
14hwyšk'lyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
T6 T55b; J2 M1 T55
ساروسدو K5
15lwšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b; J2
HWH-t lšn K5 M1
15gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; T55
gwpt F2; J2 K5 M1
16HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
HWH-d F2
16 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
'YT F2
16-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6; J2
16-2 deest Pt4 T55b
W Mf4
Y G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
17 'wmnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b
'wmnd G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
'wmn[...] J2
17YHSNN-yt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
YHSNN-yt G14 T6
سوسوسدو F2
17lwb'k' lwb'k Pt4 Mf4 G14
F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
G14 T6 insert W hwlšyt
(hwlšyt' T6) nkylšntwm
MN 'NŠWT'-'n'
YHWWN-t hucšmtwm
after lwb'k' 'BYDWN-yt.
preceded by the Avestan
original: huarə darəō
mašiiānəm. In other
manuscripts, it is attested
according to the line 10.
18 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2
K5 M1
deest F2 T6
18 'LH Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; M1
- 'w' Mf4; J2
deest F2
'LH' K5
18hwt'yuh Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6
T55b; J2
hwt'yuh G14; K5 M1
19W Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b; K5 M1
deest J2
19 wyl Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
wyl' G14
20 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b
deest J2 K5 M1
20' hwššn' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
G14 ' W 2 hwššn' T6
'hwššnndyh F2
2' 'hwššn' T6
'hwššnyh W J2
'hwššn' W K5 M1
20MY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
سوسدو F2
20W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
K5 M1
deest F2; J2
21 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
K5 M1
KN F2
deest J2
21 'p' d-t Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b
'p' d-t' G14
'p' d-yt F2
'p' -st' J2
'p' d-st K5 M1
21-1 hwšk Pt4 (above the line
with pale script which
seems to be the secondary
addition); J2 K5
deest Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;
M1
21-2 hwšk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
hwšk Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1
22hwlšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; K5 M1
hwlšn F2
'ŠTHN-t' J2
22' ŠTHN-'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
'ŠTH-'n' G14
'ŠTH-'n' T6
'ŠTHN-'n' J2
'ŠTHN-t' n' K5 M1
22' n' pšysyšn' Pt4 G14 Mf4
T6; T55
'n' pšysšn' F2
'n' p' šyšn' J2 K5 M1
23' MT Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6; J2
K5 M1 T55
MNW F2

23-1 'ywk Pt4 F2 T55b; K5
M1
'ywk' Mf4 G14 T6
'ywk 1 J2
23 'ŠTHN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
'ŠTN-d F2

23 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6
T55b; K5 M1
YḤWWN-t' G14
bwt J2
23-2 'ywk Pt4 G14 F2 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
'ywk' Mf4 T6

23mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
mt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
23 YḤWWN-t' Pt4 T55b
YḤWWN-t Mf4 G14 T6; J2
K5 M1
YḤWWN-yt F2

5.5 Y 9.5

- 1 (a) PWN ZK Y¹ ym hwt'yh Y² 'lwnd
 2 L' slm'k YḤWWN-t' L' glm'k
 3 (b) L' zlm'n' YḤWWN-t W L' mlgyh
 4 W L' +'lšk' Y ŠDY'-'n d't
 5 [ḤWH-t hm'k YḤWWN-t BR' MN wn's L' WHL d'št YK'YMWN-'t ḤWH-d]
 6 (c) 15 ŠNT-k 'lwdšn' pr'c SGYTWN-t ḤWH-d 'B'
 7 W pws +kt'l-c 'ȳ
 8 [ḤWH-t bwlckw PWN st'dšn' Y pwsł gwpt
 9 'YK pws 'ytwn' nywk YḤWWN-t 'B'
 10 'B' 'ytwn' nywk YḤWWN-t cygwn Y pws]
 11 (d) hm'y 'D 'MT ŠLYT' YḤWWN-t
 12 hwłmk ym Y [šyt] +wywngh'n' BRH
 13 [ZNH MND'M 'ytwn' YḤWWN-t]

1-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
 deest G14 F2 T6; J2

1 ym Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

ym Y J2

1 hwt'yh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b

hwt'yh F2; J2 K5 M1

1-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T6
 T55b; J2 K5

deest F2

2 slm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

F2 does not write the first
 stroke of the letter *s*,
 therefore, its spelling is like
 the following *glm'k*, but the
 reading *sarmāg* is
 confirmed by the subscript
 New Persian translation
 سرما.

2 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
 F2 T6 T55b

deest J2

YḤWWN-t' K5 M1

2 L' W Pt4 T55b

L' G14 Mf4 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

2 glm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

glm'ȳ J2

3 zlm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b

zlm'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

3 YḤWWN-t W Pt4 Mf4 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

YḤWWN-t' W G14

YḤWWN-t F2; J2

4 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1

deest F2

4 L' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2
 K5 M1

G14 combines L' with the
 following word and writes
 l'šk'.

4 ل'شک Pt4 Mf4 T55b

l'šk' G14

'lšk' F2; J2

'lšk' T6

'lšk' K5 M1

4 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

deest J2

4 ŠDY'-'n Pt4 T55b

ŠDY'-'n Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1

ŠDY'-'n' G14 T6

4 d't Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

5 ḤWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

ḤWH-t' J2

5 hm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

hm'ȳ J2

5 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
 T55b; K5 M1

YḤWWN-t ḤWH-d F2; J2

YḤWWN-t' T6

5 d'št' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b

d'št' F2; J2 K5 M1

5 YK'YMWN-'t Pt4 T55b

YK'YMWN-'t Mf4 G14 F2;
 K5 M1

YK'YMWN-'t' T6; J2

5 ḤWH-d Pt4 Mf4 T55b

ḤWH-d G14 F2 T6; J2 K5

ḤWH-t M1

6 s'lk' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6

s'lk' F2

sālk' T55b

s[...]lk' J2

ŠNT-k K5 M1

6 'lwdšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1

'lwdšn' F2

'lwdšn' T6 separates 'lw and
 dšn' by a "8" like shape and
 gives the new Persian
 translation below the line
 as: درروی و چهره

6 pr'c Pt4 G14

pr'c Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5
 M1

6 SGYTWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

SGYTWN-t' G14 T6

6 ḤWH-d Pt4 Mf4 T55b

ḤWH-d G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

6 'B' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1

'B' F2

7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2

بره F2

pws K5 M1

7 ktāl-c Pt4 T55b

kt'l-c Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2

W kt'l-c K5 M1

8 ḤWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6;
 K5

ḤWH-d F2

بره F2 T55b

ḤWH-t' J2 M1

8 bwlckw'] bwlck' Pt4 Mf4
 G14 T6 T55b

bwlcck F2	'B W 'B F2	11 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
W bwlcwk J2. It writes 'ytwn'	'B' W ĀB' Y J2	T55b; J2 K5 M1
nywk YHWN-t cygwn pws	'B' 'B' K5 M1	YHWWN-t' T6
after W bwlcwk .bwlcwk	10 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;	YHWWN-d F2
K5 M1	J2 K5 M1	12 hwlmk' Pt4 F2 T55b
8 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5	'ytwn Mf4	hwlmk Y Mf4
M1	10 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b	hwlmk G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 T6	nywk G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	12 ym Y šyt Y Pt4 T55b
8 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	10 cygwn Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	ym Y šyt Mf4 F2; K5 M1
T55b	T55b; J2	ymšyt' G14 T6
gwpt J2 K5 M1	cygwn Y K5 M1	ym Y šyt' J2
9 BRH Pt4 Mf4 Mf4 G14 F2	10 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	12 wywngħ' 'n Pt4 T55b
T6 T55b; J2	T55b; J2	wywngħ' n Mf4 F2
pws K5 M1	pws K5 M1	wywngħ' 'n' G14 T6
9 'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6	11 hm'y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6	wywgh' n J2
T55b; J2	T55b; K5 M1	wywgh' n' K5 M1
'ytwn F2 K5 M1	hm'k 'w' F2	13 'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
9 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b	hm'y 'w J2	T55b; J2 K5 M1
nywk G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	11 'MT Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	'ytwn F2
9 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14	T55b; K5 M1	13 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2
F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	'MT' J2	T55b; K5 M1
9 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2	11 ŠLYT' -y Pt4 T55b; J2	YHWWN-t' G14 T6; J2
deest G14 T6; K5 M1	ŠLYT' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5	
9-10 'B' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	M1	

5.6 Y 9.6

- 1 (a) MNW LK
 2 ⁺dytykl hwm MN mltwm 'n'
 3 B̄ȲN ⁺st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt H̄WH-ȳ
 4 MNW ZK ⁺tlsk'syh krt'
 5 [⁺ZK nywkyh 'YK̄ 'D-m YH̄WWN-'t]
 6 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' ⁺'p'tyh

2 dytykl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2 M1
 dytykl K5
 2 'NŠWT'- 'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2
 T55b
 'NŠWT'- 'n' G14 T6
 'N[...]T'- 'n' J2
 mltwm'n' K5 M1
 3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b
 'st'wmnd'n Mf4
 'st'wmnd'n G14 F2 T6; J2
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1
 3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
 نيسس F2
 3 hwn't Pt4

hwn'yt Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2
 K5 M1
 hwnyt F2
 3 H̄WH-ȳ Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 H̄WH-ȳ G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
 4 ZK Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2
 K5 M1
 LK G14
 4 tsk'syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
 tsk'yh Mf4
 مڤڤڤڤ F2
 tsk'yh J2 K5 M1
 5 ZK Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6
 T55b; J2
 ZK Y K5 M1

5 YH̄WWN-'t' Pt4 Mf4 G14
 T6 T55b; J2
 YH̄WWN-'t' F2 K5 M1
 6 MH Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
 W MH G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
 6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5
 M1
 W T55b
 W 'w' J2
 6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
 mt G14 F2 T6
 mt' Y K5 M1
 6 nywkyh Pt4 Mf4 ('p'tyh: in
 marg.) F2 T55b; K5 M1
 nywkyh W 'p'tyh G14 T6
 'p'tyh J2

5.7 Y 9.7

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt'
 2 hwm Y¹ 'hlwb' Y² dwl' wš
 3 (b) 'spyy' n' L dtykl MN mltwm' n'
 4 B_{YN} + 'st' wmd' n' gyh' n' hwn'-yt' HWH-m
 5 'LH ZK +tłsk' syh krt
 6 W 'w' 'LH mt' 'p' tyh
 7 (c) MNW MN 'LH BRH L' L' YLYDWN-t
 8 MNW + 'p̄z' lwys plytwn'
 9 [HWH-t + 'p̄z' lwysyh HN' YHWWN-t 'YK
 10 h'nk' 1 MN 'p̄rm' nd Y 'BY-tl' n' KBD YHWWN-t
 11 ZK-c Y dh'k PWN sthmkyh L' WHL 'HDWN-t
 12 'P-š +hwt' yyh HN' +hwyš' wndyh pyt' k L' YHWWN-t 'LH d' št']

1 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1

'ywt' 'w' T6: 'ywt' is written
 in marg.

1 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

'w' J2

1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

pshw F2

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

gwpt F2

2-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b K5
 M1

deest G14 J2

2 'hlwb' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

āhlwb' J2

2-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1

deest G14 F2 T6; J2

3 'dpyk' n' Pt4 Mf4

'spyk' n' G14 T6

'dpyy' n' (writes āḡḡiān below
 the line) T55b

'dpyy' n' F2

'spyy' n' J2

'spyy' n' Y K5 M1

3 'NŠWT' -' n' Pt4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2

'NŠWT' -' n' Mf4

mltwm' n' K5 M1

4 'st' wmd' n' Pt4 T55b

'st' wmd' n' Mf4 F2 T6; J2

'YT' wmd' n' G14

'st' wmd' n' Y K5 M1

4 gyh' n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b

gyh' n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1

𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃 F2

4 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
 K5 M1

hwn'yt' G14 T6

hwnyt F2

4 HWH'-m Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6;
 T55 (In T55 the stroke is
 written above the line)

HWH-m F2 (HW is written
 with the pale letters above
 the line) J2 K5 M1

5 'w' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b (the
 order is ZK W 'w')

'LH Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1

5 tłsk' syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b

tłsk' sh Mf4

tłsg' sy F2

tłsk' sy J2 K5 M1

5 krt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6
 T55b; J2

krt W K5 M1

6 W 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

MH ZK 'w' F2

6 'LH ZK Pt4 Mf4 T55b

'LH G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

6 mt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5
 M1

m Mf4

mt F2

7 MNW Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;
 K5 M1

'MT Mf4; J2

7 MN 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
 T6 T55b; K5 M1

J2 Illegible

7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1

pws J2

7 YLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
 F2 T55b; K5 M1

YLYDWN-t' T6

deest J2

8 MNW Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2
 K5 M1

deest Mf4

MN F2

8 'p̄z' lwys Pt4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2

'p̄z' l Y wys F2

'p̄zlwys K5 M1

8 plytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; K5

𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃 F2

plytwn J2 M1

9 HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

HWH-d F2

9 'p̄z' lwysyh Pt4 Mf4 G14
 T6 T55b; J2

'p̄z' lwys F2

𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃 K5 M1

9 'w' Pt4 T55b

'w' HN' Mf4

HN' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

9 'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 ('YK PWN: PWN is written
 above the line with the
 small letters); K5 M1

'YK-š F2; J2

10 h'nk' 1 Pt4 G14 T6 T55b;
 K5 M1

h'nk' 1 Mf4

h'nk F2

h'nnk J2

10 'p̄rm' nd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
 T6 T55b; K5 M1

QDM-m' nnd J2

10 'BY-tl' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 (l' n' is
 written above the line with

the small letters) T55b; K5
M1
'BY-tl'n' G14 T6; J2
10KBD Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
K5 M1
deest G14 T6
10YḤWWN-t Pt4 G14 F2 T6
T55b; K5 M1
YḤWWN-t' Mf4; J2
11 ZK-c Y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
T55b; K5 M1
ZK-c F2
W ZK-c J2
11 dh'k Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6
T55b; K5 M1
dhk J2

11 sthmb" Pt4 T55b
sthmb' G14 Mf4 F2 T6
sthmkyh J2 K5 M1
11 'ḤDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 T55b;
K5 M1
'ḤDWN-t' G14; J2
'ḤDWN-d F2
'ḤDW-t' T6
12hwt'y Pt4 F2 T6 T55b; K5
M1
hwt' Y Mf4
hwt' G14
hwt'yyh J2
12ḤN' W Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
ḤN' F2

12hwyš'wndyh Pt4 T55b
hwyš'wndy Mf4 G14 T6
hwyš'wnd F2; J2
𐤆𐤇𐤅𐤃𐤁𐤀 K5 M1
12 pyt'k Pt4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
M1 T55
pyt' [...] Mf4
12 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
12 d'st' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2
K5 M1 T55
L'L' d'st' F2

5.8 Y 9.8

- 1 (a) MNW-š zt 'c' Y dh'k
 2 Y¹ 3 zpl Y² 3 km'l
 3 Y¹ 6 'š Y² hc'lwewst'l [Y³ 'd'tk' PWN gwhlk']
 4 (b) KBD 'wc' ŠDY'' dlwc
 5 Y¹ SLY-tl 'w' gyh'n [zyd'n k'l] Y² +dlwnd
 6 (c) MNW-š KBD 'wctwm dlwc
 7 pr'c klynyt' gn'k mynwd
 8 QDM 'w' 'st'wmnd'n' +gyh'n'
 9 PWN mlgyh Y ZK 'hl'dyh gyh'n'
 10 ['YK-š MN dlwc Y gytyy' ywk ZK sthmktl YḤBWN-t
 11 kō ʁβām yim ahurəm mazdām
 12 ZK HN' 'm'l 'YK
 13 KR' ZK zyd'n' ZY-š PWN d'm'n Y 'whrmzd twb'n YḤWWN-t
 14 'š BR' krt
 15 W LZNH YḤWWN-t MND'M ZY-š twb'n YḤWWN-t krtn'
 16 'P-š L' krt']

1 MḤYTWN-t' Pt4 T55b
 MḤYTWN-t Mf4 G14; J2
 MḤYTWN-yt F2 T6
 zt K5 M1
 1 'YK bnd Pt4 G14 T6
 deest Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 1 krt Pt4
 krt' G14 T6
 deest Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 1 'c' Y dh'k' Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 'cdh'k' Y G14 T6
 'c' Y dh'k F2
 'c' Y dh'k Y J2
 'c'k Y dh'k Y K5 M1
 1 Pt4 writes *l'd* after 'c' Y
dh'k' Y in the marg.
 2 zyl Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 (zpl is
 crossed out) T55b
 zpl F2; J2 K5 M1
 2-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5
 M1
 deest G14 T6
 W Y J2
 3-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 deest F2 T6
 3-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 deest F2
 3 Pt4 and T55b describe
hc'lwewst'l in the marg. as
 hc'l GBR' l'd zwl d'stk
 YḤWWN-t.

3-3 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2
 W F2
 Y K5 M1
 3 'd'tk' Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b
 d'tk' Y F2
 'd'tk' J2
 'd'tk' Y K5 M1
 3 gwhlk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
 K5 M1
 gwhlk G14 T6
 ۱۱۵۴ F2
 4 Y KBD Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 KBD G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
 4 'wc' 'wmnd Pt4
 'wc W Mf4
 'wc'wmnd G14 (/d/ is written
 above the line with a
 different colour)
 'wc F2
 'wc cygwn MN T6
 'wcmn T55b
 'wc' J2 K5 M1
 4 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 ŠDY'' W G14 T6
 ŠDY' W F2
 ŠDY'' J2 K5 M1
 4 dlwc' Pt4 F14 Mf4 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 dlwc F2
 5-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5
 M1

Y MN G14 (*MN* is written
 above the line with a
 different colour) T6 (*MN* is
 written above the line)
 deest J2
 5 SLY-tl'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
 T6 T55b
 SLY-tl J2
 SLY-tltl K5 M1
 5 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b
 'w' J2 K5 M1
 5 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 gyh'n' G14 F2 T6
 gyh'n'n' J2 K5 (two letters are
 crossed out on the line and
 'n' is written twice above
 and below the line) M1
 5 zyd'n k'l Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 zyd'nk'ltl F2
 5-2 W Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 deest G14 F2 T6; J2
 Y K5 M1
 5 dlwnd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2
 dlwnd K5 M1
 6 KBD Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 ۱۱۵۱ F2
 6 dlwc Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

- 7 klynyt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
klynyt' J2
7 gn'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
W gnn'k T55b
gnn'k J2 K5 M1
8 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 F2
'st'wmnd'n' Mf4
'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
'st'wmnd'n T55b
8 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 F2
9 mlgyh Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
mlgyh G14 F2 T6; J2
9 ZK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
ZK Y Mf4; J2
9 'hl'dyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
'hl'dyh Y J2
9 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 F2
10 'YK-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'YK G14 T6
10dlwc' Pt4 G14 Mf4; T55b
(It was written as *dlwcc'*, but the second /w/ is crossed out)
dlwc F2 (it was written as *dlwb*, but /b/ is crossed out)
T6; K5 M1
dlwc 1 J2
- 10Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest T6
10'ywk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
'ywk W Mf4
'ywk F2; J2 K5 M1
10YHBWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
YHBWN-t' J2
11 9βām Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
9βām J2 K5 M1
11mazdām Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
mazdām J2 K5 M1
12'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
HN' F2; J2 K5 M1
13 zyd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
zyd'n' G14 T6
13d'm'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
d'm'n' G14 T6
13Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 T6
13twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
twb'n' G14 T6
[...]b'n' J2
12YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
YHWWN-t' G14
14'-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'P-š G14
14krt' Pt4 Mf4 T6
krt G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1
- krtn' J2
15W Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 F2
15 LZNH Pt4 (writes /m/ above <H>) Mf4 F2 T55b (writes /m/ above <H>); J2 K5
ZNH G14 T6
𐭠𐭡 M1
15MND'M Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
QDM F2
15ZY-š It is not clear whether Indian manuscripts write ZY-š or ZK-š.
15twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
twb'n' G14 T6
tb'n' J2
15YHWWN-t Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
YHWWN-t' Mf4 T6
15deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
krtn' J2 K5 M1
krt F2
16L' krt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 L' krt G14
𐭠𐭡𐭢 F2
L' krtn' J2 M1
16G14 writes ZNH YHWWN-t ZY-š twb'n' YHWWN-t 'P-š L' krt in marg.
16Pt4 writes 'p'dt '-š krt (superscr.) at the end of the Pahlavi section.

5.9 Y 9.9

- 1 (a) MNW LK
 2 stykl hwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n'
 3 B̄ȲN '+'st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt ḤWH-yȳ
 4 '+MNW ZK '+tlsk'syh krt'
 5 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p̄'tyh

2 'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b	hwnyt F2	krt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
'NŠWT'-'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	3 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 T55b	5 W MH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b	ḤWH-yȳ Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	MH F2
'st'wmnd'n' G14 F2; J2	4 W MNW Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 M1	5 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'st'wmnd'n Mf4	MNW Mf4 F2	ZK G14 T6
'st'wmnd'n' T6	K5 illegible	5 mt Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
'st'wmnd'n' Y K5 M1	4 tsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	mt' Mf4; J2 K5 M1
3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2	4 krt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2	
gyh'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1		
3 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1		

5.10 Y 9.10

- 1 (a) 'DYN'-š 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' Y dwl' wš
 3 (b) slyt' Y 's'm'n Y swthw'st'l
 4 [HWH-t 'slytyh HN' YHWWN-t
 5 'YK BRH Y stykl YHWWN-t
 6 'P-š swthw'st'lyh HN' YHWWN-t
 7 'YK-š swt Y d'm'n' nywk YD'YTWN-st' B'YHWN-st]
 8 L stygl MN 'NŠWT'-n
 9 BYN '+'st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt'-m
 10 'LH ZK 't'lsk'syh krt'
 11 'w' 'LH ZK mt' 'p'tyh
 12 (c) 'MT MN 'LH 2 BRH L'L' YLYDWN-t HWH-d
 13 'wlwhš W kls'sp'
 14 (d) d'twbl ZK-ȳ [YHWWN-t 'wlwhš 'YK wcył W¹ d'twblyh krt'] W² d't'l'st'l
 15 ['YK-š d't Y pl'wn BR' YD'YTWN-st']
 16 (e) W ZK Y ZK-'ȳ 'p'lk'l
 17 W ywb'n' gyswl W gtwl
 18 [kls'sp' 'YK-š k'l PWN gt' wyš krt'
 19 m'hwnd't gwpt
 20 HWH-t d't Y t'cyk YHWWN-t 'P-š MN gyswl BR' gwpt
 21 m'hgwšnsp' YMLLWN-t
 22 HWH-t HN'-š L' škwptyh MH gys twlk'-c YHSNN-d]

T6 wites 'ytwn and K5, M1 attest 'DYN'-š at the beginning of the Pahlavi version.

1 L Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

deest F2

1 pshw' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

pshw Mf4 G14 F2

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b

gwpt G14 F2; K5 M1

YMLLW[...] G14

2 hwm Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5

hwm G14; M1

hwm [...] J2

2 'hlwb' Y Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'hlwb' Pt4 G14 F2 T6

3 slyt' Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1

سلیت G14 T6

slyt Y J2

3 s'm'n Y Pt4 T55b; J2

s'm'n' G14 T6

s'm'n' Y Mf4

s'm'n' Y F2; K5 M1

3 swthw'st'l Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

swt Y hw'st'l J2

4 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

HWH-d F2

4 slytyh سلیتی Pt4

slytyhyh Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

slytykh F2

4 HN' Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'n' Mf4 T6

4 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

YHWWN-t' G14

5 BRH Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

BRH F2

stykl Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

sdkl F2

5 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

YHWWN-t' G14; J2

6 swtyhyh Pt4 (*swth'st'lyh* is written above the line with pale letters) G14 T6

swthw'st'l Mf4

swthw'st'lyh F2; K5 M1

swt g'h (/g/ is shown by two diacritic dots above) T55b.

swthw'st'lyh Y J2 (It seems that it was written *swthw'st'l* Y at the beginning and then, it was emended and *yh* was added to *swthw'st'l*).

6 HN' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'n' T6

6 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

- deest J2
 7 'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1
 7 swt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b
 swt Y J2 K5 M1
 d'm'n' G14 (writes d'm'n'
 above ther line)
 s'm'n' T6
 7 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 nywk G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
 nywk Y J2
 7 YD'YTWN-st' Pt4 F2
 T55b; J2 K5
 YD'YTWN-st Mf4 G14 T6;
 M1
 7 B'YHWN-st Pt4 Mf4 T55b;
 K5 M1
 B'YHWN-st' G14 T6
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 F2
 B'YHWWN-st' J2
 8 'NŠWT'-n Pt4 Mf4 F2
 T55b; K5 M1
 'NŠWT'-n' G14 T6; J2
 9 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 Mf4 (*d'n*
 is written above the line)
 T55b
 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; J2
 'st'wmnd'n F2
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1
 9 gyh'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 𐬀𐬀𐬀 F2
 gyh'n J2
 9 hwn'yt'-m Pt4 Mf4 (/w/
 after /t/ is crossed out by
 two diagonal lines) T55b;
 J2 K5
 hwnyt'-m F2
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 G14 T6
 K5 illegible
 10ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2
 ZK Y K5 M1
 10 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 Pt4 T55b
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 Mf4
 tlsk'syh G14
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 F2; J2 K5 M1
 10krt' Pt4 Mf4; J2 K5 M1
 krt G14 F2 T6 T55b
 11 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 MH 'w' J2
 11mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2
 mt F2 T6
 ZK mt' K5 M1
 12 'MT Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2 ('MT is re-written on an
 illegible Avestan erased
 word)
- MNW F2
 'MT MN K5 M1
 12 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 'w' J2 ('MT is re-written on an
 illegible Avestan erased
 word)
 12HWH-nd Pt4 T55b
 HWH-d Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2
 K5 M1
 13 'wlwhš Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 'lwh'š F2 (F2 condisers the
 first 𐬀 after /l/ as /h/ by
 writing a diacritic mark
 above it).
 13kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b(due to
 the vulgate, T55b writes
 three dots as the diacritic
 mark for /š/ above /l/ and
 reads it *klyšsp'*); J2 K5 M1
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 G14 T6
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 F2
 14ZK H'N' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
 T6 T55b
 ZK-ȳ J2 K5 M1
 14YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
 F2 T55b; K5 M1
 YHWWN-t' T6; J2
 14 'wlwhš Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 'lwh'š F2 (F2 condisers the
 first 𐬀 after *w* as *h* by
 writing a diacritic mark
 above it).
 14 'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1
 14-1 W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5
 M1
 deest G14 T6
 J2 illegible
 14krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 (According to the New
 Persian translation, T6
 reads *krtn*); K5 M1
 krt F2
 W krt' J2
 14-2 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 K5 M1
 deest F2; J2
 14d'tāl'st'l Pt4 T55b
 d't'l'st'l Mf4 G14 T6; K5 M1
 d't'l'sp'l F2 (writes /t/ with the
 pale letter above /p/).
 d't'Y 'l'st'l J2
 15 'YK-š Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; J2
 'YK K5 M1
 15 d't Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 d't Y F2; J2 K5 M1
- 15pl'lwn Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 pl'lwn' J2
 15 HNHWTWN-? (the ending is
 crossed out) Pt4; J2
 HNHWTWN-t' Mf4 G14 T6
 HNHWTWN-d F2
 HNHWTWN T55b
 HNHWTWN-t J2
 YD'YTWN-st' K5 M1
 16ZK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
 ZK Y Mf4
 ZK W J2
 W ZK Y K5 M1
 16 ZK'y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 ZK'y W J2
 17W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5
 M1
 deest G14 T6; J2
 17ywb'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
 K5 M1
 deest G14 T6
 ywb'n F2
 17gyswl Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 gswl F2
 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 J2
 17W gtwl Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 gtwl G14 T6
 18kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
 (T55b
 reads *klyšsp'* shown by three
 dots as the); J2 K5 M1
 klš'sp' G14 T6
 18gt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 gt F2
 18krt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5
 M1
 kr[...] Mf4
 krt F2
 19m'hwnd't Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 m'hwnd't' G14
 19gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b
 gwpt J2 K5 M1
 19 'YK Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 'YK-š G14 F2 (writes /š/ with
 a small letter above the line)
 T6
 𐬀𐬀𐬀 J2
 HWH-t K5 M1
 20 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 Pt4 (according to the
 New Persian translation,
 Pt4 reads it *g'tyh*. Pt4 also
 renders two diacritic dots
 above 𐬀 to show /g/) F2

(writes *gtyh* below the line with small letters) T6 (according to the new Persian translation, T6 reads it *g'tyh*. T6 also renders two diacritic dots above [ۛ] to show /g/) T55b
 gt'yh G14
 d't' Y J2
 d't' Y K5 M1
 20t'cyk'n' Pt4 G14 T6
 t'cyk Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 20YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 YḤWWN-t' J2
 20 'P-š Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 'YK 'P[...] Mf4

20MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 deest T6
 20gswlyh Pt4
 gyswlyh Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
 gys[...] J2
 gyswl K5 M1
 20gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 gwpt F2; K5 M1
 deest J2
 21m'hgwšnsp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
 m'hgwšsp G14
 m'hgwšnsp F2
 m'hgwšsp' T6
 deest J2
 21gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
 gwpt F2
 YMLLWN-t J2 K5 M1

22škpptyh Pt4 G14
 škwptyh Mf4 F2 T6 T55b
 šykwptyh J2
 škwptyh K5 M1
 22gs Pt4 Mf4
 gs gys F2
 gys G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5
 deest M1
 22twlk'n'-c Pt4 (writes 'n above the line with small letters) G14 T6
 twlk'-c Mf4 T55b
 twlk'n'-c F2 (writes 'n above the line with small letters)
 twlk-c J2
 twlk'-c Y K5 M1
 22YḤSNN-d Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 YḤSNN-'nd G14 T6

5.11 Y 9.11

- 1 (a) MNW- š zt' 'c' Y slwbl
 2 Y 'sp' wp' l Y GBR' -' wp' l
 3 Y wš' wmnđ Y zlt'
 4 (b) MNW-š QDM wš l' nynyť YK 'YMWN-' t
 5 'sp b' l' ZK Y zlt'
 6 [HWH-t' ZNH ZK ZY- š PWN km' l L' L' 'ZLWN-t
 7 xšuaaēpaiia vaēnaiia +barəšna
 8 ZK ZY-ȳ ZY-š PWN zpl BR' NPLWN-st
 9 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLN-yt
 10 HWH-t KR' 2 'ywk
 11 W ZK-ȳ 'nd b' l' d L' L' 'ZLWN-t'
 12 W ZK-ȳ 'nd dlhn' d BR' NPLWN-st
 13 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLWN'-yt
 14 HWH-t kp' lyh QDM +pwšt hwšk YK 'YMWN-' t]
 15 (c) MNW PWN 'LH QDM kls' sp'
 16 '-š PWN ZK 'synyn' dyk' pyt' pwht
 17 (d)) ZK 'D' w' lpyspyn' zm' n
 18 tpt mr ['YK-š glm YHWWN-t] hwdst
 19 ['YK 2 LGLH' YHWWN-t]
 20 (e) 'P-š pr' c ZK Y 'synyn' [+dyk] pr' c +spwlt'
 21 ZK 'y' ltynytk MY' BRH SGYTWN-t
 22 (f) plwn' PWN tls BRH +tcyt'
 23 mltmynšn' kls' sp'
 24 [HWH-t +mltmynšnyh HN' YHWWN-t 'YK-š
 25 LBBMH PWN g' h d' št]

1 MĤYTWN-t Pt4 (writes
 'YK klt W L' WĤL d' št W
 L(H)YK klt after
 MĤYTWN-t) Mf4 T55b;
 J2
 MĤYTWN-t' G14 T6
 MĤYTWN-yt F2
 zt' K5 M1
 1 'c' Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 deest J2
 2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5
 M1
 deest G14 T6
 2 'sp' wp' l Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b
 'sp' wp' l' F2
 'sp' wp' l' Y J2 K5 M1
 2 mlt' wp' l Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 mlt' wp' l G14 F2 T6
 GBR' -' wp' l J2 K5 M1

3 Y Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 deest Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 3 wš' wmnđ G14 T6
 wš' wmnđ Pt4 T55b
 wš' wmnđ Y Mf4
 wš' wmnđ Y F2; J2 K5 M1
 3 zlt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
 M1
 zlt G14 F2 T6
 4 MNW-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;
 J2 K5 M1
 MNW wš G14 T6
 4 tn' 'w' Pt4 (tn' 'w'' is written
 above the line)
 deest G14 F2 T6
 tn' (writes in marg.) Mf4
 'w' T55b
 wš J2 K5 M1
 4 l' nynyť Pt4 G14 T6 T55b
 l' nynyť Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1
 4 YK 'YMWN-' t' J2

YK 'YMWN-' t Pt4 Mf4 T55b;
 K5 M1
 YK 'YMWN-yt' G14 T6
 YK 'YMW-' t' F2
 5 SWSY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2
 دودادون F2
 'sp K5 M1
 5 L' L' Pt4 T55b
 b' l' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
 5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2
 K5 M1
 deest T55b
 5 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14; J2 K5 M1
 سر F2
 deest T6; T55b
 5 zlt' Pt4; J2 K5 M1
 zlt Mf4 G14 T6
 zylt F2
 deest T55b

- 6 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2 K5
HWH-d F2
deest T55B
6 ZNH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2
K5 M1
ZNH L'L' F2
deest T55b
6 ZY- y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6;
J2 K5 M1
deest T55b (T55b omits ZK
ZY-š PWN km'l)
6 L'L' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2
K5 M1
deest F2 T55b
6 'ZLWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;
K5 M1
'ZLWN-t' G14 T6; J2
7 xšuaaēpaiia Pt4 Mf4 F2
T55b; J2 K5 M1
yim xšuaaēpaiia G14 T6
7 vanaiiata Pt4 T55b
vanaiia Mf4
vainiti G14 T6
vainaiti F2
vainai[...] J2
vaēnaiia K5 M1
7 barəšna Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b
barəšnu F2
barənuš J2
barəšna K5 M1
8 ZK ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
T55b
ZK J2
ZK ZK Y K5 M1
8 NPLWN-st Pt4 G14 F2
T55b; K5 M1
NPLWN-st' Mf4 T6; J2
9 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
M1
'YT G14 T6
'st F2
9 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2
K5 M1
'ytw[...] Mf4
'ytwn F2
9 YMRRN-yt' G14 Mf4 (yt is
written above the line)
YMRRN-yt Pt4 T6 T55b
YMRR-yt F2
YMLLWN-yt' J2
YMLLWN-yt K5 M1
10 HWH-t Pt4 G14 T6 T55b;
J2 K5 M1
HWH-d F2
10 'ywk' G14 T6
'ywk Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5
M1
11 W Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6; J2
11ZK Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6
T55b
ZK Y J2 K5 M1
11b'l'd Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
M1
b'l' G14 F2 T6
11 'ZLWN-t' G14 T6; J2
'ZLWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;
K5 M1
12W Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 F2 T6
12ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b;
J2
T6 (deest. ZK Y in marg.)
ZK Y K5 T6; M1
12dlhn'd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; K5
dlhn' F2; M1
dlhn' [...] J2
12NPLWN-st' Pt4 G14 T55b;
J2
NPLWN-st Mf4 F2 T6; K5
M1
13 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b
deest G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
13 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2
K5 M1
'YT F2 T6
13 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
T55b; J2 K5 M1
'ytwn F2
13YMRRN-yt Pt4 F2 T6
T55b
YMRRWN-yt Mf4
YMRRN-yt' G14
YMLLWN-yt J2
YMLLWN-yt K5 M1
14HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
T55b; J2 K5 (written with
pale script above the line)
M1
HWH-d F2
14kp'lyh Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6;
J2 K5 M1
وړسېد T55B
14pwšt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b
pwšt F2
pwš J2 K5 M1
14hwšk' Pt4 T55b; J2
hwšk G14 Mf4 F2 T6; K5 M1
14YK'YMWN-'t' G14 T6; J2
YK'YMWN-'t Pt4 T55b
YK'YMWN-'t Mf4 F2; K5
M1
15kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5
M1
klyš'sp' G14 T6
klyšsp' F2
16ZK Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b
ZK F2; J2 K5 M1
16'synyn' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
سین-سین Pt4 Mf4 T55b
سین-سین F2
16dyk' Pt4 Mf4; K5
dyk W G14 F2 T55b
dyk T6; J2 M1
16 pyt Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 F2
T6 T55b
pyt' J2 K5
deest M1
16pwht' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b;
J2
pwht F2 T6; K5 M1
17ZK 'D 'w' Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2
T6 T55b; K5 M1
ZK Y 'LH J2
17zm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1
zm'n' G14 T6; J2
zm'n' F2
18tpt' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2
tpt G14 T6; K5 M1
18hwäst' Pt4 Mf4 T55b
hw'st' G14 T6
hwdst F2 (in marg.); J2 K5 M1
19 'YK 2 Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 (in
marg.) T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
19LGLH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b
LGLH' J2 K5 M1
19YHWWN-t MN ZK gyw'k
BR' gwlyht Pt4 T55b (Pt4
and T55b write MN ZK
gyw'k BR' gwlyht in
marg.)
YHWWN-t Mf4 F2 (in marg.)
T6; K5 M1
YHWWN-t' G14; J2
20 ZK Y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6
T55b; K5
ZK F2; J2 M1
20'syn'yn' Pt4 T6 T55b
'sn'yn' Mf4
'syn'yn G14
'synyn F2
'synyn' J2 K5 M1
20dyk' Pt4 G14 T6; J2
dyk W Mf4
dyk F2
dyk Y T55b; K5 M1
20spwlt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
T55b; J2
spwlt F2
سپولت K5 M1
21 ZK Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
J2
ZK F2 T6; K5 M1

21 'y'lytynytk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b 'y'lytynytk Mf4 سودوع ۱۱۵۴ F2 (writes 'y'lytynytk below the line) 'y'ltynytk' J2 'y'ltynytk K5 M1 21SGYTWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 SGYTWN-t' J2 22plwn' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 Pt4 and T55B write 'c' Y slwbl in marg. plwn F2 22 teyt' MN Pt4 T55b teyt' Mf4 G14; J2	tcynyt F2 تسینت T6 deest K5 M1 23mltmyšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 mltmyšyh F2 GBR'-mynšn J2 23kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 klš'sp' G14 klys'sp T6 kls'sp F2 24HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2	24mltmyšn' Pt4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 mltmyšn'yh Mf4 mltmyšn' G14; M1 mltmyšyh K5 24'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1 'YK Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b 25LBBMH Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 لبنم G14 LBMH F2 لبنم T6 25d'st' YHWWN-t Pt4 T55b d'st' G14 Mf4 T6; J2 d'st F2; K5 M1
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5.12 Y 9.12

- 1 (a) MNW LK
 2 tswm hwm MN 'NŠWT'-n'
 3 BYN⁺st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'-yt' HWH-yȳ
 4 MNW ZK⁺tlsk'syh krt
 5 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p̄'tyh

2 HWH-t Pt4 T55b
 hwm Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5
 M1
 2 'NŠWT'-n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
 'NŠWT'-n' G14 T6; J2 K5
 M1
 'NŠWT'-n Y F2
 3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b
 'st'wmnd'n Mf4 F2
 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; J2
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1
 3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2
 gyh'n' G14 T6; K5 M1
 gyyh'n F2
 3 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;
 J2

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 F2
 hwn'-yt' T6; J2 K5 M1
 3 HWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2
 T6 T55b
 HWH-yȳ J2 K5 M1
 4 W MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b
 MNW F2; J2 K5 M1
 4 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6
 T55b; K5 M1
 ZK Y J2
 4 tsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b
 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 F2
 tsk'yh J2 K5 M1

4 krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;
 J2
 krt F2; K5 M1
 5 W MH Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4
 T6 T55b; K5 M1
 MH F2; J2
 5 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 ZK F2
 5 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2
 K5 M1
 mt F2 T6 (written with small
 script below the line)
 5 'p̄'tyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
 T55b; J2 K5 M1
 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 F2

5.13 Y 9.13

- 1 (a) 'P-š 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' dwl'wš
 3 (b) pwlšsp' Y L tswm MN 'NŠWT'-'n
 4 BYN '+'st'wmnd'n' gyh'n hwn'-yt'-m
 5 'LH ZK Y '+tlsk'syh krt'
 6 W ZK 'w' 'LH mt 'p'tyh
 7 (c) 'MT MN 'LH LK L'L' YLYDWN-t HWH-yȳ
 8 LK 'pyck zltwšt'
 9 BYN m'n' Y pwlwšsp'
 10 Y¹ ywdt- ŠDY'' 'whrmzd-DYN'
 11 ['YT' MNW ywdt- ŠDY'-yh L'WHL '-m'n' YMLLN-yt]

1 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 'LH K5 M1	5 tlsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 F2 tlskāsȳ J2 tlsk'sȳ K5 M1 5 krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 krt F2	BYN Y J2 9 m'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b m'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 9Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest T6 9 pwlwš'sp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b pwlwš'sp F2 pwlwšsp' T6 pwlšsp' J2 K5 M1 10-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 10ywdt- ŠDY' Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b ywdt- ŠDY' G14 ywdt- ŠDY'' F2 T6; K5 M1 ywdt'- ŠDY'' J2 10-2Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b deest G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 10 'whrmzdd'tst'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'whrmzdd'tst'n' G14 F2 T6 'whrmzd-DYN' J2 K5 M1 11 'YT' Pt4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'st' Mf4 'YT F2 T6 11ywdt- ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 ywdt'- ŠDY' G14 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤍𐤏 F2 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤍𐤏 T6 ywdt- ŠDY'-yh K5 M1 11 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b deest T6; J2 K5 M1 11L'WHL Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 F2 112 Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b F2 writes 2 below the line.
1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 pshw F2 1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b YMLLWN-t' J2 gwpt F2; J2 K5 2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 2 'hlwb' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'hlwb' Y G14 Mf4 deest J2 2 dwl'wš Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 F2	6 W ZK Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ZK G14 F2 T6 6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 mt F2 T6; K5 M1 7 'MT Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 MNW G14 T6 MN MNW F2 7 MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 7 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 LH F2 'w' T6 7 YLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YLYDWN-t' J2 7 HWH-yȳ Pt4 T6 T55b HWH-yȳ Mf4 G14 F2; J2 K5 M1 8 'pyck' Pt4 F2 T55b; J2 'pyck Mf4; K5 M1 'pyck' Y G14 T6 8 zltwšt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' Mf4 G14 T6 zltwhšt F2 9 BYN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1	9 pwlwš'sp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b pwlwš'sp F2 pwlwšsp' T6 pwlšsp' J2 K5 M1 10-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 10ywdt- ŠDY' Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b ywdt- ŠDY' G14 ywdt- ŠDY'' F2 T6; K5 M1 ywdt'- ŠDY'' J2 10-2Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b deest G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 10 'whrmzdd'tst'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'whrmzdd'tst'n' G14 F2 T6 'whrmzd-DYN' J2 K5 M1 11 'YT' Pt4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'st' Mf4 'YT F2 T6 11ywdt- ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 ywdt'- ŠDY' G14 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤍𐤏 F2 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤍𐤏 T6 ywdt- ŠDY'-yh K5 M1 11 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b deest T6; J2 K5 M1 11L'WHL Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 F2 112 Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b F2 writes 2 below the line.
3 pwlwš'sp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b pwlwš'sp F2 T6 pwlšsp' Y J2 K5 M1 3 'NŠWT'-'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 'NŠWT'-'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 4 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b 'st'wmnd'n Mf4 'st'wmnd'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 'st'wmnd'n' Y K5 M1 4 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; M1 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 F2 4 hwn'yt-m Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 hwnyt-m F2 hwn'yt'-m K5 M1 5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 ZK Y T6; K5 M1		

↵ J2 K5 M1
11m'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b
m'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

11YMRRN-yt' Pt4 T6
YMRRWN-yt Mf4
YMRRN-yt G14 F2 T55b

YMLLWN-yt J2 K5 M1

5.14 Y 9.14

- 1 (a) B_YN ZK +Y n'myk '+'yl'nwyc'
 2 ['YK ŠPYL +d'ty_Y']
 3 W LK pltwm zltwšt'
 4 'hnwl pr'c slwt
 5 ['YK-t yšt Y +n'pl krt]
 6 BR' YBLWN-šnyh [PWN BR' gwbsňyh] 4
 7 [+D 'w' ZK Y 'HL]
 8 (b) PWN +hlwsp' +w'c sl' dšnyh [twhš'kyh']

1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 M1 deest F2 T6 Y W K5 1 'yl'nwyc' Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'yl'n'wyc' G14 'yl'n'wyc F2 'yl'nwyc T6 'yl'nyc' J2 K5 M1 2 wyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55 deest J2 ŠPYL Y K5 M1 3 d'ytyk Pt4 G14 T55b d'yty _Y Mf4 T6; J2 d'ytyh F2 d'yty _Y Y K5 d'yt M1 (there is a space after /t/ which shows the scribe intended to fill it later) 3 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 J2 F2 deest M1 (there is a space after /t/ in d'yt which shows the scribe intended to fill it later) 3 LK P4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 LK W J2 3 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 (in marg.) zltwhšt' G14 F2	zltwšt K5 M1 4 'hnwl Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'hwnwl G14 F2 T6 4 pr'c Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55; J2 K5 M1 pr'cyh F2 4 slwt' HWH- _Y Pt4 G14 T55b slwt W Mf4 slwt F2; K5 M1 YBLWN-t' T6 slwt' J2 4 yšt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b yšt F2; J2 K5 M1 4 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 Y55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 4 n'pl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b n'swl J2 K5 M1 5 krt' HWH- _Y Pt4 G14 T6 T55b krt' Mf4 J2 (in marg.) krt F2; K5 M1 6 BR' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 PWN BR' F2 6 YBLWN-šnyh Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YBLW-šnyh Mf4 [...]BLWN-šnyh J2	gwbsňyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 gwbsn' F2 7 'D ZK Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b 'D G14 T6; J2 'D W K5 M1 7 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 7 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest F2; J2 8 PWN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'HL PWN F2 (in marg.) T6 (above the line) 8 hlwšd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b hlwsp' J2 hlwčsp' K5 M1 8 pr'c Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b w'c J2 'c K5 M1 8 sl' dšnyh Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 sl' dšn G14 T6 8 twhš'ksyh Pt4 T55b twhš'kyh' Mf4 G14 T6; K5 M1 twhš'yh' J2
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5.15 Y 9.15

- 1 (Y 9.15aP) LK B_{YN} zmyk nk' n' krt HWH-d
 2 hlwsp' ŠDY'' zltwšt'
 3 MNW L'YN' MN ZK wyl-'lwdšn'
 4 ptyt HWH-d QDM PWN ZNH zmyk
 5 [PWN ŠDY'' klyh
 6 HWH-t KR' ZK MNW tn' mynwd twb'n YHWWN-t krtn'
 7 '-š k' lpt BR' TBLWN-st
 8 ZK MNW L' twb'n YHWWN-t krtn'
 9 hwt' BR' TBLWN-st'
 10 k' lpt' BR' TBLWN-st HN' +'YK
 11 MN ZK pr'c PWN +ŠDY' klyh wn's L' twb'n YHWWN-t krtn'
 12 'D PWN stwl klyh W 'NŠWT' klyh K'N-c 'w' 'BDWN-ty]
 13 (Y 9.15bP) MNW 'wc'wmnd HWH-y¹ MNW tkyk HWH-y²
 14 MNW twhš'k HWH-y¹ MNW tyc HWH-y²
 15 'YT' 'YK pylwckltl
 16 d't' YK 'YMWN- y¹ MN ZK Y mynwd'n' d'm
 17 [MN +d'm Y mynwd'n NPŠH]

1 nk'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b nk'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	HWH-d F2	hwt J2
1 krt' 'BYDWN-d Pt4 (BYDWN-d is written above the line)	6 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1	hwt' K5 M1
krt Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1	twb'n' G14 F2 T6; J2	9 škst' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b škst F2
krt' G14 T6	6 YHWWN-t' Pt4 T55b	TBLWN-st' J2 K5 M1
1 HWH-t Pt4 T55b	YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	10k' lpt Pt4 Mf4 F2 (the manuscript repeats ZK MNW L' twb'n' YHWWN-t' m' before k' lpt]; J2 K5 M1
HWH-d Mf4	7 k' lpt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b	k' lpt' G14 T6
HWH-t G14 T6	k' lpt' G14 T6	k' lpt' G14 T6
HWH-d F2; J2 K5 M1	k' lbcwt' F2 (<i>bcwt'</i> is written in the next line above which the deletion line appears. The word is corrected by the pale <i>wt'</i> after <i>k' lb</i> .)	k' lpt' T55b
2 hlwsp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	klp J2	10škstn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b
hlwsp F2	k' lpt K5 M1	BR' škstn' F2
2 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b	7 škst' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2	škstn T6
-𐌶𐌿𐌶𐌿𐌶 T6; J2 K5 M1	škst F2	BR' TBLWN-stn J2
2 zltwšt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1	TBLWN-st K5 M1	BR' TBLWN-st K5 M1
zltwšt Mf4	8 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1	10' YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 MH K5 M1
zltwhšt' G14 T6	twb'n' G14 F2 T6; J2	11 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
zltwhšt F2	8 YHWWN-t' Pt4 F2 T55b (in marg.)	ŠDY'' J2
3 pyš Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b	YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	ŠDY'' K5 M1
L'YN' J2 K5 M1	8 krtn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	11 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
4 HWH-d Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	kltn' (<i>kl</i> is written with the pale and second handwriting above the line)	twb'n' G14 T6; J2
HWH-d F2; J2 K5 M1	9 BNPŠH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b	11 YHWWN-t' Pt4 T55b
5 PWN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1		YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
deest F2		12 stwl klyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1
5 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b		stwl kpyh F2
-𐌶𐌿𐌶𐌿𐌶 J2		stl klyh J2
-𐌶𐌿𐌶𐌿𐌶 K5 M1		12 'NŠWT' klyh Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'NŠWT' klyh G14 T6	13-2 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b	16 YḤBWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
12 ḲN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b	ḤWH'-yh-yȳ G14	YḤBWN-t' G14 T6; J2
Y 'w' J2	ḤWH-yȳ F2; J2 K5 M1	d't K5 M1
'w' K5 M1	14 twḥš'k'] twḥš'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b, J2 K5 M1	16 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1
12 'BDWN-ty Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1	14-1 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 G14 T6 T55b	deest T6; J2
'BDWN-yt-d F2	ḤWH-yȳ Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1	16 mynwd'n Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1
kwnd J2	14 tyc' Pt4 G14 T55b	mynwd'n' T6; J2
13 MNW Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	tyc Mf4 F2 T6; K5 M1	17 d'm'n Pt4; K5 M1
MNW-c G14	J2 Illegible	d'm Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
13 'wc'wmnnd Pt4 T55b	14-2 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	17 deest Pt4 G14
'wc'wmnnd Mf4 G14; K5	ḤWH-yȳ F2; J2 K5 M1	Y Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'wc'wmnd F2; J2 M1	15 MNW 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2	17 mynwd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
13-1 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55	MNW 'YT F2 T6	mynwd'n' G14 T6; J2
ḤWH-yȳ F2 K5 M1	'YT' K5 M1	
ḤWH-yȳ W J2		

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